

THE WORLD'S CLASSICS

Court Masques

Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments 1605–1640

Edited with an Introduction by DAVID LINDLEY

General Editor
MICHAEL CORDNER

Associate General Editors
PETER HOLLAND MARTIN WIGGINS

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THE WORLD'S CLASSICS

COURT MASQUES

THE masque had a brief but splendid life as the dominant mode of entertainment at the early Stuart court, in which its extravagant fusion of dance, drama, music, and theatrical spectacle simultaneously served a number of different functions. At bottom a pretext for a costly (and sometimes disorderly) aristocratic knees-up, the masque displayed the magnificence of the court to itself and to the foreign ambassadors who competed for invitations. Writers and designers, however, attempted to imbue the transitory celebrations with moral and philosophical seriousness by translating the demands of the particular occasion, in Ben Jonson's words, into some 'more removed mystery' through complex and often arcane symbolism. At the same time, the occasional nature of the masque invited patrons, writers, and spectators to use it as the opportunity to comment in coded form upon specific issues of the time. In recent years the complexity of the negotiations masques frequently conducted with major political problems, from James I's desire to unite the realms of England and Scotland to Charles I's desperate attempts to find a path of political compromise on the eve of civil war, has been the object of a good deal of critical attention. In a wide variety of ways, then, the court masque offers a fascinating point of entry into the culture of the early Stuart court.

DAVID LINDLEY is a Senior Lecturer in the School of English at the University of Leeds. His publications include Lyric (1985), Thomas Campion (1986), and The Trials of Frances Howard (1993). He is editor of The Court Masque (1984) and The Tempest (forthcoming from The New Cambridge Shakespeare).

MICHAEL CORDNER is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of English and Related Literature at the University of York. He has edited editions of George Farquhar's The Beaux' Stratagem, the Complete Plays of Sir George Etherege, Four Comedies of Sir John Vanbrugh, and, for the World's Classics series, Four Restoration Marriage Comedies. He has also co-edited English Comedy (Cambridge, 1994) and is completing a book on The Comedy of Marriage 1660-1737.

PETER HOLLAND is Judith E. Wilson University Lecturer in Drama in the Faculty of English at the University of Cambridge.

MARTIN WIGGINS is a Fellow of the Shakespeare Institute and Lecturer in English at the University of Birmingham.

DRAMA IN WORLD'S CLASSICS

J. M. Barrie Peter Pan and Other Plays

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The Alchemist and Other Plays

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Arthur Wing Pinero
Trelawny of the 'Wells' and Other Plays

J. M. Synge
The Playboy of the Western World and Other Plays

Oscar Wilde
The Importance of Being Earnest and Other Plays

Campion, Carew, Chapman, Daniel, Davenant, Jonson, Townshend Court Masques

Chapman, Kyd, Middleton, Tourneur Four Revenge Tragedies

Coyne, Fitzball, Jones, Lewes, Sims The Lights o' London and Other Plays

Dryden, Lee, Otway, Southerne Four Restoration Marriage Comedies

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THE masques included in this selection run from Jonson's Masque of Blackness (1605), the second masque performed after the accession of lames I, to Davenant's Salmacida Spolia (1640), the last court performance before the country slid into the Civil War. They not only span the period of the early Stuart monarchy, but also encapsulate virtually the whole history of the developed court masque in England. The form grew out of earlier entertainments, mummings, and disguisings, but as it was defined in Jonson's early masques, it centred on the arrival of aristocratic masquers, elaborately costumed, to perform their specially choreographed dances. After 1600 their entry was customarily preceded by an antimasque (also known as the 'antemasque' or 'antic masque'), performed by professional actors, and serving, as Jonson said, as a 'foil' to the main masque. In the later Caroline period these antimasques were much extended, though the basic pattern of comic or disruptive figures overthrown or contained by the final arrival of courtly aristocrats remained constant. At the end of the dramatic entertainment the world of the masque was dissolved, as the masquers took out partners from the audience to dance with them in the revels.

Masques were major political events, often inordinately costly, where the court displayed itself not only to itself, but also to foreign ambassadors and diplomats who eagerly sought invitation (and frequently caused problems in quarrels over precedence, or because of the refusal of an ambassador from one country to appear with another).

