

CHAPTER 4

The Queen's Masques(i) Spiritual Painting

The four masques given by the Queen have usually been thought of as somewhat incoherent and self-indulgent spectacle,¹ designed principally to show the Queen as the ideal of Platonic Beauty and Love. When these masques are placed in the context of the Queen's Catholicism, however, they take on much more interest and vitality. Masques were not intended for private gratification but for public show, and part of the intention of the Queen's masques during the 1630's was, I believe, to impress on English Catholics, French envoys, and on the Papal Agents, the efforts the Queen was making on behalf of her religion. Henrietta was expected to take an active part in promoting Catholicism, and her zeal was under constant scrutiny. While the sincerity of her own devotion was never in doubt, she was sometimes thought to be slow in pressing her influence. Her Confessor, Father Philip, reported that she had no sins but of omission, and George Conn considered that she should work harder to gain the ministers;² in Rome it was thought that, although she had great influence with the King and could probably secure his conversion, she and her ladies were fully occupied with dances and court entertainments.³ Henrietta reacted angrily to these imputations. As was shown (in Chapter One of this study), she believed that piety was more effective when accompanied by pleasure, and that the influence of love was preferable to argument or political intrigue. To the Catholic Agents she maintained that she had

done more for Catholicism by her own efforts than the Queens of other countries, and she complained that the Catholics in England did not appreciate the advantages she had won for them.⁴ Her masques were an opportunity to make a semi-public demonstration of her views, and were designed to show, not that she was fully occupied with a personal cult of Platonic love and court theatricals, but that she was active in the interests of Catholicism, and that her sponsorship of Platonic love was the means by which her religion made progress at court.

Platonic love was, of course, the principal theme of the Queen's masques, and if they are considered together they can be seen as a sequence in which the progress of Platonic love is traced from earthly beauty in Chloridia, to Heavenly Beauty in Tempe Restored; from Chaste Love in The Temple of Love to spiritual illumination in Luminalia. Such a progression could be matched against any number of literary sources. It might be summed up, for instance, against the familiar background of The Courtier,⁵ where the lover's sight is guided beyond the sense of material beauty to "the beautie of the soule" (p.310), from whence it seeks "the helpe of reason" (p.312) which leads to virtuous love, and beyond that to a nobler understanding in which the soul, "no more shadowed with the darke night of earthly matters, seeth the heavenlie beauty" (p.319) which brings "to the earth frutes, to the sea calmnesse, to the heaven, livelie light" (p.321). Ben Jonson's masques of James's reign were deeply imbued with such Neoplatonism, although James was its centre rather than Queen Anne. The development of a distinctive type of Platonic love, in which the Queen became the pattern of ideal Beauty, and the King and Queen's marriage the pattern of ideal Love, was a feature of the 1630's, and Jonson's two masques of 1631 gave it expression in poetic terms. In Love's Triumph he defines love as

the right affection of the mind,
The noble appetite of what is best, (11.54-5)

and hails the Queen as "The centre of Proportion, Sweetness, Grace,"

The top of beauty! but of such an air
As only by the mind's eye may be seen
Your interwoven lines of good and fair. (11.67-9)

Such beauty reaches out to the universal love that

emergent out of chaos, brought
The world to light!
And gently moving on the waters, wrought
All form to sight! (11.143-46)

yet it is contained by "Mary and Charles" who become the emblems of true Beauty and Love. Jones's translation of these poetic images into visual terms in this and subsequent masques could, on one level, be interpreted simply in terms of the Neoplatonic Humanism made familiar by Jonson's poetry, or by The Courtier.

People of the seventeenth century were, however, accustomed to interpreting visual symbol on many different levels (in the literal, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical modes) and the habit of looking for religious meaning in "picture" was deeply ingrained. That the Queen, for one, liked to find religious significance in picture is shown by Panzani's account of the reception given to a consignment of paintings sent by Cardinal Barberini as a present to the Queen in 1635.⁶ It contained "several excellent pieces of painting of the best hands of the Present and last century"; when the present arrived, the King and Inigo Jones were delighted. The paintings represented various stories, but the Queen "finding that none of them had any relation to devotion, seemed a little displeased." Cardinal Barberini had to send special explanations of their religious significance through his next agent, George Conn, whose

persuasive talking to the Queen "satisfied her curiosity that way." The many religious paintings that adorned the halls and rooms of the Royal apartments, therefore, admired by connoisseurs as expressions of Renaissance art, could be used by Catholics for their religious significance; the recommendation to do so was a commonplace of Catholic teaching. After the Reformation the practice of drawing religious significance from pictures or mental images had been widely disseminated throughout Europe by the spread of Jesuit methods of meditation,⁷ and it was adopted with gentler emphasis by Orders like the Capucins, who translated spiritual truths into graceful or witty conceits.⁸ Catholic writers, especially those connected with the court, were eager to point out how pictures, images, and indeed every external object or circumstance of daily life, should be turned to spiritual reflection.

One of the most popular products of this teaching was the religious emblem, which on the Continent had become a powerful tool of the Counter-Reformation.⁹ Under Jesuit influence, emblem writers early in the century had systematically turned the images of prophane love to images of sacred love, often with very little change in the visual content of the emblem.¹⁰ The habit spread to England, where Francis Quarles based his Emblemes of 1635 on the plates of Jesuit emblem books, making the figures of the Divine Cupid and the feminine Soul familiar to English readers.¹¹ At the French court in which Henrietta had grown up such methods of extracting religious significance from visual images, particularly those concerned with love, was particularly popular. The Capucin Laurent de Paris dedicated his work Le Palais d'Amour divin de Jésus et de l'ame chrétienne (1602) to Marie de Medici,¹² and Louis Richeome, one of the principal writers concerned with religious symbolism, dedicated his Peinture spirituelle (1611) to her.¹³ These books attempted to draw significance from everything visible:

Palaces, gardens, flowers, statues, and particularly from paintings.

Richeome wrote in Les tableaux sacres:

There is nothing which more delightfully and gently causes something to glide into the soul than doth painting, or which engraves it more deeply in the memory, or which more efficaciously inspires the will to gradual and energetic movement.¹⁴

To the word painting he gave three meanings: first the "silent painting" of painters or engravers; then "speaking painting," or word descriptions; finally "inner painting," the effort to draw from the two former a moral or mystical lesson. Richeome had been concerned with the education of Henrietta's brother, Louis XIII, for whom he designed the Catechisme Royal (1607),¹⁵ a book of pictures, emblems, and devices that were to be given a spiritual interpretation, and Henrietta could hardly have escaped something of the same kind of education. Some of Richeome's books were translated into English¹⁶ and may have helped bring the same habits of religious interpretation to the English court under Henrietta's influence. In his Holy Pictures of the Mystical Figures ... of the Eucharist (1619), translated into English by C.A. "for the benefit of those of that Nation, as well Protestants as Catholikes," he points out that "God teacheth vs celestiall things by terrestriall, and spirituall, by those that are corporall" (sig. C4^V); he insists that it is the spirit brought to the viewing of pictures or images that determines whether their significance is sacred or not (sig. B2). Another work, The Interiovr Occvption of the Soule, translated by C.A. in 1618,¹⁷ shows how every external object or circumstance of daily life may be turned to spiritual reflection. There are, for instance, sections entitled "In seeing the magnificency of the Court" (Title 32), "When we admire the beauty of any building" (Title 37), "When you use your Fanne" (Title 43), "In putting on Jewels, and other

ornaments" (Title 40), all of which are turned to meditation on God or his Saints. In the Preface the translator recommends this practice as a method acceptable even to Protestants, who may regard it simply as a way of apostrophe, "For in such figurative senses, the most learned Doctors of thine owne religion, do understand those innumerable prayers to Saints, which every where they reade in the Holy Fathers," and he illustrates with prayers made to the Blessed Virgin (sigs. *5^V-*6^V).

The combination of picture and poetry in emblem was not unlike that in the "pictures" of masque, and the methods of extracting meaning in both called on similar habits of mind.¹⁸ First there was the invention (centred around a device or epigram) to be pondered; then the symbolic meaning in picture to be explored, and then the expansion of that meaning in the poetry that accompanied it. The meaning derived from taking all the parts together was greater than the meaning derived from each of the separate parts, and the virtue of the whole exercise consisted in the mental and imaginative processes that were brought into play in teasing out the complete, and sometimes unexpected, spiritual significance. This significance might not at first be at all obvious, and indeed it was the more greatly valued if it was obscure to the vulgar, but discernible to the initiated and the witty. Religious Orders like the Jesuits particularly valued the concept of a "preachable conceit" which is "nothing else than a Symbolical Witticism, lightly hinted at by the Divine Mind: elegantly revealed by the mind of man."¹⁹ The most valued conceit was one which fulfilled the requisites of wit by having propriety, novelty, ingenious allusion, and which required admirable reflection; it was particularly admired if, "offering in its literal context a sense which at first is contradictory and difficult to explain, this sense is at last unexpectedly and ingeniously cleared as a figurative sense." In interpreting any of the

arts, and especially those in which the visual sense was involved, one should not underestimate the pleasure in mysteries and puzzle-solving that was strong in the seventeenth-century sense of religion. This interest was institutionalised by the Jesuits who taught it in their Colleges: they produced painted "enigmas," biblical or mythological scenes from which a hidden meaning was to be uncovered.²⁰ The enigma, which had to contain human figures, was not unlike a static masque scene, and it became a regular feature of religious and public festive occasions. The spirit that was brought to the solving of these puzzles and mysteries is summed up by a contemporary in words that could easily apply to masque when he says of metaphor that it packs tightly all objects together,

and makes you see them one inside the other in an almost miraculous way. Hence your delight is the greater, because it is a more curious and pleasant thing to watch many objects from a perspective angle than if the originals themselves were to pass successively before one's eyes.²¹

I suggest that something of this spirit was brought to the interpretation of the main scenes of the Queen's masques, and that the scenes gained significance from the similarities between the visual settings for the Queen and the emblematic settings for the Virgin. The names of the Virgin, that had been gathered from the Canticles and from the Vision of St. John, had been translated over the centuries into emblematic and pictorial form, and a strong visual tradition brought them down almost unchanged to the seventeenth century.²² From the end of the Middle Ages the emblems of the enclosed garden, the fountain, the mirror, the rose and lily, and the sun, moon and star, had begun to appear in Church windows, tapestries, and Books of hours. The identical emblems, together with the many others (Templum Salomon, Turris David, Vas Electum, Civitas Dei, etc.) to which the Litanies had given spiritual significance, can be

seen, for instance, in a French reliquary cover (Fig. 43) of the seventeenth century. Sometimes the emblems were not arranged statically, but take their place in a small scene where they are placed within the garden against a background of the heavens, as in the sixteenth-century print from the Breviary of Cardinal Grimani (Fig. 44). On the title-page of Partheneia Sacra (Fig. 4 above) the Virgin appears in the setting that had been made familiar in Renaissance paintings, accompanied by the sun and the stars, the crescent moon beneath her feet. Images of Mary were re-appearing in public places in the 1630's: statues that had been removed or defaced at the Reformation, like that at Ely Cathedral (Fig. 45a), were replaced by new ones like that at Oxford (Fig. 45b) sculpted by one of the artists who worked under Jones.²³ Emblem books and others during the thirties explained the spiritual significance of the Virgin's emblems and images,²⁴ and all must have been familiar to members of the Queen's circle, who joined each week in singing the Litanies.

In the masques, the images associated with the Queen were all images that were appropriate to the Virgin: in Chloridia, Tempe Restored and Luminalia the Queen is associated with gardens, fountains and flowers; in The Temple of Love, with shell, ship and haven; in Tempe Restored and Luminalia, with light, moon and stars. The use of these settings would not in itself be very remarkable, since all were part of the established stage imagery for presenting feminine beauty and virtue. Female masquers regularly appeared in some variant of a bower, ship, or shell, or enthroned in heaven, and every one of the masque settings in the 1630's had in fact been used in masques of the previous reign. In The Temple of Love, for instance, the Queen appeared enthroned beneath a great scallop shell, just as Queen Anne in The Masque of Blackness had appeared in a concave shell with lights atop (11.51-55) or in Tethys' Festival in an aquatic



Fig. 43 The Virgin surrounded by her emblems on a French reliquary cover of the seventeenth century



Fig.44 The Virgin's emblems in an allegorical setting: illuminated scene from the Breviary of Cardinal Grimani (c. 1520)

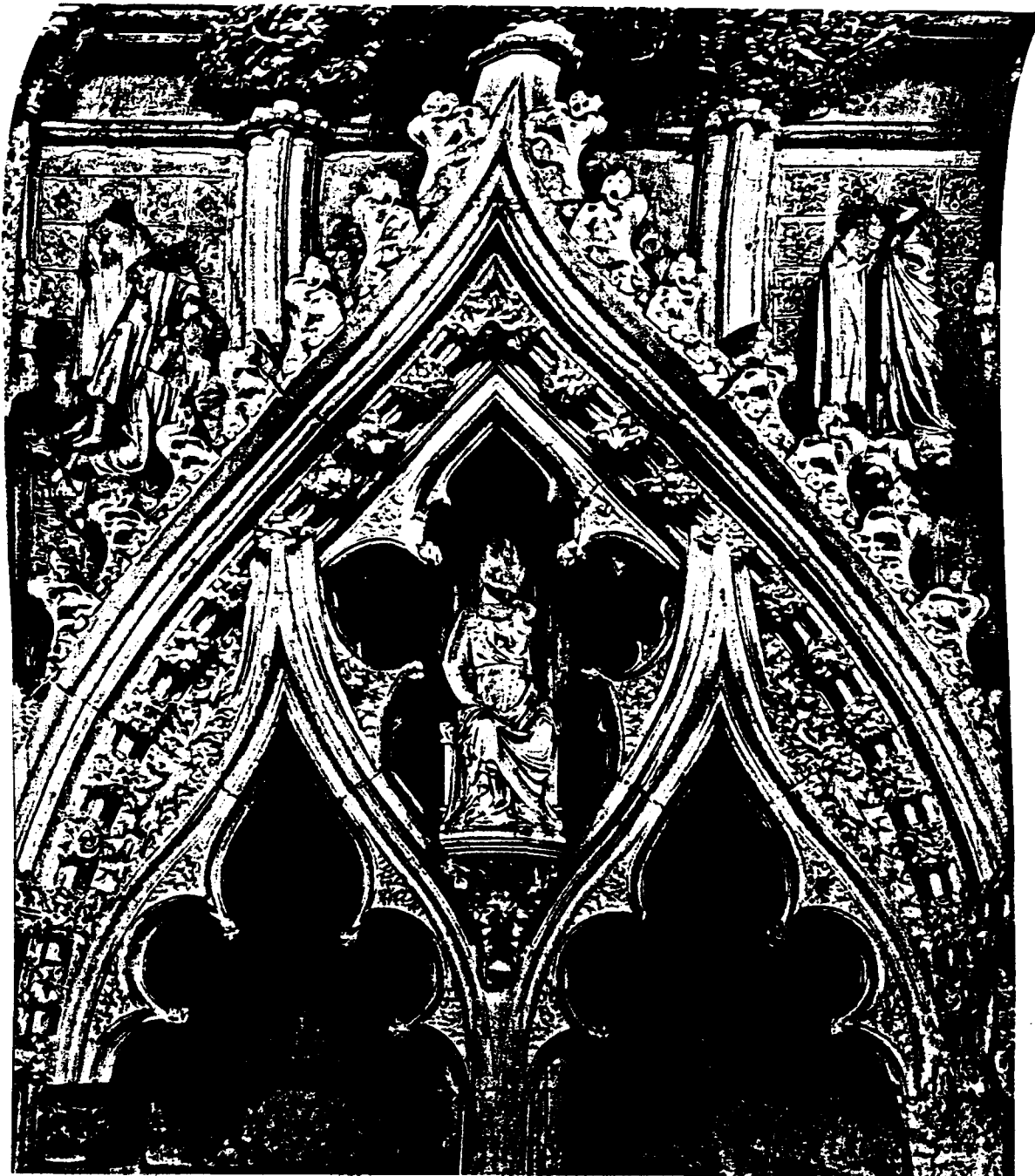
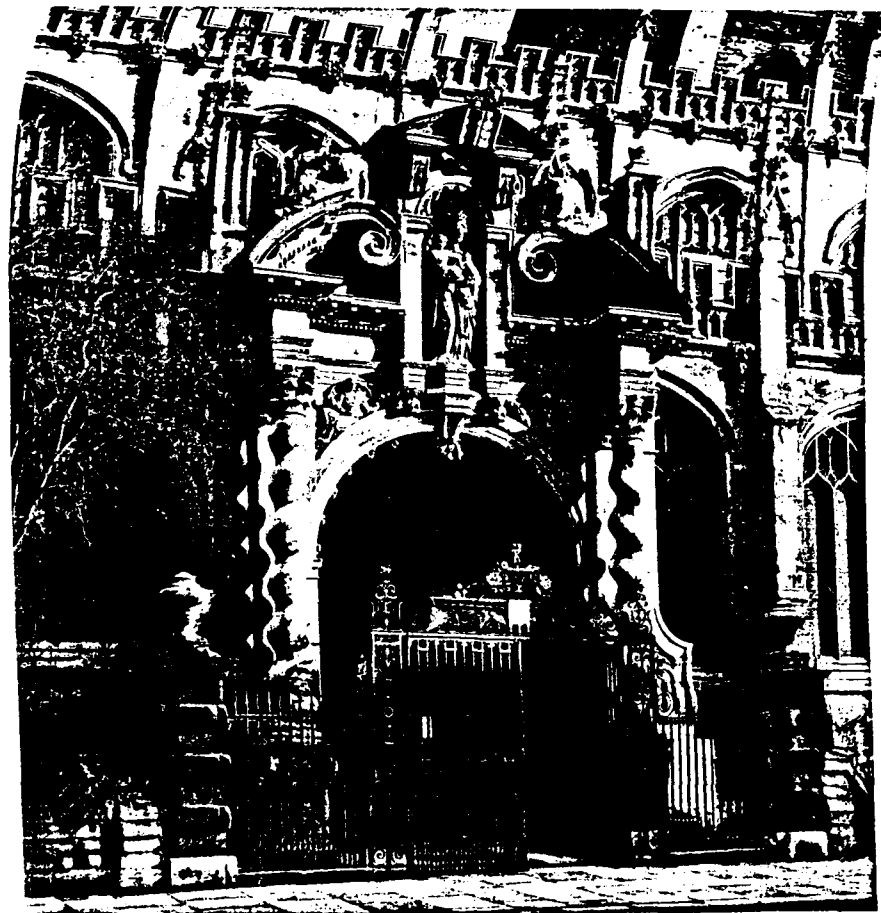


Fig.45(a) Mutilated statue of the Virgin from the Lady Chapel, Ely Cathedral



Oxford, Oxon. St. Mary's Church. South porch added in 1637 by Nicholas Stone.

Fig.45(b) Restored statue of the Virgin, Oxford

throne, with a "great scallop of silver" (11.185-6) decorated with jewels above her head. In Hymenaei the scene of Juno enthroned in a cloudy heaven, attired like a Queen, above her the region of fire and below her the rainbow, sided by ladies dressed in celestial colours (11.200-211), sounds quite as magnificent (and as potentially symbolic of religion) as the scene for Divine Beauty in Tempe Restored. Although many of Jonson's descriptions of scenes rival Jones's later descriptions for splendour, however, Jonson's are always much more sharp-edged in their symbolism. The masquers appear in shells because the sea is part of the masque's setting; the gods in Hymenaei are firmly related by their attributes to classical antecedents, and Jonson's masque world is divided, not into a vague heaven and earth, but into the elemental regions of water, earth, air, and fire. In these early masques, moreover, it is doubtful whether Jones's scenes had achieved the technical effects which later give them an air of religious splendour. In Tethys' Festival, for instance, the heavens open at the same time that the masquers are discovered in their cavern, but the "three circles of lights and glasses" (11.165-70) that move about in the heavens are there to distract attention from the change of scene rather than as an integral part of the symbolism. Or again in The Masque of Blackness the appearance of the Moon enthroned in the upper part of the stage, dressed in white and silver and crowned with a sphere of light (11.193-200), does not have the same imaginative appeal as the impressionistic scene (itself based on a religious painting) with which Luminalia opens, where the moon suffuses the whole masque with light which gradually gathers to a point with the appearance of the Queen. It may, however, have been no accident that this kind of imagery dominated the early masques of the century, at a time when Jonson and Jones, both born into the Catholic faith, were working for Anne, who had strong Catholic

sympathies;²⁵ that it drops out of the masques in the period when James and Buckingham dictated the taste of the masques (from about 1610-18);²⁶ and that it reappears after 1630 in masques for Henrietta, this time in association with an overtly Catholic Queen.

Even in the early masques of the century, many of the stage settings (as was shown in Chapter Three) had originally been adapted from religious drama, or from religious ritual itself, and thus held within them the potential for taking on religious significance. After the Reformation the actual vestments of the Catholic Church had been hired or sold to the players, and the monuments, tombs, and sculpture which were common props of the Miracle plays continued to be used on the public stage.²⁷ Thus the measures taken to control the religious content of plays did not suppress the stage-craft associated with Catholicism, and Glynne Wickham considers these visible reminders to be a basic ingredient in the continuing Puritan opposition to the stage, since in costume and setting could still be seen the "three-dimensional enactment of Catholicism."²⁸ The only reply to such opposition was to take a stand, as Ben Jonson did, on the principles of Renaissance Humanism. Jonson's references to classical sources in the masques helped to adapt the visual remnants of a religious stage to a new English usage, and, by relating them to ancient Rome, avoided the imputation of a connection with modern Rome. The altar which occupies the centre of the stage in Hymenaei, for instance, is made respectable by relating it to ancient Roman marriage customs, avoiding the suspicions of people like Busy in Bartholomew Fair who could detect the "peeping out of popery" in places far less obvious than on the court stage. But religious associations in masque scenery were not always explained away. Figures in priest-like garments were regular participants in Jonsonian masques, and later in Jones's, and became no less priest-like to the eye

because they were sometimes called Muses or Musicians. In The Masque of Beauty, Jonson clothed his ancient poets in "priest-like habit of crimson and purple" (11.216-17); in Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue the chaplain to the Venetian ambassador saw the musicians as being "dressed in the long red robes of high priests, with golden mitres";²⁹ in Chapman's Memorable Masque, the Priests of the Sun (the Phoebades) pay homage to James in his role as Christian Sun, "our Briton Phoebus" (11.561-604). There is no doubt that the images and poetry in these early masques combined Christian and Classical symbolism, but Jonson's literary references on the whole controlled the extent to which the religious associations could be taken.

In Jones's scenes of the 1630's, where explanatory words were largely absent, visual symbol was free to take on again some of the religious associations out of which much of the stage imagery had originally grown. In most of Jones's masques, confused statements of the "subject" take the place of Jonson's precise statement of his "invention"; allegorical figures with vague abstract titles such as Peace, Religion, Concord, take the place of classical deities; even the deities that do appear are attired, so Jonson complains, "as noe thought can teach / Sense, what they are"³⁰ and the verses that accompany the scenes do very little to explain them. For Jonson it had been important for the integrity of the masque that the artist should get his images right, but even in his masques it is doubtful whether much of the symbolism of the poetry, or the complexity of the visual images, was appreciated at the masque's actual performance. It is obvious, for instance, from the reports of ambassadors that many people in the audience took away only a general impression of the scenes, and that they received an even less precise knowledge of what was said.³¹ By 1630 what was required by a sophisticated court audience, which had more than a quarter of a century of masque-viewing behind it, were large generalised

images, the likely significance of which was easy to grasp from a knowledge of the (by that time) well-established ethos of Charles's court. Jones supplied those generalised images, but their visual nature meant that they took on an open-ended form: they could be interpreted largely according to the tastes and interests of the spectators and of the persons dictating the subjects of the masques. Given the Queen's interest in a cult of Mary, as well as in a cult of Platonic Love, and the connections already outlined between the two, it was not difficult for the images on the stage to revive old connections with Catholicism.

These connections must have come all the more readily to mind because of the way in which the images of Mary had been taken over and adapted to court iconology by Elizabeth in her role as Virgin Queen.³² After the Reformation the transition from a Catholic to a Protestant iconology had been made through the medium of the classics, by a gradual identification of Elizabeth with Virgil's Astraea, the just Virgin of the Aeneid whose return to earth, accompanied by the prophecy of a new birth, were interpreted by Christian apologists as a prophecy of the birth of Christ. Astraea, the classical Virgin, was seen as a type of Mary, and Elizabeth adapted the symbols of both to her own cult: Catholic festivals of Mary were converted to celebrations of Elizabeth's Accession Day and Birthday; pastoral themes, already interwoven with religion, were used by Spenser, Drayton, and Sir John Davies to honour the English Virgin. In these works Elizabeth, like Mary, reconciled the opposing principles of Virginity and Love. In poetry and painting she was represented as a chaste Diana as well as a lovely Venus, both as a Bride and as a Mother to her people, a Virgin goddess of Beauty and Love. Her emblems were the rose, the moon, and the star; as Gloriana she was radiant as the sun, a "stella Britannis" whose light eclipsed Mary's Star and attracted to itself the rich symbolism

formerly associated with the iconology of the Virgin.³³ In the masques of the 1630's all these images were returning to the court stage, but this time under a Catholic Queen, and at the same time that books (some closely connected with the court) were being published explaining the significance of the symbols in relation to the Virgin. Thus an association between the masque images for the Queen and the traditional images of the Virgin did not depend on the images being new in the 1630's, but precisely on the fact that they were so traditional and so well-worn.

The doctrine of Platonic love and the compliments directed to the Queen in the masques reinforce the links between the two sets of images. It has been shown above that books like Partheneia Sacra and The Female Glory praise the Virgin in terms akin to those used by the literature of Platonic love, especially in literature directed to the Queen. In the book by Alexis de Salo,³⁴ for instance, the Capucin who drew a parallel between the court of a great Queen on earth and the Queen of Heaven, Mary is described as "the Mother of beauteous love" (p.20), who affects her servants with pure love, requiring of them in return chastity, cleanness of mind and purity of heart. She wins followers by love, for "shee is very sweetnes, meeknes itselfe, and there is nothing, in earth or heauen more affable, more courteous, then shee" (p.23). Her beauty streams from her in "beames and rayes of light," and her eyes are "two continual fires burning with Divine Love, al who beheld her, and yet in an admirable manner quenching al carnal loue the whilst" (p.562). Similar virtues are ascribed to the Queen throughout the masques, and may be summed up in the passage by Davenant from Salmacida Spolia:

All those who can her virtue doubt
Her mind will in her face advise;
For through the casements of her eyes
Her soul is ever looking out.

And with its beams she does survey
 Our growth in virtue or decay,
 Still lighting us in Honour's way.
 All that are good she did inspire.
 Lovers are chaste, because they know
 It is her will they should be so.
 The valiant take from her their fire. (11.415-25)

The comparison can, of course, work the other way, with the language of religion being borrowed to enhance the compliment to the Queen. One meaning did not rule out another, but simply added another level to it. Since the emphasis in these masques was on the scenes, the meaning did not have to be spelled out in words, nor limited by them. In the visual images which accompanied the appearances of the Queen there was room for seeing the traditional images of Mary, and this kind of poetry enhanced the association between the two, making the Queen Mary's representative on earth. This effect was built up gradually, and each of the Queen's masques will be considered in the order in which they were presented.

(ii) The Masques

Chloridia

As in so much of the adaptation of court imagery to religious uses, the transition in the masques may have been helped by Jonson's reference to classical sources in Chloridia. In keeping with the Ovidian myth on which it is based, Chloridia is a masque about natural beauty and fertility. On one level, Henrietta represents Chloris, the nymph who transforms the earth to the beauties of the Spring. This theme is in harmony with the Queen's youth: she is the young bride and lover,

The sweetness of all showers,
 The ornament of bowers,
 The top of paramours! (11.270-73)

She is also a mother, who not long before had produced a healthy male heir to the throne.³⁵ But, oddly enough, love which is at the centre of such fertility, the meddlesome boy Cupid, fancies a slight from the gods, and despite a rebuke from his mother Venus, has gone to Hell, bringing back Jealousy, Disdain, Fear and Dissimulation to trouble the gods (1.135). These nuisances appear on the stage in the anti-masques, but are dispersed by the appearance of Chloris in her bower, which in turn gives place to the throne of Juno, Queen of Heaven, love, and marriage, and her messenger Iris. On one level the masque is a delicate compliment from the Queen to the King on their reconciliation after the early years of marriage, which were disturbed by Jealousy and Disdain, and on their present love and fruitful union. Jonson, again in keeping with his Ovidian myth, gives these events a cosmic setting. Chloris is a nymph of earth, associated with Spring in the rites of fertility and regeneration. The masque opens with a reference to the fructifying powers of the sun and the generative powers of water (there is an emphasis in the first scene on fountains, springs, and river) drawing from the earth new beauty and new birth. Thus the lovely bower in which Chloris appears enthroned is also a bower of love, reminiscent of the many other classical bowers and gardens over which Venus presides.

The masque naturally superimposes a moral interpretation on the pagan myth. Venus teaches her mischievous son to leave his evil companions, Juno sanctifies love by marriage, and Jove sanctifies the "flowers" of natural union by giving heavenly approval, turning them into stars on earth. The theme, that the powers of natural beauty and love have to be guided by Heaven, is echoed in the symbolism of the scenes. The natural scene with which the masque opens, of pleasant hills planted with young trees, of banks adorned with flowers, and fountains which flow into a

river (11.17-20), is changed, with the appearance of the masquers, into a civilised garden, "a delicious place figuring the bower of Chloris" (11.163-4). Chloris sits enthroned in an arbour "feigned of goldsmiths' work," ornamented with garlands and all sorts of fragrant flowers, while "beyond all this in the sky afar off appeared a rainbow" (11.164-7), the sign of peace between earth and heaven. The Queen, the bower, and the rainbow make the connection between heaven and earth, for, after the Queen has danced and impressed the earth with flowers, the heavens open to reveal Juno and Iris "and above them many airy spirits, sitting in the clouds" (1.210). Thus the bower of Chloris is more than a bower of natural beauty and love: it is natural beauty civilized by art, a garden of love, but of love transformed by spiritual grace.

On a primary level Chloridia followed the same kind of Neoplatonic progression from natural to refined love that informed a painting such as Botticelli's Primavera, which was itself based on a Neoplatonic programme.³⁶ I do not know if there was any memory of the painting at the back of Jones's mind when he designed the costumes for Chloridia, but his dress for the Queen, with its puffed sleeves and flower-embroidered skirts, has similarities to that of Botticelli's Flora (cf. Figs. 46, 47).³⁷ Certainly the painting and the masque are based on the same passage in Ovid, and may share a generally similar meaning. Edgar Wind points out in his interpretation of the allegory of the painting that Vasari recognised Venus in the central figure, and the blind-folded Cupid above her head directs his arrow at the central figure of the three Graces, whom Wind identifies as Castitas. In this Neoplatonic allegory, Venus is a goddess of moderation and harmony, the mother of Cupid. Her companions are the Graces, in whom Wind detects "a preciousness and elevation of mood" (p.105) which, leading to the upward-pointing figure of Mercury, leads out of the



147. Sandro Botticelli (ca. 1445-1510), *Primavera*, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence

Fig.46 The painting, which belonged to the Medici from the early sixteenth century, has been interpreted in terms of Ficinian Neoplatonism (see text)



Fig.47 Inigo Jones, costume for the Queen in Chloridia (1631)

picture and back to the upper world, completing the connection between heaven and earth, and the movement of love and generation with which the painting began.³⁸ Chloridia has a similar upward movement, beginning in love and ending with the gods in heaven. The central point of the movement is the scene of Chloris in her bower, the figure of the Queen who by her virtue and beauty effects the transition from earth to heaven. In Botticelli's painting the upward movement revolves around the central figure of Venus. Edgar Wind (p.119) commented on the modest features with which Botticelli endowed her, and the suggestion of motherliness in her figure, so that she appears,

in contrast to the wealth which she administers, as a restraining and moderating force, aware of her role as the vicar of a higher Venus of whom she is only an image or shadow, although she exercises in her own realm an undisputed sovereignty.

