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The Form and Image of the Masque in Jacobean Drama

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Ph.D., The University of Glasgow, 1972



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Kathleen E. McLuskie
University of Kent, 1972

Summary

Chapter One:

It is frequently asserted that the masque was a combination of game and show. In this chapter I attempt to examine the nature of the games and shows produced in the Tudor court entertainments by looking at the various forms of masques and disguisings produced both at court and in other contemporary entertainments. The game contained an element of make-believe and this make-believe or 'fiction' inherent in the game was first verbalised in the presentation of the masquers and then dramatised when the presenters took on the role of a god. The effect of the arrival of a figure disguised as a god was to create a mythical world which included the audience at the banquet and was similar to the world which Elizabeth's courtiers tried to create for her in the progress entertainments.

When this fiction becomes dramatised it has a form similar to the disguising produced at the Tudor court and it became possible to combine a disguising with a taking out dance. When the action of the disguising is combined with taking out the ladies, the whole show becomes an integrated entertainment such as we find in the *device* prepared to entertain Mary Queen of Scots at Nottingham and the *Gesta Grayorum* presented at court by the gentlemen of Gray's Inn.

Chapter Two:

Given that this combination of disguising and taking out dance can produce an integrated entertainment, how far is it possible to call this entertainment dramatic? When the action of the masque is only to lead up to the taking out dance and is directly related to the audience at the masque, the drama which it presents is essentially different from drama as it is seen in the professional theatre. However, in some of Ben Jonson's masques, the action of the masque contains dialogue and is the enactment of a story, which absorbs the taking out dance into its action. The taking out dance becomes part of the show, produced for the members of the audience

who cannot take part in it.

The kind of drama presented in these masques of Ben Jonson is similar in form and effect to the Late Moralities occasionally produced on the professional Jacobean stage. There is a mutual influence from the Moralities to the masque and this is demonstrated by masques like Shirley's Cupid and Death and Milton's Comus which enact a story that is only incidentally related to the world of the occasion for which they were produced.

Chapter Two ends with an examination of four masques based on the theme of Pleasure and Virtue. Browne's Inner Temple Masque uses the theme as the basis for his story and as the material for the songs, dances and speeches which make up his masque. Ben Jonson tries to bring in the moral and allegorical subtleties of the theme but can only do this by direct statement because of the difficulty of dramatising the philosophical implications of Pleasure and Virtue. Inigo Jones and Townshend use the story of Ulysses and Circe as a base for a series of spectacular scenes, and Milton, in Comus produces a Late Morality in which he tries to deal with the problems of Pleasure and Virtue in a structure which is neither play nor masque.

Chapter Three:

The various ways in which the masque was presented, and the variety of forms which it could take, created for the contemporary audience a series of expectations of the masque which I shall call the 'image of the masque'. The court masque appropriated a vocabulary of panegyric and was an attempt to produce the ideal courtly entertainment as it is described in contemporary theories of kingship. It reflected the values of an idealised court and king and became associated with the vision of harmony expressed by the masque writers but often contradicted by contemporary accounts of the performances of masques.

Alongside the spectacular court masque, there was the other simpler form of the masque where disguised strangers intruded on a banquet. These masked figures who danced with the ladies could often bring danger and

excitement to a celebration and so the masque became associated with the evils and dangers of masking.

The form of the masque, with its dancing, masking and banqueting was similar to the mediaeval Dance of Death and some of the attitudes reflected in the Dance of Death became associated with the masque, particularly in treatises which dealt with the folly and vanity of earthly life. The transitoriness of the masque, described by such writers as Ben Jonson and Samuel Daniel, further made it possible to associate the masque with the transitoriness of human life and this comparison between the masque and life took over the frequently made comparison between life and ^{the} world of the theatre.

Chapter Four:

Masques were included in plays from the earliest Tudor drama. Because of the form of the masque, it was possible to use it as a device for furthering the action of a play and this sort of action is frequently found in the inserted masques of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. However in form it was also similar to some of the dumb shows inserted in the drama. Consequently the use of a dumb show to make a moral point about the action could be transferred to the masque inserted in the action of a play. I shall try to distinguish between masques used in this way and Late Moralities inserted in the action to serve a similar purpose.

Chapter Five:

The various associations of the masque which I describe in Chapter Three could be used to provide the language and imagery of some Jacobean plays. These images which refer to masques and masking are given greater force by the presentation of masques on stage when the physical image of the masque and the way it is used in the language complicate the audience's view of the action and extend its significance.

In the final chapters of this thesis, I examine the use of masques

in the plays of Shakespeare, Chapman, Marston, Middleton, Beaumont and Fletcher. The way in which the masque is used both as an image and a device can, I think, tell the critic something of how these dramatists controlled the audience's view of the action and how they themselves regarded the significance of show and spectacle, both in their writing and in the world of their plays.

Abbreviations

In the text I have abbreviated the titles of some of the books and editions which I have referred to most frequently. The abbreviated forms of the titles of periodicals are those indicated in the Modern Language Association Style sheet.

- Bentley; Gerald Eades Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage,
7 vols. ^{by J. E. Bentley} (1941-1968) intro. G. E. Bentley,
- CBM; A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicoll (1967) Cambridge
- Feuillerat, Edward and Mary; Albert Feuillerat, Documents relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary - the Losey Manuscripts Louvain (1914)
- Feuillerat, Elizabeth; Albert Feuillerat, Documents relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth Louvain (1908)
- Hall; Edward Hall, Chronicle containing the History of England during the Reign of Henry the Fourth and the Succeeding to the end of the reign of Henry the Eighth London (1809)
11 vols., Oxford
- Herford and Simpson; C. Herford and Percy Simpson, Ben Jonson (1925-52)
- Materialien; Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas ed. W. Bang 4 vols. Louvain (1902-14)
- MSR; Malone Society Reprints, General editor W.W. Greg London (1907 etc.)
- Nichols, Elizabeth; John Nichols, The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth 3 vols., London (1823)
- Nichols, James; John Nichols, The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First, his Royal Consort, Family and Court, 4 vols., London (1828)
- Orgel; Stephen Orgel, Ben Jonson; The Complete Masques, New Haven and London (1969)
- Reyher; Paul Reyher, Les Masques Anglais, London (1909)
- Schoenbaum; S. Schoenbaum, Annals of English Drama 975-1700 (1964)
- Welsford; Enid Welsford, The Court Masque, Cambridge (1927)

The Form and Image of the Masque in Jacobean Drama

Introduction

In the twentieth century, interest in the masque has focused on two main areas. In the earlier part of the century scholars concentrated on the development of the masque from May games and mummings to its full flowering in the masques written by Ben Jonson and staged by Inigo Jones at the court of James I.¹ In more recent years, beginning with D. J. Gordon's articles on Ben Jonson,² the interest has moved to an exegesis of the themes of Jonson's masques in relation to Neoplatonic theories of the ideal king and the harmonious court.³ Both of these kinds of work on the masque have in common the belief that Ben Jonson's work is central to the masque and other examples of the form are either precursors of his masques or a falling away from the excellent standards in masque writing which he set. Stephen Orgel's introduction to his collection of Jonson's masques makes some attempt to account for the contemporary unpopularity of some of Jonson's masques but behind this there seems to be the assumption, held by Jonson himself, that his masques represent the best examples of the form.

In all these books and articles there is implicit the suggestion that the masque is something locked in the world and ideology of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The traditions of May games and seasonal festivals

¹ v. E. K. Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage 2 vols. (1903), The Elizabethan Stage 4 vols. (1923); Paul Reyher, Les Masques Anglais (1909); Enid Welsford, The Court Masque (1927). I am very indebted to Glynne Wickham's work on the staging of masques and court entertainments discussed in Early English Stages (1959-72).

² D. J. Gordon, 'The Imagery of Ben Jonson's The Masque of Blackness and The Masque of Beautie' JWCI 6, (1943) 122-141; 'Hymenaei, Ben Jonson's Masque of Union' JWCI 8 (1945) 107-145; 'Jonson's Haddington Masque: The Story and the Fable' MLR, 42 (1947) 180-187; 'Poet and Architect: the Intellectual Setting of the quarrell between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones' JWCI 12 (1949), 152-178; 'Le Masque Memorable de George Chapman' in Fêtes de la Renaissance ed. J. Jacquot, vol. II (1961) pp.305-317.

³ Stephen Orgel, The Jonsonian Masque (1965); J. C. Meagher, Method and Meaning in Jonson's Masques (1966)

are dead and the attitudes which informed Ben Jonson's view of the king can only be dimly revived by historical explication. Yet masques were included in plays, are included in plays which are still performed, and enjoyed by audiences at the National Theatre and by the Royal Shakespeare Company. How can they work in the theatre? How can we understand the kind of drama which was presented in the masque?

The relationship between masque and drama is an interesting and complicated one since, as all the commentators realise, the performance of a masque involved far more than could be indicated by the texts. On many occasions there is no extant text for a masque and we have only brief accounts of a performance or cryptic notes in the revels accounts to go on. These notes have been carefully worked over by Welsford, Reyher and Chambers but where these critics are interested in the development of a form, I shall attempt to discuss the kind of entertainment presented by the variety of shows, disguisings and masques recorded at the Tudor and Jacobean courts.

In the first two chapters I shall discuss the relationship between the game and show involved in the Tudor and Jacobean masque in an attempt to see how far it can be called dramatic. I am principally interested in the relationship set up between the masquers and their audience and how this differs from that of an audience in the theatre to the actors on a stage. The varied accounts of the masque and the theories which masque writers developed about the function of masques and masquing provide a great deal of material which can provide information about the expectations which an audience had of a masque. These are often contradictory but I shall suggest that they combine to create what I shall call an 'image' of the masque, reflected in references to masques in contemporary sources.

These expectations about masques provided, I believe, the raw material for a dramatist who wished to include a masque in his play. He has to control his audience's expectations by the language of the play and the way he presents his masque, but the ways in which he does this are ultimately controlled by attitudes which can be explained by the critic and yet can still

be recreated in the play for a modern audience. The ways in which individual authors use the technique of the masque in their plays, can, I think, indicate something about their dramaturgy in general, and, with this in mind, I shall discuss the use of masques in the work of some major Jacobean dramatists.

The principal uses of masques in plays have been discussed by David Laird¹ and Inga-Stina Ewbank. David Laird's thesis is rather slight and relies heavily on secondary sources but Inga-Stina Ewbank's essay gives a clear account of the dramatic tradition in which the dramatic use of the masque worked. I hope to extend the arguments of these critics by talking about the theatrical impact of the masque and relating the use of the masque to other forms of spectacle in plays, including the dumb show and the inserted 'Late Morality.'²

It seems to me that the masque is not dead as a form of theatre. As the modern theatre extends itself beyond the proscenium arch and audience participation becomes more fashionable, it becomes possible to create something of the effect of a masque, which, in its turn, can help us to understand the effect of the Renaissance masque. In 1971 at the Roundhouse, in a performance of 1789, the actors of the Théâtre du Soleil, joined with the audience in a joyful fairground conga to celebrate the storming of the Bastille. Many of the audience may have celebrated this event at parties in the Place de la Bastille on the fourteenth of July, but at the Roundhouse it was different. The actors who had told the story of the storming of the Bastille to the little groups around the trestles had recreated the event for the audience through their enactment of a fiction. Had the enactment

¹ David Laird, The Inserted Masque in Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama, Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin (1955); Inga-Stina Ewbank, 'These Pretty Devices: A Study of Masques in Plays' in CBM pp.407-448

² v. below Chapter Two for a general discussion of the Late Morality and Chapter Four where I examine the use of inserted Late Moralities in certain plays.

of the fiction remained behind a proscenium arch it would have had a certain reality and the audience would have been moved by it; but by physically joining in the celebrations, by becoming part of the Parisian crowd, the audience became part of the world of the play and as implicated in the actions of the play as any of the actors.