Theatre historians have long recognized the significance of the masque in the history of the aesthetics and mechanics of the stage. Inigo Jones, who was involved from the first to the last of these entertainments, and exercised an increasingly dominant role in their production, introduced perspective, illusionist setting to the English theatre, and developed ever-more ingenious stage machinery throughout his career. In the earlier masques scenes were changed by the machina versatilis or 'turning machine', but in later masques sophisticated series of flats slid in on shutters or dropped from flying galleries made complex scene changes possible. (See Fig. 11.) Musicologists, too, have charted in the masque the development of a

musical style which, in projecting the words of songs in recitative and arioso setting, may have contributed to the rise of opera. But for literary critics, despite a thin trickle of major studies over the years, the court masque remains marginal to the study of the great age of English drama. The reasons are not difficult to find; the two major objections, then and now, can be summed up in two quotations.

Francis Bacon famously observed of court masques, that 'these things are but toys'.' It is hard not, at some level, to agree with him. The masques were performed as part of Christmas festivities or else to celebrate some particular event—the investiture of the Prince of Wales or an important marriage, for example. But at bottom the masques were always an elaborate frame for nothing more nor less than an aristocratic knees-up. For all the artistry that writers might exert in thematic exploitation of the structure of antimasque and masque, or the ingenuity of scene designers, it was the social dances of the revels and the feasting that followed that occupied the greater part of the evening.

In a second oft-quoted comment, a character in Beaumont and Fletcher's The Maid's Tragedy observes that masques are 'tied to rules of flattery'. Again, the charge has to be in some measure conceded. Whether in the fulsome tributes to James's pacific wisdom or to the mutual love of Charles and Henrietta Maria, praise was obligatory, and often (as in The Memorable Masque, for example) the fulcrum upon which the action of the masque turned. Furthermore, praise of the monarch was often a kind of investment made by the noble sponsors or performers of masques in their own futures. Bacon, despite his low regard for masques, was prepared to spend over £2,000 in offering the Inns of Court Masque of Flowers at the marriage of the Earl of Somerset to Frances Howard, entirely, it would seem, to earn favour with the King and cement his connection with his favourite.

These charges against the masque have to be confronted. The starting-point for an answer to the first, Bacon's accusation of frivolity, has traditionally been Jonson's credo in the preface to *Hymenaei* (p. 10). There Jonson confronts the fact of the insubstantial transitoriness of the performance, and argues that it is by the

¹ Francis Bacon, The Essays or Counsels, ed. M. Kiernan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1085), 117.

² Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Maid's Tragedy*, ed. T. W. Craik, The Revels Plays (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 1. i. 10–11.

intellectual seriousness of the programme underlying the text and its solid foundation of classical learning that it is able to reach transcendent truths. Though for Jonson the scenic display was merely part of the 'body' of the masque rather than the 'soul', his colleague Inigo Iones was equally convinced that the architecture of the scene and the iconographic detail of costumes, similarly founded upon research and the imitation of approved classical and foreign models, could lead the beholder to wisdom. Their stormy relationship came to an end after Chloridia, and Jonson delivered his last broadside against his erstwhile colleague in Love's Welcome at Bolsover. But, as D. I. Gordon long ago argued, their mutual antipathy derived from the way each of them was trying to occupy the same moral and philosophical ground.³ As earnest of his serious intent Jonson provided learned footnotes to a number of his early masques (see Fig. 3) and, taking their cue from him, literary critics have explicated the richness and subtlety of the iconographic programmes of many of the entertainments.

Though it might seem that Bacon's charge is sufficiently rebutted by pointing to this intellectual ambition, it is too simple an answer to take the masque at the professed estimation of its writers. For if one considers the tone of the dedication of The Masque of Queens to Prince Henry, or the very overkill of Jonson's notes, which threaten to swamp the text they accompany, then the dominant feeling that emerges is one of anxiety. Jonson was only too aware that many in his audience would be incapable of recognizing what was going on. The same anxiety suffuses Chapman's preface to The Memorable Masque (p. 78-80), and is to be found in Campion's The Lords' Masque of 1613, for example. Though each of these poets manifests nothing but contempt for the inadequate understanding of some of their auditors, I would want to argue that this betokens a sense of insecurity about the status and effectiveness of the masque which is, paradoxically, one of the chief sources of its interest for the modern reader. The collision of the poets' ambition with their knowledge of the realities of their performance generates a tension which gives many of the masques their life.