Iconologically she belongs more with the Virgin than with Venus: her tilted head and raised hand are similar to poses of the Virgin in other paintings; her place in this garden of love is reminiscent of her place in sacred gardens, and behind her head the branches form a circle which frame her figure in an aureole of light.³⁹ Her presence in a setting of natural beauty, love, and fertility makes of the garden a Paradise, but Paradise in which pagan nature is transformed to Christian spirituality, and in which beauty is designed to kindle a feeling akin to religious enthusiasm.

The transformation of passion to love was, of course, an ancient theme, and its representation in the symbolism of the garden was deeply embedded both in Classical and Christian literature. In classical literature the garden was associated with Venus, both as a lovely place, and a place for love.⁴⁰ Its prototype, which summed up much ancient

garden poetry, was described by Claudian (in the fourth century A.D.) as a place in Cyprus where Venus lived, where the mountain sloped down to a lovely plain, always bright with flowers, and where the country round was enclosed with a hedge of gold. But this garden also became Mary's garden. The elements of the walled garden and Venus' bower were syncretised by Christianity with the imagery of the Song of Solomon, and the verse "A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed" (4.12) was indefinitely allegorised in relation to God and the Church, to the Virgin Mary, and to Divine Love.⁴¹ The enclosed garden or bower became not only one of Mary's attributes, but an actual place in which she is seen, as in the rose garden (Fig. 48), or in paintings of the Annunciation. For the Middle Ages the garden helped to bring Mary closer to human experience, and her gardens were often imagined as actual places, "not so different iconologically from the haunts of more earthly goddesses like Ceres and Flora."⁴² The associations between Venus and the Virgin, between prophane and sacred love, became a continuing theme in literature and art. In the Mediaeval courts of love it provided material for satire, but also material for some of the most powerful images of Spenser's allegory in The Faery Queen.⁴³ By the seventeenth century the garden, and its associations with love, was being reappropriated for religion by the Counter-Reformation cult of the Virgin. Louis Richeome's Holy Pictures, for instance, begins with a description of the "first garden," with its plains and little hills, its fountains forming rivers, where trees and plants, flowers and fresh colours make the air sweet with predominant Spring (sig. C3). The body of Mary is likened to earth, which nourished the life of Christ, but earth transformed to a "Garden of God, infinitely more noble than this first earthly Paradise" (sig. D4^V). Henry Hawkins' Partheneia Sacra was only the latest of many books based on the



Fig. 48

The Madonna in a Rose Garden by Stefano da Zevio (Museo Civico,
Verona)

idea of the "mysterious and delicious garden" in which Mary is imagined as a "Paradise of flowers" or "celestiall earth all starred with flowers" (p.9), and in which all the objects of nature become starting points for meditations in her honour. In Chloridia, therefore, there was ample room for classical myth and its visual presentation to be given a religious interpretation in relation to the gardens of Mary, and for the Queen to take her place in such a garden as Mary's representative in bringing pure love and refined beauty to the court. The interpretation of this masque in Catholic terms perhaps remained only a suggestion, but it laid the ground on which the Queen's subsequent masques were built. In the following year, 1632, the growing influence of the Queen's Catholicism provides a significant background for the movement from natural beauty and love to their divine counterparts, and for interpretation of the Neoplatonic mythology of the court in terms of the Queen as the representative of Mary.

Tempe Restored

Tempe Restored begins in a sense where Chloridia left off. Again the masque opens with the scene of a garden, in which the Naiades and Dryads, the good powers of nature, are the companions of Circe, as before they were of Chloris. But Circe represents natural beauty and desire unredeemed by reason and beauty of soul; her garden is a place of danger because it also contains sensual desire, which makes men lose their virtue and valour, turning them to beasts (11.336-8). To live by nature and the attraction of beauty is not enough: reason must govern sense, and desire be attracted by a vision of spiritual beauty, so that man becomes "only a mind using the body and affections as instruments" (11.352-3). Divine Beauty is not detached from bodily beauty, however, but shines

through it, drawing us "to the contemplation of the beauty of the soul, unto which it hath analogy" (11.363-4). The scene in which the Queen appears this time transcends the garden: she is enthroned in the heavens themselves, against a background of a fair sky and a calm sea, environed with stars and accompanied by the music of the spheres.

Tempe Restored borrowed the story of Circe, and the "Allegory" of Divine Beauty, from the French Balet comique de la reine.⁴⁴ In performance, however, the "story" was probably less important than the broader visual symbolism of the two great forces, Circe and Divine Beauty, who opposed each other at the beginning and the end of the masque. The myth of Circe was a common symbol for the false attraction of the beauty and pleasures of this world, as opposed to the true beauty and harmony of the ideal world, and the images of Circe and Divine Beauty had a broad significance. In Christian literature the image of Circe in her garden, with her retinue of wild beasts representing the passions, was often opposed to the image of Divine Love, which redeems man from his merely "natural" state. In the French emblem book Le Coeur dévot,⁴⁵ for instance (composed in 1627, and translated into English by Henry Hawkins), the author likens the heart to "a sty for Swine," in which the vices are "Serpents, owles, toads, dragons," and other creatures more ugly, foul and pernicious (sig. C10^v, p.68). The heart, which vehemently desires beauty and can be led astray with what is false, can be restored to true knowledge only by the aid of Divine Love. After the heart is set in order by Jesus it is compared to a flourishing garden, and the author invokes Mary: "... of whom I will craue the meanes first to keep chastity, and then earnestly beg her help and patronage, to vanquish easily al the temptations of the flesh" (The Colloquy, sig. H1^v, p.170). Mary was traditionally thought of in this context as "our second Eve, our spiritual and celestial Mother,"⁴⁶ the

anti-type of Eve, the "first parent and Mother of us al." She is the support of virtue and the redeemer of her sex, a "terrestrial Paradise, whereunto serpent never entered,"⁴⁷ the "second Adam's Paradise." Her enclosed garden was contrasted with the garden of Eden (which in paintings sometimes formed a background for the Annunciation), a place where the heart is kept safe from "Wild beasts of ev'ry kind, / Foxes, and Wolves, and Dogs, and Boares, and Bears" which inhabit the wilderness of the world.⁴⁸ In Partheneia Sacra (p.6) Hawkins describes the garden of Mary in terms not very different from those used for the garden of Circe in Tempe Restored: "It is a Paradice of pleasures, whose open walks are Tarrases, the Close, the Galleries, the Arbours, the Pavillions, the flowerie Bancks, the easie and soft couches." The whole difference lies in the attitude and purity of mind of him who approaches. There was thus in Catholic literature an implicit contrast between Mary's garden and gardens of worldly pleasure; between Mary as an ideal of heavenly beauty and love and the sensual allurements of a Circe or an Eve. I believe that the same contrast is set up in Tempe Restored, through a contrast between the garden of Circe, and the visual associations of the scene in which the Queen is presented as Divine Beauty.

The scene in which Divine Beauty appeared was quite extraordinary for the splendour of the setting, the prodigality of the music, and the number of people who took part ("the greatest that hath been seen here in our time", 11.205-6). After the opening scene, Circe's palace and the brutish gambolling of the anti-masques are swept away by the wealth of music that announces and accompanies the appearance of Divine Beauty. Harmony and her choir prepare the way with song, and the fourteen Influences with dancing. The Influences take their place on the degrees beside the Lords and Ladies, where they sit "to see the masque" (1.181), while Harmony and

the Chorus take up their positions near the stage. Then, the scene having changed, the Spheres link earth to Heaven in a bright chain, providing music for the motion of the stars. Clouds on each side bear eight stars, a larger cloud above them six, and above all appears the gleaming chariot in which sat Divine Beauty. The clouds, stars and spheres pass and repass on their journey from heaven to earth, and show a "pleasing contention" between them as they go. Throughout this scene, the Highest Sphere and Harmony, assisted by the Chorus, keep up a musical accompaniment to the beauty that charmed the eyes, and the movement and dancing that rapt the spirit. The universality of the theme and the extraordinary splendour of the way in which it was presented suggest a religious intensity which may be compared with traditional meditations on Mary. Gaspar Loarte,⁴⁹ for instance, asks the reader to picture the Mysteries of the Virgin, and describes the "reception and entertainment" made to the glorious Queen of the celestial court,

when with her most beautiful and glittering bodye
she ascended into heauen in so great a Maiestie.
What store of musical instrumentes yeelded forth a
most melodious harmonie? What Canticles, Himmes,
Psalmes and praises were there sounded forth vnto
her? howe gret the ioy and iubilation was, which al
the blessed spirites shewed. (sig. 04⁴)

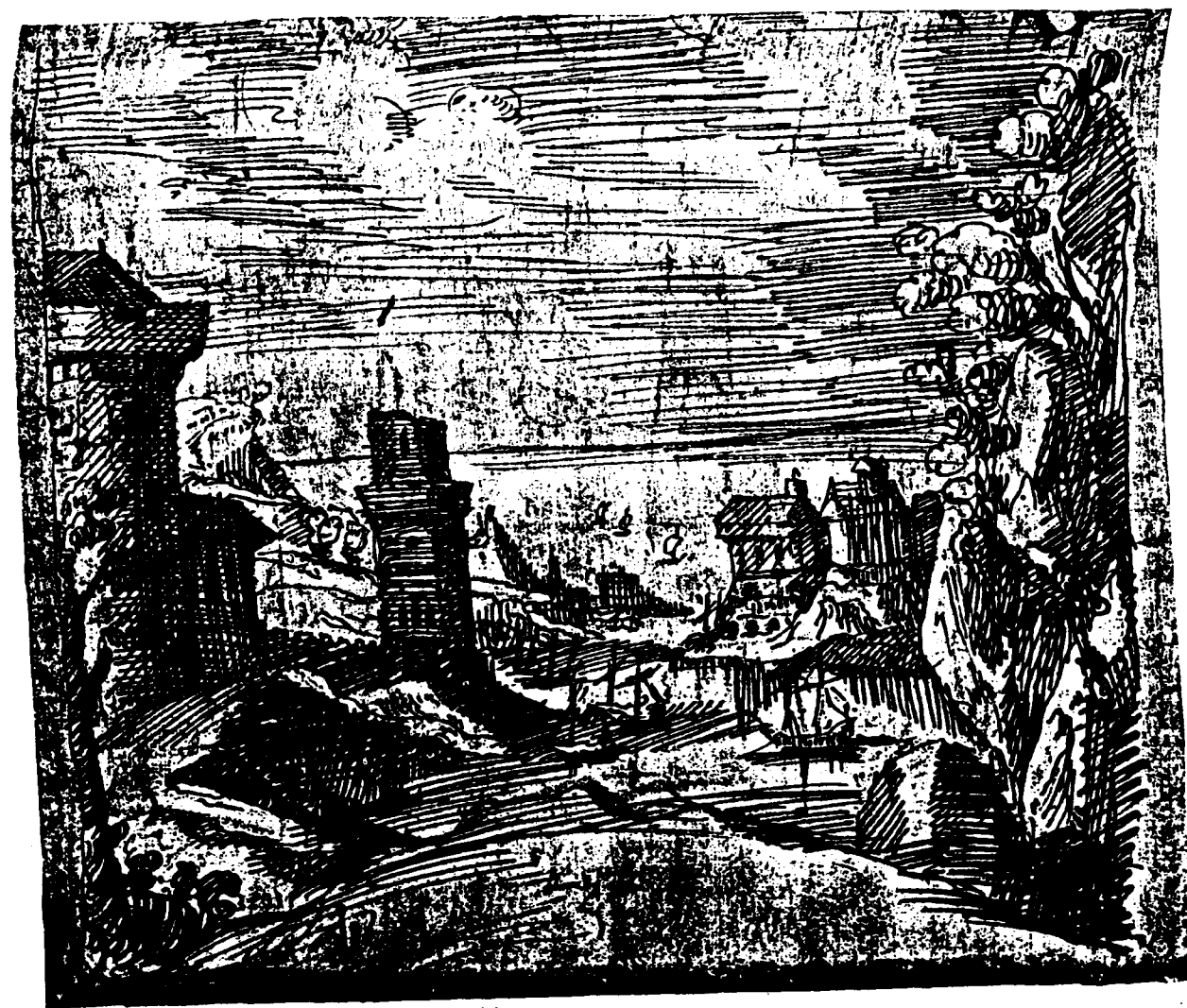
She is seated above all the quires of angels, adorned with virtues, dressed in heavenly garments, and crowned with stars.

The Counter-Reformation placed great emphasis on the Joyful Mysteries of the Virgin, of which her Assumption and Coronation were the greatest, and these were favourite themes for description and painting. Books of devotion to Mary recommended that the reader should behold in the imagination this celestial Queen "most beautifully adorned with all perfections both of mind and body, all the blessed inhabitants of Heauen attending her, & reioycing at the increase of her glory";⁵⁰ in praying to

her it is desirable to "represent her to the eies of thy mind, Inthroned in a most glorious manner aboue al the rest ... encompassed round about with innumerable Saints and Angels."⁵¹ These visions had of course been translated into pictorial form, and writers urged Mary's devotees to "procure som Picture both deuout and faire, before which we are to do our reuerences ... I say faire, for faire objects do soonest stirr vp the affections of the mind."⁵² Such paintings were in fact quite familiar to the court. A glance at Van der Doort's Catalogue of the Royal Collection⁵³ shows that amongst the paintings on Biblical subjects there were, in particular, a great number by Titian and Tintoretto on the Virgin and Christ.⁵⁴ Tintoretto's "our lady & Christ in the Clouds a half moone below. placed for the present tyme in the Cabbienett rom at St James" (p.182), for instance, took its place among many others on similar subjects in the King's collection. Amongst the Titians in the Queen's Palace at Somerset House were "our Lady, Christ and St. Catherine"; in the Queen's bedchamber a madonna with Christ and St. John; in the Queen's withdrawing room "de gret ourladi" (pp.183-84). That such paintings could be used for specifically religious purposes in connection with the Queen is shown by the pictures at Nonesuch House which included "An Aulter peece conteyning 4 entire figures almost soe big as the life our Lady and another St. kneeling ... being in the Queenes Chappell roome" (p.185). Also at Nonesuch was an "our Lady with Christ and St. John," and an "our Lady in the Clouds, below sepulchre of flowers and disciples kneeling" (p.186). In the Queen's apartments these subjects tended to be interspersed with paintings of Venus, Cupid and Psyche, in the King's apartments with paintings on "classical" subjects. In the hall leading up to "the great Chapel," for instance, were Titian's Twelve Caesars, a painting of the Virgin by Van Dyck, and a "feast of Grace" by Tintoretto.⁵⁵ For art-lovers

of course, these paintings were expressions of Renaissance artistic talent, but for those who had Catholic interests they also had unavoidable associations with religion.

When the scene for the appearance of the Queen in Tempe Restored is visualised as it was presented on the stage, it takes on similarities to these familiar settings for the Virgin. Only the background for the scene is shown in Jones's designs, but, in terms of Mary imagery, it is an appropriate background for the elaborate scene in the heavens which Jones describes in words. The scene (Fig. 49a) has features similar to those shown in illustrations of the emblems of the Virgin, as in the scene from the Grimani Breviary (Fig. 44) and from Partheneia Sacra (Fig. 49b), showing the buildings, tower and rocky mount, all of which had spiritual significance.⁵⁶ The masque scene also shows the sea and ships which form a background to the garden in Partheneia Sacra. This scene was only an appropriate setting, however, for the appearance of Divine Beauty, the Spheres, and the Stars. Like the scene from Partheneia Sacra (Fig. 49b), with its striking chain of stars, the masque describes how, against a "calm sea" and a sky "such as appears at the sun rising" (11.182-5), the spheres are suspended in the air on a cloud "which in a circular form was on each side continued unto the highest part of the heaven, and seemed to have let them down as in a chain" (11.186-9). Other clouds bearing stars take their place to either side and in the centre of the heavens, framing the figure of the Queen, over whose head was "a brightness full of small stars that environed the top of the chariot, striking a light about it" (11.195-97). The whole scene is filled with reference to stars. The Queen is dressed in "a garment of watchet [i.e. pale blue] satin with stars of silver embroidered and embossed from the ground, and on her head a crown of stars" (11.212-15; see Fig. 50). Her companions are stars, and



217 Shutter for Scene 2: A Haven with a Citadel

Fig.49(a) Background to the scene for the appearance of
Divine Beauty in Tempe Restored

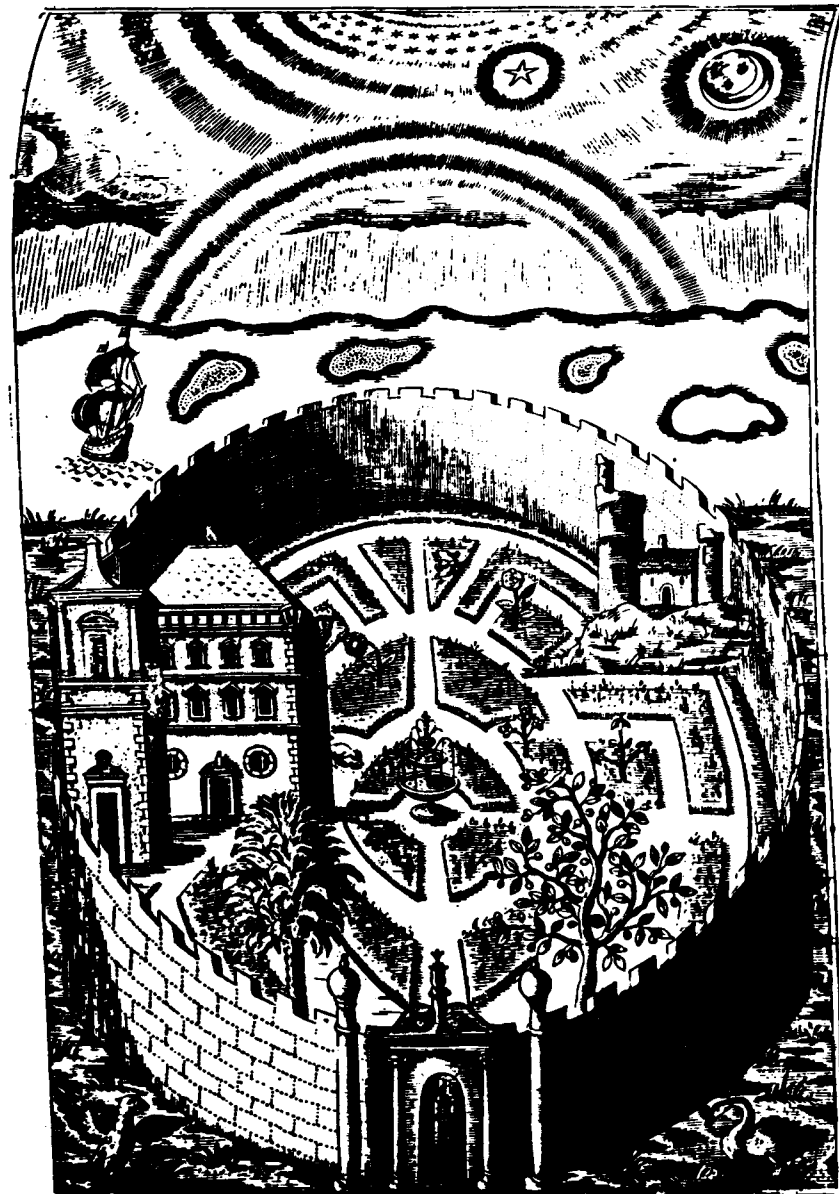


Fig.49(b) Frontispiece to Partheneia Sacra



244 Divine Beauty and the Stars



Alternative Headdress



Alternative Bodice and Skirt

Fig.50 Inigo Jones, costume for the Queen as Divine Beauty in Tempe Restored

she herself is said to be "the brightest star / That shines in heaven,"
for whom it is fitting that

the heavenly spheres
Should be her music, and the starry troupe
Shine round about her like the crown she wears. (11.219-21)

In Partheneia Sacra, Hawkins explained in relation to the Virgin that the stars that surround her are her court, "among whom, as a choice Hester," she shines for the King of Heaven "to cast his most amorous glances and fayrest influence upon" (p.119). So is she styled also Venus, "not as the Goddess of Love, which the Poets feigne, but for that she disposes them to love, whom she swaves, and exercises her vertues on," and "enflames mens harts with Divine love" (p.120). Through her steadfastness and brightness, "Marie our Starre ... directs the Marriners through the vast sea of the world ... to the Haven of the Heavenlie countrie" (p.122). From the sea rises the bright Morning-star (cf. "an oriental sky such as appears at the sun rising") and Mary is hailed as Stella Maris "because she shewes and declares the Morning now at hand" (p.120). The description would not be inappropriate as a commentary on the appearance of Divine Beauty in the masque.

For those who wished so to interpret it, the scene could simply be a compliment to the Queen, presenting her as the Platonic ideal of Beauty. The stage "picture" was not, however, tied to one particular meaning, and for Catholics at court the "Divine Beauty" of the Queen could be regarded, not simply as the highest ideal of Beauty on earth, but as the Type of a yet higher ideal, of which the Virgin was representative in Heaven. By 1632 it was appropriate that the Queen should be presented in such a way. The Capucins, with their emphasis on the teaching of Divine Love and their dedication to the Virgin, were well established under the Queen's

protection. Their services were attracting such large crowds that the penal laws against resorting to Mass were re-issued, but their effect was neutralised by the Queen interceding on behalf of her Catholic subjects with the King.⁵⁷ The Queen's presence at court, and her personal influence with Charles (which effectively depended on her beauty and the practice of her ideal of chaste love) was taking on the character of a new hope for Catholicism in England. For many it seemed a turning-point when, sometime before 1632, the Queen obtained permission from Charles to build a new chapel for the Capucins at Somerset House. The event was hailed as the return of true religion to the country, and when the Queen laid the foundation stone later in 1632 (the same year that Tempe Restored was presented), the event was watched by more than two thousand spectators. In this ceremony the Queen in fact appeared in what must have resembled one of the "enclosed garden" settings appropriate to the Virgin, to whose service the Queen dedicated the chapel. The plot of ground on which the chapel was to stand was closed around with rich tapestries and roofed with costly stuffs; the floor was strewn with flowers "which diffused an agreeable odour," while at one end was an altar garnished with such magnificent ornaments that it might be compared with "Solomon's Temple."⁵⁸ For the King and the others who witnessed it (including Inigo Jones who was the designer of the chapel) the scene perhaps recalled the stage images of the Queen, as a goddess of flowers in Chloridia, and as the personification of Divine Beauty in Tempe Restored, sanctifying beauty and bringing it to earth. In the Queen's next masque, The Temple of Love, the chapel became, as I have suggested, part of the subject-matter, and the masque marked another important stage in the progress of Catholicism at court.

The Temple of Love

The Temple of Love was presented on three successive occasions in 1635,⁵⁹ a year in which interest both in Platonic love and in Catholicism reached a high point. James Howell's letter reporting the "news" of Platonic love at court has often been quoted:

The Court affords little News at present, but that there is a Love call'd Platonick Love, which much sways there of late; it is a Love abstracted from all corporeal gross Impressions and sensual Appetite, but consists in Contemplations and Ideas of the Mind, not in any carnal Fruition. This Love sets the Wits of the Town on work; and they say there will be a Mask shortly of it, whereof Her Majesty and her Maids of Honour will be part.

(Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae, ed. Joseph Jacobs, I, pp.317-18)⁶⁰

Most commentators agree that the masque referred to was Davenant's The Temple of Love, in which the Queen takes the part of Indamora who, "by the influence of her beauty," re-establishes the temple of Chaste Love in the island of Britain.⁶¹ Divine Poesie had hidden the temple because certain Magicians (enemies to Chaste Love) had sought to use it for their own base ends, by which "many Noble Knights and Ladies had been tempted and misled."⁶² Certain noble Persian youths hear of it, are almost seduced by the magicians, but are warned by Divine Poesie to wait for the appearance of the Queen, "at whose sight they, being inspired with chaste flames, might be permitted by their faithful observance and legitimate affections to enter and enjoy the privileges of that sacred temple" (ll. 1-29). The Magicians scoff at the notion of Platonic love:

Indamora, the delight of destiny!
She and the beauties of her train, who sure,
Though they discover summer in their looks,
Still carry frozen winter in their blood.
They raise strange doctrines and new sects of love,
Which must not woo or court the person, but
The mind, and practice generation not
Of bodies, but of souls. (ll.186-93)

The magicians attempt to seduce the youths, but the appearance of the Queen and her masquers rescues them, and confirms them in seeking chaste love:

At first they were your beauties' prize,
 Now offer willing sacrifice
 Unto the virtues of the mind;
 And each shall wear when they depart
 A lawful though a loving heart,
 And wish you still both strict and kind. (11.450-55)

The Temple appears, and Amianteros invokes "Indamora's royall Lover" to witness its consecration, thus making

all our thoughts and actions pure;
 When perfect will and strengthened reason meet,
 Then love's created to endure. (11.484-85)

Thus the masque praises the chaste version of Platonic love favoured by the Queen. It has seemed rather strange, however, that Platonic love should have been causing so much comment and excitement at court, since neither the subject, nor masques treating it, were particularly new by 1635. I believe that the subject that was new was not Platonic love in itself, but the connection of Platonic love with the Queen's religion.

The Temple of Love had an oriental, partly Persian, setting.⁶³ Jones designed one side of his stage border to represent the Indian monarchy, the other to represent the monarchy of Asia or an "Indian borderer," (11.48-49), whose countries included Persia, whence the "noble Persian youth" (see Fig. 6 above) subsequently arrive. I suggested earlier (in Chapter Two) that the "Persian" setting of The Royal Slave was related to religion, and that its subject-matter had reference to the presence of the Papal Agents, Gregorio Panzani and George Conn. I think that the masque, presented the year before the play, had a similar reference to the Queen's religion, and that it was connected with the arrival at court

of Panzani, the first fully accredited representative of the Pope. This was the subject that might well, from the point of view of the Queen and the Catholic circle, be regarded as "news," and be causing some comment and excitement. Talks had been going on since 1633 concerning the desirability of an exchange of Agents between the Pope and the Queen. The time was opportune because of Henrietta's influence with the King, and the toleration with which the Catholics were being treated in England. Panzani, a priest "of experienced virtue, of singular address, and polite learning"⁶⁴ was dispatched from Rome in April, 1634, going first to Paris; he arrived in England in December of the same year, bringing letters for the Queen, and charged with negotiating the exchange of Agents. The Temple of Love was the first official court function after his arrival, and an appropriate occasion for the Queen to impress on him the part she was playing in advancing her religion. It may also have been an opportunity to make a semi-public presentation of Panzani's embassy to the King. Officially the King had no connection with the Papal Agents, and at the time of the masque had only been introduced privately to Panzani by the Queen.⁶⁵ The King tacitly approved of Panzani's mission, however, and naturally its success depended on his good-will. The masque opens with "Divine Poesie" (wearing a garment of "sky-colour set all with stars of gold" to denote her heavenly origin) leading an embassy of the reformed ancient poets to make known a "great affair" to the King (1.116). Going in procession up to the state they sing:

The monarch of men's hearts, rejoice!
 So much thou art beloved in heaven
 That Fate hath made thy reign her choice,
 In which Love's blessings shall be given. (11.120-24)

"Love's blessings" consist, it seems, in the rule of Truth and the appearance of the true Temple of love which "Indamora with her beauty's

light" (1.131) will restore. The relation of the Queen's beauty to the temple, and of both to Love, consists in the nature of the temple.

It was suggested above that, visually, the subject of The Temple of Love was an actual "Temple," the chapel Jones was building for the Capucins and which was to be opened later the same year. The presence of Panzani would have provided an appropriate opportunity for referring to an event which was regarded in England as a victory for Catholicism. There were also more personal reasons why Jones would have been pleased to bring his work to public attention before such an audience. He had been criticised by Catholic authorities for taking so long to build it, a delay which they thought might have been owing to "Puritan" sympathies in Jones.⁶⁶ The masque suggests that Puritans were indeed partly responsible, but Jones turned the charge from himself by including among the anti-masques various bad influences that at first delay the appearance of the temple: one is of "a sect of modern devils ... sworn enemy of poesy, music, and all ingenious arts, but a great friend to murmuring, libelling, and all seeds of discord" (1.273, 11.300-03). Those witnessing the magnificent scenes of the masque could hardly accuse Jones of being sympathetic to any such devils. The unfavourable influences are dispersed by the arrival of Orpheus, and the good graces of the Queen. With the appearance of the Temple at the end of the masque, the grand chorus go up to the state, where the Queen too is now seated, "to invoke the last and living hero, Indamora's royal lover, that he may help and witness the consecration of it" (11.39-41).

In designing the border of his scene as a "new invention agreeable to the subject" (11.43-44) Jones drew for one of the details on an engraving after Giulio Romano entitled "Battle of the Romans and Persians,"⁶⁷ names which may have suggested to Jones a "Roman" connection. In the masque the "Indian" side represents England, and the Persian side those who arrive

on the English shore. Indamora, "the glorious Indian Queen" (1.26), whose name suggests love of the East, helps to reconcile the two sides by the influence of her beauty and her doctrine of Platonic love. The main scenes of the masque are remarkable for the number of "priests" and musicians who take part: Brachmani, Magi (Magicians), and "priests of the Temple of Love." Following the interpretation of "India" as England, and "Persia" as Rome, the Brachmani (high-born Indian priests) would be priests of the Anglican Church; the "Magi" or Magicians (a religious sect of Persia) would be "false" Catholic priests (as there are "false" Ephesians in The Royal Slave, possibly a reference to the Jesuits, who were suspected of harming the mission). The "priests of the Temple of Love" (1.380) are the Queen's priests, or the Capucin friars for whom the "temple" was being built, and who, according to their own principles, practised a religion of love. These "priests that burn Love's sacrifice / Our Orpheus greet with ravished eyes" (11.397-98), and the calmness produced by Orpheus' arrival prepares the way for the appearance of the Queen and the accomplishment of her purpose: the introduction of "Love's true temple" (1.404) to England. The arrival of "Orpheus" on the Indian shore would have been appropriate as a reference to Panzani, who was a priest of the Oratory, an Order noted for their music, and a propitious omen for the success of his mission is played out on the stage in the welcoming strains which answer his harp from the "voices and instruments of the Brachmani joined with the priests of the Temple of Love" (11.379-80). The masque therefore presented Jones's "temple" in a context that welcomed the first of the Papal agents to England, that complimented the Queen, and that displayed to Rome the sophistication of English art and architecture, a sophistication which Jones claims at the end of the masque,⁶⁸ and which of course reflected credit on himself.