This was beautifully demonstrated at the end of the celebration when Lafayette mounted a rostrum and said 'Rentrez chez vous, la Révolution est finie!'. Some of the audience tried to heckle him and carry on the celebration but even they were silenced by his presence as he stood above them holding his wooden rifle. The performance of the play created its world with such force that it could control the audience which had become part of it.

This account of the performance of 1789 is not merely a fashionable attempt to ascribe some sort of 'relevance' to this work on the masque. It is an attempt to suggest that the masque could work by creating a world in which the audience participated and so ratified. When Mercury or Pallas told the audience that the masquers had come from afar to praise the queen or bless the bride, they created a world which the audience could momentarily participate in and support, when they agreed to dance with the masquers. There may have been people at the Roundhouse who did not share the political views of the Theatre du Soleil, but they still joined in the events which the actors created and celebrated. Similarly, some of the audience at a masque may have remained intellectually unconvinced by the arguments of the masquing speeches but by joining in the masque they became part of the world which created and celebrated the values of harmony.

In plays where a masque is included, the audience in the theatre does not join in with the taking out dance, but it seems to me that the masque nevertheless creates a world which forces the audience to believe in it. At the simplest level masques produce a certain couleur locale which enforces the 'realism' of the play, but the sudden appearance of lights and the music which the masquers bring is also an experience which the audience in the

theatre shares with the characters on stage. It often knows more than the characters on stage what may happen in the masque, but the sheer theatrical impact of the spectacle makes the audience join with the characters in a certain view of the world, however this is complicated by their other knowledge.

It is this relationship between actors and audience which I shall discuss in this thesis, in the hope that it will extend understanding of how the plays work and how the responses which a Jacobean dramatist might expect from his audience can be recreated on the modern stage.

CHAPTER ONE

From Game to Show

Stephen Orgel in his introduction to The Complete Masques of Ben Jonson describes the masque as 'as much a game as a show.'¹ What he is trying to describe here is the way in which the Jacobean Court masque combined an elaborate dramatic and scenic spectacle with the 'game' where the disguised masquers descended from the scene to take out and dance with the court ladies in the audience. These same court masques described by Orgel are on the other hand seen by Dr Roy Strong as 'a superb baroque psychomachy, a manifesto in poetry, paint and music and the dance of the principle of the Divine Right of Kings.'² Dr Strong is referring to the emblematic and allegorical 'show' which was equally an important part of the masque. It is this peculiar combination of game and show which gave the masque its especial quality as a type of courtly entertainment and it is the balance between these elements which I propose to examine in this chapter.

The court masque, in being a combination of game and show, was a synthesis of different types of courtly entertainment which had existed separately as the masque and the disguising in the sixteenth century. It is impossible to describe their combination in terms of a simply chronological development since they existed side by side throughout the sixteenth century. Consequently I propose to examine these elements separately, both in an attempt to understand the nature of the masque as a dramatic entertainment and to show the variety of functions of these entertainments which were to be exploited by later dramatists.

The first account of the masque in England is to be found in Hall's

¹ Orgel, Introduction, p.1.

² Roy Strong, Festival Designs by Inigo Jones (1967) Introduction, p.3.

chronicle entry for 1512 where he tells us how

"On the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the king with xi others were disguised, after the maner of Italy called a maske, a thyng not seen afore in Englande; thei were appareled in garmentes long and brode, wrought all with gold, and after the banket doen, these Maskers came in, with sixe gentlemen disguised in silke bearyng staffe torches, and desired the ladies to daunce, some were content, and some that knewe the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thyng commonly seen. And after thei daunced and commoned together, as the fashion of the Maske is, thei toke their leave and departed, and so did the quene, and all the ladies." 1.

The event which Hall describes can, I think, be described as a game.

Huizinga in his Homo Ludens describes 'play' as 'an activity which proceeds within certain rules freely accepted, and outside the sphere of necessity.'²

The essential phrase is 'outside the sphere of necessity'. Dancing at a ball is a self justifying activity; it is for the mutual enjoyment of the participants. At the masque described by Hall, however, the dancing is placed more firmly in the structure of a game in that some of the participants are disguised. The rules of the game are that masqued dancers will appear and invite the ladies to dance.

The ladies who refused to dance on this occasion are those 'that knew the fashion of it'. This phrase has caused some controversy and Enid Welsford and Paul Reyher have suggested that their reason was that they knew of the scandals and dangers committed under disguise at the Italian Maschera.³ This is a possible interpretation but I should like to suggest that the phrase 'knew the fashion of it' means rather that they were thinking of the rules of another, more familiar game. The idea of masked strangers arriving at a private house to dance was familiar in the English mumming. In the mumming, however, the masked strangers arrived to play at dice with the household and, in the dancing which followed the game, the mummers and the household danced

¹ Hall, p.526; quoted in Welsford p.130

² Johan Huizinga, Homo Ludens. A Study of the Play Element in Culture, (1971) p.10

³ v. Welsford pp.132-5

on separate sides of the hall.¹

In calling this early form of the masque a game, I am not only making a statement about its form but also wish to draw attention to the kind of atmosphere which it created. It is something which is done for fun and the kind of enjoyment which it affords is essentially different from the enjoyment of watching an entertainment. Sidney Anglo in his article on the early Tudor masque fails to see

"why the entry of gentlemen in disguise who dance with women from the audience should have any more epoch-shattering effect than the entry of disguised gentlemen who dance with disguised ladies or than undisguised men who dance with undisguised women." 2

It seems to me, however, that this game is different both from the entertainment of watching others, where the audience is not involved, and from dancing at a ball where the element of surprise and mystery, occasioned by the disguise, is absent.

This atmosphere of fun is delightfully captured by Hall in his description of an earlier mumming. He tells how, in the first year of Henry's reign, the king

"came to Westminster with the Quene, and all their train: And on a tyme being there, his grace, therles of Essex, Wilshire, and other noble menne, to the nombre of twelve, came sodainly in a mornyng, into the Quenes Chambre, all appareled in shorte cotes, of Kentish Kendal, with hodes on their heddes, and hosen of the same, every one of them, his bowe and arrowes, and a sword and bucklar, like out lawes, or Robyn Hodes men, whereof the Quene, the Ladies, and al other there, were abashed, as well for the straunge sight, as also for their sodain comyng, and after certain daunces, and pastime made, thei departed." 3

Henry's new game 'after the maner of Italy' had the same potential for amusement and elaboration as the mumming. If the ladies were 'abashed' by the sudden appearance of the lords at Westminster, it would be possible to tease

¹ For a full discussion of this controversy v. Robert Withington: 'After the Manner of Italy,' JEOP, -15 (1916) -423-43; Welsford pp. 130-138, Reyher pp. 14-20

² Sidney Anglo: 'The Evolution of the Early Tudor Masque' Renaissance Drama, NS 1 (1968), pp. 7-8

³ Hall p. 513; quoted in Welsford p. 129

them even further in the taking out dance and the commoning where the masquers were disguised and the ladies were not.

By including the taking out dance with the appearance of disguised lords, Henry had both simplified and extended the usual court entertainment. At the Tudor court there were four principal^{al} forms of entertainment: the disguising in which a symbolic story was enacted in mime and dance; a simpler form of disguising in which a group of disguised lords and a group of disguised ladies entered the court and danced; the mumming in which disguised 'strangers' arrived at the court or a royal household to play at 'mumchance' with the household; and the barriers in which a mock tournament was fought by groups of disguised figures. In none of these forms did the disguised figures dance with the ladies of the audience, so to that extent Henry was extending the entertainment; but in restricting the show to the entry of the disguised figures, he was simplifying the entertainment and turning it into a game.

The difference between Henry's new game and the shows popular at the Tudor court can perhaps best be illustrated by looking at some examples of them and the ways in which they were combined. One of the most famous and elaborate disguisings was the one performed for the marriage of Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon in 1501. It consisted of an entry of three pageant cars representing a castle, a ship and a mount of love. From the ship came

"two well beseene and goodly persons calling themselves hope and desire passing towardes the rehearsed Castle with their banners in manner and forme as Ambassadors from Knightes of the mount of loue ... for the intent to attaine the favour of the said Ladyes present".¹

The ladies 'gaue their small aunswere of vtterly refuse', and so the knights from the mount attacked the castle and forced the ladies to ye^{ld} to them.

The climax of the entertainment was when

"... the Ladyes yealding them selues descended from the Castle and submitted them selues to the power grace and will of those noble Knightes being right freshly disguised and the Ladyes also fower of them after the English fashion and the other ffoure after the manner of Spaine

¹ Reyher: pp.501-2 quoting Harleian 7569 f 29v.

"daunced together divers and many goodly daunces and in the tyme of their dancing the three Pageantes the Castle the shippe and the mountaine remoued and departed the same wise the disguisers rehersed as well the Knightes as the Ladyes after certaine leasure of their solace and disport avoyded and evanished out of their sight and presence." 1

The dancing which ended this entertainment was the conclusion of the story. It signified the reconciliation of the ladies and the knights after the ladies had yielded. Figures disguised in English and Spanish costumes dancing at the end of the entertainment also symbolised the union of Spain and England, brought about by the Prince's marriage. This dancing is very different from the dancing at a ball since it is integrated with the story which makes the entertainment complete in itself.

Dancing could however be an entertainment to watch, even when it does not have these symbolic connotations. The spectacle which dancing could afford an audience is clearly suggested in the account of Cornish's Epiphany entertainment for 1494 where twelve gentlemen led twelve ladies by 'kerchyffs of pleasance'. As the men leapt and danced the length of the hall, the ladies

"slode aftyr theym as they hadd standyn upon a frame Runnyng, with whelys. They kept theyr Tracis soo demwyr & cloos that theyr lynnys movid all at conys." 2

It was the appeal of this kind of dancing which was seen in the simpler disguising where knights and ladies would enter to dance before the assembled company.

It is possible to see the difference between this and the general dancing of a ball in an account of an entertainment in the first year of Henry VIII's reign where a dancing entertainment is combined with a mumming.

¹ Reyher, pp. 501-2 quoting Harleian 7569 f 29v.

² The Great Chronicle pp. 251-2 quoted in Sidney Anglo 'William Cornish in Play, Pageant, Prison and Politics', RES, NS 10 (1949), 349

"his grace with the Erle of Essex, came in appareled after Turkey fasshion ... Next came lord Henry Erle of Wilshire & the lorde Fitzwater ... after the fashion of Russia or Rusland ... And after them came syr Edward Haward ... and with him syr Thomas Parre ... appareleyled after the fashion of Prusia or Spruce."