One marker of this prevailing sense of precariousness is the way that so many masques take masquing itself as part of their subject.

³ D. J. Gordon, 'Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones', in Stephen Orgel (ed.), *The Renaissance Imagination* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1975), 77–101.

Some of these discussions about the function and effect of the masque take place within the masque proper. In Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue, for example, the masquers are returned to the hill of virtue, and reminded of the struggle they must continually make to live up to the roles they have enacted. But it is most revealing that the issue is more frequently to be found in the antimasques. For the function of the antimasque was (to simplify somewhat) to represent the forces of disorder or dispute which the arrival of the aristocratic masquers dispels. What we see, then, in works like Love Restored or Neptune's Triumph, is the representation of anxiety about the status and efficacy of the genre displaced into the antimasque precisely in order that it may then seem to be overcome.

Something of the implications of this strategy can be seen in the deployment of a topos common to a number of antimasques, that of the difficulty of gaining entry to the performance. At one level this is no more than a representation of the real-life situation, where close checks were kept on those admitted to the masque, and it functions, therefore, as a confirmation to the courtly audience of its own exclusivity. But it is noticeable that those who are excluded are often representatives of the very people who had actually made the masque possible. Jonson may be joking at the beginning of Love Restored, when Masquerado observes that if the poet is not paid for his speeches 'it's no matter' (p. 66); but there is real bitterness in Love's Welcome at Bolsover when Philalethes claims 'Rhyme will undo you, and hinder your growth and reputation in court' (p. 198). Chapman may invite us to laugh at Capriccio in The Memorable Masque, but there is some sting in the way he is casually turned away without reward after providing the antimasque. In a masque not included in this volume, Shirley's Triumph of Peace (1633), a group irrupt into the work after the masque proper has well begun. They have almost all had some part in the making of costumes or sets, and claim thereby an equal right of entry. Suddenly the Tailor recognizes that he is being observed, and says: 'Tell us-hum? d'ye hear? Do not they laugh at us? What were we best to do? The Masquers will do no feats as long as we are here. Be ruled by me. Hark, everyone, 'tis our best course to dance a figary [figure] ourselves, and then they'll think it a piece of the plot, and we may go off again with the more credit.'4 Such characters are signs, I suggest, both of the uncertainty that the writers

⁴ T. J. B. Spencer and Stanley Wells (eds.), A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicoll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 302.

of masques had about their own relationship with the aristocratic audience they served, and of their awareness of larger questions concerning the function of the masque in court society.

Daniel's Tethys' Festival is a particularly interesting masque in this context, as it takes issue with Jonson's intellectual, Platonizing ambition, asserting that masques are nothing more nor less than transitory shadows. It is not that Daniel simply agrees with Bacon; rather, he turns the very evanescence of the masque into the lesson that it teaches (as Prospero does for Ferdinand and Miranda as he dissolves his betrothal masque for them in Shakespeare's The Tempest with the words: 'Our revels now are ended'). But Jonson himself, it would seem, had an ambiguous attitude to the genre he so championed. In his poem 'To Sir Robert Wroth' he complimented his addressee because he did not throng

... when masquing is, to have a sight
Of the short bravery of the night,
To view the jewels, stuffs, the pains, the wit
There wasted, some not paid for yet!⁵

If even Jonson, the most pugnacious defender of the masque, had doubts—or at least was ready to write in other genres with less enthusiasm—about the masque, then we must surely recognize the problematic status of the genre.

If one turns to the charge of flattery, then there is again a standard defence of panegyric. The poet, it was argued, was not merely flattering the sovereign or nobleman, but presenting an ideal to which he or she should aspire; if they failed to live up to the ideal, then it was not a mark of the poet's insincerity but of their own moral failure. This is what Jonson claims in his poem 'To My Muse', when he writes:

Who'er is raised For worth he hath not, he is taxed, not praised.⁶

Modern critics have customarily offered precisely the same defence for the sometimes grotesquely inflated praise that masques offer to successive monarchs. Praise was there to educate, we are frequently told. And it would be wrong for a modern cynicism entirely to reject the argument; we must suppose at the very least that James and Charles were also aware of the classical notions of education through

6 Ibid. 244.

⁵ Ian Donaldson (ed.), Ben Jonson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 285.