The near completion of a Catholic chapel was of interest (either as a good omen or a bad) to everyone at court, and there was good reason why the masque should present it in connection with the Queen's love cult. On one level the controversial nature of the chapel was cloaked by its being put on the stage under the protection of Chaste Love, an unexceptionable virtue and one which could be turned to compliment of the King and Queen. For Catholics, however, the linking of the temple with the Queen's love doctrines had a deeper significance. The Capucins were preparing to establish in the chapel on its completion the Arch-Confraternity of the Rosary (for which they had to apply for permission to the Pope); it was probably in this connection that 1635 saw the publication of the two most notable books defending Mary, The Female Glory which connected devotion to Mary with Platonic love, and Maria Triumphans which identified the Queen as Mary's champion and representative. The subject suggested by taking together the verbal and visual meanings of the masque, that the Queen's Platonic love was a proper ally (and perhaps even a protection) for her Catholicism, was therefore an accurate account of the real situation. The "true temple" of Love that the Queen was about to introduce was, quite literally, a place

Where noble virgins still shall meet
And breathe their orisons, more sweet
Than is the spring's ungathered flower. (11.406-08)

The two themes of religion and love come together in the visual and verbal images surrounding the Queen. She and her masquers appear, dressed in pale yellow, sky-blue and silver ("heavenly" colours, appropriate to the Virgin), in a maritime chariot which "floated with a sweet motion in the sea." The Queen "sat enthroned in the highest part of this chariot in a rich seat the back of which was a great scallop shell" (11.414-16). The

shell was a traditional setting in paintings for the Virgin, as well as, of course, for Venus. Her appearance is accompanied by a verse hailing her as

More welcome than the wand'ring seaman's star
When in the night the winds make causeless war (11.428-29),

another image associated with Mary and used constantly in the emblem books.⁶⁹

The verses go on to develop a version of Platonic love which is very close to that developed in books like The Female Glory in relation to the Virgin. Stafford, in urging his feminine readers to follow the example of Mary, had declared that she "was on earth a confirmer of the good, and a reformer of the reprobate. Al her visitants were but so many converts, whose bad affections, and erroneous opinions, the sweetness of her discourse had rectified" (sig. B4^V-B5, p.32). In praising the beauty of Mary he repeated St. Bonaventure's affirmation that had become traditional:

That her chaste eyes sent forth such divine beames
that (though her Loveliness moved not only all mindes
to honour her, and all Eyes to gaze on hers) yet they
never kindled an unholy fire in the most adulterate
bosom. (sig. Q7, p.237)⁷⁰

Similarly when the Queen appears she and her train have all

That wise enamoured poets beauty call!
So fit and ready to subdue
That had they not kind hearts which take a care
To free and counsel whom their eyes ensnare,
Poor lovers would have cause to rue. (11.422-26)

The lovers however are safe, for although they came

Seduced at first by false desire,
You'll kindle in their breasts a fire
Shall keep love warm, yet not inflame. (11.447-49)

Non-Catholics might have cause to fear that those who received the

"counsel" of such beauties might also become "so many converts." If such were the case, Indamore and the beauties of her train, who

raise strange doctrines and new sects of love,
Which must not woo or court the person, but
The mind,

could truly be said to "practice generation not / Of bodies, but of souls" (ll.190-93), thus mocking the mockers of the opening scenes. Seen in this light, the "new" element that was causing so much interest in the fashion of Platonic love, both in this masque and in the court, may well have been not so much Platonic love itself, but the association of Platonic love with the Queen's Catholicism.

Luminalia

Luminalia, or, The Festival of Light (1638), the Queen's next masque, may be seen as the climax of a series of Catholic "shows" staged by the Queen, of which her masques were the outstanding events. Like The Temple of Love, Luminalia has specific reference to the connection between Catholicism, the Queen, and the cult of Mary, and the reference is confirmed by a contemporary work. Luminalia is the last of the masques that present the Queen as a champion and representative of Mary, and it does so (in the traditional imagery of light) in a context that seems to celebrate the triumph of "true" over "false" religion.

The years from 1635 to 1638 marked a period of great optimism for the Catholic party at court. Important people in the Queen's circle--Walter Montague, Sir Kenelm Digby, Lady Newport--made public declarations of their conversions, and others who had been Catholic before began to practise their religion openly.⁷¹ The Capucins gave enthusiastic accounts of the people converted each week, and of the numbers attending their

services. The King took an interest in the arrangements of their chapel, and sometimes looked on, "by his silence approving of their devotion," at the crowds flocking to it.⁷² The Queen kept two chapels open, and George Conn another in his own house, which became a centre of Catholic revival.⁷³ Walter Montague made it his chapel after he became priest, and other well known priests visited it every week to hear Confession. Daily Masses held there increased to the number of eight, and Conn, writing in February 1638, said he had never had to postpone any service in response to threats, or for any other reason. The chapel became a fashionable place for court ceremonies, such as the wedding of Viscount Montagu in July 1637. In November of the same year the Queen held a full Pontifical Requiem, celebrated by Duperron who was now Bishop of Angoulême, for her late brother-in-law the Duke of Savoy. Many Catholics tended to take this new-won freedom for granted, drawing the attention of Puritans to the Court. Archbishop Laud (for one) saw the damage done to Anglicanism by Charles's apparent sympathy with his wife's religion, and in December 1637 Laud published a Proclamation warning that the laws against English Catholics were in future to be strictly enforced. Five days after its publication the Queen "staged" a reply which made the Proclamation virtually ineffective. She held a Midnight Mass in her Chapel, to which all the recent converts were especially invited; her own tribune was filled with ladies, including the Countess of Newport (on her first public appearance after the commotion caused by her conversion) who received Holy Communion with the Queen.⁷⁴ Conn had questioned the wisdom of this display, but Henrietta insisted, afterwards saying triumphantly to Conn that now he might see the effect of the Proclamation. 1637 was therefore a year in which court Catholicism attained an increasing confidence under the protection of the Queen, and Luminalia takes its place in this series

of events as a last triumphant statement.

Luminalia has generally been agreed by critics to have very little meaning apart from the beauty of its scenes. The stated subject seems to have nothing to do with the action, and the large number of entries and anti-masques give the text a chaotic appearance. To find the meaning, however, it is necessary, as Jones says in the description, to go to "the main masque of light" (1.15), and to regard the introductory scenes as "a foil to set off more nobler representations" (11.72-3). Thus the opening scenes, ruled by Night and her attendants, and the fantastic visions that spill out of "the City of Sleep" merely lead up to (and vanish before) the lightening of the scene that announces the imminent appearance of the Queen, the climax of a meaning that has really been developing from the beginning. It seems to me that, like The Temple of Love, Luminalia makes specific reference to its subject in the title. The masque was, quite literally, a "Festival of Light" as its sub-title states. Everything in its performance contributes to this theme, from the lighted lamps that ornamented the frontispiece (1.49), to the "bright sky" and glory with rays that frame the Queen's appearance as "the queen of brightness" (1.357) in the discovery scene. But a "Festival of Light" also had contemporary religious significance, especially in relation to the Feasts of Mary. Anthony Stafford had drawn particular attention in The Female Glory to the Feast of the Purification, or Candlemas, as a ceremony dedicated to Mary. He calls it "the Day of Lights," and explains that it is celebrated in the church by the singing of Mass and the burning of "very many Tapours" so that "that which was performed by superstitious Idolaters in honour of Ceres and Proserpina, may be turned into the praise and glory of the Virgin Mary" (sigs. L5-L5^v). The Feast of the Purification is celebrated on 2 February, and Luminalia was presented on 6 February

(Shrove Tuesday night), just four days after Catholics at court would have seen Candlemas celebrated, no doubt with a good deal of elaboration, in the Queen's chapel.⁷⁵ A visual connection between it and a masque on the theme of light would have been hard to ignore.

The connection takes on further meaning because of current controversy over ceremonies like Candlemas, which for Puritans was the very essence of "Popery." After the Reformation, Elizabeth's injunctions had condemned "all Candlesticks, Trendals, Rolls of Wax, and setting up of Tapers, for that they be things tending to Idolatry and Superstition."⁷⁶ Under Charles, however, such practices had begun to creep back into the church, and as early as 1628 William Prynne, in condemning John Cosin's Private Devotions for containing Marian material,⁷⁷ cites as evidence of Cosin's "Popery" his

causing 280 Lights and Tapers ... besides Torches, to bee lighted ... on Candlemas day last past, after the Popish custome, as if the God of Light had needed Light and Tapers to behold his blind and dark Devotions.

Such practices discover him to be, not only a "Papist," but "a Pagan rather: who were addicted to this Ceremonie, of lighting Tapers to their Idoll Gods." Stafford had renewed the controversy in 1635 by his description in The Female Glory, and especially by his explanation, that on this day

the Church used to pray, that as the visible Lights chased away the darknesse of the night: so the hearts of the Faithfull might be illuminated by the Invisible flames of the holy Spirit, & (being cured of their blindnesse brought upon them by vice) might with pure and cleare eyes discern those things which are pleasing to God, and having pass'd through the sad, darke, and dismall accidents of this world might at length arrive at Heaven, where they shall behold, and enjoy a Light everlasting. (sig. L5^v-L6)

This was one of the passages that Henry Burton had picked out for special comment in the sermons For God, and the King in November 1636, saying that new rites on Candlemas day "with their hundreds of capers, and candles," instead of bringing spiritual light bring "Spirituell darknesse upon mens soules, by shutting out the ancient morning Prayers" (p.161). At the beginning of 1638, when the masque was presented, this controversy was still very much alive. Burton had been brought to trial in June 1637 for his criticism of the court in these sermons, for which he was condemned and imprisoned. During 1637 Peter Heylin and Christopher Dow both wrote against Burton, and included a defence of Stafford's book. Stafford himself wrote a long vindication (unpublished at the time) dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the Bishop of London, who had granted the licence for The Female Glory.⁷⁸ Charles himself had to intervene to put an end to the matter. The controversy was therefore well known at court, and a masque by the Queen on the theme of light suggests a celebration of the victory of Mary over her Puritan detractors, as well as the victory of light over spiritual darkness.

To suggest such a connection is not arbitrary, because the scene in which the Queen and her masquers appear is filled with Marian imagery, some of it seeming to echo the language of Stafford's book. To introduce the masquers the heavens begin to be enlightened as before the sun rising, and the scene changes to a "delicious prospect," the beautiful garden of the Britanides (ll.244-98). Aurora and Hesperus appear in the Heavens, and reveal that "the sun hath for this time given up his charge of lightening the hemisphere to a terrestrial beauty, in whom intellectual and corporeal brightness are joined." Hesperus, the Morning Star, is bid descend from heaven and summon "the arch-flamens and flamens to celebrate with divine hymns this goddess of brightness" who is about to

appear. The imagery is appropriate in Platonic compliment to the Queen, but it is even more appropriate in books on Mary. The Morning-Star, with the Sun and Moon, was Mary's chief emblem, whose special attribute was to sing her praises.⁷⁹ It is also representative of Mary: Brereley's sonnet Stella Matvtina hails her by this name, saying

The sky's most glorious star cannot compare
In glitt'ring clearnes with the morning star.
(Sonnet 32, p.36)

Ribadeneyra expands the words of the Canticles: "who is that which ascends, and goes increasing with light like the dawning of the day," and says of Mary "the day did break, and the true morning star appeared to the world, and gave us notice of the coming of eternal day."⁸⁰ In this scene there are several apparent echoes of The Female Glory. The Morning Star, for instance, is accompanied by Aurora, who appears "in a chariot touched with gold," her arms bare, "her hair dishevelled" (11.247-51). The picture was a common one in literature,⁸¹ but Stafford had recently used it in comparing Aurora to the appearance of the Virgin on Candlemas Day; although he says he hesitates to show her thus, "in the stile of the stage," he describes her as "sitting in a golden Chariot, her yellow hair spread over her milky shoulders" (sig. L7^V). Again, the Queen's beauty is said to outshine the light of the sun and the image is another common literary device, but also traditional to Mary, being derived from the Canticles. The author of Maria Triumphans, for instance, interprets Mary to mean "Lady, and one, that giueth light" (sig. F), because she is "purer then the beames and brightnes of the sunne" (sig. F2). In the masque, the sun knows that were he to appear he would be eclipsed by a brighter star (1.285), the goddess of brightness, who is the Queen. Stafford had used the conceit in a similar way in connection with Mary:

the Sunne ... this day burnish't his face, the better
to illustrate the world and to appear gracious in
her sight, who carried in her breast a fire purer,
and clearer than his own Rayes. (sig. B7^v)

When the Queen finally appears it is in a setting appropriate to Mary. The further part of the garden opened and the Queen sat enthroned above the fair nymphs "dependents on her splendour," on a seat in the form of a half oval; she was dressed in star-like garments, and crowned with jewels and stars (11.350-68); behind all was "a bright sky, and in the midst, about the Queen's majesty's seat, was a glory with rayes" (11.355-6). Stafford, in The Female Glory, had given a similar picture of the Virgin "accompanied with a bevy of Shee-saints" describing how

the orbes bowed and bended themselves to make her a
triumphant Arch ... the Sunne with his brightest
beames imbrac't her ... the Moone was under her
feet ... and the brightest of the stars interwove
themselves to make her a radiant crown (sig. P3, p.123),

a picture which Burton had attacked as making Mary into a "new great goddess, Diana," and "Empresse of this lower world" (sig. Q3). The echoes of Marian imagery in the scene, and the all-pervasive theme of the triumph of Light, gives religious significance to the whole masque, for which Stafford's passage on the significance of Candlemas might serve as a text. Stafford had said that Candlemas is celebrated to show that spiritual light chases away the darkness of the night, and that the hearts of the faithfull, after passing through the dark and dismal accidents of the world, at length arrive at Heaven where they behold a light everlasting. Similarly the masque, which begins with a scene copied from a painting on the subject of the Virgin (The Flight into Egypt), progresses through scenes of Night, Sleep, and fantastic dreams, opens out into a vision of the world enlightened by a power superior to the sun, and ends with heavenly rejoicing, the "heaven full of deities" and figures dancing in

the clouds. The Marian imagery connected with the Queen shows that the masque celebrates, not only Candlemas, but the triumph of spiritual illumination over the forces of darkness and superstition, a triumph of "true" religion over false.

The interpretation of the masque offered above is re-inforced by independent contemporary evidence, Francis Lenton's Great Britains Beauties, or The Female Glory ... Encomiastick Anagrams and Acrostiches, Upon the highly honoured Names of the Queenes most gracious Majestie, and the Gallant Lady-Masquers in her Graces glorious Grand-Masque [i.e., Luminalia] (London, 1638). Lenton signs himself on the title-page "the Queenes Poet," and he would hardly have used The Female Glory in the title if the reference would have embarrassed the Queen. On the contrary, the title points to Luminalia having been designed to support Stafford's book and Virgin-worship, and of Lenton taking his place on the side of the Queen. Lenton's verses in praise of the Queen in the masque confirm this, for they echo the language and imagery of Marian devotion. He dedicates his book to "the Most Graciovs, most Beavteovs, and most Candide Queene of all Christendome, our Magnificent Queene MARY" (sig. A), whom his prostrate Muse adores as a "Mirrour of goodnes." The anagram upon the Queen's name, MARIA STVART, is I AM A TRV STAR, followed by the Distichon:

A Royall, Sacred, bright, tru fixed Star,
In whose compare, all other Comets are. (sig. B^v)

The second Anagram is again based on the name of Mary, this time belonging to the Duchess of Lennox:⁸² MARYE STVART, A TRVSTY ARME (emblem of love, courtesy, and loyalty). This time the language is more moderate, but the acrostich again makes play on the name of Mary:

MARYES blest Name you have, and Maryes Grace,
And Maryes Vertues decke both Soule, and Face. (sig. B2^v)

Other poems do not make use of the Marian language, but the tone remains one of respectful obeisance to women, angelic in brightness and beauty of character, at whose "high Altars" Lenton offers his poems. Each lady is praised in terms appropriate to her state, whether married or single, but the "golden Ball" for which they all strive is virtue, to which they are led by the Queen:

Of these great Ladies, you the Leader are,
Who (like the Wisemen) follow you, their Star. (sig. A2^v)

In the poem that follows the Distichon on the Queen, the "Illustration," the language of the Litanies is used in reference to the Queen, and gives verbal meaning to the imagery of light in the masque, making the Stuart court a replica of the heavenly one. The Queen is

A Morning Star, whose Rose at blush and smile,
Shewes the dayes solace, and the nights exile;
A radiant Star, whose lustre, more Divine,
By Charles (our Sun) doth gloriously shine:
No wandring Planet, that moves circular,
But a tru, constant, loyall, fixed Star:
A Star whose influence, and sacred light,
Doth beautifie the day, and blesse the night;
Which shining brightly in the highest Sphaere,
Adornes those smaller Stars, which now appeare
Before her presence; by whose gracious sight,
Their numerous feet now pace with rich delight:
O happy they approach unto that Throne,
Where vertues are the constellation.
And let it be proclaimed nigh, and far,
That our illustrious Queene, is a tru Star.

The verse could serve as a text to accompany the appearance of the Queen and her ladies in the masque (11.350-57), a scene on which the poetry in the masque is silent. The language of Marian devotion applied to the Queen by Lenton, and specifically related to this masque, could hardly be more explicit.

Once Luminalia is placed in the context of the Queen's religion, Jones's statement of his "Subject" at the beginning of the masque takes

on more meaning. One part of the meaning concerns, as was seen above, the return of the Muses to Great Britain, which is confirmed by the picture of the Queen in the garden of the Britanides. But the Muses are not the only subject of the opening lines. The reason that formerly they "wandered here and there indecently without their ornaments and instruments" was that "the arch-flamens and flamens, their prophetic priests," had been constrained "either to live in disguises or hide their heads in caves" (11.19-22). There is a good deal of evidence in the literature of the thirties that the terms "flamen" and "arch-flamen" were being used to refer to Catholic priests. The terms of course belonged to Roman antiquity, but in the seventeenth century they had become familiar in pastoral. L'Astrée, for instance, has an elaborate description of the way in which Roman rites became Christianised, flamines and vestal virgins becoming priests and priestesses in the Gaulish religion.⁸³ Similarly in England the terms had been used semi-historically to denote two grades of priests in the pagan religion, alleged to have been replaced, on the conversion of the country to Christianity, by Bishops and Arch-Bishops.⁸⁴ The terms flamen and arch-flamen thus came to have both a literary meaning in relation to their familiar presence on the stage in pastoral and masques, and a religious meaning. Carew used the term in both senses in his lines on Donne:

Here lie two Flamens, and both those, the best,
 Apollo's first, at last, the true God's Priest.
 (An Elegie upon the death of ... Dr
John Donne, final lines)

The terms became polemical, however, when the Puritans used them in their attack on Bishops, saying that the heathen Britons had their Archflamins and Flamins: the Archflamins of London, York, and Chester became Archbishops; the Flamins, Bishops.⁸⁵ The connection with ancient Rome

suggested a connection with modern Rome and Catholicism. William Prynne, writing in The Popish Royal Favourite which uncovered the Romish "plots" of the 1630's, says that the chief Catholics at court all had code names, the Pope himself being "the great Arch-Flamin" (sig. F^V, p.42).

In masques connected with the King, such as Albion's Triumph, the flamens retain their classical appearance,⁸⁶ but in pastorals under the influence of the Queen they may have taken on some of the attributes of Catholic priests. Thomas Randolph's Amyntas, for instance, a pastoral probably written about 1630 and performed at some unspecified date for the King and Queen, has a Chorus of priests, and an "Archiflamin" who is the High-Priest of Ceres.⁸⁷ The action is divided between the pastoral setting and the Temple of Ceres, to which Vestal Virgins come in procession, and "pass over the stage with wax candles in their hands" (p.337), as in a procession for Candlemas. In Florimène, the French Pastoral which the Queen presented to the King for his Birthday (21 December 1635),⁸⁸ the pastoral action is set in a more solemn frame by the scenes at the beginning and the end which take place around a "stately temple" (1.19) sacred to Diana. The pastoral opens with a procession in which "the priests of Diana, with the arch-flamen and sacrificers" enter, with music and singing; while the priests sing, "the high-priest passeth between them and goeth into the temple," and the shepherds and shepherdesses present their offerings (11.19-30). The procession of the priests, the singing and music in the pastoral, must have called to the mind of many at court the opening of the Capucin chapel in the previous week, and the masque-like scene that was allowed to stand in the chapel until Christmas as a background to services there for the Queen.

In Luminalia it is the flamens and arch-flamens who join with Hesperus in singing praises to the King and Queen, and who "celebrate

with divine hymns" the goddess of brightness (11.257-9). Jones is non-committal about their appearance, saying they were "habited in rich habits of several colours, as they are described by the ancients" (11.302-4). In the lengthy opening description, however, it is difficult not to see in them a reference to the Catholic priests who were dispersed from England, and who now return once more under the protection of the King and Queen. The arts, Jones writes, had suffered because the flamins and arch-flamins had been forced to live in disguise or hide in caves:

and in some places, whensoever they [the flamins] began to appear, they were, together with peace, driven out by war; and in the more civilised parts, where they hoped to have taken some rest, Envy and Avarice by clipping the wings of Fame drove them into a perpetual storm, till by the divine minds of these incomparable pair, the muses and they were received into protection and established in this monarchy ... making this happy island a pattern to all nations, as Greece was amongst the ancients. (11.20-38)

In this light, the deferential songs addressed by Hesperus and the flamens to the King, and their praises of the Queen, become more than perfunctory compliment; they are a grateful tribute to the King and Queen for their protection, part of the religious subject-matter and the Catholic slant of the masque. Luminalia, therefore, which in terms of poetry and literary ideas is the most incoherent and meaningless of the masques, is, in terms of its images and the connection between the Queen's Platonic love and her religion, the most significant. It was a daring assertion of the ascendancy of the Queen, and the climax of Catholic spectacle in the 1630's.

It can be seen then, in looking back over the 1630's, that the Queen's masques take their place in a series of events that mark a progress of Catholicism as well as a progress of Platonic love at court. The Queen's rapprochement with the King and the arrival of the Capucin Friars in 1630 was a turning point in Catholic

affairs, and hardly a year went past without the Queen presenting some event which marked her interest in Platonic love and religion, or in a combination of the two. The first years established the Queen as the leader of the "Platonic" group, with the presentation of Chloridia (1631), Tempe Restored (1632), The Shepherd's Paradise (1633), and a revival of Fletcher's The Faithful Shepherdess (1634); the latter was presented in the costumes which the Queen had used for The Shepherd's Paradise, and the central character--the virtuous nymph Clorin who cures love-sickness by her beauty and wit--fitted well with the kind of préciosité practised by the Queen. From 1635 the element of religion in these interests, which was first suggested in 1632, comes to dominate. In 1635 Panzani arrived, The Temple of Love was performed, and books were openly published in praise of the Virgin, whom writers connected with the Queen. For the season 1635/6 the Queen presented the French pastoral Florimène, and the court witnessed the spectacular opening of the chapel, events which together might be said to have taken the place of a masque for that season. During 1636 the Arch-Confraternity of the Rosary was formed, George Conn arrived, and The Royal Slave was presented to the court, initially in August, and repeated in January of the following year. In 1637 the Queen held a series of Catholic "shows," and controversy over The Female Glory came to a point. The presentation of Luminalia at the beginning of 1638 may therefore be seen to sum up the interwoven strands of the Queen's two main interests. It was the climax of the masques in which the Queen was presented as the ideal of Beauty, but also of the cult in which she was presented as the Type of Mary, the Virgin's defender and representative on earth. In visual language the masque stated implicitly the hope of the Queen's party for the return of Catholicism to England.

Notes: Chapter 4

1. Enid Welsford's invaluable study, The Court Masque: a study in the relationship between poetry and the Revels (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1927) was particularly critical of Tempe Restored (p.225) and Luminalia (p.235); her study nevertheless did much of the pioneering work on these masques. For similar criticism of Tempe Restored, see Paul Reyher, Les masques anglais (Paris, 1909), p.201. Orgel and Strong (Inigo Jones, chap. iv) give full weight to the importance of ideas of Platonic love in the Queen's masques, but generally see them as simply complementing the King's, with little independent meaning of their own.
2. Mary Anne Green, Letters of Henrietta Maria, p.32, quoted from Conn's despatches to Rome; S.R. Gardiner, History of England, VIII, p.237.
3. Gordon Albion, Charles I and the Court of Rome, p.148, quoting advice given to Panzani before he set out from Rome in 1634.
4. The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, ed. J. Berington, pp.200-01; Gordon Albion, Charles I, pp.293-94.
5. Baldassare Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, trans. Sir Thomas Hoby (1561); bracketed page references are to edition by J.M. Dent (London, 1974).
6. Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani; this, and the following quotations are from p.251.
7. See, for example, discussion by Louis Martz, The Poetry of Meditation: a study in English religious Literature in the Seventeenth Century, 2nd rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1962), Ch. i. Martz related these methods to the work of the Metaphysical poets.
8. Henri Bremond, A Literary History of Religious Thought in France, trans. K.L. Montgomery, I, p.253, et passim.
9. See Mario Praz, Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery, 2nd enlarged ed. (1964; rpt. Michigan: Scholarly Press, 1976); Rosemary Freeman,

- English Emblem Books (1948; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1966). For discussion of emblem in the context of Protestant/Catholic attitudes to picture, see Barbara K. Lewalski, Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1979): introductory section, and pp.180ff. for emblems.
10. The fashion was inaugurated by Otto van Veen, who transformed his Amorum Emblemata (1608) into Amoris Divini Emblemata (1615), by the simple expedient of making Cupid into a figure for the Infant Jesus (or Divine Love) seeking the human soul, personified in Anima, a female child: see Praz, Studies, esp. Ch.3, "Profane and Sacred Love," and Freeman, English Emblem Books, p.116 et seq.
 11. For discussion of Quarles, see Freeman, pp.118-23. The fashion was easily adapted to the pictorial element in the writing of St. François de Sales, who had drawn on the same images of the love poets and the Canticles for his Traité on Divine Love, and by 1630 it was well developed in French emblem books such as that by the Capucin, Père Messenger, Les Emblèmes d'Amour Divin et Humain ensemble, expliquez par des vers françois (1631); see Praz, Studies, p.147. Sales's Traité, it has been suggested, influenced Richard Crashaw: see A.F. Allison, "Crashaw and St. François de Sales," RES, 24 (1948), 295-302. Henry Hawkins was clearly following the same fashion in Partheneia Sacra when he writes that the prophane instruments he uses, such as emblems and poesies, have been "sanctified, converted, and consecrated to the honour of the glorious Queene, and al the blessed Saints of Heaven." (Preface, Aiiij.)
 12. Bremond, A Literary History, I, p.253.
 13. Peinture Spirituelle, ou l'Art d'admirer, aimer et louer Dieu en toutes ses oeuvres et tirer de toutes profit salutaire (Lyons, 1611). For discussion of Richeome, see Bremond, A Literary History, I, p.27, and Praz, Studies, p.163 et seq. (where Praz suggests influence of Richeome on Hawkins' style in Partheneia Sacra).
 14. Quoted by Bremond, I, p.27.
 15. Bremond, I, p.29; Praz, Studies, p.190.

16. See entries in Allison and Rogers, Catalogue of Catholic Books, s.v. Richeome, Louis.
17. The book was "composed in French for the exercise of that Court, by the R. Father, Pater Cotton." It was printed secretly in England (see Allison and Rogers, Catalogue, under "Coton, Pierre," no. 263), with a Preface by the Translator.
18. Jean H. Hagstrum, The Sister Arts (Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 1958) was one of the first to point out (pp.89-92) that the masque was a "supreme embodiment of the pictorial and iconic." D.J. Gordon, in works already cited, applied the idea to the interpretation of particular masques.
19. This and the following passage are quoted from E. Tesauro, Il Cannocchiale Aristotelico (Venice, 1655) by Mario Praz, The Flaming Heart: Essays on Crashaw ... and other Studies (New York: Doubleday, 1958), p.210.
20. Jennifer Montagu, "The Painted Enigma and French Seventeenth-Century Art," JWCI, 31 (1969), 307-35.
21. Quoted from Tesauro by Mario Praz, The Flaming Heart, p.207, n.6.
22. Emile Mâle, The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century (1st publ. 1913), trans. Dora Nussey, Icon Editions (New York: Harper and Row, 1972): Chap. 3 for cult of Virgin; pp.238-58 for explanations of visual tradition; idem., L'Art religieux après le concile de Trente (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1932).
23. Nicholas Stone, mentioned by Orgel and Strong, Inigo Jones, I, p.38.
24. Amongst others listed by Allison and Rogers in A Catalogue of Catholic Books are: Sabine Chambers, Thè garden of our B. Lady (St. Omer, 1619; A&R p.230); François de la Croix, The little garden of our B. Lady (St. Omer, 1626; A&R, p.433; republ. 1631); John Sweetnam, The paradise of delights. Or the B. Virgins garden of Loreto (St. Omer, 1620; A&R p.804), and S. Mary Magdalens pilgrimage to paradise (St. Omer, 1617; A&R p.805); John Falconer, The mirrour of created perfection (St. Omer, 1632; A&R p.302); and anonymous authors wrote

- on The deuotion of bondage. Or an easy practise of perfectly consecrating our selues to the seruice of the B. Virgin (St. Omer, 1634; A&R p.269), and The misticall crowne of the most glorious Virgin Marie (Douay, 1638; A&R p.557).
25. See Albert J. Loomie, S.J., "King James I's Catholic Consort," HLQ, 34, no. 4 (August 1971), 303-16, who says that in 1601 Anne professed the Catholic Faith; her Catholicism was secret and private rather than open or proselytising, and she did not become the centre of a Catholic enclave as did Henrietta.
 26. Stephen Orgel, in "To make Boards to Speak: Inigo Jones's Stage and the Jonsonian Masque," Renaissance Drama, n.s. 1 (1968), 121-52, draws attention to the masques of this period as being essentially "anti-spectacular," and more "dramatic" in concept.
 27. Glynn Wickham, Early English Stages, II, pp.37-39.
 28. EES, II, p.39. Practices that were acceptable to the authorities on the court stage were unacceptable on the public stage, where they were often used for satirical purposes. Margot Heinemann, in Puritanism and Theatre: Thomas Middleton and Opposition Drama under the Early Stuarts (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1980) quotes two instances in the 30's of attempts to stop such uses: one was for lending a church robe with the name of Jesus on it to present "Flamen, a priest of the heathens" in 1634; another in 1639 for setting up an altar and bowing down before it on the stage, "and though they allege it was an old play revived, and an altar to the heathen gods, yet it was apparent that this play was revived on purpose in contempt of the ceremonies of the Church" (quoted from C.S.P.D., 1639, pp.140-41, by Heinemann, p.231).
 29. Quoted from the description by Orazio Busino printed in Orgel and Strong, Inigo Jones, I, p.283.
 30. "An Expostulation with Inigo Jones," ll.54-55 (in Jonson's Works, ed. Herford and Simpson, Vol.8). Contrast Jonson's requirement for his figures, that "the garments and ensignes deliver the nature of the person, and the word the present office ... so to be presented, as

upon the view, they might, without cloud, or obscuritie, declare themselves to the sharpe and learned" ("Entertainment at Fenchurch," 11.243-4, in Works, ed.cit., Vol.7).