The disguised 'strangers' played at mumchance with the ladies and this was followed by a ball during which

"euery man toke much hede to them that daunsed. The kyng perceyuing that, withdrew hym selfe sodenly out of the place, with certayn other persons appoynted for that purpose. And within a litle whyle after there came in a drumme and a fife ... after them came a certayn number of gentlemen, whereof the Kyng was one ... After them entred vi ladyes ... their faces neckes armes and handes couered with fyne pleasaunce blacke ... so that the same ladies semed to be nygrost or blacke Mores ... after that the Kynges grace and the ladies had daunsed a certayn tyme they departed euery one to his lodgyng." 1

It would be hard to attribute symbolic significance to the king dancing disguised in 'Turkey fasshion' with ladies disguised as Moors. The dancing is an entertainment and the fun comes both from the surprise arrival of the disguised figures - a feature common to the mumming and later to the masque - and watching the king and the ladies dance.

On that occasion the mumming and the dance were separate entertainments each with their own function and appeal in the evening's revelling. Dancing, however, could be combined with another entertainment, such as a barriers, in such a way as to make the two episodes part of the same story. In 1514-15 the twelfth night entertainment was a barriers followed by a dance; the account in Hall suggests an attempt to combine them in a story.

"on the twelwe night, the kyng and the Quene came into the hall of Grenewyche and sodainly (there) entered a tente of clothe of golde and before the tent stode iiii men of armes ... and sodainly with noyse of trompettes entered iiii other persons all armed, and ran to the other foure, and there was a great and fearce fight, and sodainly came out of a place lyke a wood viii wyldemen, all apparayled in grene mosse ... with Vggly weapons and terrible visages and there foughte with the knyghtes." 2

The knights were victorious over the wild men and, after they had chased them from the scene, the tent opened and lords and ladies came out of it and

¹ Hall, pp.513-4

² Ibid. p.580

danced with one another. The dancing entry of the lords and ladies is connected with the barriers in that the first four men at arms seem to have been protecting them against the second four. Both groups of knights then joined forces to protect the tent from the wild men.

In all of these dancing entertainments the dancing is strictly for those who are part of the show and is a spectacle for the audience. However, eventually the masque itself is brought in as part of an evening's entertainment and is even adapted to the simple disguising. In the 19th year of Henry's reign there was an entertainment for the French ambassador. It opened with a disguising in which Mercury entered to say that Jupiter, who had often listened to debates about love and riches, asked Henry to listen to a similar debate. He was followed by two groups of 'young choristers of the chapel' led by Cupid and Plutus.

"In the centre walked one alone in the guise of Justice, who sang ... Justice commenced narrating the dispute between the parties in English, and desired Cupid to begin with his defence; to which Plutus replied; each of the choristers defending their leaders by reciting a number of verses". 1

This debate was concluded with the rather obvious decision from an old man that both love and riches were necessary to princes. It was then followed by four different kinds of dancing entertainments combining both masque and simple disguising. The main principle behind these entertainments seemed to be pure variety. Immediately after the dialogue

"at ye nether ende by lettyng doune of a courtain apered a goodly mount ... with all thinges necessarie for a fortresse ... on this rocke sat eight Lords ... they sodenly descended from the mounte and toke ladyes, and daunced divers daunces". 2

The knights here take out the ladies to dance and the suddenness of their appearance is achieved by the 'lettyng doune of a courtain' rather than by an impromptu appearance of the disguised strangers.

¹ Brewer, Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII (1864) vol. 4 pt. 1, pp. ccix-ccxi

² Hall p. 723. Cf. the entertainment of the Rich Mount in 1512 where the lords from the mount descend and came with ladies who have themselves come out of the mount rather than taking out ladies from the audience. v. Hall p. 535

This masque of lords is then combined with a dance like the simple disguising when

"out of a cave issued out the ladie Mary daughter to the Kyng and with her seuen ladies all appareled after the romayne fashion ... these eight Ladies daunced with the eight Lordes of the mount ..."

The entry of the ladies is like the entry for a masque but, rather than taking out the lords of the audience, they danced with the lords from the mount.

"... and as thei daunced, sodenly entred sixe personages, appareled in cloth of siluer and blacke tinsell satin ... there garmentes were long after the fashion of Iseland, and these persones had visers with syluer berdes, so that they were not knowne : these Maskers tooke Ladies and daunced lustly about the place. Then sodenly the kyng and the viscount of Torayne were comeighed out of the place into a chambre thereby and there quicklie they ii and six other in maskyng apparel ... greate, long, & large, after the Venicians fashion & ouer them great robes, & there faces were visard with beardes of gold: then with minstrelsie these viii noble personages entred and daunced long with the ladies, and when they had daunced there fyll, then the quene plucked of the kynges visar, and so did the Ladies the visars of the other Lordes & than all were knowen." 1

The fact that the ladies from the cave danced with the lords of the mount and the last masque enters when the penultimate masque is still in swing, shows that there is some idea of connecting these various dancing masques, although they are entirely separate from the entertainment of the debate which contains the statutory praise of the king. Including the masque in the evening's entertainment is an attempt to allow the spectators to join in the fun and it marks the end of the formal entertainment and the beginning of the court revelling. The element of surprise is present in the appearance of the maskers and the taking out the ladies turns show into game.

This practice of including a variety of entertainments in an evening's revelling could also apply to the masque alone. In September 1519 two masques were danced and here again it is possible to make a tenuous connection between the two although they were not specifically united.

¹ Hall, pp.723; partly quoted in Welsford p.144

"after the banquet ended, with noise of minstrelles entered into the chamber eight Maskers with white berdes ... and they daunsed with Ladies sadly, and communed not with the ladies after the fasshion of Maskers, but behaued theihselves sadly. Wherefore the quene plucked of their visours, and then appered the duke of Suffolk, the erle of Essex, the Marques Dorset (&c &c) ... all these wer somewhat aged, the youngest man was fiftie at the least. The Ladies had good sporte to se these auncient persones Maskers. When they wer departed, the kyng and the foure hostages of Fraunce ... with vi other young gentelmen entered the chamber, of the whiche sixe wer al in yelowe sattin ... and then euery Masker toke a ladie and daunsed: and when they had daunsed & comuned a great while their visers were taken of, and then the ladies knewe them." 1

On this occasion the two masques seem to complement one another; the ladies have good sport to see the masque of old men and are then rewarded by being allowed to dance with young men. There may not be any story uniting the two masques but the principle of contrast is present to emphasise the importance of the varied show as well as the amusement of the game.

When reading Hall's account of the first English masque it might seem possible to share Prunières' surprise that

"un genre dramatique aussi déterminé que le masque anglais a pu sortir d'un usage aussi peu dramatique que celui de se masquer et de se déguiser pour danser." 2

Henry's game was suitable for an elegant courtly pastime but at first sight it seems to have very little connection with the elaborate allegorical and dramatic introductions to the Jacobean masque. As a game it was complete and enjoyable in its simplest form, and, although it could be combined with other types of entertainment, it remained separate from them, with its own kind of appeal.

Throughout the sixteenth century the game was varied by varying the costumes of the masquers; the Venetians of Henry's first masque were replaced by grotesque masques of 'covetous men with long noses' or masques of bagpipes in Edward's reign, and in Elizabeth's time masques of moors, Turks and Amazons.³ Indeed the importance of variety is made explicit in the policy stated in

¹ Hall, p.599, quoted in Anglo op.cit. p.30

² Prunières, Le Ballet de Cour en France avant Benserade et Lully, p.27; quoted in Anglo op.cit., p.5, n3

³ v. Schoenbaum, pp.32-3 (1552-3); 34-5 (1559), 36-7 (1560), 46-7 (1579)

the revels accounts for Elizabeth's reign where there are instructions that

"At that syttinge would order be given to a connyng paynter to enter into a fayer large ligeard book in the manner of lymnyng the masks and shoves sett fourth in that last service to thend varyetye may be used from tyme to tyme." 1

Detailed accounts of these masques are not always extant but there is some indication that many of them were simple processions of disguised strangers who danced with the ladies.² As late as 1619, long after the more elaborate masque was in vogue at James' court, the simple game masque was being enjoyed in England. In 1619-20 Richard Sackville wrote to Lady Temple describing the Christmas festivities which included the very simplest masque:

"They speake of three maskes this Christmas but two certayn the running maske and the Princes, the first so called because they meane to runn from one howse to another some few of their selected frendes where it shall be daunced." 3

The continuing presence of the simple masque right through the accounts of sixteenth century entertainments has led some commentators, notably Sidney Anglo,⁴ to suggest that there is no connection between the masque as game and the elaborate court masque. I have suggested, however, that the simple game masque could be combined with other forms of entertainment. It is important to look at the potential for elaboration inherent in the masque itself which made possible its combination with a more elaborate spectacle.

What is especially interesting about the game of masking is that it implies an element of make-believe and pretence which is related to the pretence inherent in the drama. The drama is the enactment of a fiction and the masque similarly implies the fiction that Venetians, say, have come to court to dance with the ladies. The masque is a game in a way that the drama is not in that the masque involves the spectators directly in the make-believe.

¹ Feuillerat, Elizabeth, p. 114

² v. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage vol. 1 (1923) pp. 156-7
v. also Machyn, Diary ed. J.G. Nichols (1847-8) p. 215, p. 221

³ Folger, MS 991 quoted in Bentley^e vol. V p. 404

⁴ Anglo, op.cit. passim

The 'audience' of a Tudor masque are not merely watching the enactment of a fiction, they are required to participate by playing along with the game of the fiction in the taking out dance. This fiction could be varied by changing the disguises of the masquers, substituting Prussians or Turks for Venetians; it could also be developed in the direction of drama by making the enactment of the fiction more extended and more explicit. An initial move in this direction was the introduction of speeches to explain the presence of the disguised masquers.

On May 5th 1527, Henry VIII took a masque to a banquet given by Cardinal Wolsey. Cavendish describes this event in his life of Wolsey where he says

"I have seen the king suddenly come hither in a masque, with a dozen other maskers, all in garments like shepherds, made of fine cloth of gold and a fine crimson satin paned and caps of the same, with visors of good proportion of visonomy; their hair and beardes of fine gold wire or else of silver, and some being of black silk; having sixteen torchbearers, besides their drums and other persons attending upon then with visors and clothed all in satin of the same colours ... (They pretended to know no English and the Lord Chamberlain introduced them) ... they having understanding of this your triumphant banquet where was assembled such a number of excellent fair dames, could do no less, under the supportation of your good grace, but to repair hither to view as well their incomparable beauty, as for to accompany them at mumchance, and then after to dance with them and have of them acquaintance".¹

This speech is not really dramatic since the Lord Chamberlain is not one of the group of masquers and he is speaking in his own person. However for the first part of the entertainment the banqueters are an audience which admires the spectacle provided by the arrival of the masquers and listens to the speech. The speech in 1527 was no more than an expression of the masquers' compliments to the ladies; yet it shows an attempt to relate the masque to the occasion by making the fiction and the make believe explicit.