praise, and that therefore they would have been capable of listening for a subtext of advice. But the problem of praise is complicated by the fact that it was not only the monarch who was celebrated, but the courtly masquers themselves, cast in their idealized roles. Performing before an audience who knew them well, the gap between real and ideal must have been only too obvious to many spectators. Jonson wrote in his 'Epistle to Master John Selden':

I have too oft preferred Men past their terms, and praised some names too much; But 'twas with purpose to have made them such.⁷

Two years after this poem was written Jonson might well have recalled these lines when preparing his Folio of 1616. There he removed all mention of the participants in *Hymenaei*, written for the first marriage of Frances Howard, and *The Irish Masque* and *A Challenge at Tilt*, which had been presented at her remarriage to the Earl of Somerset, once the revelation of their part in the murder of Thomas Overbury precipitated their trial and imprisonment. *The Golden Age Restored*, indeed, represents Jonson's attempt to assuage his own, and the King's embarrassment, as he praises James for restoring justice to the world of the court. It is clear that, whatever the theory, Jonson was only too well aware of the practical consequences of praising the wrong courtier, and, as the quotation above demonstrates, was morally uneasy about the compromising of his integrity that panegyric threatened.

Though praise may be the goal to which every masque tends, it can be argued that the antimasque offered an opportunity to articulate problems and offer covert criticism of royal policy. Sometimes—as, for example, in the drunken revel of Comus's antimasque to Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue or Momus's parody of royal proclamations in Coelum Britannicum—these antimasques could dramatize abuses that the monarch might be encouraged to correct. It none the less has to be conceded that even if criticism is implied in an antimasque, the very structure of the masque suggests that such criticism is already contained by the benign royal power celebrated in the masque proper. This model of the functioning of the genre, stressing the 'containment' of any subversive energies, has indeed become the dominant frame for the reading of masques in many recent historicist accounts, but is itself open to question.

Perhaps the most important corrective to too simple a view of the functioning of panegyric is the fact that many works were presented to the monarch in the interests of the politics and ambition of the nobles who performed or commissioned them. Such masques might, therefore, embody a vision which might not square exactly with the policies of the King. Campion in The Lord Hay's Masque, for example, presents a rather qualified view of the Union of England and Scotland which the King so much desired, and many of his English subjects feared (and offers an ideal of temperance which must, at the very least, have made the court, which had recently participated in the notoriously drunken entertainment of Christian of Denmark, a little uneasy). This masque was probably paid for by the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, and so its muted anti-Scottishness might well represent something of their lack of enthusiasm for the King's pet project. The Memorable Masque, performed by the Inns of Court and probably influenced by Prince Henry, offered a view of Virginian exploration altogether more vigorous than lames was inclined to adopt, even, it might be argued, going so far as to put the case of the imprisoned Raleigh, desperate to re-embark on his quest for gold in Guyana. In the Caroline masque it was perhaps more difficult to establish a sense of distance between the monarch and the message of the masque, since Charles and Henrietta Maria, unlike Iames. regularly performed themselves. But even here, in masques often assumed to be politically even more inert than those of the preceding reign, close attention to the political affiliation of those involved in the presentations suggests a more complex negotiation between court and sovereign than the text alone might indicate. The masques offered by Henrietta Maria to her husband, indeed, have a rather different agenda from those in which Charles performed; and the presence of masquers of very different persuasions performing together in Salmacida Spolia made it a highly charged political event.8

In a good deal of recent criticism the masque is characteristically represented as nothing more nor less than the voice of sovereign power endlessly reduplicated. But it is at least as useful a starting-point to suggest that for the writers and the audience of the original performances the masques were much less obviously univocal. Even if, in terms of their overall ideological position, they

⁸ See Martin Butler, 'Politics and the Masque: Salmacida Spolia', in Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday (eds.), Literature and the English Civil War (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 59-74-

needs must present an 'illusion of power', careful attention to their detailed political context reveals that the apparently sycophantic panegyric may often be part of a work anxiously engaged in negotiation between court and king and between different political factions within the court itself. Furthermore, it always has to be remembered that, performed in a relatively small community, by representatives of itself, the audience was in a particularly 'knowing' relationship with the performers. It is not a straightforward matter to predict the potentially plural reaction of such an assembly.

For the modern reader, then, the court masque can profitably be studied, not simply as the mouthpiece of absolutist ideology, but as a stage where many of the contradictions of that ideology were consciously or unconsciously played out. They deserve our attention not because the charges laid against them by Bacon or Beaumont and Fletcher are untrue but, paradoxically, precisely because Jonson, Jones, and the rest were only too aware of their potential justice. The masque is not necessarily a complacent genre, however gloriously smooth its elaborate surface.