31. The long report by Orazio Busino, for example, describes in detail everything that was seen, but the precise significance remained vague: "Next Mercury appeared before the King and made a speech, and then came a musician with a guitar dressed in a long robe, who played and sang some trills, implying that he was some deity ... They sang some short pieces that we did not understand ..." (quoted from Orgel and Strong's translation, Inigo Jones, p.283).
32. See Frances A. Yates, "Elizabethan Chivalry: The Romance of the Accession Day Tilts," JWCI, 20 (1957), 4-25; idem., Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975): the central essay, "Astraea" was first publ. 1947 (see esp. pp.76-80 for imagery of the Virgin); Roy C. Strong, "The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I," JWCI, 21 (1958), 86-103; idem., Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), and The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), esp. pp.15-16, 46-70. The subject is related to the pastoral tradition by Louis Adrian Montrose in "'Eliza, Queene of Shepheardes,' and the Pastoral of Power," ELR, 10, no.2 (Spring 1980), 153-82.
33. Edmund Waller tried, somewhat incongruously, to link Henrietta with Elizabeth by addressing her as "Gloriana" in poems "Of the Queen" and "Puerperium" (1640); see Poems, I, p.77 and p.82.
34. An Admirable Method to love, serve and honor the B. Virgin Mary (1639).
35. Prince Charles, b. 29 May, 1630; the birth was particularly welcome as it followed the still-birth of a son in the previous year.
36. For interpretations of the painting, see E.H. Gombrich, "Botticelli's Mythologies: A study in the Neoplatonic symbolism of his circle," JWCI, 8 (1945), 7-60; and Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries of the Renaissance (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1958), Ch. vii.

37. The painting, which belonged to Medici circles from the early sixteenth century (Gombrich, pp.14-15) haunted the Renaissance imagination, and its presence has been suggested behind Milton's pastoral vision (see refs. in Roland M. Frye, Milton's Imagery and the Visual Arts (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1978), pp.230-31 and notes). The correspondences in Chloridia are in fact closer than in Milton, but Milton, who was much influenced by these masques (see John G. Demaray, Milton's Theatrical Epic: The Invention and Design of Paradise Lost (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1980), could well have had the masque as well as the painting in mind.
38. A similar allegorical movement was perhaps suggested by the title-page of L'Astrée, which shows putti pouring down winged hearts on Astrée, while the upward-pointing figure of Céladon returns winged flames (which cover Mercury's robe in the painting) to heaven, completing the cycle of earthly love returning to spiritual contemplation.
39. Gombrich, Botticelli's Mythologies, pp.40-41.
40. For symbolism of the garden, see Robert Hughes, Heaven and Hell in Western Art (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), Chap. 2; Terry Comito, "Renaissance Gardens and the Discovery of Paradise," JHI, 32, no.4 (Oct.-Dec., 1971), 483-506; idem., The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1978). The symbolism was of course familiar in literature: see, e.g., C.S. Lewis's discussion in The Allegory of Love, pp.119ff., in relation to the Roman de la Rose and The Faery Queen.
41. See Stanley Stewart, The Enclosed Garden: The Tradition and the Image in Seventeenth-Century Poetry (Madison: Univ. Wisconsin Press, 1966).
42. Terry Comito, The Idea of the Garden, p.13.
43. Earle B. Fowler discusses the tradition in Spenser and the Courts of Love (Menasha, Wis.: George Banta, 1921).
44. Paul Reyher, Les masques anglais, p.201; Enid Welsford, The Court Masque, p.225. The significance of this source will be discussed in Chapter 5.

45. By Stephanus Luzvic; quotations are from Henry Hawkins' translation, The Devout Hart (1634; rpt. Scholar Press, 1975).
46. Partheneia Sacra, p.68; see also N.N., Maria Triumphans, sig. F6. Marina Warner, in Alone of All Her Sex, shows an illustration (Pl. 3) of Eve being driven from Paradise, but at the same time Mary conceiving the Redeemer.
47. Stafford, The Female Glory, sig. R3; and Brereley, Virginalia, Sonnet 15.
48. Quoted by Stanley Stewart, The Enclosed Garden, p.51.
49. Instructions and Aduertisements, How to Meditate the Misteries of the Rosarie of the most holy Virgin Mary ..., newly trans. into English (Rouen ?1600).
50. Sabine Chambers, The Garden of our B. Lady. Or A devout manner, how to serve her in her Rosary (St. Omer, 1619), sig. 14^v.
51. Alexis da Salo, An Admirable Manner, p.417.
52. Alexis da Salo, An Admirable Manner, p.435.
53. "Abraham Van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I," ed. Oliver Millar for the Walpole Society, 37 (1958), to which bracketed page numbers below refer.
54. A preponderance of religious subjects in the collection is not surprising, since it has been calculated that, of the 2,229 dated Italian paintings for the period 1420-1540, 87% were religious, and of these 50% were concerned with the Virgin, 25% with Christ: see Peter Burke, Culture and Society in Renaissance Italy, 1420-1540 (London: Batsford, 1972).
55. James Beeverell, The Pleasures of London, trans. and annotated W.H. Quarrell (London: Witherby and Co., 1940), p.89; the book contains a "History of the Entry of Marie de Medici" to London, 1638.
56. In Le Bréviaire du Cardinal Grimani (Facsimile rpt., with commentary, Venezia, 1862), an explanation of the "Emblèmes symboliques de Marie"

is given, p.297. Referring to the scene reproduced above (Fig. 44), the castle was originally the Porta Coeli, "répondant au titre que l'Église donne à Marie dans les Litanies: Janua Coeli," and it leads by a symbolic path to the City of God (Explication, p.298). On the opposite side, the tower is the Turris David, "dont il est question dans le Cantique des Cantiques, symbole sous lequel Marie est souvent désignée, comme dans les Litanies, Marie étant la forteresse imprenable de l'Église contre ses ennemis" (p.298). See also Partheneia Sacra for Hawkins' explanations of each of his emblems. The masque scene contains buildings of somewhat similar form.

57. For F. Cyprien's account, see Birch, Court and Times, II, pp.301-06.
58. Birch, II, p.308.
59. On Feb. 10, 11, 12, and possibly again on 14 (see Orgel and Strong, II, p.599), in contrast to the one, or at most two performances of other masques.
60. Quoted from G.E. Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, III, pp.216-17.
61. Enid Welsford (The Court Masque, p.229) notes the name "Indamor, King of Narsinga" and other similarities in a tourney presented in Florence in 1616. The tourney also had "Sacerdoti Brammanni," but a more immediate source of the court's interest in "Brachmani" may have been Sir Kenelm Digby's account of his conversations with a "Brachman of India" with whom he travelled on his journey to Spain. This Indian priest had, according to Digby, a knowledge of the "most hidden mysteries of theology and of nature," as well as magical powers (Private Memoirs of Sir Kenelm Digby (London: Saunders and Otley, 1827), pp.119-39).
62. This part of the masque is similar to "Une Fête équestre à Ferrare: Il Tempio d'Amore (1565)" described by Irène Mamczarz (in Les Fêtes de la Renaissance, ed. Jean Jacquot, CNRS, III (1975), 349-72), in which magicians seek to visit the temple of love, are baulked by its disappearance, and in revenge raise false temples, until finally the true temple returns under the influence of the new Queen and her Platonic doctrines of love.

63. Stephen Orgel, "Inigo Jones' Persian Entertainment," AARP, 2 (1972), pp.59-69, draws attention to the masque's oriental setting and its generally religious tone. Jones's presentation of Platonic love, Orgel says, suggests purification and revelation, "allying Caroline reforms with the world of regenerative mysteries and epiphanies" (p.63); he does not, however, suggest any specific religious occasion.
64. Memoirs of Panzani, ed. J. Berington, p.132. It is very likely that Walter Montague and Panzani had met in Paris: cf. Garrard's letter of 1st March, 1635, reporting that "Our French Cavaliers are come home ... on the Eve of the Queen's Mask, [i.e. The Temple of Love] came the Lord Dunluce and Wat Mountague. Mr Mountague is well received by the King and Queen ..." (The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, ed. Knowler, I, p.373). Montague announced his conversion to Catholicism later in the year.
65. Gordon Albion, Charles I and the Court of Rome, pp.149-53. On his presentation to the Queen, Panzani had thanked her for her efforts on behalf of English Catholics, who, he said, the Pope always desired to show a loyal obedience to the King. This the Queen relayed to the King, who said he was pleased at Panzani's coming, and merely asked him to work quietly, without meddling in state affairs.
66. See R. Wittkower, "Puritanissimo fiero," Burlington Magazine, 90 (Feb. 1948), 50-51. Wittkower quotes a report from the Superior of the Queen's Capucins which says "This work [the Somerset House chapel] was finished not without great difficulties, the architect, who is one of those Puritans, or rather people without religion, worked unwillingly (il quale e di questi Puritani, o per dir meglio senza Religione)." As Wittkower comments, "Cynical views on religion were regarded by these Roman Catholics as being on the level of 'irreligious' Puritans." It is also probable that the Capucins wanted to reflect as much credit as possible on themselves by emphasising the difficulties overcome by completing the chapel in a hostile environment. The Superior of the Capucins does conclude that, when finished, the chapel was "more beautiful, larger and grander than one could ever have hoped for"--hardly the work of a "Puritan."
67. Orgel and Strong, II, No.292 (Commentary), and Fig. 96.

68. "Thus ended this masque, which for the newness of the invention, variety of scenes, apparitions, and richness of habits was generally approved to be one of the most magnificent that hath been done in England" (11.522-25), an opinion corroborated by the Venetian Ambassador (see "Contemporary Opinion" quoted by Orgel and Strong, II, p.599).
69. E.g. a picture of a storm-tossed vessel and a shining star, accompanied by appropriate verses, is the emblem for Mary as the star in Partheneia Sacra (p.122). Brereley's Virginalia opens with the sonnet beginning
 Maria, glorious sea-starre; thy cleare sight
 Guides vs vpon the world's tempestuous waues. (p.5)
70. Cf. Alexis de Salo, An Admirable Method to love, serve and honor the B. Virgin Mary (London, 1639), ^{who} quotes St. Bonaventure, saying "they affirme of her, that though on the one side she was exceedingly beautiful, yet on the other she neuer stirred vpp in her beholders other then chaste desires, her modest and maiestick presence repelling al vnchaste thoughts, and purifying their mindes with whom she was present" (p.562).
71. For growing Catholic influence, see S.R. Gardiner, History of England, VIII, pp.130-50 and 238-39; for details of conversions, see Albion, Charles I, pp.196-212, and F. Cyprien's account, Birch, Court and Times, pp.332ff.
72. Birch, Court and Times, p.343.
73. For the following details, see Albion, Charles I, pp.162-64.
74. Albion, Charles I, p.212 and p.226; S.R. Gardiner, History of England, VIII, pp.239-42.
75. Maria Triumphans, for instance, describes the ceremony in which the Church appointed a "solemn Procession. And every one of the faithfull should carry a little candell in their hand" (sig. I₅).
76. John Rushworth, Historical Collections, p.279.

77. William Prynne, A Briefe Survey and Censure of Mr Cozens his Couzening Devotions (London, 1628); the two following quotes are from p.95 (sig. N4).
78. G.F. Sensabaugh gives a summary of the controversy in The Tragic Muse of John Ford, pp.99-100.
79. See The Societie of the Rosary. Newly Augmented (1596-97) (listed in Allison and Rogers' Catalogue under Garnett, Henry (no. 355)) in which Mary is hailed as "Mulier amicta sole / Sub cuius pedibus luna / Quam laudāt astra matutina" (see under Assumptio and Coronatio).
80. The Lives of the Saints, 1669 ed., p.689.
81. Vincenzo Cartari, The Fovntaine of Ancient Fiction (London, 1599) describes Aurora (from Homer) as a 'young virgin, hauing her haire disheueled, and hanging loose about her shoulders, being of the colour of the purest gold, and that shee sits in a glorious chaire" (sig. Giv).
82. Mary Villiers, daughter of Buckingham, m. James Stuart, Duke of Lennox (who was regarded as a moderate in religion, v. DNB).
83. L'Astrée, ed. cit., II, pp.324-26.
84. OED, s.v. Flamen.
85. Albion, Charles I, p.406.
86. See Orgel and Strong, Inigo Jones, II, no. 199, p.467.
87. Amyntas (pr. 1638), p.295; for probable performance dates, v. G.E. Gentley, Jacobean and Caroline Stage, V, p.970.
88. See Orgel and Strong, Inigo Jones, pp.632-37 for the description in English, which is all that has survived.

CHAPTER 5

Masques of Union

Henrietta's masques were an expression of her allegiance and obligations towards Catholic interests. She had, however, an equal obligation of loyalty towards Charles and the court, where she perceived her duty to be one of creating concord and harmony between opposing sides. In the masques of the period the two interests of love and religion met, and the union in marriage of the King and Queen became, I believe, symbolic of a union between the King and Queen's religions. The possibility of a reunion between Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism was seriously entertained at the court in the 1630's. The initiative came mainly from Catholics or crypto-Catholics at court, acting under the protection of the Queen, but the possibility of reunion was also attractive to many Anglicans, including Charles himself. Reunion seemed for a period to have many advantages: on one level it would have been a step towards the long deferred hope of reuniting Christendom which many saw as the only lasting basis for a European peace; on the more immediate level it was attractive to the moderates in religion, on both the King's side and the Queen's, as a "politique" solution to the attacks of extremists--the Puritans and the Jesuits--which threatened the stability of the Crown; lastly it drew on the strong sympathy in Anglicanism with the established forms of religion, and with Charles's aesthetic and liturgical tastes. In many ways the period is similar to a period at the French court in the closing years of the Valois rule, when hopes were held out for an end to religious dissension through a marriage between

France and England, and when the arts were used at court in an attempt to influence the outcome of events. The similarities between the two periods suggest that the Caroline court was consciously drawing on the former French court in relating court entertainments to religious issues, and that in masques of the early and mid-thirties the King and Queen's union in marriage became symbolic of hopes for a reunion between Anglicanism and Catholicism.

An understanding of this symbolism restores to the masques the interest and urgency that they must have had when they were presented.

(i) Ecumenism and Marriage

The marriage of Charles and Henrietta had from the beginning carried with it overtones of religious union. It had been one of the far-reaching ambitions of James, in his role as "Rex Pacificus," to help end the dissension between Protestant and Catholic by marrying his children to representatives of either power. At the marriage of Charles and Henrietta, propaganda on both sides prophesied that one or other would be brought to embrace the "true" religion, bringing over the rest of the country. The counsel given to Henrietta by her Mother and her spiritual directors on this score has already been quoted, but Catholic hopes were balanced by equally optimistic hopes on the Anglican side that Henrietta would abandon her religion. In an Epithalamium written for the Royal marriage, George Marcelline listed the "poisons" that are unfortunately in the Catholic faith, but says that Henrietta, "like the industrious Bee" has chosen out the better parts; Marcelline concludes that

there is small doubt, great hope, nay almost assurance, that not only she, but many millions will be brought to embrace the Christian faith, to fauour and follow the true Religion, by meanes of this happy Vnion and blessed contract.¹

Henrietta of course showed no such docility. Differences concerning religion played a major part in the quarrels between the King and Queen in the early years of their marriage, partly because of the over-zealous efforts of the Queen's French priests to protect Catholic interests; from 1630, however, with concord established between the King and Queen and under the gentler influence of the Capucins, a new hope began to emerge at court of a reconciliation between Anglicans and Catholics.

To moderates on either side there seemed to be no insuperable barrier to a reunion. Anglicans recognised the Catholicity of the Christian Church, but maintained that Anglicanism represented the Church in its pure form, and that the Roman Church did not. Thus James in his first speech to Parliament was able to say "I acknowledge the Roman church to be our mother church although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions,"² and Charles to maintain, in his polite discussions with the Papal Agents in the 1630's, that he too was a good Catholic, and not a schismatic.³ Already in James's reign Richard Montagu (who was James's Chaplain and later became Charles's) had established the proposition that "The present English church is a sound member of the Catholic church," and he believed that the aim of Anglicanism should be to "stand in the gapp against puritanisme and popery, the Scilla and Charybdis of Ancient Piety."⁴ William Chillingworth, in the dedication of The Religion of Protestants: A Safe Way to Salvation (1638), addressed Charles as a "tender-hearted and compassionate son towards your distressed mother the catholic church," and goes on to stress the moderation of his own writings, which were directed against those of the Catholic church that make "the

Roman religion much more malignant and turbulent than otherwise it would be."⁵ Charles approved of this moderate tone. On his side he wanted nothing better than peace at home and abroad, and a conciliatory attitude towards moderate Catholics was one of the means by which he hoped to gain it. If he was to continue his experiment of rule without Parliament he had to maintain cordial relations with his Catholic neighbours, something which his cosmopolitan tastes made it easy for him to do. At home he showed no inclination to persecute Catholics, and he did everything possible to accommodate moderates.⁶ His real enemies were the extremists on either side, the Jesuits and the Puritans: both stirred up trouble by preaching controversy, and the provocative actions of the Jesuits drew the attention of Puritans, forcing Charles periodically to put into effect the penal laws against Recusants. To Charles, the preaching of peace and love by the Capucins in the Queen's chapels was a real support to Royal power, and a pleasant contrast to the turbulent preaching of the other two factions.

French Devout Humanism, of the kind practised by the Capucins and the Queen, was in fact recognised as a moderate form of Catholicism, a counter to the aggressive Catholicism of the Jesuits who were hated and feared for their connections with Spain. In James's reign crypto-Catholicism at court had been of the latter kind: Queen Anne was under Spanish Catholic influence,⁷ other members of the court received pensions from Spain, and even James had turned to Spain in his first choice of a bride for Charles. Under Henrietta the Spanish influence declined, and friendly contacts were all with Paris and Rome: Marie de Medici was a link between Henrietta and the Pope, who took a special interest in the progress of his god-daughter at the English court, while in Rome Cardinal Barberini went out of his way to entertain and impress English visitors with his

hospitality. It was publicly said of him at court that he had "done more to reclaim the northern nations by his civilities, than Cardinal Bellarmin had ever done by his writings."⁸ Even within the Catholic party Henrietta represented a moderating influence. She did not choose her friends among the older English Catholics, the Countesses of Buckingham and Arundel, or the King's Secretaries Weston and Cottington who were considered to be under Jesuit influence⁹ and whom she disliked; the Catholics of her immediate circle were more typically women companions who had come under her influence, or urbane courtiers (like Walter Montague) who had been at the French court, and were in contact with Rome. She stood in the middle of the Catholic party, and in the negotiations with the Catholic Agents her role was essentially to act as an intermediary between them and the King, keeping good relations on both sides. The more active roles were left to people like the Countess of Arundel, who sponsored Conn's activities, or Olivia Porter who worked publicly at making conversions. Henrietta had, moreover, good friends on the Protestant side (although there were people, notably Archbishop Laud, with whom she did not get on), so that her influence was directed more towards keeping the two sides of the court together than to causing a rift.¹⁰ She and the King in a sense formed a Royalist centre, with associations extending to moderates on the Catholic and Anglican sides.

During the thirties there was opportunity for a good deal of contact and theological debate between moderates of the Anglican and Catholic parties. One place of contact was at Great Tew, the home of Lucius Cary, who welcomed Oxford scholars and courtiers, Protestants and Catholics alike.¹¹ Walter Montague and Sir Kenelm Digby were regular visitors there, where they could hear William Chillingworth's "Disputations" on religion; Cary himself wrote an answer to the letter, a semi-public declaration, in

which Montague announced his conversion to Catholicism. Chillingworth, who wrote The Religion of Protestants while at Great Tew, was a noted controversialist, and was particularly valuable as an intermediary between the moderates on either side because he had himself been converted to Catholicism while at Oxford. He had gone to Doway in 1630, but returned to Oxford in 1631, having been led to doubt Catholicism by a series of letters written to him by William Laud.¹² In 1634 he declared again for Protestantism, and published a statement of his reasons for becoming Catholic, together with a confutation of them by himself. In his writings the influence of St. François de Sales, whose Traité was being translated at Doway during Chillingworth's stay there, has been noted,¹³ and the "courtesy" of his approach to religious questions appealed to Charles. The emphasis on reasoned debate at Great Tew meant that there was common ground on which moderate Anglicans and Catholics could meet and discuss their differences on a polite level, and opportunity for contact between those of the King's party and the Queen's.

Such discussions took on more than an academic interest with the arrival of the Papal Agents at court. The ultimate aim of the exchange of Agents between the Vatican and the English court was to sound out the possibilities for an accommodation between the two religions, with the eventual object of a reunion between Charles's Anglicanism and the Church of Rome. Negotiations for the exchange were being discussed in 1633, but the topic must have been under consideration from very early in the decade. When Cardinal Barberini, for instance, asked Father Philip to report on the feelings of the court towards reunion, he praised him as "a person of great penetration" who ever since coming to England had made it his business to "observe the religious dispositions of the nation."¹⁴ Father Philip was Henrietta's Confessor, who had accompanied her to England on

her marriage, and with whom she had refused to part when the rest of her religious retinue had been dismissed in 1627, and he had ample opportunity to observe the dispositions of the King and Queen. In regard to a religious settlement, he gave it as his opinion that "the King and several of his ministry were far from being averse to a union," although he warned that the laws against Catholics and a Puritan Parliament were severe deterrents to it.¹⁵ Throughout the negotiations with Rome Father Philip played a leading role, being trusted by Rome and respected by the King, whom he tried to persuade to conversion. --The official embassy from Rome had itself been preceded by a "private" mission by Dom Leander Jones, who sounded out the feelings of "prudent and distinguished men" at court on the subject of reunion.¹⁶ His advice to Rome was to deal softly with the English Church, which differed markedly from Reformed churches in other nations. He reported it as

a thing very easy to be believed that, just as England withdrew by degrees from the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church when the passions of Kings and princes had been disastrously fomented ... so in the same way she would return again by degrees ... if the King's feelings were smoothed by peaceable and reasonable men.¹⁷

The subject of reunion must have been in the air, then, from early in the thirties, and interest and optimism quickened with the arrival of Gregorio Panzani towards the end of 1634. Panzani was all too willing to be impressed by the favourable signs from the court, and sent enthusiastic accounts to Cardinal Barberini in Rome:¹⁸ he reported that sermons against schism were being preached at court, and that Charles would later comment on them, expressing his regret at the breach with Rome, and praising the good-will of Urban VIII; Anglican preachers often took occasion to praise the moderate Papists, and many Catholic practices, mentioned with respect, were being put into practice in the King's own

chapel. Panzani accepted all these things as signs favourable to reunion, and spoke principally to people who supported the idea. Bishop Goodman (Bishop of Gloucester) was one, and Richard Montagu, Charles's Chaplain, another. Walter Montague, converted to Catholicism in early 1635, was particularly serviceable in these negotiations, tirelessly carrying letters between the Queen and Rome, and being well received by Barberini and the Pope.¹⁹ Windebank was the most outspoken of the King's ministers, discussing with Panzani the Oath of Allegiance, assuring him of the good-will of all moderate men, and declaring that "if we had neither Jesuits nor Puritans in England, I am confident, an union might easily be effected."²⁰ Panzani complained to Rome of the Jesuits' aversion to peaceful settlement, saying that they were undermining his efforts, and "do very much oppose a union." Lord Arundel (a Catholic turned Anglican) talked with Panzani on the subject, offering to go himself to Rome as ambassador. Panzani reported that many people in common conversation wished for a reunion, a wish which Panzani ascribed to the influence of the Queen's religion, and of the King being governed by his wife.²¹

Charles for his part was interested in a notion of reunion in which the Anglican Church would enjoy a certain parity with the Roman. His position in debating the question was that he was a true son of the Catholic Church, and that Anglicanism might merge with the Church of Rome (with some concessions on both sides) as part of a united Christendom, but still retain its autonomy. In 1634 a book was published on the Catholic side that seemed to suggest a theological basis for such a union. Christopher Davenport, the Queen's chaplain, wrote a treatise to prove that the Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church did not differ essentially from Roman doctrine.²² The treatise was dedicated to Charles, and was published first on its own, then as an appendix to Deus, Natura,

Gratia ... Ubi ad frutinam fidei catholicae examinatur Confessio Anglicana

(Lyons, 1634). The book was favoured and protected by Charles and, if it was not licensed in England, it was at least tolerated by Laud. Rome did not approve of its meddling with doctrine, but the moderate party at court appealed to Rome through Panzani not to proceed against it, saying that Davenport was much esteemed by the King, by the Roman Catholics round the Queen, and Father Philip, and that the book contained nothing contrary to the Catholic faith.²³ Besides, it was privately thought to be Charles's sounding out of a basis for reunion, and it set the court openly discussing the topic. Richard Montagu conferred with Panzani, suggesting that an attempt at settling differences should be made by a meeting of moderates on both sides, preferably in France "because of the strict affinity between the two crowns," and their likenesses in doctrine and discipline.²⁴ Panzani eagerly reported all these signs as a "trend towards Rome," and in the euphoria of renewed contact, and of each side impressing the other with its good-will, optimism ran high in the early and middle years of the decade.

After Conn's arrival in 1636, relations with Charles were, if anything, more friendly than ever, but Rome's real attitude became clearer. The Vatican did not share Charles's idea of parity between the two religions, nor did it envisage any relaxation on the Catholic side of the fundamentals of religious belief. Conn pointed out clearly to Charles that propositions like Davenport's were unacceptable to Rome, and that Anglicans were mistaken in thinking they could effect a union through "liberal minded priests and semi-schismatics."²⁵ In reality neither side was in a position to offer any concessions. Charles could not repeal the severe statutory laws against Catholics, without summoning a Parliament that would never agree to the change. Rome refused to consider the English

conditions (essential if Charles were to win any support at home) such as accommodation on the Oath of Allegiance and the return of the Palatinate, unless Charles first agreed to be received into the Catholic Church. The debate during the thirties was in fact confined to hopes and aspirations rather than to realities. Nevertheless each side was interested in taking advantage of a unique period of good-will between the two countries and the two religions, and in exploring a possible solution to differences that had for so long been dividing the Christian world. The expression of hopes and aspirations was, however, one of the roles of masques, and I believe that in the 1630's exploration of a proposal for religious union became an important theme. The masque as a spectacular rather than a verbal form was Charles's ideal medium. He was far more at home with visual expression than with words, and the masque avoided direct statement: it spoke to foreign ambassadors and Papal agents in an international language that could suggest the King's sympathies, but which did not hold him to promises, and it expressed sentiments in a form that was difficult for opponents to attack. Whereas James had thrived on controversy and encouraged it in regard to religion, Charles remarked that "instead of encouraging controversies, we should rather work for union."²⁶ The masques were a way of airing the idea of union without becoming committed to action. According to a current view of the arts, they may even have been expected to influence the outcome of events by acting on the minds and hearts of the spectators. This expectation is the more likely in that two masques, Tempe Restored and Coelum Britannicum, refer back to a period in French history--the Valois court towards the close of the sixteenth century--when an attempt had been made to settle religious differences through using the arts and court entertainments in just such a way.

The Caroline court seems a reflection, compressed into ten years, of the Valois court of Catherine de Medici, and it would seem as if Charles and Henrietta, faced with a similar religious situation, set out to imitate Catherine both in their policies and in their entertainments.²⁷ Catherine endeavoured to hold together a throne and a country that were being torn apart by religious dissension: by the Catholic League led by the Guises and allied with Spain on the one hand, and by the Huguenots on the other. Catherine, and later her son Henri III, drew around them a party of moderates in religion who would provide a central bloc, loyal to the throne, through whom negotiations could be carried on between the extremists on either side. Catherine's ambition was to extend this "politique" policy to the rest of Europe, bringing an accommodation between the opposed parties at the Council of Trent, and helping to put an end to the disastrous Wars of Religion in Europe. One would think that her complete failure to achieve either of these ends might have been sufficient warning to the Stuart court; but Catherine's court, a failure from the point of view of political achievement, had been culturally very influential. In her attempts to bring the two warring sides together and to smoothe away differences, Catherine embarked on an elaborate programme of court entertainments and encouragement of the arts. Her programme for religious toleration amounted to a Royalist Counter Reformation, in which the arts were used in an attempt to soothe the natures of those around her and to influence the course of events, particularly by bringing about an agreement on religion. She encouraged Baïf's Academy²⁸ and the poets of the Pléiade to produce works for the court that reflected their interest in the Neoplatonism of the Florentine Academy, in the "effects" of ancient music and movement, and in all the arts acting in concert to produce a moral and spiritual awakening in those who witnessed them.

It was to the culture and civilised manners of Catherine's court that the précieuses of the early seventeenth century in France had looked back, and which had helped to form Henrietta's ideas of Platonism. It may also have influenced her in directing social entertainments towards pious ends. Catherine, like Henrietta, surrounded herself with a company of ladies whom she wished to be "dressed and adorned like goddesses, but welcoming like mortals,"²⁹ hoping that their grace and beauty, their elegant conversation and manners, would keep both Protestants and Catholics in allegiance to the King, and put them in love with peace rather than with war. Catherine insisted on a high moral tone in her group, and stated that her aim in this, as in all the arts and entertainments of the court, was "moderer par quelques doux & gracieux moyens l'aigreur qui est aujourdhuy parmy les Peuples, pour les differends de la Religion."³⁰ Although the group of ladies became the object of later satire, Catherine's court at the time was praised as an earthly Paradise, a school of all honesty and virtue. Frances Yates, in her study of the period, comments that what the Academies and the court sought to contribute to the debate on religious reunion was not so much a policy as an atmosphere, "the atmosphere of humanist learning and the gentler arts of life based on a 'pia filosofia.'"³¹ In such an atmosphere, the aims of concord and religious reunion did not seem so impossible to achieve as they did in the world of rational debate or jealous interests.

To create such an atmosphere for just such a purpose was, I believe, one of the aims of Henrietta's group, and the masques are part of its result. The French works on which the two English masques were based--Tempe Restored on Le Balet comique de la reine (1581), and Coelum Britannicum on Giordano Bruno's Lo Spaccio della bestia trionfante (1584-5)--were central to the period of Catherine's policy of appeasement,

and both are relevant to the topics of marriage and religious union at the English court in the thirties. Both the French works belong to a period of close relations between the French and the English courts, to a time when Catherine was doing her utmost to arrange a marriage between one of her sons and Queen Elizabeth, a marriage which held hopes of the larger settlement between religions. By 1580 the Duc d'Anjou was formally engaged to Elizabeth, and the Balet comique and other fêtes associated with the Joyeuse wedding were held on the eve of his departure for England.³² A marriage ceremony, in which Sir Philip Sidney acted as one of the principals, was celebrated at Whitehall in the presence of the French ambassadors, and the programme for the marriage tells in a song how Love and Destiny have brought England and France together.³³ This programme was preserved side by side with the programme for the Joyeuse marriage fêtes in the Bibliothèque Nationale, perhaps indicating a connection between them. When Anjou died a short time later, Catherine put up another candidate, her third surviving son, the Duc d'Alençon, an unsuitable choice which Sidney advised Elizabeth against. For France, the failure of the marriage plan and of the intended alliance with England meant that Catholic power was likely to return to Spain, and to its allies the Guises, and that the hope of ending the religious wars had faded once again. It was in this connection that Giordano Bruno was sent by Henri III on his mission to England, during which Lo Spaccio was composed, and a dedication written to Sir Philip Sidney. Bruno's purpose may have been to renew the French offer of friendship to Elizabeth (whom he praises in unstinting terms),³⁴ to rebuke intransigent Protestants, but above all to explore the basis for a common attitude to religion.