The character of the speeches would depend very much on the formality

¹ George Cavendish, The Life of Cardinal Wolsey, ed. Henry Morley (1885) vol.1, pp.42-3

of the occasion. In the case of Henry's masque for Cardinal Wolsey, all that was required was something suitably complimentary, the masquers turning the explanation of their presence into a nice compliment. In combining the explanation with compliment the masquing speech is combining a fiction with reality. The masquers really have come to 'view as well their incomparable beauty, as for to accompany them at murther' but behind this is the make-believe that the courtiers are shepherds. The Tudor disguisings were sometimes preceded by a prologue who explained that an entertainment was about to appear¹ but this was separate from the fiction of the entertainment itself. In the case of this masque the speech is part of the fiction: it is delivered by the Lord Chamberlain because the masquers pretend to know no English. It is this fiction which leaves the possibilities open for dramatic development.

The speeches in the masque could remain a part of the game so long as it was simply an elegant pastime for courtiers. When Henry himself danced in the masques and arranged them there would be no need for references to the glory of the king. However when the monarch was part of the audience and the masque was brought in by the courtiers some reference to his presence was very necessary. In Elizabeth's reign masques were more frequently preceded by speeches. In the absence of clear accounts for many of the masques of Elizabeth's reign it is difficult to ascertain the exact nature of these speeches. For example in the revels accounts for 1574 we find a note that

"the viij Ladyes of a Maske at Hampton court uttered a speech"²

¹ e.g. The Pageant of Coner Ioyall in the second year of Henry VIII. It begins with a pageant being brought in

"out of the which pageaunt issued out a gentleman rychely apparellled that shewed, howe in a garden of pleasure there was an auber of golde, wherein well lordes and ladies, moche desirous to shew pleasure and pastime to the Quene and ladies".

² Feuillerat Elizabeth, p 213

and in the same year there is the record of a payment

"for the diettes and lodgyng of dyvers children at saint Ione's while they learned theier parts and iestures meete for the Mask in which ix of them did serve at hampton coorte". 1

One of the additional problems was that the word 'mask' by the end of Henry's reign had become the generic term for all court entertainments; the distinction between the 'maske', which involved taking out dances, and 'disguising', which is a dramatic entertainment, has disappeared in the cryptic notes of the revels accounts.²

In the few accounts which do remain, however, it is possible to note various interesting relationships which could develop between the speeches and the dancing to which they were attached. At Shrovetide, 1577, there was

"A longe Maske of murrey satten ... prepared for Twelf night, with a device of 7: speches framed correspondent to the daie. Their Torchebearers vj: had gownes of crymsen Damask, and heade-peecees new furnished, shoven on Shrovetuysdaie night, without anie speche." 3

This account shows that the speeches 'framed correspondent to the day' were not essential to the success of the entertainment. They were left out when the masque was actually danced. From this I assume that the simple entry of masked dancers was still felt to be an adequate entertainment for certain functions.

However, the presence of the queen at a masque could on certain occasions alter the balance between the masquers and the audience with whom they were to dance: if the queen was the most important spectator, even the taking out dance would be a show for her and the part of the audience not directly involved. In 1579 a double masque was presented at court. It consisted of

"A Maske of Amasones in all Armore compleate ... one with A speach to the Quenes maiestie delivering A Table with writings vnto her highnes comyng in with musitions playing on Cornettes apparrelled in longe white taffeta ... and after the Amasons had

¹ Feuillerat Elizabeth, p. 219

² v. Chambers *op.cit.* p. 154 n.2; v. also Appendix I 'Terminology'

³ Feuillerat Elizabeth p. 270 quoted in Welsford p. 151

dawnce with Lordes in her maiesties presence in came
 Another Maske of knightes all likewise in Armour compleate
 ... and comyng in with one before them with A speach vnto
 her highnes and delivering A table written their torch bearers
 being Rutters Apparrelled in greene satten Ierkinnes ... the Amasons
 and the Knightes after the Knightes had dawnce A while with
 Ladies before her maiestie did then in her maiesties presence
 fight at Barriars." 1

Again there is no indication of the character of the speeches; they were presumably in praise of the queen and perhaps connected with the types of figures represented. There is some attempt to combine the two masks by having the Amazons of the first masque join in with the barriers which follow the second masque; an attempt, that is, to create a unified show. Moreover the expression 'danced in her maiesties presence' suggests that the whole device, including the taking out dance, is seen as an entertainment for the queen. The speeches and the tables presented to the queen are as important a reason for the arrival of the masquers as the taking out dances in which the queen and a part of the audience were not involved.

It is impossible to be dogmatic about the connections between the dancing and the speeches since the difference between the masque as a game and the masque as a show so much depends on the formality of the occasion. In one of the more extended accounts of an Elizabethan masque it is possible to see how complex the connections were between speech and dancing, game and show. In 1600, in a letter to Sir Robert Sidney, Rowland Whyte says

"There is to be a memorable maske of eight ladies. They have a straunge dawnce newly invented ... Those eight dawnce to the Musiq Apollo bringes; and there is a fine speach that makes mention of a ninth, much to her honor and praise."

The account continues with a further letter

"After supper the masks came in, as I writ in my last, and delicate it was to see eight ladies so pretily and richly attired ... and after they had donne all their own ceremonies, these eight ladies maskers chose eight ladies more to dawnce the measures. Mrs Felton went to the Queen and woud her to dawnce. Her Majesty asked what she was? Affection, she said. Affection, said the Queen is false. Yet her Majestie rose and dawnce." 2

¹ Feuillerat, Elizabeth, p.286-7; quoted in Welsford p.151

² Nichols, Elizabeth, vol.III, p.498

This account refers to the entertainments at the wedding of Lord Herbert to Anne Russel at which the queen was a guest. The references to the speech and the ladies doing 'all their ceremonies' suggests that the masque was more than a game. There is no account of a plot for the ceremonies but the fact that Mrs Felton was 'Affection' suggests that the masquers were taking roles rather than merely disguising themselves as types. The exchange between Mrs Felton and the queen is especially interesting in that it suggests the 'commoning': the queen pretended to call Mrs Felton's bluff and make a comment about Affection, but she still is willing to play the game and join in with the dancing. Indeed the queen's teasing comment to Mrs Felton shows that this masque is still a game despite the presence of dramatic 'characters' in the introduction. It is only because Elizabeth knew that Affection was being played by a courtier and a friend that she was able to make the comment. She was not breaking the decorum of a dramatic performance by entering its world to question the actor, but rather taking an active part in the game of make believe which was taking place in the real world.

* * * * *

Having looked at the various form of game masque in the sixteenth century and the complexities of their relationship with introductory speeches, I should like to focus more closely on the introductions to the masque and the ways in which they could become more dramatic. Again it is only possible to do this by looking at selected examples since what is in question is not a conscious development on the part of a single writer or designer but the potential of the masque for a variety of effects. The fact of speeches or even more dramatic episodes introducing the masque does not preclude its being regarded as a game, as I tried to suggest in the accounts of Henry's masque to Wolsey in 1527, or the masque at Lord Herbert's wedding. Nevertheless when the person who spoke the introduction did not take part in the dancing and when the speech did more than simply account for the presence of the masquers, the effect was rather more complicated.

For example one of the Shrovetide masques in 1571

"had going before it A childe gorgevsly decked for Mercury who uttered
A speeche: & presented iij fflowers (wrought in silke and golde) to
the Queenes Maiestie, signifieng victory peace, & plenty, to ensue.
he had also ij torchbearers in Long gownes of changeable Taffata with
him" 1

Here the child who ^aspeaks the speech is not one of the masquers; he is not a courtier in disguise but is taking the role of Mercury. His role as Mercury makes him the messenger of the gods and the implication is that he is bringing victory, peace and plenty from them. The fact that the child is dressed as Mercury gives a rather different point to the speech than one presented by a knight or a courtier praising the queen. It implies that the blessings have come directly from the gods and that Elizabeth's court is worthy of such direct blessing.

It is possible to make this point about the relationship between the speech and the figure who speaks it since exactly the same point is made in one of the few extant masque speeches from Elizabeth's reign, Antony Munday's 'verses which a gentleman in a Maske delivered to the Bride'. The gentleman delivers a speech of statutory good advice:

"First honour God which calde thee to this state,
And to thy parents showe thy duety still
Next keepe thine oath, and promise to thy mate,
Remember wolves do seeke the Lambes to spill
And thinke, as heere this marriage thou has past
Thou shalt be wedded unto Christ at last". 2

This speech is part of a conceit involving not only the bride and the masquers but also the whole occasion of the wedding. Munday's account continues

"In the same Maske, for the delightfulness of the Showe, was fained a Letter to be sent from Ioue, which Mercury thus pronounced before the company

'Fayre Ladyes, in midst of your dainty delicates & seemely
devises, loe (at the request of Iuno my Queene and spoused
mate) I have sent you this troupe of gallant and youthful
Knights, who for the honour they beare unto the sacred
state of wedlock, and also for the great account they make

¹ Feuillerat, Elizabeth, p.146; quoted in Welsford p.151

² Antony Munday, 'Amorous Epistles' in The Pain of Pleasure (1580) p.57

of these two persons, thus equally matcht, have given their woords, and faithfully avouched that (on their parts) no diligence shall want, by fayre demeanour, and seemely showes, to recreate the mindes of these honest assistants.

If then your courtesies shall allowe my reasonable request and yeelde no deniall to this my demaunde: I am as well pleased with the paines I have bestowed, as you shall be contented with the devises showed. From our Court in heaven this present and always,

Love'

This letter, after Mercurie had ended, with great and courteous obeysaunce, kissing the same, he deliuered to the Bride, and so the Gentlemen fell to their passtime" 1

When a poet is in charge of the devices for the masque he can unite the dancing and the fiction into a conceit which changes the nature of the entertainment. Munday's speeches are like those at Wolsey's masque in that they account for the presence of the masquers and praise the assembled company. In saying, however, that the knight masquers have come from Jove he implies that the whole occasion is taking place in a magical world blessed by Jove. The masquers are not merely intruding, they are assimilating the wedding into their fictional world.

This attempt to transform speeches of flattery and praise into statements about the world in which the masque takes place are found very frequently in the entertainments which were provided for the queen on her various progresses to the homes of her nobles and subjects. The entertainments were not usually masques since they required the queen as audience for a show rather than participant in a game. The variety of allegorical debates, water pageants, and welcoming speeches provided a vast and varied entertainment lasting over the days and nights of the queen's visit and all of them make the point in their speeches that they refer to the queen's power and exist only because of it. For example at Elvetham in 1591 there was a water entertainment on the river where Neptune appeared and

"After him came five tritons brest high in the water, all with grislie heades and beardes of diuers colours and fashions and all cheerfully sounding their trumpets." 2

¹ Antony Munday, 'Amorous Epistles' in The Pain of Pleasure (1580) p.58

² Nichols, Elizabeth vol.III, p.110

The show continued with Sylvanus being ducked and was obviously an excuse for some boisterous fun; nonetheless in the speeches a serious point is made when the sea gods say that they have come as her protectors

"whose jealous waves have swallowed up your foes
And to your Realme are walls impregnable"

The speeches draw Elizabeth into the significance of the entertainment and imply that the fact of the shows themselves was a subtle flattery for the queen.

The time and space of the entertainment created a world made magical by the queen's own presence. Wherever she moved some kind of apparently spontaneous 'happening' would be there to welcome her. This is nowhere more clearly seen than at the wonderful series of entertainments prepared for the queen at Kenilworth in 1575. There one of the entertainments, prepared but not performed, was a 'show of Diana'. Diana was to appear to the queen and tell her how she had lost her favourite nymph called Zabeta and feared that she had become a follower of Juno. This was to develop into a contention between Juno and Diana as to whether marriage or chastity was preferable. Perhaps the reference to marriage was a little too explicit so the device was suppressed.