The selection of masques has been made with a number of criteria in mind. First, though Jonson is clearly the pre-eminent figure from 1605 until 1631, most of the other writers of masques are here represented. Their claims upon our attention have often been slighted in the past, but Campion, Chapman, and Carew in particular stand comparison simply as writers with Jonson. (And though I have stressed the political and ideological dimensions of the works, there is legitimate pleasure to be obtained from consideration of the artfulness of writers negotiating a highly stylized form with considerable learning and dexterity.)

Secondly, the selection registers something of the diversity of the genre. One strand of the heterogeneous ancestry of the form in mummings and disguisings is represented by *Christmas His Masque*. *Barriers at a Marriage* is included as a sample of a very different kind of courtly sport, the staged combat. Rather less popular perhaps in the Stuart court than in the time of Elizabeth, and not often surrounded with such elaborate texts as this, it yet demonstrates another way in which the masque writer might be called on to respond to and represent a political situation.

Most of the surviving Elizabethan entertainments were not performed at court, but were presented to the Queen on her progresses round the country. These entertainments were intimately engaged with the particular place of their performance and deployed material drawn from a rather different vocabulary from that of the masques at court. Their Stuart equivalents are represented here by Campion's Caversham Entertainment and Jonson's Love's Welcome at Bolsover. For their patrons, William Knollys and the Earl of Newcastle, these entertainments represented a major financial investment in securing the favour of the monarch, but yet in both cases the motive of self-advancement is wittily concealed by the writers' variations on the topos 'welcome to my humble home'.

Chapman's Memorable Masque is the one representative of the most elaborate sequence of masques and other entertainments in the whole period, the celebrations of the marriage of James's daughter Princess Elizabeth. It is interesting for its report on the procession through the streets of London, but more significant in that it was offered by two of the Inns of Court (whence came what is often claimed to be the first 'proper' masque, Francis Davison's Proteus and the Adamantine Rock in 1597). The Inns' position on the margins of court society permitted a rather different perspective to find voice (in Shirley's Triumph of Peace in 1633, indeed, we find some of the most pointed political criticism offered in any court entertainment).

Even further detached from the courtly centre is *The Coleotton Masque*, which represents the kind of domestic entertainments which must have been put on in large houses throughout the country. It is a pity that so very few examples of this sub-genre survive. It is a valuable reminder of the dangers of too exclusive a focus on the court, and suggests that many who had little to do with the court world (or, indeed, found themselves, as Essex did, in frequent opposition to it) were not thereby averse to the genre itself. (It is worth remembering that the City Pageants, often articulating a distinct political and ideological position, deployed many of the same symbolic counters as the court masque.) It is important to stress the variety of the masque, and to insist on the ways in which its procedures, its iconology and symbolism, were not simply the efflorescence of a specifically monarchical way of thinking.

⁹ See David Norbrook, 'The Reformation of the Masque', in David Lindley (ed.), The Court Masque (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 94–110.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The Coleorton Masque survives in a single manuscript transcript, from which the present text is taken. The texts of masques by authors other than Jonson have been drawn from the earliest printed copies. Jonson carefully prepared the first Folio of 1616 for publication, and though the status of the posthumous 1640 Folio is somewhat more ambiguous, it has seemed right to base all the texts (with the single exception of the Barriers, for reasons explained in the notes) on these Folios. I have obviously been much aided by the labours of previous editors, and a list of those editions consulted can be found in the list of Abbreviations on p. 214.

Spelling has been modernized throughout. I have attempted to modernize punctuation in a way that aids the modern reader to follow the sense, but inevitably with compromises and inconsistencies. Elisions have not been indicated where the modern reader easily accepts them (in words like 'even' or 'heaven', for example); but every effort has been made to indicate where 'extra' syllables are required for the metre.

The annotation of masques poses particular problems. The allusiveness of the genre, both to the repertory of symbolic and mythological images and to the political circumstances of the time, demands a level of explication rather higher than the norm for this series. It is, furthermore, difficult to steer a course between annotation which is strictly explicatory and that which is interpretative and risks imposing a contentious reading on the reader. I hope I have found a satisfactory middle road.