In her study of Bruno's work,³⁵ Frances Yates has suggested that his humanist and mystical paganism in Lo Spaccio was directed to finding one

truth at the bottom of all "good" religious belief, and to the hope of reuniting the Christian world. The "triumphant beast" is the sum of all the vices which are opposite to the virtues, and it will be driven out by a universal religious and moral reform. Bruno's reform is developed within a Catholic framework which is critical of Protestantism, but which is not simple satire. Instead, it offers to replace the "false" values of contemporary Christianity by the older values of religion, a magical hermetism which had much in common with Ficinian Neoplatonism. Bruno's ideas thus blended with other kinds of religious syncretism that were a mark of the period, and which were stimulated by a desire to find a common basis of religious belief. Writers like Ronsard looked back to a synthesis of classical antiquity and Medieval Christianity, and Churchmen who sought a solution to religious differences looked back to the first five or six centuries of the Church.³⁶ D'Urfé seems to echo these ideas in L'Astrée, which is set in fifth-century France. In his treatment of religion, which he calls Druidism, he shows how the original Gallic religion, the classical gods of Rome, and Christianity, are all subsumed in the Catholic Trinity, and how the classical gods may be worshipped as "les vertus, puissances et effects d'un seul Dieu."³⁷ These humanist and syncretist ideas linked up with an old and strong tradition of national independence in the French Church, which had not quite made the breach with Rome that England had done, but which had much in common with Anglicanism. There was therefore reason to believe that the return to "ancient founts" in both Gallicanism and Anglicanism might well provide the basis on which a reunion of Christendom could be effected.³⁸ The religious settlement of France under Henri IV did in fact take hints from Anglicanism, and aroused hopes that James too might be converted by the skilful polemics of Cardinal Du Perron who arranged Henri's reception into the Catholic

Church. Henri's conversion was attributed in court propaganda to the effects of "Divine Love," and his reign did in fact provide the necessary climate of peace in which flourished the idyllic pastoral world of L'Astrée, and the mystical piety of St. François de Sales. Marie de Medici inherited this world, and during her Regency she made the moderating influence of love and religion part of the propaganda of her court festivities.³⁹ As another Medici, she saw herself as carrying on the culture of Catherine's court, and when she was deprived of the power to practise it in the French court; she perhaps passed the ambition on to her daughter in England. An entertainment given by Buckingham to the King and Queen in 1626 certainly suggests that her influence followed Henrietta to the English court, and that it was directed towards the same kind of peaceful religious settlement through the effects of love that had preoccupied Catherine de Medici. Salvetti reported that the principal spectacle of the entertainment was "a mystic conceit," which showed

a marine view representing the sea which divides England from France, and above it the Queen Mother of France, sitting on a regal throne amongst the Gods, beckoning with her hand to the King and Queen of Spain, the Prince and Princess Palatine, and the Prince and Princess of Piedmont, to come and unite themselves with her there amongst the Gods, to put an end to all the discords of Christianity.⁴⁰

Perhaps it was hoped that the seeds of concord which Catherine, and Marie herself, had failed to raise in France would flourish in the more fertile ground of the English court.

The similarities already noted between Henrietta's social practices and those of the Valois court are still further emphasised by the fact that Catherine's Neoplatonic artistic movement in the 1580's developed, under Capucin influence, into a conspicuous form of pietism adopted by Henri III.⁴¹ This was a penitential form of Capucinism in which Henri,

accompanied by his exquisite mignons, joined in public religious processions and shows (Fig. 51). The processions were accompanied by singing, lights, and music, and were arranged and performed by some of the same people (several of them Capucins) who contributed to the Balet comique and other court festivities.⁴² On the religious level they were part of the same attempt to draw down favourable influences that inspired the artists of Baïf's Academy to use the court balets as part of Catherine's socio-religious policy. A parallel can be seen in the development of Henrietta's Neoplatonism at the English court, where the "Platonic love" connected with her préciosité develops the religious overtones of devotion to Mary, where the Queen takes part with the Capucins and Catholic members of the court in public religious processions, and the religious ceremony in her chapel adopts the spectacular devices of the court stage. In the case of the English court, however, the Capucins had a more attractive figure in the Queen than they had had in the rather pathetic Henri, part of whose religious fervour was directed towards his unsuccessful efforts to produce an heir for the Valois line. This time they had a young and obviously fruitful Queen, whose beauty and virtue echoed the attractive graces of the Virgin; now the theme of their spectacles was not penitence and sorrow, but joy and love. At the Caroline court the marriage between France and England that had been so long deferred had at last become reality, and by 1630 love between the King and Queen had created the atmosphere of peace, moral fervour, and love of the arts, in which a reunion of their respective religions might at last take place.

This, I believe, was the message contained in an allegory, painted by Rubens while at the English court (Fig. 52), showing Charles as St. George rescuing Henrietta from a slain dragon in the Thames Valley.⁴³



24 K.P. 1 (King's Procession I)



25 K.P. 2



24 K.P. 3

Religious Processions (Paris 1583-84)

Fig. 51

Plates 24-34 Drawings of Religious Processions in Paris, 1583-4, illustrating Henr. III's



25 K.P. 4

Religious Movements. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Pd. 29 Réserve

(Yates,
Astraea)



Fig.52 Rubens, Allegorical painting showing King Charles as St. George (1629-30)

The main purpose of Rubens' visit to England (from 1629 to 1630) was to arrange peace with Spain, the attainment of which would be another step in the long-drawn out settlement of the European religious wars. Rubens felt a deep personal concern in the subject, and another allegory painted for Charles shows in classical imagery the horrors of war and the blessings of peace.⁴⁴ In the painting of Charles and Henrietta, however, the imagery is much more personal and the significance more specific to England. Charles is wearing the armour and insignia of the Order of the Garter, which was, by the time of his reign, the symbol of Anglicanism.⁴⁵ The Order had been built up to represent all the most serious claims of Anglicanism to represent a "purified" form of Christianity, and Windsor Castle, shown in the background of the painting, was the religious centre of Anglican ceremony. In the depiction of Charles is suggested the chivalrous Knight of Christ, as he was long regarded in Stuart propaganda (see Fig. 53). In the dragon, therefore, surrounded by the bones of the dead, is suggested not only the evils of war, but the evils of the Religious Wars, and the surrounding figures, who look towards Charles and Henrietta for succour, are its potential victims. Rubens was of course a Catholic, and he would not have suggested that Anglicanism alone could solve the religious problem. What he does seem to suggest, through the symbolism of the painting, is that Charles's form of Anglicanism, and Henrietta's form of Catholicism, together may do so. Henrietta is accompanied by the Lamb (traditional to the rescued maidens and St. Agnes' symbol of chastity) and she rises, young and beautiful, above the dark ruins of death and destruction (Fig. 54). Everything in the painting--the play of light and the placement of the central and surrounding groups of figures--makes her the centre of attention. Surely she represents for Rubens a vision of what was best in Catholicism, Counter-Reformation



Fig.53 Engraving of Charles as Christian Knight, rescuing the Church (I. Sturt)



Fig.54 Rubens' allegory (detail) showing Henrietta as central figure

religion in all its artistic beauty, freed of fear, superstition and death. Charles had already embraced such beauty in its human and artistic form. Might he not also embrace the beauty of a reformed religion such as that represented by Henrietta's? To Rubens, who had spent over a decade as a diplomat and painter working for peace, a reconciliation of religions was the only way in which lasting peace could be brought to Europe, and in this painting he seems to show that here, in the peaceful landscape of England, such a reconciliation is possible. Angelic forms hovering overhead are about to crown the King and Queen, and present them with the palm of heavenly approval.

An interpretation of this allegory in terms of the King and Queen's religions is reinforced by the way in which the St. George legend had been put to use in religious propaganda after the Reformation, and had incorporated into the legend the figure of the Virgin. Rubens' painting may be compared with an engraving (Fig. 55) of Queen Elizabeth as St. George rescuing "Truth" or "Religion" (the latter commonly represented with a book) from her cave. The symbolism is military and religious: Elizabeth is dressed as a virginal warrior and the scene in the background refers to the Armada and the defeat of Spain. Rubens' painting follows a similar pattern, but it is the very opposite in mood. Where Elizabeth is mounted and imperious, Charles is the chivalrous Knight of romance, courteously stepping forward to the maiden he has rescued. In place of the military encampment and the fleet in the background is the fertile and peaceful valley of the Thames, which is suffused with heavenly light. Henrietta, shining and bare-bosomed like Truth in her cave, takes the part of the rescued maiden. That she is also an aspect of "Religion" is suggested by the way in which the iconology of the Virgin had become connected with the legend of St. George. The symbolic figure of the Virgin

British Museum. Engraving [1625] by Thomas Cecill, was inspired by the cult of the Virgin Queen, and shows Elizabeth I as St. George liberating Truth from her cave by defeating the hydra of Rome.



Fig.55 The militant setting for Elizabeth as St. George contrasts with Rubens' peaceful romantic setting for Charles

as the antitype of Eve, crushing the serpent's head (the "dragon"), beneath her foot, had been adopted by both the Protestant and the Catholic side after the Reformation.⁴⁶ To Catholics it meant the crushing of heresy and schism, to Protestants it meant the destruction of "Popery" and anti-Christ. Elizabeth, as the new Virgin of Protestantism, adapted it to the cult of St. George, taking to herself the attributes both of the Saint and the Virgin. The dragon beneath her horse's feet in the engraving is undoubtedly Anti-Christ, or the Pope. In Rubens' painting Charles has replaced the fierce Protestant Virgin, and he is no longer armed. The dragon now is no longer the Pope but, according to the official chronicler of the Order of the Garter in 1631, Peter Heylin, "that old malicious Serpent" the Devil; he goes on to explain that the badge worn by the Knight of St. George shows

how bravely he repelled the Devil, how constantly he persevered in the profession of his faith; the whole Church praying with him, and kneeling (like the Virgin) by him, in that holy action, that God would give him strength to subdue that enemy, the Dragon.⁴⁷

Henrietta moreover seems to take back those characteristics of the Virgin that Elizabeth had assumed. The Virgin was represented accompanying St. George in tapestries over the altar at services of the Garter at Windsor,⁴⁸ and here in Rubens' painting it is appropriate that Henrietta should become both the rescued maiden Religion, and a Counter-Reformation aspect of Religion, the Virgin. Her stance suggests the maidens of chivalry (Fig. 56) who had contributed their own legend to that of Mary, and who had taken on her attributes of beauty and chastity. In Rubens' painting, her expression and figure are almost motherly, in harmony with the female figures in the fore-ground, and the group behind her who, in happier circumstances, might become the Graces. Thus instead of Elizabeth, the



Fig.56 La Dame à la Licorne, 16th century tapestry in which imagery of the Virgin fuses with Mediaeval romance to create an image of the ideal Lady (Musée de Cluny, Paris)

Protestant champion who had taken over Mary's attributes, we have Henrietta, the new and gentle Virgin of the Counter-Reformation. Rubens' allegory suggests that in her union with Charles, the courtly representative of Protestantism, lies a new hope for religious peace. I believe that this theme, setting the mood for ecumenical hopes in the 1630's, was carried on in the masques, where again it was represented in terms of the marriage union of the King and Queen.

(ii) Religious Union in the Masques

The theme of the King and Queen's happy marriage, translated into Neoplatonic terms of the union of good and fair, was, of course, basic to the masques. Marriage union was, however, a theme which easily took on religious associations, and it had been used in masques from the beginning of the century, as D.J. Gordon has shown, in a way that made its symbolism capable of almost infinite expansion.⁴⁹ In the Haddington Masque (1608) Ben Jonson had called his machine "the heauen of marriage" (l.280), the most perfect of forms, the nearest to "the spheare of heauen." Hymenaei, Lovers made Men, Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly are all examples of love given its proper function as a personal, social and religious bond between men and women. In Hymenaei (1606), one of the earliest masques of Jonson's and Jones's collaboration, Jonson's symbolism opens out from the theme of marriage, to the theme of the union of the King with his people, to the union of England and Scotland, and eventually to the union, through the harmony of love, of the world with God. Contemporaries were quite accustomed to the symbolism of marriage being used in such ways. Elizabeth and James regularly used it to refer to the bond with their

people,⁵⁰ and theologians often went much further in making it a metaphor of religious union with God. Most of these metaphors went back to the allegorical interpretation of the Song of Solomon, an invaluable text for making the transition from human to Divine love. St. François de Sales used its imagery extensively in his Traité (discussed in Chapter 1 above), and theologians at James's court used it as a text in marriage sermons. A book called The Crowne Coniugall (1620) is an example of the way in which marriage was given religious significance, and it might almost stand as a text for the way in which Charles's and Henrietta's marriage was represented in masques of the thirties.⁵¹ The author takes from Solomon the text "A vertuous woman is the Crowne of her Husband" (sig. B), and says that "a Wife, that is endued with heauenly graces from God, is a surpassing favour, an singular blessing to the Man that hath her" for "her vertues doe crowne her before God; she doth crowne him before men ... and so, they both (in this estate) are truly blessed" (sig. B4^v). The author defends marriage as preferable to virginity and single life, saying that next to that love which is "totally spirituall, and heavenly ... is this, which is matrimoniall," and nothing can sufficiently signify its importance to us "but the supernaturall love of Christ to his spirituall spouse" (sig. E2). He says that although members of the Church are often called Virgins to show how unspotted, pure and gracious they should be, yet "it is their married state, their Vnion to Christ Iesus, that makes them glorious" (sig. Q2^v). He ends by stating the ideal, that the "Crowne matrimoniall" may be the harbinger of a crown in heaven, and that "the vnion of each to other during naturall life, may be the earnest penny, of the eternal vnion of both to the Lord of life, for ever and ever" (sig. T). Such texts are not far beneath the surface of the eulogies of the King and Queen, when, at the close of the masques, they are addressed as this

Blessed pair, whose prayers like incense rise,
Opening and pulling down the skies,
(Albion's Triumph, 11.368-9)

or "This royal pair" whose "fair fame, like incense hurled / On altars hath perfumed the world" (Coelum Britannicum, 1.1090, 11.1104-5), and whose praises, when they go to their last rest, will be sung in heaven above (Salmacida Spolia, 1.485). The religious language makes the union significant of a Christian union which links the soul with God, or Christ with "his spirituall Spouse," the Church.

The masque images for the King and Queen, however, as well as symbolising a "religious" union in a general sense, tended (as shown in Chapter 3 above) to link them with their respective religions in a more specific sense, so that the imagery of their union suggested ways in which the Queen's religion might find accommodation with the King's. The way the Royal marriage was presented in the masques was in fact a good analogy for the way in which Charles envisaged a reunion of religions. Union, as Ben Jonson explained it in Love's Triumph, must be the result of mutual attraction and mutual fulfilment:

Love is the right affection of the mind,
The noble appetite of what is best,
Desire of union with the thing designed,
But in fruition of it cannot rest.

The father Plenty is, the mother Want;
Plenty the beauty, which it wanteth, draws;
Want yields itself, affording what is scant.
So both affections are the union's cause. (11.54-61)

Each party is the true complement of the other, and the union comes about by a mutual accommodation, such as that represented between Heaven and Earth in Chloridia:

Their glories they shall mutual make,
Earth look on heaven for heaven's sake;
Their honours shall be even. (Chloridia, 11.43-6)

Charles regarded his own form of religion as Christianity, a true Catholicism over which he, not Rome, was sovereign in his own country. Similarly in the masques he is the supreme power, but the Queen rules within the circle of his splendour:

Pure object of heroic love alone!
 The centre of proportion--sweetness--grace!
(Love's Triumph, 11.122-3)

She by her virtues fills the circle with rays of love, so that

All things in order move;
 The circle of the will
 Is the true sphere of Love. (Love's Triumph, 11.130-34)

In these two early masques the imagery is developed by Jonson within a Neoplatonic framework, but it provided a basis on which subsequent masques could build more deliberately in reference to religious accommodation. In Albion's Triumph both the King and Queen are godlike, and "the King's devoting himself to this goddess is but the seeking of that happy union which was preordained by the greatest of the gods" (11.11-12). Alba embraces the King, making him the "co-partner of her deity" (1.21). This was exactly the kind of relationship with Rome that Charles had in mind, and the only one which, from his point of view, made any plan for reunion a possibility. Together the King and Queen formed a talisman, the Mary-Charles (1.441) which symbolised the ideal of religious union: an eirenic melting of the Churches one into another, a "marriage" in which Charles retained autonomy, but in which the Beauty and Love of the Queen's Catholicism was united to the Truth and Justice of Anglicanism. In the early and middle years of the decade, the masques all emphasise equality of each side in the union; as the decade proceeded they still emphasise union, but seem to gravitate more towards presenting the points of view of the two sides in the religious debate: the King's assert "British"

values, while the Queen's stress the affective powers of Beauty and Love. Coelum Britannicum emphasises a "British" Heaven, The Temple of Love emphasises the Catholic and "love" interests of the Queen. Britannia Triumphans is almost exclusively about the King's interests, Luminalia almost exclusively about the Queen's. In Salmacida Spolia, a joint masque, the two interests come together again in a plea, expressed in a tone more of sorrow than of anger, for solidarity and understanding. The masques seem, in fact, to represent different stages in the negotiations for a reunion of religions, and differing degrees of optimism as to its outcome.

Tempe Restored (1632) and Coelum Britannicum (1634) both belong to a period when the topic of reunion must have been under discussion at court, and when the optimism on both sides ran high. Both are based on works which, as Frances Yates has shown, had been important for the debate on religious reunion in France. The texts seem to have been deliberately chosen for the English masques, since both Townshend (or Jones, who wrote the descriptions) and Carew worked closely from the originals, translating some passages almost verbatim.⁵² Both the originals were more reasoned and substantial works than the sources for masques usually were, and the only written sources other than those from Italian entertainments that were used in the masques. If the choice of the texts was deliberate, then, their relevance to the religious situation is likely to have been deliberate too, as it was in the French entertainments.⁵³ The Balet comique de la Reine states in the Preface that it had a close relation to the times, hiding a fable beneath the story.⁵⁴ In her study of the work, Miss Yates has shown that it came at a crucial time in the religious policy of the court, and that it refers both to the efforts Catherine de Medici had been making to conciliate the parties through court entertainments and "all kinds of honest pleasures," and to Henri's new efforts to exorcise

evil by religious influence.⁵⁵ The Balet was produced at a time when Henri was committing himself to the politique party and placing himself under the influence of the Capucins; his religious processions were directed towards reforming men's passions and resolving the conflicts of religion, while the Balet was directed towards the same purpose at court.⁵⁶ The purpose of the arts in both the sacred and prophane settings was to draw down favourable influences on the court and King, and to harmonise the minds and souls of the spectators through the connection which, in Ficinian Neoplatonic theory, the arts had with Heaven.

Some of this at least was in the back of Jones's and Townshend's minds when they composed Tempe Restored. They worked allusively from the text, but closely enough to suggest the original to people to whom it was familiar, to Ben Jonson for instance who possessed a copy,⁵⁷ and to the people (certainly the King and Queen) who had access to the copy used by Jones. In order to fit the masque form, Jones simply left out the long philosophical speeches of the original, the building up of the plot, and the dramatic climax. He was interested in the large visual contrasts between Circe and Divine Beauty; between the King representing Reason at the beginning, and the Queen representing Divinity at the end. In this simplification he somewhat misrepresents the original. The masque opens with the Fugitive Favourite, who has escaped from Circe because of his desire "to be man again, / Governed by reason, and not ruled by sense," flying to the King for protection (11.70-80), and Townshend has him declare "It is consent that makes a perfect slave ... He finds no help that uses not his own" (1.91, 1.96). The original, however, makes it clear that reason alone is insufficient to vanquish the passions without the aid of Heaven: Mercury has to counteract Circe's enchantments by sprinkling Moly juice; Minerva (played by the French Queen) has to invoke

Jupiter's aid, and Circe has to be vanquished with the Gods' assistance, in battle, before she is overcome.⁵⁸ "ce que nous admonneste (as the Allegory explains) que la raison assistee de l'aide diuine est le seul & vnique moyen qui refrene le desir des voluptez, & de la captiuité & seruitude des delices" (Balet comique, fol.75^V). Tempe Restored is much more static. Reason is simply embodied in the King, and the Queen, coming from Heaven, is herself the Divine aid. The Gods are not invoked, and Reason is not shown being assisted by Heaven; the union between reason and divinity is simply accomplished by the union of the King and Queen, and Jupiter and Minerva are only required to preside at the willing surrender of Circe to the virtues of the Royal pair. Moreover the importance of Reason tends to be forgotten in the overwhelming splendour of the scene for the Queen, suggesting that the mere appearance of Divine Beauty is sufficient to attract virtue, free the passions, and bring peace.

In its dependence on scenic splendour rather than on poetry or plot, Tempe Restored seems to have emphasised another aspect of the Balet comique which was extremely important, the attempt to draw down the good influences of Heaven by a harmony of the arts. The artists who composed the Balet believed that, by combining music, poetry, dancing and choreography in certain ways they could compose the minds and hearts of the spectators in a harmony that reflected the harmony of the universe. Jones may have shared these ideas.⁵⁹ Certainly he placed great emphasis on "Harmony" and music in Tempe Restored (see above, p.257), and he followed the views of Renaissance Neoplatonists in regard to the arts. In this view music was the invisible framework of all the arts, the nearest to the divinely created laws and proportions of the universe. For Jones its harmonies lay behind the spatial relationships of architecture and sculpture, the colours and proportions of painting, and of course behind the measures of

poetry and the movement of dance.⁶⁰ It was even the basis, as it had been for Plato, of moral behaviour, helping to attune the soul to God. D.J. Gordon has pointed out that in his Italian copy of Plato's Republic, Jones marked most heavily the part of the translator's argument containing the explanation that "the soul according to Plato is a certain divine harmony, and was formerly familiar with the harmony of the spheres, and the body is harmoniously compounded, as is the spirit also." Jones also annotated fully the page of Plutarch's essay (also in Italian translation) Della Musica, where Plutarch says: "but the power of those proportions and those numbers of which the creator makes use [i.e. in music] is to achieve the corresponding harmony and pleasant concord of the soul within itself."⁶¹ It is quite probable therefore that Jones had in mind the aims of the original artists of the Balet, of using a harmony of the arts, with an emphasis on music, as the means of creating harmony in the souls of those who witnessed his scenes for Tempe Restored.

Such an aim seems to be confirmed by the fact that Jones even makes "Harmony" and the "Influences" into characters, who introduce the main scene of Divine Beauty. In Tempe Restored the fourteen Influences of the stars are "the beams ... of constellations, whose planetic sway, / Though some foresee, all must alike obey" (11.158-59), but these are stars "of a happy constellation" (1.346), so that, under the conduct of Harmony and the sway of Divine Beauty, the influences they pour down can only be for good. In the Balet comique Jones would have found a description of the "voulte doree," of which it is said that those "instruits en la discipline Platonique, l'estimerent estre la vraye harmonie du ciel, de laquelle toutes les choses qui sont en estre, sont cõseruees & maintenues" (fol. 5^v). These "Platonic" influences may also, however, have had a connection in Jones's mind with the Queen's religion. The scene in which eight

spheres take up a fixed position in the heavens while other moving stars show a "pleasing contention between them as they pass" (11.200-01), is not out of place in a religious setting, and in fact it bears a close resemblance to the picture of "The Heavens" given by Hawkins in Partheneia Sacra. Hawkins places the fixed stars in the Firmament, while the Planets, their Commanders, fly up and down to martial the Legions, and to keep the Companies in their due squadrons: the "sweet harmonie of the Heavens" is "the accords so discordant of contrarie motions, those sweet coniunctions and diuorces of Starres" (p.84), while the "shafts and darts" they send are but the influences they "powre on mortals and terrene things, good and bad ..." (p.82). Such a theory had good theological backing, as a book, published in 1631, explains:

The heavens, replenished with a thousand glittering lights, the cover of this lower world, by their motions and light, being governed by the commandement of the supreamer mover, send downe their powers on men by intelligences moving; the opinions of sacred Theologians as Richardus ... and also Saint Bonaventure, and Saint Thomas, who will, that the highest or Emphyreall heaven doth infuse some effects into our lower earth.⁶²

The Neoplatonic theory of Influences was therefore quite in keeping with a "Catholic" interpretation of Tempe Restored, and with an attempt to bring Harmony to religion by the affective powers of Beauty and Love, symbolized in the Divine Beauty of the Queen.

In the Balet comique, music had been used not only in a general way as a symbol for and a means of creating harmony, but with a very specific purpose, of trying to bring about the harmony between religions on which so many other kinds of harmony--at court, in the country as a whole, and throughout the Christian world--depended. The idea of music being used in attempts at religious reunion was still very much alive in the 1630's, when the work of Baif's Academy was being revived by Marin Mersenne, who attached

a pietistic and eirenic importance to the "effects" of music.⁶³ His principal work, entitled Harmonie Universelle, was published in 1636, but the ideas in it were circulating much earlier, and a letter to him dated 1630 speaks of his work as seeking "to establish one faith in the world upon unshakeable foundations," based on love, to which "all nations of whatever religion they may be should conform."⁶⁴ An idea circulating in the 1630's of a "universal harmony" of religion brought about by music would have brought both the Balet comique and Tempe Restored into contemporary focus. Quite apart from its "effects," however, music had a quite practical application to the idea of a harmony between religions at the English court. Like art, it was an area of common ground on which the King and Queen's religious interests could meet. One of the hopeful signs of England's convergence with Rome (reported by Panzani when he came to the court) was that Laud was ordering the Psalms to be sung according to the Gregorian chant in the Church of Rome, and that the King himself "had made the first essay."⁶⁵ The great popularity of metrical versions of the Psalms was a strong point of contact between French and English devotion. In France the version made by Philippe Desportes under the influence of Baïf's Academy became important in the mystical revival begun by St. François de Sales, and may have been the ground of Mersenne's hope of reuniting Christendom through the "effects" of music.⁶⁶ In England the Psalms were equally popular, and versions were composed by most of the best poets, from Sidney to Milton.⁶⁷ In the thirties there were a large number of collections set to music, stimulated perhaps by the fact that Charles in 1631 published the translation of the Psalms made by James, allowing them "to be songe in all the Churches of our Dominions, recommending them to all our good subjects for that effect."⁶⁸ Music composed for the Church after the Reformation had a similar requirement to music

composed for the stage, that there should be a just balance between words and music, and that words should, as far as possible, be distinctly heard.⁶⁹ The music in the masques was therefore itself a link with the music heard in the Royal chapels, since the same singers and composers contributed to both. William and Henry Lawes were musicians of the Chapel Royal long before they composed for and sang in masques, and in the thirties both composed settings of the Psalms and other Church music as well as the music for the masques.⁷⁰ Lewis Richard, who composed the music for Salmacida Spolia (1640), was "Master of her Majesty's Music" (11.494-5), and was no doubt also concerned with the music for the Queen's Chapels.⁷¹

Music in the Queen's chapels may have been a good deal more elaborate than that in the King's, at least on special occasions such as the opening of the Somerset House Chapel, when a special feature was made of the music in conjunction with the painted scene. This elaboration is paralleled by the richness and variety of the music in Tempe Restored, in which the parts of Circe and Harmony were taken by women singers, the French-born Nicholas Lanier sang the part of the Highest Sphere, and "the great chorus" consisted of five and thirty musicians (1.266). Other masques had equally elaborate musical settings, and in view of the emphasis in them on music and sung dialogue, it would seem to be significant that Henrietta brought such a strong Oratorian influence to the court. The Oratorians (founded by Filippo Neri in Rome in 1564) were of course influential in the development of both church and operatic music, and were important in France as well as in Rome. Cardinal Bérulle, who accompanied Henrietta to England, founded the French Order of the Oratory in 1611, and he brought Oratorian priests with him to the court. Gregorio Panzani, who arrived in 1634, was a priest of the Oratory, and Walter Montague joined the same Order after his conversion.⁷² The Oratorians put great stress on the

combination of words and music, and of introducing semi-dramatic and musical elements into their services and prayer-meetings.⁷³ The latter always included the singing of laude or songs of praise, a special development of which were the "dialogue-laude" in which a dialogue was sung by different groups, or sometimes a solo-part answered by choral sections, and in which the different groups of singers dressed according to their parts. Out of these developed the oratorios of the early seventeenth century which were performed with scenery and costumes.⁷⁴ This form is interesting when compared with a masque like The Temple of Love (performed, as I have suggested, to welcome Panzani to the court) which opens with just such a dialogue (11.100-133) between Divine Poesy and a Chorus of ancient poets. Later in the masque, at the appearance of Orpheus (11.378-408), a quite complex musical dialogue is set up, in the exchange between Orpheus and his companions in their barque, and the chorus of musicians on the shore. Orpheus plays his harp, and "he playing one strain was answered with the voices and instruments of the brachmani joined with the priests of the Temple of Love," a musical dialogue which I have suggested was symbolic of the dialogue between religions. In the Harmonie Universelle, Mersenne exhorted his readers to become "Christian Orpheuses" drawing men to God by the influence of music, an undertaking to which Mersenne attaches the significance of religious reunion.⁷⁵ Thus music in the masques, reminiscent of the music heard in the Royal chapels, suggests one area in which the King and Queen's religions had already grown into "harmony." The affective power of music in masques like Tempe Restored and The Temple of Love might be expected to increase it.

The next masque to be presented, Coelum Britannicum, is very much the King's masque, emphasising a British heaven; where Tempe Restored had ended with a scene in which the Queen was the brightest Star in a heaven

filled with stars, Coelum Britannicum ends with a scene in which the King and British heroes are "stellified" about the figure of Eternity. It is, however, in this masque and the one of the following year (The Temple of Love) that the theme of union, with its religious overtones, is strongest. Coelum Britannicum states the theme from the King's side. The masque was presented at the beginning of 1634, the year in which Davenport's Deus, Natura, Gratia was published, and in which Charles was optimistic about the claims of his own religion to be treated as an equal partner in an attempt to bring about a reunited Christendom. In the masque the King's Anglicanism is presented as the principal ideal of Religion. It is, however, an Anglicanism "purged" of Puritan extremes, and enriched by a reformed Catholicism, resulting in an ideal union which seems to me to be symbolized in the marriage union of the King and Queen.

It is well known that Coelum Britannicum was based on Giordano Bruno's philosophic dialogues, Lo Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante,⁷⁶ but the significance of this for the question of religious reunion in the 1630's has not been appreciated. Lo Spaccio had originally a strong connection with ideas for an alliance (which included the hope of a religious alliance) between France and England, and many of the ideas in Lo Spaccio would have been relevant, and very sympathetic to Charles, in the 1630's. The work was written while Bruno was in England, and was dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney. In her studies of Bruno's works, Miss Yates has argued that Bruno's secret mission to England was to offer Henri III's friendship to "the heretic Queen" of England, and that Bruno in Lo Spaccio put his own proposals for a reform that would constitute a new basis for reunion between religions.⁷⁷ In appealing to Englishmen like Sidney and Sir Fulke Greville, whom he distinguishes from the "barbarian" doctors of the new Protestantism, Bruno appealed to a pre-Reformation tradition and

system of beliefs. This tradition (influenced by the Neoplatonism of Ficino and Pico della Mirandola) was one in which common ground could be found with the Catholicism of the moderate, politique party around Catherine and Henri. Miss Yates argues that Bruno's insistence on the Copernican theory of the movement of the earth round the sun was a "translation" into philosophical terms of his highly mystical, indeed magical, view of the Sacrament, and that by emphasising the mystical rather than the dogmatic side of Catholic traditions he hoped to be able to influence people in Protestant countries towards a return to some kind of Catholic union, while at the same time loosening the rigidity of Catholic dogma. Bruno envisaged his reforms as being carried out within the framework of the Catholic Church, for although he held profound intellectual reservations about the teachings of Catholicism (and indeed about some of the tenets of Christianity itself) he saw the Church as the only means by which a universal religion might be given form.⁷⁸ His ideal was one in which there would be no separation between divine law and civil life, where natural religion, philosophy, the arts and sciences would combine; his vision was of a state where "Magnificence, Generosity, and Dominion ... move about in the areas of Dignity, Power, and Authority."⁷⁹ This was no doubt something of Charles's ideal, and Bruno's ideas are echoed at the end of Coelum Britannicum, when Concord, Government and Reputation become the companions of Religion, Truth and Wisdom (ll.1057ff.), but this time within an Anglican framework, where Eternity is enthroned over Windsor Castle, centre of Garter ceremony.