The vision of harmony and beauty which Churchyard and Gascoigne tried to convey in the Kenilworth entertainment was extended to the imagery of the entertainments themselves, as well as being expressed in the speeches. In one of the water pageants, Arion appeared, sitting on a dolphin's back, and

"beegan a delectable ditty of a song wel adapted too a melodious noiz; compounded of six severall instruments, all couert, casting soound from the Dolphin's belly within, Arion the seuenth, sitting thus singing (az I say) without." 1

Now at one level this is simply another charming entertainment but the choice of Arion and a consort of seven instruments could suggest the harmony of the spheres which is a result of and a reflection of the queen's presence. The story behind the pageant was that the Lady of the Lake had been imprisoned

¹ Nichols, Elizabeth, vol.I, p.458

by a cruel lord until she could be released by another who is chaster even than she herself. Arion's song refers to this and says that the queen is responsible for the happiness which the entertainment expresses.

"O noble Queene give eare, to this my floating muse
 And let the right of readie will, my little skill excuse.
 For heardmen of the seas, sing not the sweetest notes
 The winds and waues do roare and crie where Phoebus seldome floates:
 Yet since I do my best, in thankfull wise to sing;
 Vouch safe (good Queene) that calme contente these words to you may bring
 We yeeld you humble thanks, in mightie Neptune's name,
 Both for ourselues and therewithall, for yonder seemely Dame.
 A Dame: whom none but you, deliver could from thrall:
 Ne none but you deliuer vs, from loitering life withall.
 She pined long in paine, as ouerworne with woes:
 And we consumede in endles care, to fend her from her foes.
 Bothe which you set at large, most like a faithfull freend;
 Your noble name be praised therefore, and so my song I ende." 1

We see some attempt to create the same kind of ideal world in the shows in Goldingham's 'excellent princely maske', presented before the queen at Norwich in 1578. In the opening speech of welcome as the Queen entered the town, Martia, who presented the speech, tells a story of how the gods themselves are challenged by the glory of her majesty. After they had all tried to assert their superiority over her

"Apollo did himself appeare, and made us all dismayde
 Will you contende with hir (quoth he) within whose sacred brest
 Dame Pallas and myself have framde our sovereign seat of rest?
 Whose skill directs the muses nine, whose grace doth Venus stain
 Hir eloquence like Mercurie: like Juno in her train." 2

The queen's power over the gods is again taken up in Goldingham's maske.

"It was of gods and goddesses, both strangely and richly apparelled:
 The first that entred was Mercurie.
 Then entred two torch-bearers, in purple taffata mandilions
 laid with silver laces, as all the other torchbearers were.
 Then entred a consorte of musicke; viz. sixe musitians, all
 in long vestures of white sarcenet gyrded aboute them, and
 garlands on their heads, playing very cunningly.
 Then two torch-bearers more.
 Then Jupiter and Juno
 Then two torch-bearers more
 Then Mars and Venus
 Then two torch-bearers
 Then Apollo and Pallas.
 Then two torch-bearers.
 Then Neptune and Diana
 And last cometh Cupido, and concluded the matter." 3

¹ Quoted in Goldingham, The Garden Plot, ed. Francis Wrangham, Roxburge Club (1825), Introduction p.xiii

² Nichols, Elizabeth vol.II p.149

³ Goldingham, The Masque at Norwich in Wrangham op.cit. pp.xvii-xviii

The masque opens with a speech from Mercurie who explains how the gods have come in answer to the prayers of the citizens of Norwich. He apologises for the absence of Ceres, Bacchus and Pomona who are 'tyed by the tyme of the yeare' and ends his speech with an explicit reference to the power of the queen.

"Only Hymenaeus denyeth his goodwill, eyther in presence or in person: notwithstanding, Diana hath so countre-checked him therefore, as he shall ever hereafter be at your commaundement." ¹

After this speech 'They marched they aboute agayne' and the action continues with speeches from each pair of gods interspersed with marching.

The masquers are here playing the roles of the gods rather than simply being dressed up as them; they present gifts to the queen and speak 'in character'. Moreover their flattery is so closely integrated into the fiction of the device that it creates an ideal Elizabeth especially for the occasion and does not seem too heavy handed or sycophantic. This sense of an ideal world, in which the gods are present and Elizabeth is equal with them, is further encouraged by the splendour of the costumes and the almost ritualistic way in which the masquers march round the room between each set of speeches. There are no taking out dances in this masque since its formality made it impossible for it to grow into a game. Nevertheless the queen is involved physically as well as symbolically when she accepts the gifts brought by the gods and the poetic images of the masque are underlined physically in the splendour of the scene.

What is especially interesting about the devices at Norwich, is the way in which connections between the imagery of the speeches and the world which the organisers were trying to create, was noted by others in the audience. In the dedicatory epistle to the printed edition of the collected speeches at Norwich, the dedicator says

"First appeared to me the Majestie of my Prince which beautifieth her kingdom, as the bright shining beames of beautiful Phoebus decketh forth the earth; which gladded the heartes of the people there, as they no lesse laboured to travayle forth to view the excellency of

¹ Goldingham, The Masque at Norwich in Wrangham op.cit. pp.xviii-xix

their Sovereign, than the true labouring bee enforceth herself in the spring tyme (when Dame Flora decketh the soyle) to seeke their delights, and our profit among the sweete smelling floures ... The Mayor, Magistrates, and good citizens, employed their study and substance to holde on to this happy beginning; the Prince had hir pleasure, the Nobilitie their desire, and the whole trayne such entertainment, as for the tyme of her continuance there Nowich seem'd (if any such there be) a terrestrial paradise". 1

This was a public letter and consequently it had to adopt the idiom of the rest of the entertainment. Yet through all the rhetoric we can see something of the intentions, if not the real effect, of the progress entertainments. The shows attempted to realise in action and spectacle the vocabulary of panegyric and eulogy. Goldingham's masque showed how it was possible to apply these images to a form very similar to that of a simple masque. The fiction behind the entry of the masqued figures had been extended, by the use of poetic vocabulary reinforced by the kind of figures presented, to make a symbolic point.

The creation of this effect does depend on the entry of the masquers being arranged as part of a poetic conceit by a poet who controls the whole structure of the entertainment. It also depends on the presenter taking on the role of a mythological figure rather than simply being disguised as one. The appearance of mythological figures in the Tudor masque does not make it ipso facto allegorical. When a group of masquers all disguised as a particular mythological figure appear, it is unlikely that they would be involved in any action which could be allegorical. For example the masques for Christmas 1554 included

"A Maske of vj venusses or amorous ladies with vj Cupides & vj torchebereris to them". 2

These so called 'venuses' are no more than 'amorous ladies'; they are not involved in any action and the description of their costumes does not describe any of the usual attributes of Venus. They had 'Cupids' as their torchbearers which showed some attempt at mythological consistency but this was not always

¹ Nichols, Elizabeth, vol.II pp.136-7

² Feuillerat, Edward and Mary p.169

observed. In 1555 there was a masque of 'goddess huntresses' referring, presumably, to Diana, and the revels account also records a payment for

"vij darters of tree for the turkie women that wear torchberers to the same at xvjd the pece." 1

Like the Turks and Venetians and the 'tumbleres who walked on their hands', the Dianas and Venusses could be just another costume type. The figures were chosen so as to present an interesting show - Cupid with his arrows or Hercules in a lion skin with 'a greate Cloob'.² It is possible to find allegorical significances for these figures in the iconography of the sixteenth century but it seems heavy handed to do this in the context of a simple courtly game.

* * * * *

In the above examination of the variety of Tudor masques and entertainments, I have continually stressed the importance of the formality of the occasion and the kind of control which a poet can exercise over the symbolic implications of an entertainment. I have tried to suggest that the symbolic significance of the Tudor entertainments and Elizabethan progress shows could be applied to a masque when this is made an explicit part of the conceit by the designer of the masque. I suggested in connection with the Tudor disguising that knights and ladies dancing in particular costumes could be symbolic in the framework of an allegorical story; I should now like to discuss an entertainment where a similar symbolic significance can be attached to a 'taking-out' dance because of the context of the occasion.

In 1562 a show was prepared 'to be shewed before the Queenes Majestie by way of masking at Nottingham Castell, after the meeting of the Quene of Scots'.³ On each of the three nights a disguising was prepared:

¹ Feuillerat, Edward and Mary p.174 cf. Ibid p.116 "one mask of women of Diana hunting with a mask of metrous to their torchberers" 1552

² Ibid. p.133

Ibid. p.169

Cf. Hall p.169, an account of an entertainment at Guisnes where Hercules heads a mask of the 9 worthies

³ v. Welsford, pp.153-4

"On the first night a prison, called Extreme Oblivion was to be set up in the hall and guarded by Argus and Circumspection and 'then a maske of Ladyes to come in after this sorte': first comes Pallas, then two ladies Prudence and Temperance, riding upon lions, then six or eight lady masquers leading Discord or False Report in chains. They all march round the hall and then Pallas declares that Prudence and Temperance have obtained Jupiter's permission to imprison Discord and False Report and to give their jailor Argus a lock labelled In Eternam and a key labelled Numquam. When this has been done then are th'nglishe Ladies to take the nobilitie of the straungers, and dance'."

On the second night there was a disguising of the Court of Plenty after which the conduits were to run with wine 'during which time th'nglishe Lordes shall maske with the Scottissh Ladyes'. On the third night there was to be a further episode in which 'Hercules or Valiant Courage' overcomes Disdain and Malice, and this was to be followed by the entry of 'vj or viij Ladies maskers'.

In these devices no explicit connection is made between the taking out dance of the masquers and the allegorical action; the allegorical action does not account for the presence of the masquers and only relates to the occasion through its allegory. To that extent the disguising, which tells the story of Peace and Discord, and the taking out by the 'maskers' are separate. Nevertheless it is difficult to describe the masque at the end of this entertainment as a game although it seems to have the simple form of the game masque. There is no element of surprise and the provisions for masquing are part of the arrangements for the whole entertainment. Moreover the masquers appear with the main disguising 'leading Discord and False Report in chains' or following the chariot of Peace and Plenty. In an entertainment which stresses the renewed concord between England and Scotland, a taking out dance where English Lords and Ladies take out Scottish lords and ladies must be interpreted as a friendly gesture with more than social overtones. By being placed in the context of a political allegory the taking out dance which ends the entertainment symbolises the harmony which has been expressed in the dramatic introduction even if this is not made explicit in the speeches of the main action. The game masque has been connected with a disguising and

become part of the show in such a way as to include the audience in the world of the show.

By combining the disguising and the masque in this way the designer of the entertainment has been able to extend the effects of both the types of entertainment. The political allegory is made more effective by physically including the audience and the dancing of a simple masque is more closely related to the occasion. I suggested earlier how the game masque could be related to the occasion by the speeches which introduced it; when the masque is combined with a disguising the world of Peace and Plenty from which the masquers come is dramatised for the audience rather than simply being referred to in the speeches.