The vices which Bruno expelled from Heaven in Lo Spaccio were, in his view, the vices that had become entrenched in a society, and in a version of Christianity (whether Catholic or "Reformed"), that had become more interested in worldly power than in spiritual purity. His work

advocates not only a moral reform, but hints at a reform of religious belief that goes beneath the hypocrisies and postures of both sides. While he attacked the vices and luxuries of the Catholic hierarchy, he attacked equally the vices of a rigid Protestantism. He had nothing but contempt for the "pedantry" and literalism of "Reformers" that swept away the learning and mystical philosophy of past ages without putting anything in its place, and he despised the barbarity and greed (masquerading as religious zeal) that had destroyed the arts and desecrated the churches.⁸⁰ It can easily be seen how Bruno's ideas would appeal to Charles, and it is mainly for its anti-Puritanical tone that Carew draws on Lo Spaccio in the main action of Coelum Britannicum. Charles's new English "Reformation" (1.469) is to be reformation from an aristocratic point of view. The vices are compared to the "virulent humours that have been purged from the politic body by the plantations in New England" (1.390); the arts of "picture, sculpture, tapestry" are praised (1.430); "Wealth" echoes Bruno's speech on the desecration of the churches (quoted above, p.205), and is told to take better care of his company by choosing "men of worth and parts" (1.575); the figure of Poverty is used to chide "some lazy or pedantic virtue" (1.652) or "falsely exalted passive fortitude" (1.663), and "this low abject brood / That fix their seats in mediocrity" is contrasted with "Such virtues only as admit excess, / Brave bounteous acts, regal magnificence," magnanimity and heroic virtue (11.667-70); the "Circean charms" of Pleasure, who was "the author of the first excess / That drew this reformation on the gods" (11.835-6), are rebuked. The English court of the 1630's is concerned with exorcising the same vices, and extolling the same virtues, as the French court of Henri III for whom Bruno wrote in the 1580's.

Bruno's reform was not concerned only with morality and the externals

of religion. It was deeply concerned with the fundamentals of religious belief. The occasion he writes about, the Feast of the Gigantomachy, is he says "a symbol of the continuous war, without any truce whatsoever, which the soul wages against vices and inordinate effects," and Jove, "who represents each one of us," signifies the "Intellectual Light" which, in the universe and in the body of man, dispenses and governs, in both, "the orders and seats of the virtues and vices."⁸¹ Jove from time to time grows old and enfeebled, and Vice rather than Virtue becomes enshrined in "Heaven," so that an expurgation and reformation are required to cleanse both the soul, and the tenets of established religion, which reflect it. This reformation must be accomplished by the "Sun of Intelligence and Light of Reason" but also by fervor of spirit and "supernal ardor," after having "tasted of the ambrosia of Virtuous Zeal and imbibed of the nectar of Divine Love" (pp.79-80). Only then is expelled the triumphant beast,

that is, the vices which predominate and are wont to tread upon the divine side; the mind is repurged of errors and becomes adorned with virtues, because of love of beauty, which is seen in goodness and natural justice, and because of desire for pleasure, consequent from her fruits, and because of hatred and fear of the contrary deformity and displeasure. (p.80)

Bruno's "reformation" then is one that was deeply concerned with morality, but morality as the issue of fundamental religious attitudes, and religious attitudes as they are the result of both intellectual light and "supernal ardor," or spiritual enthusiasm. Ideas such as these were deeply embedded in the Neoplatonism of the English court, but they were also connected, both in the French work and in the masque, with religious conciliation. At the end of Lo Spaccio Bruno refers to Henri III's policy of religious peace, which Henri in this context offers to England, and praises him as a "most Christian, holy, religious and pure King" (p.270).

The words are appropriate to the way in which Charles presented his own policies, and again, as in the time that Bruno was writing, the fruition of such a policy depended on a union of Anglican and Catholic, England and France, in a loving "marriage." In Coelum Britannicum, however, the reformation of morals that Bruno advocated is represented as having already taken place. It has been accomplished through the example of "matrimonial union" of the King and Queen, and it only remains for that union to be translated to the religious sphere for the Caroline court to achieve complete perfection. The whole masque can, I believe, be read in the context of current discussions on religious union, in which the King's religion sets the pattern for reform, but in which the Queen's is the "co-partner" of his deity.

Coelum Britannicum treats several different kinds of union, all of them closely connected: union of the three Kingdoms, union of the King with his people, matrimonial union, and religious union. All these themes are hinted at in the opening lines:

Bright glorious twins of love and majesty,
 Before whose throne three warlike nations bend
 Their willing knees, on whose impartial brows
 The regal circle prints no awful frowns
 To fright your subjects, but whose calmer eyes
 Shed joy and safety on their melting hearts
 That flow with cheerful loyal reverence. (11.46-52)

The masque followed Charles's Coronation in Scotland the previous year, and the "three nations" referred to England, Scotland and Ireland (their personifications appear in a later scene of the masque (11.890-91), whose unity was closely connected with unity on the subject of religion. The Coronation had been accompanied by the dissident murmuring of the Scots about "Popish" ceremonies, and the imposition of the English Liturgy that was to lead later to the signing of the Covenant, and Charles's invasion of Scotland. Thus Charles was concerned to stress the theme of unity in

the British isles, the "willing knees" and "melting hearts / That flow with cheerful loyal reverence"; the union of the Kingdoms is symbolised in the figure of the Genius who sits enthroned above the three figures with an olive garland on his head. This is the "soul" of the three kingdoms, the spiritual unity and kingly power that holds them together. The Kingdoms fear his departure:

shall not we, now thou art gone
Who wert our nature, wither,

Or break that triple union
Which thy soul held together? (11.1104-07)

The Genius reassures them that he goes but to renew his power by a journey to heaven:

In concord's pure immortal spring
I will my force renew,
And a more active virtue bring
At my return. Adieu. (11.1008-11)

"Concord" herself appears in the concluding scene, to sing the praises of the King and Queen. Charles, like the Genius, is the "soul" of the Kingdoms, and that his sovereignty is a religious (rather than a merely earthly) desire for three crowns is, I think, hinted at by another "three crowns" that those concerned with the masque would have found in Bruno's text.

At the conclusion of Lo Spaccio the gods have to decide the fate of the "Crown" of Stars in Heaven, and for once Jove has no hesitation: "This," he says, "is that crown which, not without the lofty disposition of Fate, not without the instinct of divine spirit, and not without very great merit, awaits the most invincible Henri III."⁸² He goes on to explain that Henri, having obtained the crown of France and that of Poland, had determined to strengthen the two earthly crowns with another, more eminent and beautiful, in Heaven. Thus he ordered that his emblem should

contain three crowns, with this motto: "Tertia coelo manet" (the third remains in Heaven). Tertia coelo manet, adds Jove, is something which this "most Christian, holy, religious, and pure king can surely say." Bruno goes on to praise Henri in terms which Charles would have been pleased to apply to himself. The heavenly crown is his because he knows it is written:

'Blessed are the meek, blessed are the silent, blessed are the pure in heart, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' He loves peace and, as much as it is possible, maintains in tranquillity and devotion his beloved people. He does not like the noises, the boisterousness, and the clashing of martial instruments that administer to the blind acquisition of unstable tyrannies and principalities of the earth, but loves all acts of justice and blessedness that point out the direct path to the eternal realm. (Lo Spaccio, pp.270-71)

Similar Biblical sentiments had been built into a court philosophy by James, in his role as "Rex Pacificus," and inherited by Charles.⁸³ By 1630 the hopes of peace and the religious settlement that had failed to eventuate with Henri seemed, according to Charles's view, about to be renewed at the English court, and here in Charles was another "holy, religious and pure king" as a claimant for the crown in Heaven. Tertia coelo manet is suggested in the masque by the Genius himself, who sits enthroned above the three Kingdoms and ascends to Heaven, but most of all in the crown of stars surrounding Eternity, of which "one more eminent than the rest, which was over his head, figured his Majesty" (ll.1076-78). In Lo Spaccio Jove had concluded his speech in praise of religious peace by saying "let the crown remain [in Heaven], awaiting that one who will be worthy of its magnificent possessions. And here also let Victory, Remuneration, Reward, Perfection, Honor, and Glory have their thrones" (p.271). At the end of the masque the King and Queen are ascribed similar virtues and rewards:

Wisdom, Truth, Pure Adoration,
 Concord, Rule, Clear Reputation,
 Crown this King, this Queen, this nation. (11.1106-12)

Surely the circle of stars over Windsor Castle at the end of the masque, in which Charles shines as the brightest star in the crown of Eternity, is the "Crown in Heaven" reserved for Charles, who may now fulfil the hopes Bruno had expressed in Lo Spaccio for reformation and religious conciliation (and which, ironically after his death, Charles is represented as attaining in Eikon Basilike) (Fig. 2).

The masque's third theme, of matrimonial union, was of course easily suggested by Bruno's first Dialogue, in which Jove rebukes himself for his infidelities and his bad example to others (Lo Spaccio, pp.113-14). In Coelum Britannicum it becomes one of the principal themes. Heaven's reform is complete, even to the point of reciprocation of conjugal affection (11.264-5), a particularly welcome sign when the "lawgiver himself in his own person" observes his own decrees (1.274). This reformation is entirely due to the King and Queen's example:

Your exemplar life
 Hath not alone transfused a jealous heat
 Of imitation through your virtuous court,
 By whose bright blaze your palace is become
 The envied pattern of this underworld,
 But the aspiring flame hath kindled heaven;
 Th'immortal bosoms burn with emulous fires,
 Jove rivals your great virtues, royal sir,
 And Juno, madam, your attractive graces. (11.60-9)

Jove has engraven with stars, in capital letters on his ceiling, the word CARLOMARIA, in memory of this "great example of matrimonial union" (11.276-79). Matrimonial union, however, soon expands into a principle that fills the universe. The King is its ruling force, but the Queen is his "twin," his "royal half" (1.870), a "bright deity" (1.1028) who takes her place by his side. Thus in the vacant rooms of Heaven the King will first succeed,

and of the wheeling orb
 In the most eminent and conspicuous point,
 With dazzling beams and spreading magnitude,
 Shine, the bright pole star of this hemisphere.
 Next, by your side, in a triumphant chair,
 And crowned with Ariadne's diadem,
 Sits the fair consort of your heart and throne.

.
 So to the British stars this lower globe
 Shall owe its light, and they alone dispense
 To th' world a pure refined influence. (11.89-101)

That this universal union, symbolised in the union of the King and Queen, is also a union of religions is suggested by the imagery attached to the King and Queen. The King is undoubtedly the champion of Anglicanism, a "Prince Arthur, or the brave / St. George himself" (11.1030-31), the brightest star in the crown of Eternity who is enthroned over Windsor Castle, "the famous seat of the most honourable Order of the Garter," (11.1079-80). But the Queen too can be seen as representative of her religion. In the poetry addressed to her there are strong echoes of the Virgin imagery that appears in her own masques. When she is addressed by the Chorus (in a sung-dialogue between the Genius, the Kingdoms, and the Chorus) Carew's poetry evokes the richness of paintings of the Virgin:

see where Glory spreads
 Her glittering wings, where Majesty
 Crowned with sweet smiles shoots from her eye
 Diffusive joy, where good and fair
 United sit in honour's chair.
 Call forth your aged priests and crystal streams
 To warm your hearts and waves in these bright beams.
(11.901-07)

The chorus beholds "a wonder":

We see at once in dead of night
 A sun appear, and yet a bright
 Noonday springing from starlight.

The poetry continues in images that mingle the "Platonic" attributes of Beauty and Virtue with the attributes of the Virgin:

Look up, and see the darkened sphere
 Deprived of light; her eyes shine there--
 These are more sparkling than those were.
 These shed a nobler influence,
 These by a pure intelligence
 Of more transcendent virtue move;
 These first feel, then kindle love.
 From the bosoms they inspire
 These receive a mutual fire--
 And where the flames impure return,
 These can quench as well as burn. (11.919-29)

To this pure love the King and his masquers are to be joined. In this masque, then, the King and Queen each receives an equal share of attention and praise. Each attracts the highly-charged imagery appropriate to their respective religions, the King as the dominant masculine and "British" partner, the Queen as the traditional feminine partner of deity, resplendent with beauty and light. The King and Queen's union is a perfect emblem, not only of universal harmony, but of a religious union in which Anglicanism remains the "bright pole star of this hemisphere," but is perfected by its union with the "diffusive" beauty and love of a reformed Catholicism. So joined, these "British stars" may dispense light and influence to the world.

At one point the masque seems to reflect some of the diffidence and anxiety that the King must have been all too conscious of such a proposal arousing at court. When the King appears with his masquers the poetry makes it clear that in their persons they are "shapes formed fit for heaven" and that they have been chosen to "Succeed and govern Destiny" (1.981); but the chorus asks doubtful questions, and the answers are riddles:

Why should they that here can move
 So well be ever fixed above?

Or be to one eternal posture tied,
 That can into such various figures slide?

The Genius answers that Jove will kindle new stars to take their place in Heaven; still the chorus are doubtful:

How can the shaft stay in the quiver,
Yet hit the mark?

Genius: Did not the River
Eridanus the grace acquire
In heaven and earth to flow,
Above in streams of golden fire,
In silver waves below? (11.989-1003)

The mysterious River Eridanus is a reference from Bruno, who himself added to its mystery by hinting that it had religious significance that could not yet be revealed.⁸⁴ It is a river which "is here and is there, which is within and is without, and which is high and is low, and which has the nature of the celestial and has the nature of the terrestrial" (Lo Spaccio, p.258). Momus suggests that since it is so variable we should "let it be wherever it will be imagined to be, named, called upon, and revered," and Jove, in what sounds like a perfect piece of procrastination on a doctrinal matter, decides to "let Eridanus be in the heaven only in belief and imagination, so that it may not prevent some other thing from being in that same place, upon which we shall determine on another of these forthcoming days" (Lo Spaccio, p.259). It sounds at least a promising start for negotiations on religion. "Why should they ... be to one eternal posture tied?" The question refers of course to the King being fixed as a star in the Heavens, but may it not also refer to religious change? And if the shaft can "stay in the quiver, / Yet hit the mark" may not religion also change, yet remain the same? The questions are left unanswered, but the emphasis is all on fruitful change, on unity arising from duality, and on a "more active virtue" (1.1010) at a future time. Like Jove, Charles was very much inclined to hope that, given time, details of religious differences would settle themselves, without having to be brought

fully into the light and submitted to critical debate.

The paradoxes and riddles precede the uniting of the King and Queen, but the final scene celebrates their union in the most positive terms.

The "old decrepit sphere" is now dark and cold, for

these bright
 Flames have eclipsed her sullen light;
 This royal pair, for whom Fate will
 Make motion cease and time stand still,
 Since good is here so perfect as no worth
 Is left for after ages to bring forth. (11.1088-93)

The union is praised by all the allegorical figures, including Religion, Truth, and Wisdom, and all the kinds of union set out at the beginning are brought together and connected in the union of the Royal pair:

Eusebia: Mortality cannot with more
 (Religion) Religious zeal the gods adore.

Alethia: My truths, from human eyes concealed,
 (Truth) Are naked to their sight revealed.

Sophia: Nor do their actions from the guide
 (Wisdom) Of my exactest precepts slide.

Homonoia: And as their own pure souls entwined,
 (Concord) So are their subjects' hearts combined.

Dicearche: So just, so gentle is their sway,
 (Government) As it seems empire to obey.

Euphemia: And their fair fame, like incense hurled
 (Reputation) On altars, hath perfumed the world. (11.1094-1105)

The language is redolent of Counter-Reformation religion, and the overt presence in this final scene of figures like Religion and Eternity makes the King and Queen's marriage union a perfect emblem for the "marriage" of religions envisaged by Charles. His own religion is the "Sun of Intelligence and Light of Reason" that Bruno had spoken of as being necessary to spiritual reformation; it is still a "British Heaven," from the British lion of the King's impresa at the beginning (1.22), to the

British tradition of St. George and the Garter at the end. But it is perfected by union with its other "half," the reformed Catholicism of the Queen, which brings with it the "glittering wings" of Beauty, the purity of Love, the lily of her impresa (1.25) that stands for virtue and fecundity (the emblem both of France and of the Virgin), and the spiritual ardor, "the nectar of Divine Love" that Bruno had paired with the Light of Reason. The picture given by Eternity lifts the King and Queen to a throne in Heaven that is higher than that of the classical gods with which the masque opened:

With wreaths of stars circled about,
Gild all the spacious firmament,
And smiling on the panting rout
That labour in the steep ascent,
With your resistless influence guide
Of human change th'incertain tide. (11.1120-25)

Given the pervasively religious tone and the images associating the King and Queen with their respective religions, the masque seems a perfect representation of religious union. If a masque could have influenced the tide of religious change, Carew's would surely have done it.

The Temple of Love, presented the following year, seems to be an equally strong, and perhaps even more specific, expression of the theme of religious union, but this time more from the point of view of the Queen. I have already suggested that, on a related level of meaning, the masque celebrates the advances of Catholicism at court under the Queen's auspices. Throughout the masque the religious theme is developed in the language of love, and love is raised to the level of religion. In both love and religion the emphasis is on reformation: of the ancient poets who now sing of chaste instead of sensual love, of the noble Persian youth who, converted by chaste love, now "fervently resolve to woo the spirit" (1.344), of the sect of priests, the Magi or Magicians, who formerly seduced their

followers in temples of false luxury, and who are banished, to be replaced by the harmonious dances of the Persian youth and the music of Orpheus and the priests who prepare the way for the discovery of the Queen. This reformation is to be also a restoration: the Temple of Chaste Love is to be, not simply established, but "re-established in this island" (1.5). The Queen is the agent both of reformation and of restoration: she it is who will "guide those lovers who want sight / To see and know what they should love" (11.88-90); she it is who

with her beauty's light
The truer temple shall restore to sight,
The false shall be obscured in endless night. (11.131-3)

When the Queen (whose appearance is accompanied by imagery that associates her with the Virgin) has danced "in harmonical and numerous figures" (1.36), and is united with the King, a final spectacle is presented in which the true Temple at last appears and in which two allegorical figures, Sunesis and Thelema, are united. These are heavenly figures, Sunesis a man of noble aspect, richly attired in watchet and gold, a garland on his head "with a flame of fire issuing from it" (1.470); Thelema is a young woman, clad in silver and crowned with flowers, "and at her shoulders were angels' wings" (1.476) (Fig. 57). These figures sing of chaste love and heavenly union:

Sunesis Come melt thy soul in mine, that when unite,
 We may become one virtuous appetite.

Thelema First breathe thine into me, thine is the part
 More heavenly, and doth more adorn the heart.

Both Thus mixed, our love will ever be discreet,
 And all our thoughts and actions pure;
 When perfect will and strengthened reason meet,
 Then love's created to endure.

Chorus Were heaven more distant from us we would strive
 To reach it with prayers to make this union thrive.

While this song continued "there came softly down from the highest part of the heaven a bright and transparent cloud" out of which came Amianteros, or Chaste Love, "flying down, clad all in carnation and white, and two garlands of laurel in one hand, and crowned with another of the same." Amianteros, having come to earth, is joined by Sunesis and Thelema, Divine Poesy, Orpheus and the rest of the poets, with the great chorus following at a distance; all go up to the state and sing the final addresses to the King and Queen:

Amianteros Whilst by a mixture thus made one
 You're th'emblem of my deity,
 And now you may in yonder throne
 The pattern of your union see ... (11.409-502)

This scene raises "love" to a religious level and all of it can, I believe, be read in terms of a union of religions, for which the King and Queen's marriage is the "pattern."

Jones tells us in the introduction that Sunesis and Thelema intimate "the understanding and the will" (1.37), and he had at one time labelled Thelema "Gnome" (or Divine Will) in his design (see Fig. 57). What is the significance of the union of these two figures in the climactic scene, which undoubtedly held the key to the full meaning of the masque? Sunesis and Thelema could be understood simply in terms of the Neoplatonic imagery of the masques, representing in the King and Queen's union the meeting of "masculine" and "feminine," heavenly and earthly principles that, reformed by reason and virtue, make up a perfect whole.⁸⁵ "Understanding and Will" had, however, significance in a theological context, especially in the works of French Devout Humanism. St. François de Sales used the terms throughout the Traité de l'amour de Dieu,⁸⁶ quoting from St. Augustine, and arguing that reason or understanding is necessary to search out the good, which it then proposes to the will to be loved. Love is the source



of all spiritual life, and Sales refers continually to the Canticles for the metaphor of human love and marriage in relation to union with God. The Traité had been translated into English by Miles Car in 1630, and was no doubt read at court, but a more immediate source of reference to the ideas of Understanding and Will in relation to spiritual Love may be found in a book by Sales's disciple, J.-P. Camus, A Dravght of Eternitie (Doway, 1632), also translated by Miles Car. The book was likely to have been circulating amongst the Catholic group at court, since Car dedicated it to Lady Anne Arundel, who, he says, has a "truely Catholike Zeale to see IVSTICE and PEACE kisse" (sig. *6). The book is recommended as being "nether vnworthy, nor vnfitt to be presented to the viewes and thoughts of our English Catholikes," since the "subiect is most soueraigne to remoue contentions, and moue to wholsome thoughts, thoughts of Peace and not affliction" (sig. *3^v). This book, in which Camus quotes liberally from St. Augustine, contains as its central sections long discussions of the "Will" and the "Understanding," whose union in God results in a vision of the "blessed," the Heavenly Jerusalem, the City of God, "Eternitie." Camus says that he will leave aside the disputes of the Schoolmen over these two faculties of the soul (p.209), saying only that they consist in two acts that are made one by dedication of the soul to God, who is the proper object of the understanding (vision) and will (fruition), God being "in qualitie of Soueraigne Truth, the obiect of our vnderstanding, and as he is the Soueraigne Good, the obiect of our will" (pp.210-11). The Will, he says, is the "Mistrisse" of the Understanding, for he (Understanding) goes before to search out the Good, "and proposeth it to the Will to be loued, who after she hath knowen it, she imbraceth it," and out of this embrace and "inseparable vnion" with good "shall flow a floode of continuall ioyes and delightes" (pp.256-57). Throughout this discussion

(and indeed throughout the book) union is spoken of under the figure of marriage:

If the Blessed soule, did not imbrace the heavenly Spouse in his glorie with both her armes, which are the vnderstanding and will, doubtlesse she would not be wholy satisfied; for who knowes not euen by experience, that the will is not carried with lesse bent toward Good than the vnderstanding towards the Truth. (p.212)

Such a union leads to perfect "vnitie" with God (p.304), and to "Peace and Concord" (p.306) which is nothing less than "the vnion or agreement of heartes" in a "VISION OF PEACE" (p.307). Camus ends with a dedication of his own Understanding and Will to God, and a prayer to God to "espouse my soule in a liuely Faith, espouse it for euer" (pp.478-79).

The scene of the masque enacts these aspects of the Understanding and the Will on the stage, representing them as man and woman (as in Camus), and representing their union under the figure of spiritual love and marriage. From the union of Sunesis and Thelema comes Amianteros, the heavenly unity that issues from perfected duality; the "mixture thus made one" is the "emblem" of his deity. But Amianteros then turns to the King and Queen:

And now you may in yonder throne
The pattern of your union see.

So the union of the King and Queen also echoes that of Sunesis and Thelema, the meeting of perfect will and strengthened reason, two faculties of the soul, and the resulting union is a deity, Amianteros, who brings more than earthly benefits:

th'undiscerned increase I bring
Is of more precious worth than all
A plenteous summer pays a spring.

The benefit it doth impart
Will not the barren earth improve,
But fructify each barren heart
And give eternal growth to love. (11.503-10)

Against the background of Catholic events at court, the arrival of Panzani and discussions of reunion which in 1635 were filled with optimism on both sides, the scene surely augurs a reunion of religions, a loving union symbolized by the union of the King and Queen and issuing in Amianteros, devotion to a single Deity. The view of union in this masque is from the Catholic, or the Queen's side. The emphasis is all on Love, but Love "reformed," on "true" Beauty, on a melting of one religion into the other, on a wish, as Father Cyprien of the Queen's Chapel had remarked hopefully, "to bring the Protestant religion so near to the Roman Church, that a union should ensue almost imperceptibly."⁸⁷ Panzani was all too willing to be impressed by favourable signs from the court towards Rome, and although he did not understand the deeper currents of the court into which he had been dropped, he would have had no trouble in understanding the large flourishes of the masque. The stage was bedecked with the inscription "Templum Amoris," and the scene of union at the end was played out against the background of the Temple itself. The action concerns a "great affair" (1.116) which, as Divine Poesy announces at the beginning, Fate has chosen to bring about during Charles's reign. The arrival of "Orpheus" on the shore, and the harmony of his music, brings with it an atmosphere of calm and conciliation:

No winds of late have rudely blown,
Nor waves their troubled heads advance!
His harp has made the winds so mild,
They whisper now as reconciled,
The waves are soothed into a dance. (11.385-90)

The Beauty and Virtue of the Queen restores the "true Temple" to sight, and her union with the King becomes the "pattern" for a heavenly union that is universally approved by the Chorus:

Were heaven more distant from us we would strive
To reach't with prayers to make this union thrive.
(11.486-87)

Thus this masque, from the Queen's side, and Coelum Britannicum from the King's, gave a "pattern" for the union of religions that both sides were hopeful, in these years, of bringing about by "Love."

In the years between The Temple of Love (1635) and the next pair of masques, Britannia Triumphans and Luminalia (both 1638), hopes for a reunion of religions faded, at least on Charles's side. George Conn replaced Panzani in 1636, and, understanding better than Panzani the situation at the English court and being able to speak frankly, he was able to make the King realise that Rome would make no concessions on doctrinal matters, nor could it consider the Anglican Church as anything like an equal partner in granting conditions. The glowing hopes of the early years had been in the nature of a courtship, that had not stood the test of drawing up the marriage contract. Charles remained friendly with Conn, to whom he steadfastly defended his own religion, but showed no disposition to become Catholic, and talk of a reunion was dropped. The next masque presented by the King, Britannia Triumphans, is accordingly a reassertion of "British" values, with much more emphasis on practical and domestic matters than in Coelum Britannicum. The border of the scene shows the figures of Naval Victory (Ship-money was a current issue) and Right Government (11.40-48); the scene is London itself, standing for Great Britain (11.59-62), and Fame is accompanied by Arms and Science (11.497-505). The masque is chiefly concerned with dissidence at home (11.26-30), and it makes Charles a figure of Reason and Virtue, standing between the impostures of those who occupy high office for their own sensual ends [the magician Merlin is very like the "Magicians" of The Temple of Love, striving to seduce the isle with "baits of pleasure" (1.226)], and the rigid abstinence of people like the Puritans. The figure of Action, who is labelled Medio Tutissima (1.65), is the spokesman for Reason and Virtue, defending those

few 'mongst men
 That as our making is erect, look up
 To face the stars, and fancy nobler hopes
 Than you allow, not downward hang their heads
 Like beasts to meditate on earth, on abject things
 Beneath their feet. (11.143-48)

Nor, however, are these "such that by their reasons strict / And rigid discipline" would deny "us pleasures 'bove our cares" (11.167-8, 1.181). This "rigid sect" ("and much / They govern too") is made up, it appears from the anti-masques, of the common people, mountebanks, and "rebellious leaders in war" (11.262-67). Yet it also appears that those who follow Reason and Virtue are "a thin number, sure, / And much dispersed" (11.149-50). There is a hint of injured pride in Charles's lonely virtue, and the masque sounds like a call for support: Fame, who has already spread his acts abroad, should "now at home, if there be any maliciously insensible, awake them from their pretended sleep, that even they with the large and yet still increasing number of the good and loyal may ... rejoice in our happiness" (11.26-31). When Charles appears with the masquers the theme is translated into visible form by the dancers:

Why move these princes of his train so slow?

.....

'Tis fit you mix that wonder with delight,
 As you were warmed to motion with his sight,
 So pay the expectation of this night.

Chorus: Move then in such a noble order here
 As if you each his governed planet were,
 And he moved first, to move you in each sphere.
(11.552-60)

In Britannia Triumphans emphasis is all on the King; attention to the Queen does not go beyond a salute to her beauty by the chorus of modern poets (11.570-90), and a reference to her role as Charles's wife in the "Valediction." The appearance of Galatea (1.597), a tribute to Charles's sea-power, may be a visual reminiscence of the arrivals by sea

of Orpheus, and of the Queen, in The Temple of Love, but this masque has nothing of the high religious tone which its predecessors have in relation to the Queen. Luminalia, however, the companion masque to Britannia Triumphans, has, and as I have suggested in the previous chapter, it marked the high point of Catholic hopes at court. While talk of a reunion had lapsed, conversions to Catholicism under Conn proceeded apace, and the Queen was enthusiastic about the progress her religion was making. Not looking beyond the small world of the court, she felt that the busy activity of conversions, processions, Masses, presents from the Pope, were all really making an impression in England. The King on the other hand was becoming alarmed by the growing confidence of the Catholics, and embarrassed by the increasingly vocal opposition that equated his own religion with the Queen's. Britannia Triumphans seems an attempt to point out the independence of his "middle way," which alone can save the country from extremes. "Britanocles" is praised as a saviour, in language that equates him with the sun:

Break forth thou treasure of our sight
That art the hopeful morn of every day,
Whose fair example makes the light
By which Heroic Virtue finds her way.

O thou our cheerful morning, rise
And straight those misty clouds of error clear,
Which long have overcast our eyes,
And else will darken all this hemisphere. (11.515-22)

In Luminalia the Queen is credited with similar powers of lightening the darkness, and to Protestants seeing the masque it must have seemed an ominous sign that the Queen puts out, for a time, the light of the sun with her own. It may not be co-incidental that the title of the King's masque in 1638 was Britannia Triumphans, a counter to that Maria Triumphans whose influence at court was spreading so rapidly. In fact the idea of

the different "lights" of the King and Queen in Britannia Triumphans and Luminalia leads to consideration of a final level of religious symbolism which has underlain the theme of "union" in the masques discussed, and which ends with Salmacida Spolia, the last masque of the reign.

(iii) Hymen's Twin, the Mary-Charles

The symbolism in the masques of the Queen as Mary suggests that Charles might be seen as the representative of Christ. I believe that the analogy was made, and that the relationship between Christ and Mary, symbolised in the marriage of the King and Queen, represented the final ideal of union between the two religions at court.

It is perhaps instructive to start with a work that was not Catholic, written to celebrate the King and Queen's marriage. George Marcelline's Epithalamium Gallo-Britannicum (1625)⁸⁸ shows how a train of ideas started with reference to the King and Queen's religions might have suggested images for the masques. Marcelline praises the King and Queen as the perfect examples of Love and Beauty. Charles's love is a love informed by knowledge, and the Queen's physical beauty is matched by the beauty of her mind; she is so much admired by her subjects that "Shee may well thinke this her Kingdome, to be a little Heauen, in which she sits as Queene, and her Subiects as so many Saints" (sig. G4). The author then addresses himself to the subject of religion, saying that "some sicke queasie stomakt people" may fear disaster from the match, for Soloman was seduced and brought to idolatry by marrying (sig. O2^V). But, Marcelline says, there can be no danger that Charles would have "the eye of his reason and religion ... put out by the eye of affection" (sig. P2^V-P3).

As for the Queen, her virtue and beauty is such that she would never presume to guide him, by whom she is to be guided, "to be the Sun, when she is but the Moone, which must borrow light fro(m) his knowledge." In matters of religion, he says, it is quite clear that "She is the heart, and He is the head" (sig. P4). These were roles which the symbolism of the masques developed, the King assuming the attributes of reason and intellect, the Queen the attributes of beauty and love. Much of this symbolism was built up, as it is here, through the images attached to the King and Queen as the Sun and Moon, imagery which easily took on religious significance.

The image cluster of King/Sun/God was of course a familiar one, already built up in masques in connection with James. As D.J. Gordon has shown, James is assigned the position of the Sun in the theory of Beauty held by Ficinian Neoplatonists, for whom the image held a Christian significance.⁸⁹ In Chapman's Memorable Masque, for instance, James is "our dear Phoebus, whose true piety / Enjoys from Heaven an earthly deity," and "our Briton Phoebus, whose bright sky / (Enlightened with a Christian piety) / Is never subject to black Error's night...." (ll.599-601). In Chapman's masque, as later in Jonson's Chloridia, the reconciliation of Heaven and Earth is achieved by the god-like power of the sun, working through the agency of love; and here too, as in Chloridia, the reconciliation is connected with marriage, the bride and bridegroom figuring Beauty and Love who "With a kiss joined heaven to earth / And begot so fair a birth / As yet never graced the living" (ll.630-32). Thus the image in Chloridia of Charles as Sun, signifying both creator of beauty and Christian God who reconciles earth to Heaven, was already a familiar one. Charles, moreover, inherited the tradition of the earlier reign that had made James a second Solomon, a "priest of peace" as he is called in Hymenaei (l.92), a "little

GOD ... on his throne" as he had told his son in Basilikon Doron, to be God's representative on earth. In the mythology of the masques, however, it was not quite appropriate that Charles should usurp James's position. James's presence was still important at Whitehall in the thirties, whether he hovered over the stage as Jove on his eagle (Tempe Restored), or ascended to Heaven from the ceiling of the Banqueting House, and the decorum of court compliment, as well as filial piety, seems to demand that Charles should be "the Son." In a transition regularly made from "Sun" to "Son," it was natural that Charles as "Sun" should become also the "Son," of James and, on the religious level, of God, hence Christ. Court literature played on these meanings, and in the religious situation of the thirties the imagery of Sun/Son took on specific reference to Charles's Anglicanism, in contrast to the Queen's Catholicism.

For contemporaries, one of the features which distinguished Anglican from Catholic worship was that Anglicans paid their devotion to God or Christ, while Catholics paid devotion to the "Mother," as well as to the "Son."⁹⁰ In Catholic literature, therefore, Protestantism could be distinguished as Son- or "Sun"-worship (especially in contrast to the cult of Mary, or "Virgin-worship," at court). This contrast seems to take on significance in relation to the "Persian" theme that has been seen recurring in court entertainments like The Royal Slave and The Temple of Love. The Persians were Sun-worshippers, as court poets knew, but their pagan worship of the Sun is often used to make a transition to Christian worship of the "Son." In a poem on "New Year's Day," for example, Richard Crashaw compares Christ to the Persians' Sun, to the detriment of the latter:

Here are Beautyes shall bereaue him
 Of all his eastern Paramours.
 His Persian Louers all shall leaue him,
 And swear faith to thy sweeter powers.⁹¹

Similarly when the Persian imagery is used in relation to the King the contrast is given a Christian significance. Just as in Chapman's masque James's Christian "Sun" was contrasted with the pagan sun-worship of the Virginians, in Cartwright's The Royal Slave the play opens with one of the Persian Magi in a temple, worshipping the sun. At sight of the King and Queen he breaks off to address them:

From my Devotions yonder am I come,
Drawne by a neerer and more glorious Sun.

Haile o ye sacred Lights; who doe inspire
More than yond holy and eternall Fire.

A forreigne Court lands here upon your Shore,
By shewing its owne worth to shew yours more.
(The Prologue)

Thus the King replaces the Persian sun, and the Queen too becomes a "sacred Light." This symbolism appears again in a Catholic emblem book which makes clear a connection between Persia and the King's Anglicanism, and also relates them to the Queen's "Romanism." Lychnocavsia: Lights, Morall Emblems by an English Jesuit Robert Farley, was published only a few days after the performance of Luminalia (to which its title suggests a reference) on 10 February, 1638. It begins with a laudatory poem addressed to the King and Queen, entitled "Britaines Great Lights":

Persia, thy Eternall fire is come to nought,
The Vestals flame is spent, more than Rome thought.
Both fires are gone with Empires: Heav'n above
Gives light and power to them, who Heav'n doe love.
Into our Land two Lights are now transfer'd;
The Persians Sunne, Romes Vesta are interr'd. (sig. A7-A7^v)

Thus the King and Queen's religions, the one suggesting Persian "Sun-worship," the other Roman "Virgin-worship," are both referred to under the symbol of light, but given Christian connotation by the approval of "Heaven."

Traditionally the companion light of the Sun was the Moon and it is not surprising therefore to find Henrietta related to Charles under this symbol in court iconology. In Honthorst's allegorical painting (Fig. 7) which introduced many of the themes of the thirties masques, Henrietta is clearly Diana, with her symbol of the Moon, as Charles is Apollo with his symbol of the Sun. The theme of Chaste Love in the masques naturally associates the Queen with Diana, goddess of the Moon and of chastity, and in Albion's Triumph Diana herself appears in her chariot to subdue the King to the chaste love of the Queen. Diana was the reigning goddess of Florimène, the Queen's pastoral, in which the religious rites are carried out in Diana's temple, by her priests, and the couples are arranged at the end according to her laws. The pastoral is set in the isle of Delos, the birth-place of both Apollo and Diana, so that a compliment to Charles (in whose honour the pastoral was presented) is also implied. There is an allusion to the King in the songs saluting the Sun in the opening scene (1.25, 11.29-30), and there is a song in the accompanying verses which refers to the "bright sun" and the "sweet influence" of the moon in addressing the King and Queen as "these great planets ... To whom as household gods we kneel" ("The Anti-Masques," 11.41-7).⁹² Henrietta was associated not only with the chastity but with the beauty of the moon, as in the poem which Davenant addressed to her:

You come, as if the silver Planet were
 Misled a while from her much injur'd Spheare,
 And t'ease the travailes of her beames tonight,
 In this small Lanthorn would contract her light.
 ("To the Queene, entertain'd at night
 by the Countesse of Anglesey")⁹³

In Catholic literature, however, Diana was also associated with Mary, both because of her chastity, and through her symbol of the Moon. The Moon was the symbol of Mary's beauty and chastity in the Litanies (pulchra ut luna),

and in painting she is represented with the crescent moon beneath her feet. Hawkins devotes a whole section of Partheneia Sacra to Mary as Moon. In "The Embleme" (Fig. 58) he pictures the moon as Diana in her chariot influencing the tides, and applies the picture to Mary's moral influence:

O chast Diana, with thy siluer beames,
 Flux & reflux (as in the Ocean's streames)
 'Tis thou canst cause. O draw! and draw me so,
 That I in vice may ebbe, in Vertue flow. (p.111)

It will be recalled that Burton's criticism of The Female Glory was that it made of Mary a "new great Goddess Diana, whom the whole Pontifician world worshipping." At the Reformation statues of Mary had in fact been turned into statues of Diana, and under Henrietta's influence it must have seemed that Diana was resuming her former religious character.⁹⁴

In Catholic literature the imagery of the Sun and Moon was regularly applied to the roles of Christ and Mary, and allegorised in innumerable ways, all of interest to the symbolism of the masques. In this imagery Mary as Moon represents the feminine principle, playing a passive role to the active, masculine principle of the Sun: she is the Woman clothed with the Sun of the Vision of St. John; she is chosen as the Sun and beautiful as the Moon, the Bride, Sister and Spouse of the Song of Solomon. She is the visible Church, which is called a Woman, and signified by the Moon, as God is signified by the Sun. The Moon is an apt symbol for the Church, as Richeome explained, for "the Moone takes all her light from the Sunne" just as "the Church shines by beames of the Sonne of God," and

as the Moone lighteneth the night, and giueth direction
 amidst the darknesse: Euen so the Church hath euer
 enlightened the night of this world, and shewed the
 way to heauen, amidst the darknesse of Heathenish
 Idolatry.⁹⁵

THE MOONE.
THE EMBLEME.



THE POESIE.

THe Empresse of the Sea, Latona bright,
Drawes like a load-stone by attractive might
The Oceans streames, which hauing forward runne
Calles back againe, to end where they begunne.
The Prince of darknes had eclipsed Eues light,
And Mortals, drowned in Cymmerian night,
Were back wards drawne by Eue, as is the Maines;
'Twas only Marie drew to GOD againe:
O chaste Diana, with thy siluer beames,
Flux & reflux (as in the Oceans streames)
'Tis thou canst cause, O draw! and draw me so,
That I in vice may ebbe, in Vertue flow.

*The
Pause.*

THE

Fig.58 Partheneia Sacra, the Virgin as Diana

The active and passive principles lead to other complementary roles:

Christ is the Sun of Justice, Mary is the Mother of Mercy; He is the Law, she is Love; He is ruler of Heaven and Earth; she mediates between God and Man. In his popular Lives of the Saints, Ribadeneyra had set up Christ and Mary as the King and Queen of Heaven, the masculine and feminine principles of the universe signified by the Sun and the Moon.

Mary is assumed that

by this means the Empyrean heauen should be adorned with those two lights, a greater and a lesser, as the material heauen is with the sun and the moon; and a man God, and a woman the Mother of God should gouern the vniuers: Christ as absolute Lord, and vniuersal Prince, and head of the Church, and the Virgin as treasures, and dispensatrix, and neck of this mystical body, by whose hands are distributed, and through whom, as through a conduit pipe, are deriued all the graces and gifts of God. (sig. Tt2^v, p.617)

These were roles in which Charles and Henrietta liked to see themselves at court, he as Defender and Head of the Church in England, representing Justice; she as dispenser of grace and gifts, representing Beauty and Mercy. It is significant that this was the passage Prynne chose to paraphrase (quoted above, p.123) in relation to the Queen's role at court, showing her as Mary, dispensing gifts and graces to her Catholic subjects. To those of different views from Prynne's the relationship between Christ and Mary may have suggested a relationship between the King and Queen's religions that could lead to a reconciliation and reunion, with the King in the dominant "masculine" role, but the Queen bringing to it Mercy and Love.

In the literature of French Devout Humanism Jesus and Mary were equally honoured, and Cardinal Bérulle, founder of the French Oratorians who accompanied Henrietta to the English court, placed the names of Jesus and Mary side by side in the works of the Oratory, writing that

Jésus donc est en la Vierge et la Vierge est en
 Jésus, et cette parole de la Vierge me semble être
 la parole de Jésus et de la Vierge tout ensemble;
 et c'est pourquoi cette parole tire et ravit à
 Jésus et à la Vierge conjointement.⁹⁶

All the books on Mary written in the thirties stress that their praise of Mary is mediated through her to God, and all are careful to praise her "above Angels, but below thy Sonne," to place her on the left hand of God while Christ is on His right, as they are shown on the title-page of Ribadeneyra.⁹⁷ Mary's chief role was to link God and Man, "that as a most powerful Mediatrix her maternal prayers for sinners might moderat the rigour of diuine iustice, and occasion a reconcilment"; since she abounds in meekness and mercy she may be approached by all "whom the divinity of Christ might frighten away"; she it is who makes God's Law comprehensible by Love, but who herself rules only under God's command.⁹⁸ This is the role in which Henrietta seems to have seen the Virgin. Her attitude is typified by a remark she made to George Conn in discussing a passage in St. Bonaventure which begs Mary to give a command (commander) to her Son, to which the Queen replied "You have left out a syllable; it should be recommend (recommander)."⁹⁹ This is also the role in which she seems to have seen herself in relation to Charles, and which she defended to the agents: that she was in a position, not of active power, but of recommending courses out of her mercy for the action of his justice, of tempering the severity of the law with her love. These roles were carried over into the masques, and I believe that the iconology of Christ and Mary was used in developing the theme of religious union.

The shift from Sun to Son, and hence Christ, in the imagery associated with Charles in the masques had the advantage of leaving room for the Queen as the feminine principle. James as "Sun" had required no feminine Partner for his Divinity: in a masque like The Vision of Delight, for

example, his presence alone was sufficient to beautify the earth with Spring. In Chloridia it is the Queen who beautifies the earth by acting in partnership with the King (as Sun), and according to the high decree of "Jove." A hint of the new representatives of deity is already present in the first masque of the thirties, Love's Triumph, in which Jonson says that only to speak the names "Mary and Charles, Charles with his Mary," is to glorify the King and Queen above all others (1.206). From this emerges the hermaphroditic figure of the masques, "Hymen's twin, the Mary-Charles" (Albion's Triumph, 1.441), and "CARLOMARIA," the name which Jove has engraven and fretted with stars on the ceiling of Heaven (Coelum Britannicum, 1.279). From the ceiling of the Banqueting House James as "God" might look down benignly on the Royal couple who are carrying out his own policies, uniting opposed religions through marriage, and promoting peace through love. The iconology of later decades turned Charles into the Royal Martyr, and the comparison of his sufferings with the sufferings of Christ has usually been traced from a period after 1640.¹⁰⁰ Already in the masques of the thirties, however, Charles may be seen as the earthly representative of Christ, not suffering and tearful as he is shown in later years, but crowned and happy, with Mary by his side. When the King and Queen sat enthroned at the end of the masques, facing the splendid concluding spectacles set in the stage "Heavens," they became intermediaries between their subjects and the Deity. When they received the homage of the court poets and musicians they were praised as the highest type on earth of virtues that found their perfect form in Heaven. The visual counterpart of the passage describing Christ and Mary in Ribadeneyra is a painting like Tintoretto's Paradiso (Fig. 59), showing the enthronement of Christ and Mary in Heaven (Fig. 60), a prototype for the grand spectacles of the masques, and an archetypal image of Christian



Fig.59 Tintoretto, Paradise (c. 1579. Louvre, Paris)



Fig.60 Tintoretto, detail showing Mary and Christ in Paradise (1588. Ducal Palace, Sala del Gran Consiglio, Venice)

union. I believe that Jones, in at least one masque, had an actual painting of such an enthronement in mind when he designed his final scene.

For Coelum Britannicum, Jones based the design of his proscenium arch on a frame that surrounds an engraving of The Coronation of the Virgin by Federigo Zuccaro (Fig. 61).¹⁰¹ I believe that he may have had the engraving in mind when he came to design The Temple of Love in the following year for the Queen, in a context that made the subject of the painting appropriate. The poetry in which Carew salutes the Queen seems to echo verbally something of its splendour:

see where Glory spreads
Her glittering wings, where Majesty
Crowned with sweet smiles shoots from her eye
Diffusive joy, where good and fair
United sit in honour's chair.

Similarly Jones's scene at the end of the masque, together with the enthroned figures of the King and Queen, seems a visual echo of the painting, but with all the elements moved about in space and time. The stately gate of the temple, with "a frontispiece on the top," is suggested by the arch in the painting, and the figures of Sunesis and Thelema by the pair of winged figures to either side of the centre. A bright light surrounds the emblem of the Holy Ghost in the upper part of the air, while below the central figures of Christ and Mary a winged Cupid-like figure emerges as from a cloud. Jones's masque scene merges these two effects as, while the angelic figures are singing, "there came softly down from the highest part of the heaven a bright and transparent cloud, which being come to the middle region of the air, it opened, and out of it came Amianteros, or Chaste Love, flying down." When Amianteros has descended to earth he joins the angelic figures, and together they lead Divine Poesy, Orpheus and the chorus of modern poets (like the figures worshipping below the



Fig.61 Federigo Zuccaro, The Coronation of the Virgin

throne in the painting) up to the State, where the King and Queen are seated. Amianteros sings that he, Chaste Love, is an emblem of the union of Sunesis and Thelema, and "now you may in yonder throne / The pattern of your union see." The spectacle of the Royal couple receiving such homage from "heavenly" messengers, echoes the scene in the painting of the enthroned Mary and Christ, who themselves stand to the King and Queen as the "pattern" of an even greater union. To those at court who must have known the painting and recognised its use in the King's masque of the previous year, a visual reminiscence of a scene showing Mary and Christ enthroned would have emphasised the already strong Catholic note of the masque and deepened the theme of religious union.

The proscenium arch for The Temple of Love consisted of "an ornament of a new invention agreeable to the subject" (11.43-44), and above the figures on one side "was painted a sun rising, and in the other an half moon" (11.51-52).¹⁰² The use of these symbols in a context of religion was familiar even to Protestants, as they are shown together on, for instance, the title-page of the King James Bible (1611) (Fig. 62), in the Preface of which James is hailed as "the sun in his strength."¹⁰³ I have suggested that this masque referred to religious union through the image of the union of the King and Queen, and the presence of these emblems, appropriate to the Anglican and Catholic sides, may well have reinforced the reference. The use of the sun and the moon in the masque frame takes on additional interest when the same emblems are to be seen again to either side of the altar frame in George Conn's Catholic chapel (Fig. 63). The design of the frame looks somewhat secular, but when it is recalled that this chapel became the centre of Catholic revival at court from 1636 on, and that Walter Montague chose it as the centre of his ministry when he became priest, the symbols take on special significance. They are joined

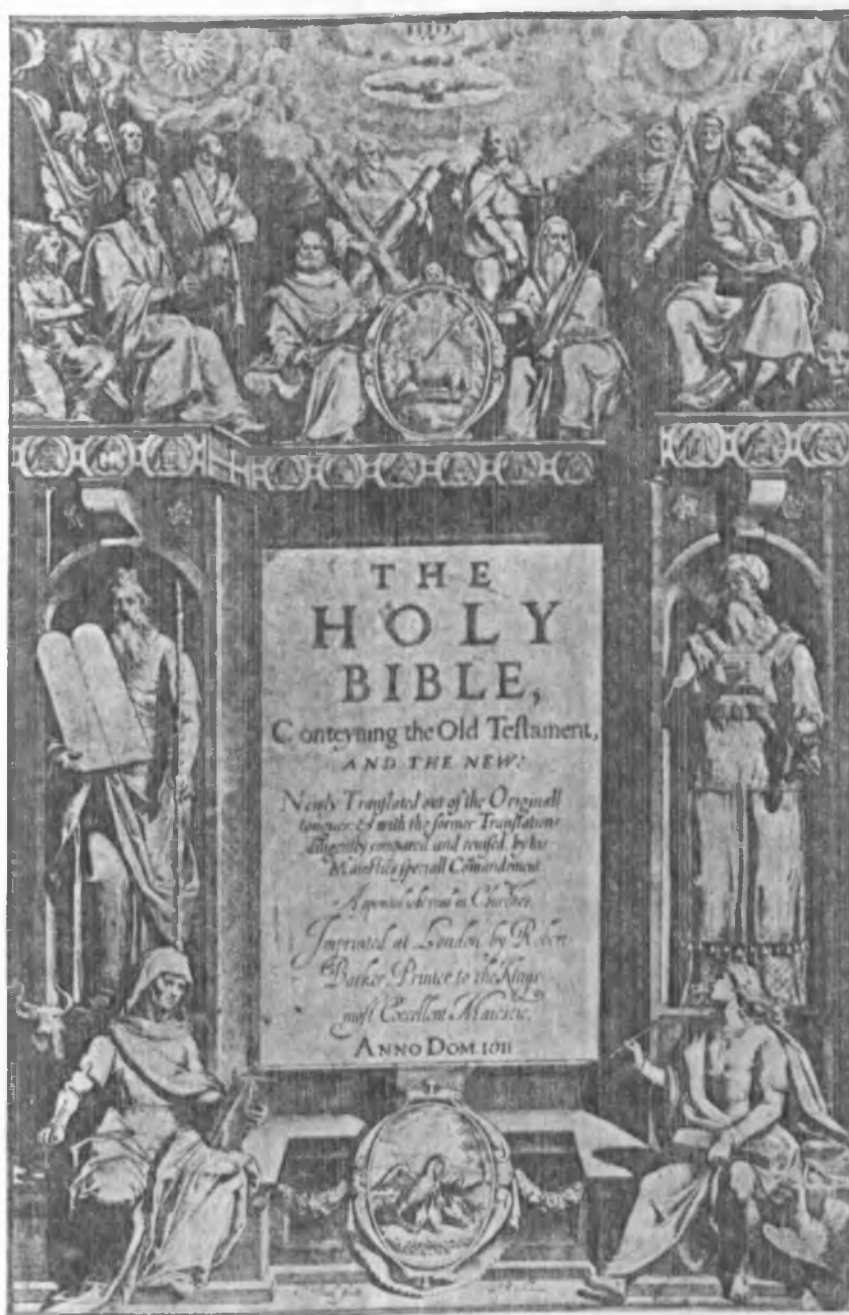


Fig.62 Title-page, King James Bible (1611)

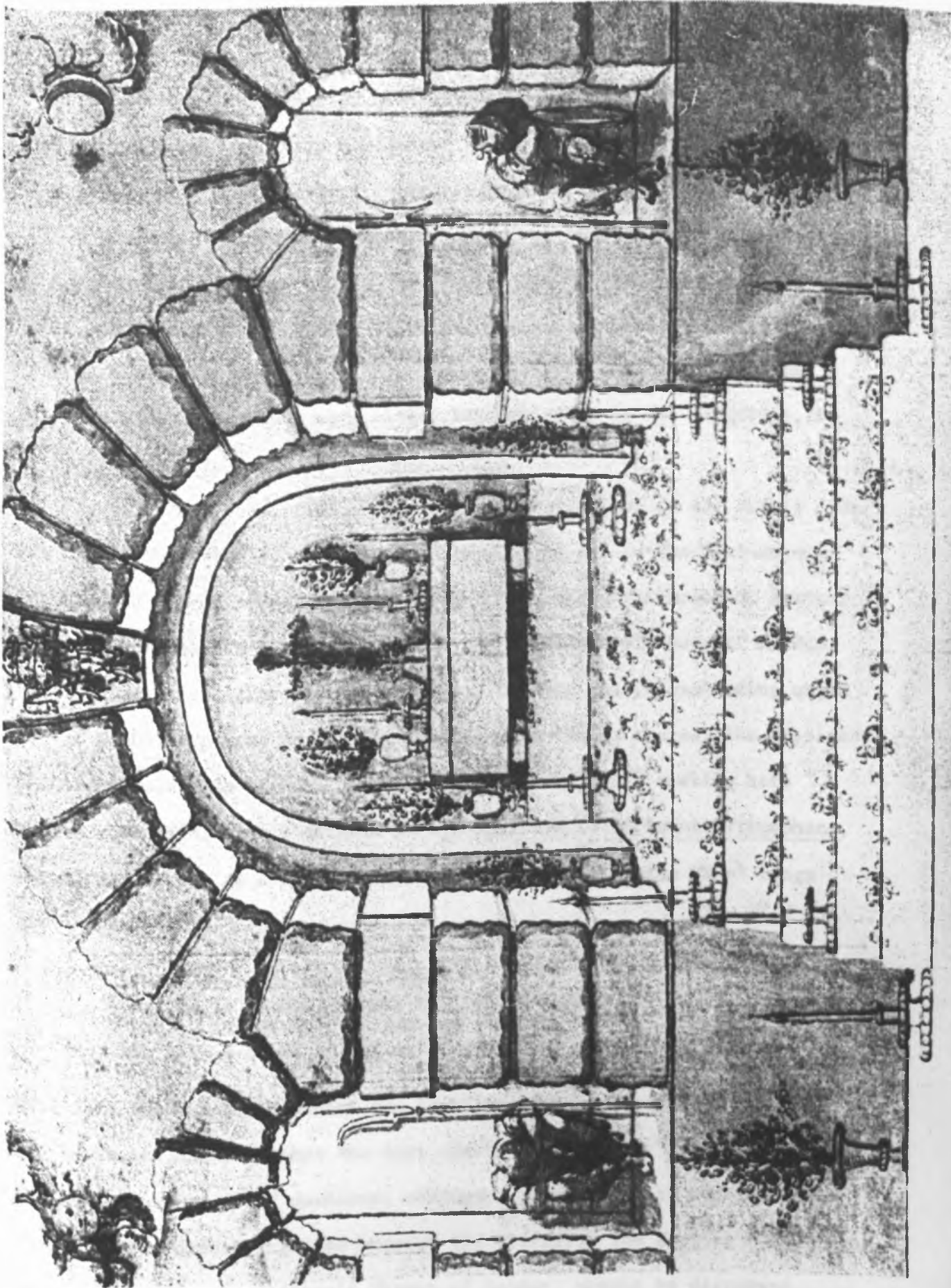


Fig.63 The "Altar of Repose" in George Conn's Catholic Chapel
(London, 1638)

in the centre by the Barberini arms over the altar, and the name the "Altar of Repose," suggests a place of reconciliation, a place where the King and Queen's complementary interests are united in religious peace.¹⁰⁴ Thus a complex net-work of symbolism was set up in which images attached to the King and Queen connected the secular and religious life of the court, and in which the masque stage was intermediate between the two. Through their visual language the masques were able to refer to ideas, hopes or aspirations that were either too delicate, or too dangerous, to be put into words.

By 1638, as I have said, hopes of an equal reunion on the King's side had faded, but Catholic optimism was still high, and in the last masque the King and Queen seem to change roles: from being the dominant partner the King becomes the passive sufferer, the possessor of "secret" wisdom, and the Queen now takes the active part. Charles was in fact being urged by the Catholic powers to join his forces with theirs against the dissident Protestant elements at home, and the Queen was actively seeking help abroad. The King made a defence of his position in Britannia Triumphans, but already there is a hint of the suffering Christ in the "Sun" image at the end:

Thou universal wonder, know
We all in darkness mourn till thou appear,
And by thy absence dulled may grow,
To make a doubt if day were ever here!

This note becomes the dominant one in Salmacida Spolia (1640), which begins in the darkness that the last speech predicted: "No glimpse of the sun was seen, as if darkness, confusion, and deformity had possessed the world and driven light to heaven" (11.111-13). The King as Philogenes makes his way to the difficult Throne of Honour, whence he dispenses unrequited love to his people:

O who but he could thus endure
 To live and govern in a sullen age,
 When it is harder far to cure
 The people's folly than resist their rage? (11.196-99)

The King's appearance on the Throne of Honour of course restores calm and peace, and the song that greets him once again emphasises the Christ-like qualities of "patience," "mercy," "forgiveness." Kingly patience and mercy outlast and quell the storms and people's rage:

Nor would your valour, when it might subdue,
 Be hindered of the pleasure to forgive.
 They're worse than overcome, your wisdom knew,
 That needed mercy to have leave to live. (11.372-75)

Salmacida Spolia was, however, a double masque, and the theme of peace and passivity centred round the King suddenly gives way to the militant appearance of the Queen. She is the "chief heroine," dressed in Amazonian costume, complete with plumed helm, baldric and antique sword, and accompanied by her martial ladies (11.380-96; Fig. 64). In her appearance there is perhaps a reference to similar costume (Fig. 65) in which Marie de Medici, the Queen Mother who was present at the masque (1.305), was shown by Rubens in one of the allegorical paintings which commemorated her generosity in a Protestant cause.¹⁰⁵ In this masque the colour symbolism of the King and Queen's costumes is reversed: he wears the "heavenly" colours of watchet, white and silver (11.350-53) commonly reserved for the Queen, she wears the carnation colours which the King had worn, for example, in Britannia Triumphans. Even the Throne of Honour on which the King had sat gradually vanished before the great cloud which descended bearing the Queen, "as if it gave way to these heavenly graces" (11.391-92). If in this masque there is the suggestion of the forgiving Christ there is also in the role of the Queen the suggestion of the Militant Virgin, the defender of the Church and Religious Orders "who are



44: Lady Masquer in Amazonian dress



Fig.65 Rubens, Marie de Medici, accompanied by Victory and Fame (Louvre, Paris)

as it were the well-ordered squadrons of the Militia of God," as Ribadeneyra declared. One of the Virgin's duties was to defend all those who were helpless or suffering "vnder the shadow of her wings," and if she does this for individuals, "Then what shall I say of the Gouernment and conseruation of Kingdoms? What of the battles and victorys of Christians? What of Iudges their administration of Iustice?"¹⁰⁶ The Virgin, as she was characterised from The Song of Solomon (vi. 10), was not only "fair as the moon, chosen as the sun," but "terrible as an army with banners." In Luminalia the Queen had personified the first two parts of the description; in Salmacida Spolia, against the growing threat of civil war, she personified the last, complementing the King's willingness, as Christ, still to offer forgiveness. The combination of these two sets of complementary qualities leads once more to the scene of harmony between earth and heaven with which the masque ends, and the implicit appeal for a religious harmony that was now the last hope of peace.

The way in which Charles and Henrietta presented themselves in the masques was no doubt blasphemous, a charge that was made and keenly felt by contemporaries like Milton.¹⁰⁷ What constituted blasphemy by way of the semi-deification of Royalty was for the seventeenth century, however, a very mixed question. At the Stuart court the King and Queen took their place on a theatrical ladder that ascended from earth to heaven, and on which there was a natural progression through Royalty to the Classical gods, and up to God Himself. The habit of manifold interpretation that had been so deeply ingrained in Mediaeval and Renaissance thought made it easy to give significance to the King and Queen on any of these levels, including seeing them as representative of the highest

examples of Christian virtue. If, moreover, the King and Queen believed that in the allegorical world of the masques they were representing not simply their court roles, but their two religions, symbolised in the complementary roles of Christ and Mary, then praise of their love and union in the masques takes on a much deeper level of meaning. On their "union" being reflected at the religious level depended not only the security of the throne and the peace of the country, but the accomplishment of a dream that had occupied so much of the thoughts and passions of the preceding century, the reunification of Christendom. If my interpretation is correct, the meaning of the masques is far more substantial than has generally been recognised. Far from being the frivolous entertainments of a court that danced while Civil war smouldered, they were an essential part of the debate on the issues that led to that war, full of immediate interest and urgent meaning for those who planned them, and those who witnessed them.