This process of extending the 'show' which preceded the taking out dance can either be seen as combining the effects of disguising and masque - such as we see in the Nottingham devices - or as a process of using the techniques of the disguising to dramatise the introduction of the masquers. In the latter case the entry of the masquers is made more explicitly the climax of the entertainment. This is the effect which can be seen in the masque performed at court in 1594, by the gentlemen of Gray's Inn, Proteus and the Adamantine Rock.

The masque opens with a dialogue between Proteus and a squire; the squire tells the story of how his master had captured Proteus and accepted as ransom that the Adamantine rock, which brings with it control of the seas, should be brought 'whereas he should appoint'.¹ Proteus has added the condition that the Prince should show him

"... a Power
Which in attractive Vertue should surpass
The wondrous force of his Iron-drawing Rocks." (182-4)

Proteus then praises the virtues of his rock, the Sovereign of all the metals, which must turn towards it, making

¹ Gesta Grayorum, ed. W.W. Greg MSR (1915) p.62, line 176

"the Iron-Needle, Load-Star of the World
A Mercury, to point the gainest way
In watery Wilderness, and desert Sands;" (207-9)

The squire replies by turning to the Queen, the 'true Adamant of Hearts'. His speech to the Queen is a direct address of panegyric; but there is still some attempt to make it part of the dramatic dialogue between the squire and Proteus. Proteus has to give way before such a superior power and, striking the adamantine rock, he releases the Prince and his seven knights who have been kept hostages 'for the performance of the Covenants' between the Prince and Proteus, as is declared in the speeches. The Prince and the knights then move out to take the ladies to dance:

"The Prince and the seven Knights issued forth of the Rock, in a very stately Mask, very richly attired, and gallantly provided of all things meet for the performance of so great an Enterprize. They come forth of the Rock in Couples, and before every Couple came two Pigmies with Torches. At their first coming on the Stage, they danced a new devised Measure &c. After which, they took unto them Ladies; and with them they danced their Galliards, Courants &c. (300-304)

The praise for Elizabeth and the taking out dance of the masque have been combined in a story which is dramatised for the audience. The power of Elizabeth is enough to overcome Proteus and release the knights, and this is seen to happen as the squire's reference to and invocation to Elizabeth make Proteus weaken and open the rock. Even the element of surprise remains from the game masque since the masquers do not appear until they are released by Proteus. However, the taking out is now a part of the show. The element of surprise is still present but it is now completely integrated into the action. The masquers do dance with the ladies but after the galliards and Courants, there is another 'new Measure', shields are presented to the queen, 'and the masquers with a new Strain, went all into the Rock'.

In a situation where the audience is too numerous for all of them to join in the masque the dancing itself becomes part of the show. Although the ladies may have been surprised by the invitation to dance the masque had

become enough of a common court entertainment for the taking out dance to be less of a novelty than it was in 1512. On this occasion it was clear that dancing in this type of masque was very different from dancing at a ball. After the entertainment had ended some courtiers started up a measure among themselves. This was frowned on by the queen who retorted 'What! Shall we have Bread and Cheese after a Banquet?'.¹

In these last two examples of Elizabethan entertainments, I have tried to indicate the possibilities both for a combination of disguising and masque and for an extension of the masquing speeches into a dramatic conceit. In these entertainments and in the masque at Norwich or ^hAntony Munday's masque for a wedding, we see the basis from which the Jacobean masque could develop. Dr Strong's 'superb Baroque psychomachy' has its origins in the disguising which could allegorise events at court. But disguising could also be combined with dancing and taking out such as we find in the devices at Nottingham; Stephen Orgel's description of the masque as 'as much game as show' had its origins in the game masque of the Tudor court. This could be developed into a dramatic entertainment accounting for the presence of the masquers and at the same time expressing elaborate flattery for the court at which it was performed, turning the game itself into a show.

¹ Gesta Grayorum, ed. W.W. Greg MSR (1915) p.67

CHAPTER TWO

'More like a play than a Masque'Masques and the Drama

Much more extensive evidence is available about the 17th century court masque, and the libretti, written by poets like Jonson, Daniel and Campion, have attracted the attention of literary critics. Most of the critics recognise, like Stanley Wells, that the masque is

"an extreme case of a theatrical script in dramatic form which gives only a limited, partial impression of the performance that it represents, but nevertheless has literary value."¹

In saying this Wells shows an awareness of the problems of the masque as game, but quite apart from the problem of the taking out dances, the show which preceded them bears an interesting relationship to the drama.

In the 16th century, the commentators on the masque seemed to make a certain distinction between the dancing of the masque and the introductory speeches. For example the description of the Gesta Grayorum reads

"The sports therefore consisted of a mask, and some speeches that were introductions to it."²

The story of the knights, overcome by Proteus and freed by Elizabeth's power, was enough of an action in itself to appear to its contemporary audience as something separate from the revels danced by the 'stately mask' of knights. In his description of the masque danced at the wedding of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan Vere, Carleton pays a similar attention to the action of the entertainment. Writing to Chamberlain in 1604 he says

"Theyre conceit was a representation of Junoes temple at the lower end of the great hall, which was vawted and within it the maskers seated with staves of lights about them, and it was no ill shew. They were brought in by the fower seasons of the yeare and Hymeneus: which for songs and speeches was as goode as a play."³

¹ Stanley Wells, Literature and Drama (1970) pp. 56-57

² v. the account of the Gesta Grayorum in Nichols, Elizabeth vol. III p. 309

³ quoted in Welsford, p. 173

The texts of these speeches and songs are lost and so we can have no idea how much strictly dramatic action there was between Hymenaeus and the four seasons. However, Carleton's comment seems to suggest that the songs and speeches amounted to more than a simple introduction of the masquers.

This separation between the action and the revels was a necessary result of the different conditions under which the more elaborate masque was presented. The Jacobean masque with its extended libretto was an entertainment for a particular occasion with a specially invited audience. The majority of the audience was separated off from the action and the room for the performance of court masques was set out like a theatre.¹ According to Busino's account of Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue, masques were performed in a hall

"fitted up like a theatre, with well secured boxes all round. The stage is at one end, and his majesty's chair in front under an ample canopy."²

This kind of arrangement would make it impossible for the majority of the audience to feel even nominally part of a game. Consequently the masque had to develop more in the direction of an entertainment which could be enjoyed for itself without the direct participation of the audience.

The question remains, however, how far these entertainments could be called dramatic. I suggested in chapter one that the speeches which sometimes introduced the Tudor masquers approached the drama when the figures

¹ v. above chapter one where emphasis is placed on the differences in the game and show masque which resulted from the differing contexts and occasions for which the masques were produced. For descriptions of the kinds of halls and staging used in both Elizabethan and Jacobean entertainments v. Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages vol. I, ch. V, (1959) pp. 191-229; vol. II, pp. 198-200, vol. II, part II, pp. 148-165
Allardyce Nicholl, Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage (1957) passim.
L.B. Campbell, Scenes and Machines on the English Stage, (1923) chs. viii and xii.
Richard Southern, Changeable Scenery, part I; (1952), pp. 17-106.

² Quoted in Wells op. cit., p. 77.

who spoke were taking on a role rather than simply being disguised. Nevertheless, it seems to me that this kind of activity is still different from the kind of drama involved in presenting a play. A play presents an action performed by characters who are connected only with the action of that play. It presupposes a separation between the world of the play and the world of the audience, a separation which makes it possible for the audience to watch the action with an interest which is principally concerned with the narrative; with 'what will the characters do next'. There may of course be other connections between the action of the play and the lives of the audience - such as are found in dramatic documentary - but they are implicit rather than explicit and are not absolutely necessary for the success of the action.

This notion of necessity is important. Throughout its history the masque ended with the revels dancing or the presentation of gifts in which there was a direct connection between the figures in the masque and the people in the audience. The distinction which I want to make in the 17th century masque is one between those masques in which the action only exists as a prelude to the taking out and those in which the dancing is simply an addition to the dramatic action which is complete in itself.¹

In the first Jacobean masque, Daniel's Vision of the Twelve Goddesses, the only possible reason for the pageant of the goddesses is their arrival to present their gifts and dance with the lords. Their pageant made an impressive show which delighted the audience² but it is not a dramatic

¹ v. above chapter one pp. 5-7 where the dancing which followed the disguising was in no way connected with it. The disguising was an action complete in itself which did not require the revels dancing as its conclusion.

² Carleton's comment that the goddesses "being all seene on the stayres at once was the best presentacion I have at any time seene." Quoted in Chambers The Elizabethan Stage, Vol.III, (1923) p.280.

entertainment. The success of the pageant depends entirely on the queen being there to accept the gifts. Apart from describing the goddesses, Iris, Somnus and Sybilla who open the masque, do not do anything.

Iris relates the fiction behind the presence of the masquers; the arrival of a celestial presence of Goddesses determined to visit 'this fair Temple of Peace.'¹ It is not until Ben Jonson's first masque, The Masque of Blackness that there is any attempt, in the Jacobean period, to extend the narrative into further action and move the masque in the direction of drama.

Jonson's masque opens with a narration from Night of the chain of events which led up to the arrival of the black nymphs at the court. He tells how his daughters had thought they were most beautiful until they heard of 'the painted beauties other empires sprung' (133)². He tries to persuade them that they are still beautiful but was unsuccessful

"... till they confirmed at length
 By miracle what I with so much strength
 Of argument resisted; else they feigned:
 For in the lake where their first springs they gained
 As they sat cooling their soft limbs one night,
 Appeared a face all circumfused with light -
 And sure they saw it for Ethiops never dream -
 Wherein they might decipher through the stream
 These words
 That they a land must forthwith seek
 Whose termination of the Greek
 Sounds - tania. (154-165)

The land that they must seek is of course Britannia.

It would have been possible for the masque to end here with Night's realisation that they had found a promised land where they could dance with lords who found them beautiful. But Jonson is a dramatist, so

¹ Daniel, op.cit., ed. Joan Rees CBM p.32

² Jonson, op.cit., ed. Orgel p.47-60

this narration of past action becomes extended into new action. In the speeches before the taking out dance of this masque there is some attempt to enact rather than just relate the events which led up to the arrival of the masquers. After Niger has told his story to Oceanus and been informed that he has come to 'Albion the fair' there is a further scene in which

"the moon was discovered in an upper part of the house,
triumphant in a silver throne made in the figure of a pyramis" (186-7)

Aethiopa the moon goddess appears to say that she was the figure which the nymphs saw in the water. Aethiopa's speech, in which she goes on to praise Britain, is the final conclusion of the action begun by Niger's narrative. The taking out dance to which she invites the nymphs is not necessary to make sense of all the preceeding action.

Part of the reason for the dramatic conclusion may have been that the queen herself danced in the masque and so it was impossible for Niger to turn to the state and see in the audience the face which had appeared to the nymphs. This means that the action of the masque was complete in itself, an action which could be completed without direct contact with the world of the court. The connections with the court set up in Aethiopa's praise of England are similar to the connections set up between the worlds of the play and audience in the prologues and Epilogues of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. Greene's Arraignement of Paris, for example, having enacted the choice and judgement of Paris, then turns outwards at the end of the play and has Paris present the golden apple to Elizabeth. This final action does not make it any the less a play since the action has been performed by characters enacting a fiction into which they draw Elizabeth. The essential difference between the masque and an ordinary play is of course the fact that a masque is written for a special occasion which is also a courtly occasion, and the time given up to the revels is a greater part than the token inclusion of the audience in an epilogue.

However, as the introduction to the revels developed in the direction of drama, the game and show elements of the masque became to a certain extent separable.

This separation of the revels and the introductions in the 17th century masque, the disappearance of the element of game, made it important to increase the variety of the show which in turn further removed the masque from the audience. The ways in which the visual spectacle developed under the direction of Inigo Jones has been well documented by other commentators;¹ my interest here is with the way in which the desire for variety in the masque brought about a certain dramatic development.

This search for variety, both dramatic and spectacular, led Ben Jonson to the development of the anti-masque. In his introduction to The Masque of Queens Jonson says

"And because her Majesty (best knowing that a principal part of life in these spectacles lay in their variety) had commanded me to think on some dance or show that might precede hers and have the place of a foil or false masque, I was careful to decline not only from others', but mine own steps in that kind, since in the last year I had an anti-masque of boys;"²

The anti-masque of boys referred to, appears in The Haddington Masque, written the previous year, in which Cupid appears with

"twelve boys most anticly attired, that represented the sports and pretty lightnesses that accompany Love under the titles of Ioci and Risus"³ (135-6)

¹ v. Orgel, Introduction passim; Welsford chapters 7 and 8; D.J. Gordon, "Poet and Architect. The Intellectual Setting of the quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones" JW 12 (1949) pp.152-78

² Jonson, op.cit., ed. Orgel pp.122-3

³ Jonson, op.cit., ed. Orgel pp.107-21

Cupid and the boys

"fell into a subtle and capricious dance to as odd a music each of them bearing two torches, and nodding with their antic faces, with other variety of ridiculous gesture, which gave much occasion of mirth and delight to the spectators" (144-6)

This anti-masque in The Haddington Masque is not an integral part of a complete dramatic development. The dance adds another dance to the entertainment and ends the first sequence. This opening sequence is dramatic in that it enacts the story of Venus and her graces searching for Cupid, but there is not much action involved. The search for Cupid is really the vehicle for the statutory flattery, allowing Venus to suggest that he might be found among the ladies:

"Look all these ladies' eyes,
And see if there he not concealed lies,
Or in their bosoms 'twixt their swelling breasts;
The wag affects to make himself such nests" (63-5)

The speeches, which follow the sequence with Cupid, are essentially undramatic explanations of the fiction behind the presence of the masque: Cupid has made the bride and groom fall in love and Vulcan has prepared 'Some strange and curious piece t'adorn the night / And give these graced nuptials greater light" (218-9). The rest of the speeches are taken up with praising the king and the bride and introducing the masquers.

In the Masque of Queens Jonson fulfills his promise to 'decline not only from others, but from mine own steps in that kind'. He presents a masque which has a crucial part not only in the dramatic action but in making the action dramatic. The eleven hags enter from a hell and call for their Dame. She tells them that they must

"Join now our hearts, we faithful opposites
To Fame and Glory. Let not these bright nights
Of honour blaze thus to offend our eyes;
Show ourselves truly envious, and let rise
Our wonted rages ..." (120-4)¹

¹ Jonson, op.cit., ed. Orgel pp.122-41

The witches then sing their charms designed to 'darken all this roof / With present fogs' and they are in the middle of their dance when they are banished by a blast of loud music and the arrival of Heroic Virtue. This can be described as a dramatic action since the dance of the witches is not only there to provide variety. It presents the evil which must be banished by Heroic Virtue. By banishing the witches Perseus is behaving as a character. He does not have to be presented by someone else like the goddesses of Daniel's Vision of the Twelve Goddesses, since he establishes himself as being on the side of virtue by his action. Perseus does go on to explain who he is, when he informs the audience that the house of Fame which has appeared belongs to his daughter, but his position has been dramatised in his action of banishing the hags who have also enacted their wickedness in the charms and the magical dance.

In his description of the action Jonson shows how he is trying to write drama, despite the fact that he puts it in terms of making the scene more interesting.

"At this the Dame entered to them, naked, armed, barefoot, her frock tucked, her hair knotted and folded with vipers; in her hand a torch made of a dead man's arm, lighted, girded with a snake. To whom they all did reverence, and as she spake, uttering by way of question the end wherefore they came: which if it had been done either before or otherwise, had not been so natural. For to have made them their own decipherers, and each one to have told upon their entrance what they were and whether they would, had been most piteous hearing, and utterly unworthy any quality of poem, wherein a writer should always trust somewhat to the capacity of the spectator, especially at these spectacles, where men, besides inquiring eyes are understood to bring quick ears, and not those sluggish ones of porters and mechanics that must be bored through at every act with narrations." (88-99)

In writing an anti-masque with words and action Jonson is making the masque enact an event rather than simply present a series of speeches to introduce the masquers; he wants this enactment to be as 'natural', if not naturalistic, as possible. In doing this he is presenting the audience with a dramatic action.

In The Masque of Queens the dramatic action ends with the banishment

of the witches and the remainder of the masque is simply a presentation of the masquers by Fame. However as Orgel says in his introduction to Jonson's Complete Masques, Jonson's masques become significantly more dramatic in the second decade of his employment as a masque poet. He says of Oberon that

"The anti-masque of satyrs is in every sense a part of the world of Oberon, and during the course of the masque the satyrs are converted from their games to the prince's service. All this is accomplished in what is dramatically the most completely realised masque Jonson composed."

This masque has a complete plot in a way which we have not found in any of Jonson's earlier masques. The satyrs are told by their prefect Silenus that they must behave themselves well as

"These are nights
Solemn to the shining rites
Of the fairy prince and knights" (37-9)²

The satyrs want to see the prince Oberon and are presented with the gates of his palace which appear when the rock at the front of the stage opens. They find the sylvans guarding the gate, asleep and think how they could tease them. The sylvans awaken and tell them that they have arrived too soon and must dance and revel until the time when the prince will arrive. The palace then opens and the prince arrives with his knight masquers and the 'nation of fays'. The masque enters to a song in praise of James. This would seem the moment to move the masque down to the dancing with the court. It is however, kept within the stage world for the Sylvan and Silenus praise the prince dramatically by appearing to give the information about his greatness to the satyrs who must be taught to honour him. Consequently, as Orgel says

"Its very coherence causes difficulties, chiefly at the moment when the action must break through the boundaries of the stage and move outward to include the king and court".³

Again, partly because the

¹ Orgel, Introduction p.14

² Jonson, op. cit., ed. Orgel pp.159-173

³ Orgel, Introduction loc. cit.

masque is danced by Prince Henry himself, the crucial moment of the masque is the appearance of the prince rather than the movement to include the court. The revels are not given any significance in the speeches but are just included in the stage direction after the second dance of fays.

"Then followed the measures, corantos, galliards etc ..." (336)

The ladies who are taken out in this masque are included in the action. Their dancing is simply another part of

"the shining rites / Of the fairy prince and knights" (38-9)

They are observed by the satyrs who are watching the rest of the dancing and, more significantly, they are watched by the audience at the court. The ladies who dance with the knight masquers in Oberon are giving a performance just as much as the satyrs and fays and their performance is different from that of the ladies at Henry's court in 1512, even though these ladies may have been watched by the wall flowers at the ball.¹

This insistence on the dramatic and play-like nature of the Jonsonian masque is an attempt to clarify the significance of the audience participation in the masque. Orgel in his introduction to The Complete Masques says

"The form was designed, then, both as a celebration of the court and one in which the court could participate."²

It seems to me important to make a clear distinction between the kind of physical participation which was possible in the Tudor masque and the intellectual participation which was occasioned by an entertainment whose principal frame of reference was the court. This intellectual participation is the kind to which Orgel refers when he goes on to say

¹ In fact this type of masque is much more similar to the disguising described in chapter one

² Orgel, p.2

"For the Jacobean poet, the idealisation of the virtue embodied in the king and the aristocracy was in the highest sense a moral act ... The Jacobean masque must be seen in the light of poems like To Penshurst and the epistle To Sir Robert Wroth, which instruct through praise"¹

However he later confuses the intellectual and the physical participation when he says

"Every masque concluded by merging spectator with masquer, in effect transforming the courtly audience into the idealised world of the poet's vision"²

Jonson's masques nearly always have 'fictions' which refer to the court and these are often concerned with the virtues proper to the court. But the expression of these virtues is dependent on the dramatic presentation of a fictional world which refers to the court but does not require the physical participation of the people in the court for its message to be understood. One example of a masque with a clear moral point is The Golden Age Restored performed in 1615 'by the Lords, and Gentlemen, the King's Servants'.³ In this masque Pallas enters heralding the Golden Age; she is prevented from establishing it by the arrival of the Iron Age 'calling forth evils'. As in the Masque of Queens, the evils of the iron age are easily banished by the very appearance of Pallas 'showing her shield' and the golden age is brought about by a scene change. Astrea and the Golden Age are then brought in and, while rejoicing that they are 'to live again with men', they wonder how they can live on earth without any followers. Pallas tells them that Jove has provided for them and calls the poet masquers from Minerva's cave. The poets dance the main dance and Astrea, Pallas and the Golden Age sing the praises of the new age. After the masquers have danced, Pallas insists

¹ Orgel, op.cit. p.2

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., pp.224-232

"But here's not all; you must do more
Or else you do but half restore
The age's liberty

Poets: The male and female used to join
And into all delight did coin
That pure simplicity." (167-72)

This is the cue for the taking out dance. But this does not end the masque for after the 'Dance with the ladies' is over, Pallas, Astrea and the Choir say how perfect the world has become

"This this, and only such as this
The bright Astrea's region is,
Where she would pray to live;
And in the midst of so much gold
Unbought with grace or fear unsold,
The law to mortals give." (219-224)

Once again the dancing with the ladies is made part of the world of the masque and the ladies are as much performers as the poet masquers. The moral point of the masque made in the speeches is that the Iron Age of Fraud, Slander and Corruption must be banished in order to bring about the ideal court such as exists with James. The spectator does not need to make physical contact with the masquer, for he can see the golden world actualised for him on the stage; he can see that the masque is taking place within a court which is the frame of reference of the masque and is also glorified, both physically and implicitly, by its presence. This is more than could be achieved by a mere physical contact in a taking out dance.

On the other hand, the story of the Golden Age overcoming the Iron Age, and Astrea being brought to earth attended by poets, is also an action complete in itself. It has a plot and makes a moral point in a way similar to the plots of the Tudor disguisings. It gains far greater point by being produced at James's court but this point is not restricted to that particular court or place. The poet masquers have not come only to dance with the ladies, but also to be part of Astrea's train; they would have a part in

the action even if there was no taking out. Moreover, the speeches, which marvel at the splendour of the court no longer refer to the audience of ladies, but to the masquers themselves. The presenters now point inwards to the masquers rather than outwards to the ladies; even the praise of James is obliquely phrased as praise of Jove's power.

This seems to me to be an important conclusion to the development of speeches in the masque. They could change from being speeches of presentation to being a simple narration of a fiction explaining the presence of the masquers; this fiction could then be dramatised, until the connection with the original game was completely severed and the masque became a play like performance which only obliquely referred to the court where it was being produced.