Puritan Epilogue

Having dealt at such length with the interests of Henrietta Maria, it seems fitting to let the Opposition have the last word, as they did in history. I will end by referring briefly to a satirical print that seems to sum up (from the opposite point of view) many of the connections between the Queen's religion and her court entertainments. The print is entitled Magna Britannia Divisa, and is in two parts.¹⁰⁸ The first (Fig. 66) is entitled "Professio Christiana, or King and Parliament," the second (Fig. 67) "Processio Romana, or King without his Parliament." Each part is accompanied by a key which refers to letters and numbers on the scenes, and the key is followed by further passages of description and comment.¹⁰⁹ The "Processio Romana" is by far the most detailed of the two, having no less than ninety numbers attached to the figures, and many pages of references. In this "Mysterious Procession" (p.97) are represented the Queen and all the principal members of the Catholic party at court, whose actions are described under the figure of a dance or masque. The Procession starts at the top of the page with a parody of the banners and placards of religious processions, of the type to be seen in the Capucin processions of Henri III (Fig. 51 above). The figures carrying them are described as the fore-runners that "caused the first maske of this Procession to be hatched and danced in Scotland, anno 1637, 38, and 39" (p.97). The emblems and descriptions are a skit on the masques: the scene is surmounted, for instance, by an ass carrying a pannier filled with geese, led by a fox; on the fringed banner held aloft by a monk stands the figure of Religion "holding a Book in her right hand, a wind Mil in her left, a knife under her Arme, and a Spit by her side

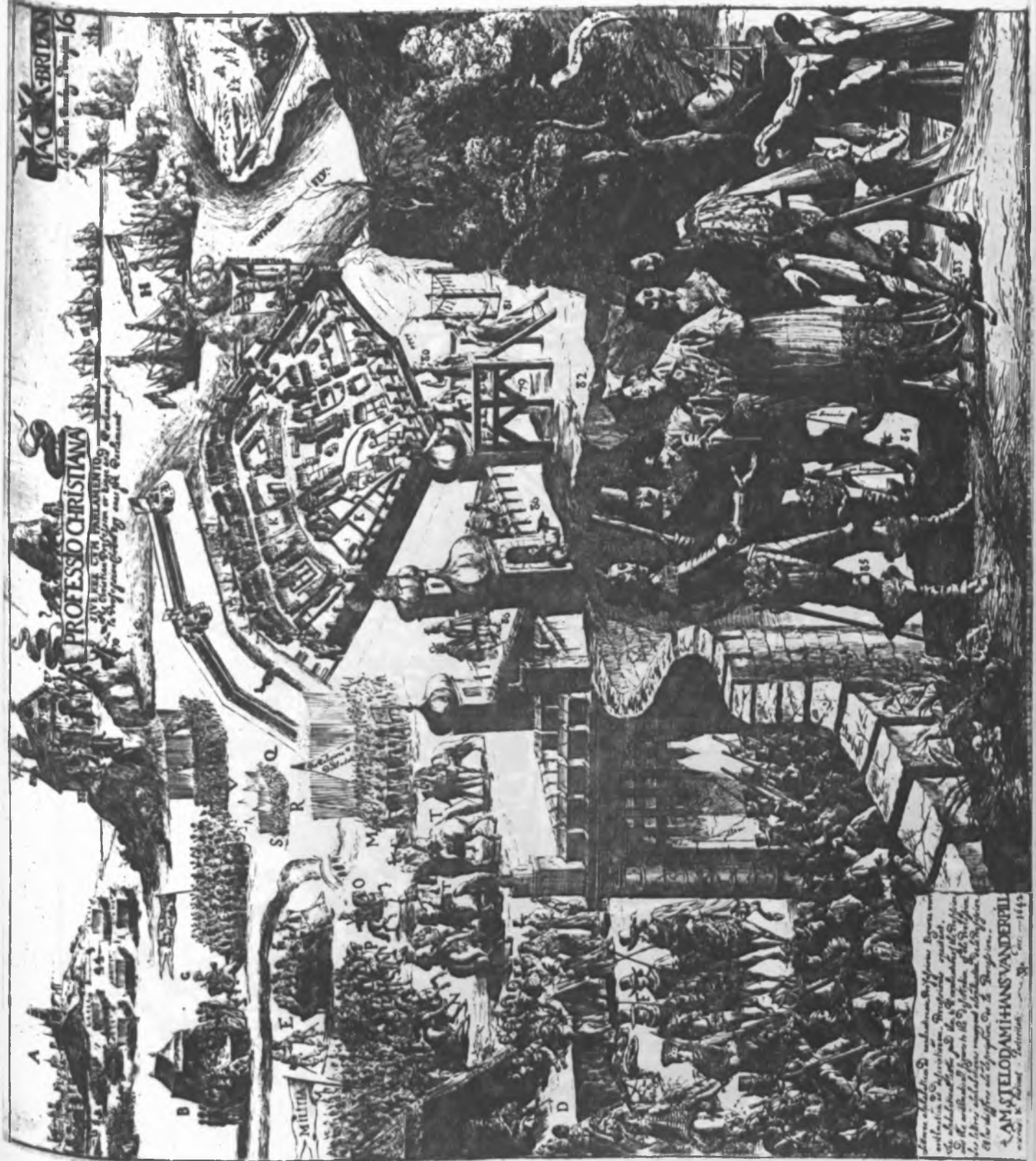


Fig.66 "Professio Christiana, or King and Parliament," Pt. I of engraving Magna Britannia Divisa by Hans Vanderpill (Amsterdam, 1642)

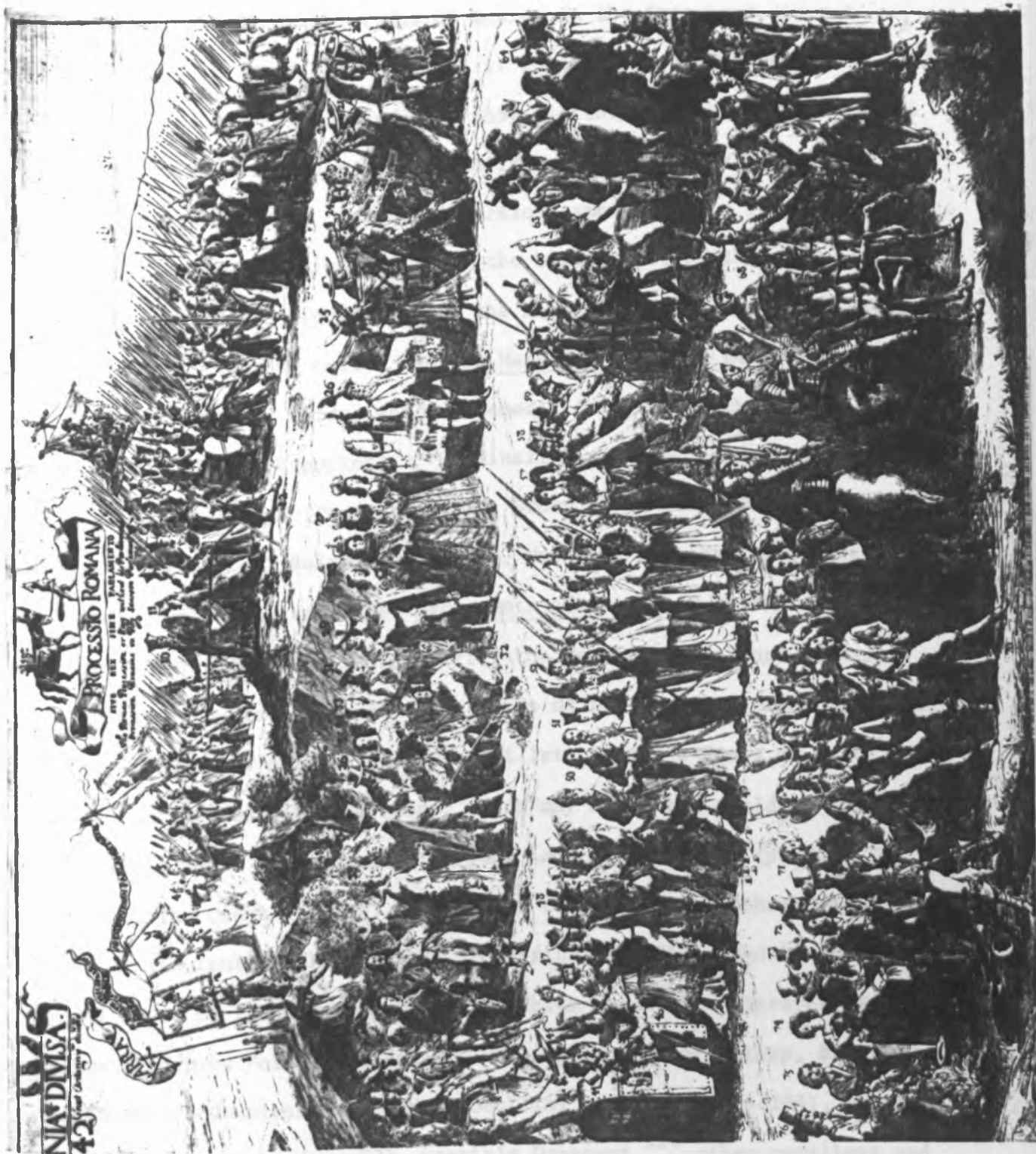


Fig.67 "Processio Romana, or King without his Parliament," Pt. II of Magna Britannia Divisa, showing the Queen at centre of the Procession

replenisht with dead Geese" (p.98). A reverse of fortune is ascribed to "the horror that holy mother Church beares on the fore-head, in not having been masked and disguised, as it behoved in the Figure of the said Banner." The Procession goes on to show all the members of the Catholic party at court, who "under many subtilities, masks and false vizards" engaged their adherents "to some diversions among them in favour of this Rebellion, and to the prosecution of the bloudy plot of this Procession and inordinate Maske" (p.98). Near the head of the Procession is Father O Cony (Conn) "bearing before him the Maske of our good Lady" (the Queen), leading the Recusant Lords (who are named), followed by the Friars "of sac and corde" (the Capucins). "Cardinall Barbarino" holds the bridle of a mule, while Pope ("now or never") Urban opens "the spring of the Gregorian Almanacks, Buls, Indulgences, Masques, Dispensations, Chaplets, Reliques, Agnus Dei, and other excrements of the Mule" (p.99). A little further on "two Almanack sellors after the new stile, sellors of Maskes of Religion and State" precede the Ladies of the "Congregation beyond-seas" who cry "Purge not only our purses, but let us make a Peace or Truce between our Husbands and our Sons, which may make them yeeld to the Iesuiticall Roman League" and "the good Lady transported" (p.99). The latter is the Queen herself, who, in the company of two other Queens, occupies the central place in the procession (no. 28). She is followed by all those of French or Spanish sympathies at court: Olivares, Toby Mathew, Endymion Porter, Windebank, Cottington, Father Philip, Bérulle, the Count and Countess of Arundel, Suckling (see no. 48, p.104), Henry Jermyn, Kenelm Digby (no. 72), possibly Davenant,¹¹⁰ other cavaliers and clergy: all, in fact, whom "Holy Mother-Church finds means to cause to dance in the great dance of this Mask," which, with "other sorts of masques and disguisements" make "a very recreative divertissement or pastime to

all the Congregation and most fit to the Propagation of the Jesuitical faith" (pp.100-01). These figures are followed by the Frenchified courtiers, and lastly come the Bishops, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, "not being able to assist at this Mask, whose Organs they have been, ring the bells during this Procession." Thus this unholy gathering, which set out to mock the Reformation which the King with his Parliament would have introduced, goes out "to dance on the Sabath day, and by pleasant and rash whirlings, no lesse mery than lamentable, go to their Episcopal down-fall within the Abisses" (p.102). The print very clearly sums up the activities of the Catholic party, led by the Queen, under the figure of a procession or entertainment. The use of the word "mask" or "masque" in its double sense, both in connection with deceit or disguise, and in connection with court diversions and masque-dancing, emphasises the connection between the Queen's court entertainments and her religion.

The print lends support to the idea that the same close links that existed between court entertainments and religious processions at the Valois court under Henri III also existed at the Caroline court under Henrietta Maria. The "Procession" shown here is no doubt a parody of the Capucin processions in which the Queen took part, and the seditious motives attributed to it are the same as those attributed to Henri's processions after he lost power. The League turned Henri's penitent processions into military associations and used them against him, so that they were later seen as having had a sinister motive from the beginning. In the representation of a Paris procession of 1593 (Fig. 68), Capucins are shown (as Miss Yates has pointed out) heavily armed, some with their hoods pulled down because they are wearing helmets.¹¹¹ A similar group is shown in the English procession, in a central position and just below the Queen. The description identifies the group (nos. 50-55) as the



PLATE 17

The Procession of the League
From B. de Montfaucon, *Les Monuments de la Monarchie Française*, Paris, 1734 (p. 221)

Fig.68 satirical representation of one of the Processions of the League,
showing the participants heavily armed

Queen's Almoner, her Confessor (Father Philip), Jesuits "girt with swords," and Capucins (identified by their hoods) carrying halberds, guns, and pikes (p.105). The satirist may have had the satirical presentations of Henri's processions in mind when he designed the English scene, especially as the letter-press is printed throughout in French as well as in English. There is nothing derivative about the figures, however, many of whom are recognisable portraits (of, for example, Count Olivares and Father Philip, pp.104, 105), and the detail of the scenes within the whole procession shows close observation of the English court. The print is another instance of the way in which Puritan satire indirectly provides valuable information on Catholic activities. As Cowley remarked in writing "The Puritan and the Papist":

in a Circle, who goe contrary,
Must at the last meet of necessity.

The Puritans, with the keen insight of those who hold diametrically opposed beliefs, perhaps understood better than most the way in which Henrietta's social activities and entertainments were linked with her religious life. The difference was that where she saw images of Beauty and Love linking the two, the Puritans more realistically saw bloodshed and war. For a brief period in the 1630's, however, the Queen's view was the one that influenced the life and culture of the court.

Notes: Chapter 5

1. George Marcelline, Epithalamium Gallo-Britannicum ... Presaging the Destruction and Ruine of Antichrist (London, 1625), sigs. M2^V and P4^V.
2. Quoted in Oxford History of England, ed. G.N. Clark (Oxford: Clarendon, 1937), Vol.9, p.202.
3. A.O. Meyer, "Charles I and Rome," American Historical Review, 19 (1913), 13-26.
4. Quoted from Montagu's correspondence with Cosin in DNB, s.v. Montagu, Richard.
5. William Chillingworth, Works (1838; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1972), I, "Epistle Dedicatory," p.iv.
6. David Mathew, The Age of Charles I (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1951), gives the names of Peers granted letters of grace and protection (p.139, n.5), and concludes that under Charles "there were no Catholic lords who were refused this aid."
7. Albert J. Loomie, "King James I's Catholic Consort," HLQ, 34 (1971), 303-16.
8. Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, ed. J. Berington, p.216.
9. Memoirs of Panzani, p.181.
10. Malcolm Smuts, The Culture of Absolutism at the Court of Charles I (Dissertation, 1976), argues (pp.303-04) that those around the Queen were on relatively friendly terms with both the Papal Agents and the leaders of the "Puritan" opposition; the Queen was certainly on good terms with the King's Secretaries Coke and Finch, and a friend of the Earls of Dorset, Holland, Northumberland, and Henry Percy.
11. D. Mathew, The Age of Charles I; see Chapter 14 on Lucius Cary and Great Tew; p.226 for reference to Montague and Digby.

12. DNB, s.v. Chillingworth, William.
13. D. Mathew, The Age of Charles I, makes an extended comparison, pp.226-29.
14. Memoirs of Panzani, pp.186-87.
15. Memoirs of Panzani, p.187; for other references to Father Philip in the dispatches, see pp.165, 171.
16. Gerard Sitwell, "Leander Jones's Mission to England, 1634-35," Recusant History, 5, no.4 (1960), 132-82.
17. Quoted in Sitwell, "Leander Jones's Mission to England," p.138.
18. For the following details, see Memoirs of Panzani, pp.135-39; G. Albion, Charles I and the Court of Rome, pp.174 et seq.
19. Cardinal Barberini stood godfather to Montague when he was received into the Church of Rome (Memoirs of Panzani, p.211).
20. Memoirs of Panzani, pp.150-53; Albion, Charles I, p.172.
21. Memoirs of Panzani, p.139.
22. DNB, s.v. Davenport, Christopher (name in religion, Franciscus a Santa Clara); he was appointed to the Queen in 1627, and was friendly with Laud.
23. For this and the following details, see Panzani, Memoirs, pp.165-67, 176; Albion, Charles I, pp.166 et seq.
24. Albion, Charles I, p.179.
25. Albion, Charles I, pp.188-89.
26. A.O. Meyer, "Charles I and Rome," p.17.
27. For reference to the Valois court, its religious policy and its entertainments, I have depended largely on the works of Frances Yates, who devoted almost a life-time to studying this period. Miss Yates remarked at several points in her work (exact references are noted

below) on the similarities between the Valois and the English court entertainments of the 1630's, but she did not make any extensive comparison herself. For details of Catherine's religious and cultural policies summarised below, see Frances A. Yates, The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century, Studies of the Warburg Institute, 15 (London, 1947; rpt. Kraus, 1968). For a general account of the period see also J.E. Neale, The Age of Catherine de Medici, and Essays in Elizabethan History (London: Jonathan Cape, 1943; rpt. 1970). For additional information and visual material on entertainments, see Roy Strong, Splendour at Court, Chapter 4 on "'Politique' Magnificence: Catherine de Medici."

28. Jean-Antoine de Baïf founded the Académie de Poésie et de Musique in 1570; see Yates, French Academies, Chapter 1, for discussion of Neoplatonism in relation to the arts and religion.
29. Yates, French Academies, p.251.
30. Quoted by Yates, Academies, p.200.
31. Yates, Academies, p.235.
32. Yates, Academies, pp.263-64.
33. Yates, The Valois Tapestries (London: Warburg Institute, 1959), p.91.
34. Yates, Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century, pp.83-87. For other comments on Bruno's mission, see Daniel Massa, "Giordano Bruno's Ideas in Seventeenth-Century England," JHI, 38, no.2 (1977), 227-42; A.D. Weiner, "Expelling the Beast: Bruno's Adventures in England," Modern Philology, 78, no.1 (1980), 1-13.
35. Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964). Yates's introductory chapters trace the tradition of Hermetic magic from Hermes Trismegistus, through Ficino and Pico della Mirandola, to Cornelius Agrippa's survey of Renaissance magic. Following this tradition, Bruno (Miss Yates suggests, p.139) distinguished only between two kinds of magic, one good and leading to the highest religious insights and powers; the other bad and superstitious. Lo Spaccio is discussed in this light, pp.210 et seq.

36. Yates, Academies, pp.188-89, 203.
37. L'Astrée, ed.cit., Vol.II, Bk.8, pp.324-27..
38. Pointed out by Yates in regard to sixteenth-century France and England, Academies, p.224. For details given below, see Academies, pp.222-23, 229-34.
39. See André Stegmann, "La Fête Parisienne à la Place Royale en Avril 1612," in Les Fêtes de la Renaissance, III, CNRS (1975), 373-92. Stegmann says that propaganda organised by Marie for the marriage of Louis XIII emphasises a politico-religious accommodation, not only with Protestants but with moderate Catholics and Gallicans, and that her entertainments reinforced this theme (p.374).
40. Hist. Manuscripts Commission, Salveti Correspondence, pp.94-5.
41. Frances Yates, "Dramatic Religious Processions in Paris in the late Sixteenth Century" (orig. publ. 1954 in Annales musicologiques, Vol.II, pp.215-60; rpt. as "Religious Processions in Paris, 1583-84" in Astraea, pp.173-207).
42. See Astraea, pp.179, 183-85.
43. The painting is described by Michael Jaffé, "Charles I and Rubens," History To-Day, January 1951, 67-69. No one, to my knowledge, has noticed the centrality of Henrietta to the allegory, nor interpreted it in terms of her religion, as well as of Charles's.
44. See D.J. Gordon, "Rubens and the Whitehall Ceiling" in The Renaissance Imagination, esp. pp.28-31.
45. Roy Strong, Charles I on Horseback, Chapter 4; Strong remarks on this painting that Charles epitomises the idea of St. George as the chivalrous Knight (p.61).
46. See the New Catholic Encyclopedia (McGraw-Hill, 1967), s.v. Marian Devotion.
47. Quoted by Roy Strong, Charles I on Horseback, p.62.

48. G.W. Addleshaw, Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship, p.139, n.2.
49. See D.J. Gordon's important essay on Hymenaei in The Renaissance Imagination, pp.157-84.
50. Gordon, Renaissance Imagination, p.169. Gordon shows that in James's reign the words "Quae Deus conjunxit nemo separet" became the subject of sermons and tracts, and were even struck on coins.
51. John Wing, The Crowne Coniugall or, the Spouse royall. Two Sermons (Middleburgh, 1620).
52. I made a detailed correlation between Tempe Restored and the Balet comique in An edition of the texts of two masques by Aurelian Townshend and Inigo Jones (Master's Thesis, University of London, 1956), "Commentary," pp.165 et seq. In summary, Jones's "Argument" translates most of the information delivered at length by the "Fugitive" in the original; some of the passages of prose description at the beginning, and at the appearance of Jove at the end, follow the wording of the Balet; the "Allegory" is copied in an abridged form, but in some places almost verbatim, from the allegory by "Sieur Gordon Escoçois" in the Balet. For Carew's use of Bruno's text, see Rhodes Dunlap, The Poems of Thomas Carew with his Masque Coelum Britannicum (Oxford: Clarendon, 1949), "Commentary," pp.275 et seq.
53. Frances Yates drew attention to the importance of the French sources for understanding the two English masques (Academies, p.264), but did not relate them to the English religious situation. One significant point in regard to religion is that, of the several allegories attached to the Balet comique, Jones chose that of "Sieur Gordon," thus stressing a connection between France and England that was important in James's reign. John Gordon (1544-1619), later Dean of Salisbury, had gone to France under a pension from Queen Mary, and served as Gentleman in Ordinary to Charles IX, Henri III, and Henri IV. He remained a strong Protestant, took part in public disputes on religion with Du Perron, and after 1603 was called to England by James, who valued him as a writer and preacher (see DNB, s.v. Gordon, John; and D.J. Gordon's notice of him in connection

with Hymenaei in Renaissance Imagination, p.171). His name in the Allegory of Tempe Restored thus vouched for "Protestant" approval of a French source.

54. Baltasar de Beaujoyeulx, Balet comique de la Royne, faict aux nopces de Monsieur le Duc de Joyeuse (Paris, 1582), Preface.
55. Yates, Academies, pp.250-53, 259.
56. Yates, Academies, pp.236-57.
57. Allan H. Gilbert, The Symbolic Persons in the Masques of Ben Jonson (Durham, N.C., 1948), p.261.
58. Balet comique, folio 48^r-54^v.
59. Frances Yates argued in her book Theatre of the World (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969) that there was a line of descent from John Dee, the Renaissance Magus and mathematician, through Robert Fludd (a contemporary of Laud's at St. John's College Oxford) to Jones, who probably looked to stage spectacle and mechanics for their spiritual or "magical" effects: see esp. Chapters 5 and 10.
60. Per Palme, in The Triumph of Peace (pp.94-95) discusses these ideas, and more recently Malcolm Smuts in The Culture of Absolutism (Dissertation, 1976, pp.260-69) has offered additional information on Jones's Neoplatonism.
61. The Renaissance Imagination, p.100.
62. George Semotta, A Theater of the Planetary Houres for all the dayes of the Yeare (London, 1631), p.2.
63. Yates, Academies, pp.284-90 for discussion; for Mersenne see also Manfred Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era: from Monteverdi to Bach (London: J.M. Dent, 1948), pp.141-42.
64. Quoted by Yates, Academies, p.210.
65. Panzani, Memoirs, p.136.
66. Yates, Academies, pp.70-73, 204-05, and 210.

67. Anthony Low, Love's Architecture: devotional modes in seventeenth-century English poetry (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1978) discusses the importance of the Psalms, pp.15-29, 117-29.
68. Low, Love's Architecture, p.15.
69. Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era, pp.182-83 for masque composers; pp.198-99 for Anglican Church music. For similar requirements by the Council of Trent, see Howard M. Brown, Music in the Renaissance (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976), pp.276 et seq.
70. The composers for each of the masques are given, wherever possible, in relevant entries by G.E. Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, and before the texts in Orgel and Strong, Inigo Jones. William and Henry Lawes were the principal masque composers, and both contributed to The Chapel Royal Anthem Book of 1635; Henry Lawes wrote the music for Sandys' paraphrases of the Psalms, "set to new tunes for private devotion" (1638); and Choice Psalms of the Lawes brothers was published in 1648: see Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era, pp.198-99. Masque music has been studied and reproduced by Andrew Sabol, Songs and Dances for the Stuart Masque (Providence, R.I., 1959).
71. It would seem likely that music in the Queen's chapel influenced the introduction of the more florid Italian style which first appeared in English Church music in 1639, with publication of William Child's First Set of Psalms (cf. Bukofzer, p.199).
72. Albion, Charles I, p.145 (n.2) for Panzani; p.205 for Montague. Montague later used Conn's Chapel in London for his ministry.
73. Howard E. Smither, A History of Oratorio: The Oratorio in the Baroque Era (Chapel Hill: Univ. North Carolina Press, 1977), Vol.1 for Italy.
74. For these details see also Willi Apel, Harvard Dictionary of Music (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1945), s.v. Oratorio, Lauda.
75. Yates, Academies, p.290.
76. Rhodes Dunlap, The Poems of Thomas Carew, p.276, and note. My references to Lo Spaccio will be to the English translation by

Arthur D. Imerti, The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1964).

77. Frances Yates, "Giordano' Bruno's Conflict with Oxford," JWCI, 2 (1939), 227-42; "The Religious Policy of Giordano Bruno," JWCI, 3 (1940), 181-207; French Academies, pp.225-29; Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition, pp.178-233.
78. A.D. Imerti, Introduction to Lo Spaccio, p.46.
79. Lo Spaccio, trans. Imerti, p.83.
80. This attack is discussed by Yates, "The Religious Policy," JWCI, III, 181-85.
81. Lo Spaccio, trans. Imerti, pp.78-79. The following bracketed page numbers refer to this translation.
82. Lo Spaccio, trans. Imerti, p.270. Bruno had sympathised with Henri's attempts to bring in a new age by the "magic" of religious processions and penance; in his reformed Heavens he placed "Repentance, Purification, Palinode, Reform, and Cleansing" (p.81), and he himself was hopeful that a new age of religious fervor was about to begin.
83. Cf. Charles's words in his Declaration to all his loving Subiects (1628) in which he asks his people to examine in their hearts whether, "in respect to the free passage of the Gospell, indifferent and equal administration of Iustice, freedom from oppression, and the great peace and quietnesse which every man enioyeth vnder his owne vine and figtree, the happinesse of this Nation can be paralleled by any other of Our neighbour Countreyes ..." (sig. C); whether, indeed, they do not "liue in a more happy and free estate, then any Subiects in the Christian world" (sig. F3^V).
84. See Imerti, Introduction to Lo Spaccio, p.86. It perhaps referred to differences over the nature of the Sacrament.
85. The paired figures of Eros and Anteros were of course familiar to the court, representing mutual love, or love-in-return, exemplified by the King and Queen (see D.J. Gordon's commentary on Jonson's

Love's Welcome at Bolsover in The Renaissance Imagination, pp.99-101; the emblem also appeared in L'Astrée, Vol.II, Bk.5). In The Temple of Love, however, the union of the two figures seems to represent a yet higher order of spirituality in the issue of a third figure, Amianteros.

86. For example, Bk.I, Chapter 4, Chapter 10. Cf. Sales's statement that God "in his beauty leads our minds to contemplate him, in his goodness leads our wills to love him" (quoted above, p.11 of this study) and Camus's description of the understanding and will quoted below; v. also Kenelm Digby, Conference with a Lady ..., p.8.
87. Birch, Court and Times, II, p.317.
88. George Marcelline, Epithalamium Gallo-Britannicum ... Presaging the destruction of Antichrist (London, 1625).
89. In The Renaissance Imagination, pp.143-44, 199-201.
90. In devotional literature the "Sun" of Heaven regularly became the "Son" of God and Mary (so that praise of Mary was also praise of Christ), e.g. in Brereley's Virginalia, Sonnet 32:

O MORNING STAR, when wee this star behould
 We are forewarned of th'approaching Sonne,
 Thy glorious rising to the world foretold
 The coming of a brighter Sun, thy Sonne.
91. The Poems of Richard Crashaw, ed. L.C. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927), pp.251-52.
92. See Orgel and Strong, Inigo Jones, II, pp.636-37, and Stephen Orgel, "Florimène and the Ante-Masques," Renaissance Drama, n.s. 4 (1971), 135-53.
93. Davenant, The Shorter Poems, ed. A.M. Gibbs, p.28, 11.13-16.
94. John Phillips, Reformation of Images, p.144, cites the example of West Cheap Cross in London, where in 1600 a defaced statue of the Virgin was replaced by a semi-nude statue of Diana, which was left unmolested. When later Diana was replaced by the Virgin, the statue was decapitated within a few days.

95. Louis Richeome, Holy Pictures, Pp3^V-Pp4 (pp.295-96).
96. Quoted in his discussion of Bérulle by H. Bremond, Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France, Tome III, ii, p.90.
97. The three figures are seated on a rainbow, surrounded by clouds and cherubin, surmounted by the Dove; a chorus of praying saints on clouds, and beneath these the earthly prelates.
98. Alexis da Salo, An Admirable Method, p.552 (sig. Z12^V).
99. Quoted by Albion, Charles I, p.233, from a report by Conn to Barberini.
100. See Roy Strong, Charles I on Horseback, pp.29-31.
101. Orgel and Strong, Inigo Jones, Fig. 93, and commentary on design no. 277.
102. See Orgel and Strong, Design no. 292; the details have not been filled in in the drawing. In this masque the sun belonged to the Indian or King's side, and the moon to the Persian or Catholic side; in some Persian sects the Sun and Moon gods were worshipped equally (see Larousse, Encyclopedia of Mythology, p.328 for illust.).
103. Quoted in relation to James by D.J. Gordon, Renaissance Imagination, p.200.
104. The altar may be seen in the context of Catholic thought such as that represented by a Latin poem from Oxford (written in 1635) which Panzani sent to Barberini, suggesting that the name of Mary reconciles Charles and Pope, and that the rose and lily will offer pasture to the Bees of Urban. Part of it reads:

IO MARIAE cum CAROLI ROSIS,
 Spargantur astris aemula LILIA,
 Laetis ubi VRBANI susurris
 Mellificum satietur agmen.

 (quoted by Albion, Charles I and the Court of Rome, p.114).
105. The return of Juliers to the Protestants in 1610, fulfilling a promise made by Henri IV before his assassination: see commentary by Claudia Lyn Cahan on the cycle for Marie de Medici, reprod. in Rubens, Avenel Art Library (Milan: Fabbri Editori, 1980), no.XV.

106. Ribadeneyra, Lives of the Saints, p.621. Marina Warner has pointed out that the cult of Mary served for centuries to uphold the status quo, and that her cult was always emphasised when the Church felt itself under attack (Alone of All her Sex, pp.104-06).
107. The presence of Charles behind Milton's picture of Satan has been felt by many critics, and the subject in relation to court masques has recently been emphasised by John G. Demaray in Milton's Theatrical Epic: The Invention and Design of Paradise Lost (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1980), see esp. pp.63-65. Roy Strong has repeatedly drawn attention in general terms to the almost blasphemous deification of Charles and Henrietta (e.g., Splendour at Court, pp.246-47; Charles I on Horseback, pp.90-91), but Henrietta's role in this has not been fully appreciated, nor its importance to the symbolism of Charles's role as Christ.
108. Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum (London: Chiswick Press, 1870-1954), Division I--Political and Personal Satires, Vol.I, no.143. The print is entitled MAGNA BRITANNIA DIVISA. La Grande Bretagne diuisee. Great Britany diuided. 1642. (Amstelodami--Hans Vanderpill excud. & dedicat. Posteritati: 31. dec. 1642). Each print is $18\frac{3}{8}$ x $16\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The Catalogue notes it as extremely rare, and "remarkably interesting as recording the names of many of the actors in those times" (p.107).
109. Reproduced in the Catalogue of Prints and Drawings, I, pp.96-107.
110. In a group of young men who dance, smoke, or drink, while "one points to his face of which the nose has disappeared" (p.106).
111. Frances Yates, "Religious Processions in Paris, 1583-4," in Astraea, p.196, Pl.40.