Jonson seems to become increasingly aware of the importance of dramatic coherence in the introductions to the dancing. This begins with his insistence that the speeches of the hags in The Masque of Queens should be 'natural' and continues with such comments as his sarcasm about anti-masques which are not related to the plot. In his Masque of Augurs he satirises the irrelevant anti-masques in the figure of Van Goose who is preparing an anti-masque of pilgrims and wants to bring in a further anti-masque of Turks. The Groom asks

"what has all this to do with our masque" (242)

to which Van Goose replies

"O sir, all de better vor an antic-masque, de more absurd it be and vrom de purpose, it be ever all de better. If it go vrom de nature of de ting, it is de more art; vor dere is art, and dere is nature; you sall see"¹ (243-6)

Jonson's insistence was because he could see that to make a coherent moral point within the fiction required a coherent dramatisation of the oppositions

¹ Jonson, op.cit., ed. Orgel p.383

involved, and the relationship between the world of the dramatic masque and the world of the court.

In this context it is interesting to compare Campion's Lord's Masque with Jonson's more coherently dramatic masques. Campion's masque was disliked by Chamberlain who complained to Carleton

"that night was the Lord's masque whereof I hear no great commendation, save only for riches, their devices being long and tedious, and more like a play than a masque."¹

On reading the masque, Chamberlain's comment seems justified in that the speeches go on through a series of episodes which hold up the concluding taking out dance. Yet they do not have the dramatic unity of Jonson's masques; the episodic style in fact makes the masque unlike a play since there is no real connection between the episodes. The fact that the episodes are a series of enacted fictions means that the connection between the world of the masque and the royal wedding which it celebrates have to be stated rather than performed.

In the action of the masque, Orpheus comes to release Entheus from Mania's cave where he has been consigned by 'the mad age / senseless of thee and thy celestial rage'. Entheus then introduces Prometheus, who appears, surrounded with stars. The stars are made to appear to dance 'in a strange and delightful manner' by one of Inigo Jones' mechanical devices and, at the end of their dance, they are metamorphosed into the masquers. This is followed by the pages' dance who then bring the masquers onto the scene. This would seem to be the right moment for the masquers to take out the ladies and conclude the action of the masque.

The conceit has fulfilled the requirement of being delicately complimentary. The masquers are stars who are told to

¹ Welsford, p.172

"Advance your choral motions now
 You music-loving lights,
 This night concludes the nuptial vow
 Make this the best of nights.
 So bravely crown it with your beams
 That it may live in fame
 As long as Rhenus or the Thames
 Are known by either name." (149-56)¹

They are bringing 'light to the banquet' but as stars they could also be symbols of the harmony of the spheres and so the harmony of the court.

This part of the masque is in itself a good example of the Tudor type of masque in which the speeches say who the masquers are and include praise of the audience in their explanation of why the masquers have come to that particular place. But Campion does not leave it there. The plot continues with another scene change and women transformed into statues appear. They have been turned into statues by Jove, and Entheus asks Jove

"Thy power in these statues prove
 And make them women fit for love." (253-4)

The star masquers then dance with the statues and finally the men and women masquers

"take out others to dance with them, men women, and women men, and first of all the princely Bridegroom and Bride were drawn into these solemn revels" (323-5)

The masque does not even end there. After the revels

"The whole scene was now again changed, and became a perspective with porticoes one each side, which seemed to go a great way" (239-40)

Sybilla enters, drawing in a large obelisk, with statues of the Bride and Bridegroom on either side. She delivers a latin speech in praise of Jove and after a further song and dance the masquers leave.

No dramatic connection is made between the episodes of Mania's cave,

¹ Campion, op.cit., ed. I.A. Shapiro CBM pp.95-124

the stars and the statues, or the scene with the obelisk. There is merely variety for its own sake and each episode has to be separately connected with the occasion and the praise for the king. In the opening scene with Mania, Orpheus tries to connect the freeing of Entheus with the action and the occasion of the masque. He brings up the question of the importance of poetry in making the masque suitable for just grave and royal occasions:

"For thy excelling raptures, ev'n through things
That seem most light, is borne with sacred wings:
Nor are these shows and revels vain
When thou adornst them with thy Phoebean brain.
They're palate-sick of much more vanity
That cannot taste them in their dignity
Jove therefore lets thy prisoned sprite obtain
her liberty and fiery scope again; (81-8)

Jove is here identified with James. It is his power that frees Mania. Orpheus says that he has called for the celebration and the nuptials are 'by his will / Begun and ended'. However it is difficult to see how this symbolic connection between the king and the events of the masque is carried through, when we hear that it was Jove who has transformed the women into statues and is about to turn them back into women. Moreover, these statements are made but are not dramatised. Orpheus may say that Jove has freed Mania but we see Orpheus himself actually do it, whereas it is Heroic Virtue himself who overcomes the hags of The Masque of Queens and we actually see the Golden Age overthrow the Iron Age.

This entertainment is tedious because it can be neither play nor masque. The references to the occasion and the constant turning outwards to refer to James prevent it from being a unified play, and yet the moment, when the turning out could be resolved by the taking out dance, is spoiled by the complicated seeking after variety. The significance of the masquers being stars cannot extend to implications about the harmony of the court since they are caught in the action which makes them dance with the statues. They become merely masquers dressed up as stars who dance with

other masquers dressed up as statues. The masque remains tied to the level of game like the Tudor masques of Cupids and Acteons who have no symbolic significance. The masque must now be more than a game for it is the celebration of an important occasion, and the audience are spectators rather than participators; there have to be the speeches of praise and dialogue with the result that this masque can be neither game nor drama but only show.

It seems possible, then, to divide masques into three types of sub-dramatic entertainments: the game masque and its variations, the show masque, originally a means of varying the game but eventually developing into a show in its own right, and the masque whose action can be described as dramatic but whose intimate connection with the occasion on which it is performed makes it different from the drama of the professional theatre. These categories overlap, for in The Masque of Queens, the physical effect of a show could be making a dramatic point, and, as Orgel points out,¹ the most fruitful part of Jonson's collaboration with Inigo Jones was the dramatic interplay between Jonson's text and the scenery which Jones provided. Moreover, in the masque the game is never completely absent for there is the taking out; although in the dramatically unified masque, it is made part of the action.

The relationship between the dramatic masque and the drama itself is an important one. The drama of Lyly for example is often described as being 'masque-like' but it would perhaps be truer to say that the dramatic masque is play-like - the plays referred to being those of Elizabethan court drama. Enid Welsford's description of Lyly's method could be applied to some of the dramatic masques.

¹ v. Orgel, Introduction passim.

"Lyly ... conveys his tribute to the maiden queen by telling a consistent story of Endymion's love for the moon goddess, a story which from beginning to end is both a moral allegory, and a veiled description of court intrigue"¹

In a similar fashion Jonson tells a consistent story of the banishment of the hags, or the restoration of the golden age, or the satyrs meeting prince Oberon.

Masques are different in that the plots are much shorter and the relationship to the court must be made more explicit. The dramatic masques have not only to refer to the court but actually be about the court. The world of the masque is the world of the ideal court and this world is one of moral certainties. The forces of disorder are always easily overcome and the deus ex machina which might be felt to be unsatisfactory in a play is the most important method of resolving the action of a masque. The conflict between the forces of good and evil or, more commonly, order and disorder, is easily resolved in physical terms. The power of Virtue is expressed physically both in the scenic beauty of the appearance of the House of Fame in Queens or the palace in Oberon, and in the physical banishment, by the simple power of music, of the hags in Queens or the pigmies of Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue. The physical rejection of evil is sufficient to symbolise its moral inferiority.

In using the physical overthrow of disorder to represent its symbolic banishment from the ideal court, the masques represent in scenic terms the kind of symbolic battles so often fought in the Tudor disguisings and in the morality plays.² In the Tudor disguisings, however, the battles

¹ Welsford p.281

² v. above chapter one pp. 7-8 for examples of Tudor entertainments involving physical fights. Other examples are to be found in Hall, e.g. pp.628 and 583 and Nichols, Elizabeth, e.g. vol II p.319 v. also the fight between the vices and virtues in The Castle of Perseverance, ed. Mark Eccles EETS (1969) p.73, and the fight between Wit and Tediousness in Redford's Wit and Science, ed. J.S. Farmer, "Lost" Tudor Plays (1907) p.144.

are usually on behalf of fair ladies; the allegory is concerned with the nature of love rather than the virtues of an ideal court where in the moralities the battles are only part of the pattern of temptation, corruption and redemption through which the Everyman figure must pass. In the masque the battle is always short and final, real conflict is replaced by the simple revelation of Virtue achieved by a scene change or music. This lack of conflict and development moves the masque away from the drama proper, but the dividing line is very thin.

* * *

It might further clarify the nature of the drama involved in the masque to compare it with those curious dramatic works which are best described as Late Moralities.¹ These have come to my attention because they are sometimes referred to as masques and are certainly the most 'masque-like' of any of the productions of the Jacobean stage. Moreover it seems to me that some later masques, so called because they were performed at court and include a final taking out, have a dramatic structure which is nearer to that of the Late Moralities.

When dealing with these entertainments the question of influences is very difficult. They are not merely court masques adapted for the professional theatre since they share some of the formal elements of the morality plays. However they do share with the masque the concern with social behaviour, and the emphasis is on harmony and order rather than the preoccupation with sin and judgement which is more characteristic of earlier morality plays. These entertainments make their moral points through dancing and occasionally, when the resources permit, use scenic devices in the same revelatory way as the masque.

¹ The term 'Late Moralities' is also used by Harbage in Cavalier Drama (1936) p.171 n.44

One example of this kind of entertainment, performed in the professional theatre, is Randolph's The Muses' Looking Glass, performed by the Kings Revels at Salisbury Court in 1630.¹ The first act of the play is a kind of prologue in which Roscius tries to convince the Puritans, Bird and Mrs. Flowerdew, that the theatre can serve a moral purpose. In scene 3 he shows them a 'deformed fellow' who looks into a mirror and sees his own deformity. Roscius then suggests that the theatre can serve a similar function. He then explains to them that Comedy will present them with a masque which is

"but a simple Dance, brought in to shew
The native foulnesse, and deformity
Of our dear sin, and what an ugly guest
He entertains, admits him to his breast!" (sig. A8)

The masque is a simple song and dance but it is similar to an anti-masque in being a masque of 'disorder'. Comedy says

"Disorder is the masque we bring,
That never yet could keep a mean" (sig. A8^v)

In an ordinary court masque this would be the cue to have disorder and its forces banished by a beautiful scene change and the appearance of the main masque. However, this entertainment must last longer, so the action is prolonged by attempting to prove the point about disorder. There follows a series of dialogues between various examples of extremes. The first dialogue is between

"Colax, that to seeme over-courteous falls, into a servil flattery, the others (as fooles fall into the contraries which they shunn) is Discolus, who hating to be a slavish Parasit, growes into peevishnesse and impertinent distaste." (sig. B)

¹ All quotations from the BM 8^o (1652) Information about the date and performance come from Schoenbaum. This play was not performed at court according to M.S. Steele, Plays and Masques at Court (1926)

This is followed by dialogues between 'Presumption and Despair', an Epicure and an Anchorite, a Usurer and a Prodigall and so on. None of these concerns would be out of place in the masque and Randolph specifically includes the princely virtues of Magnificence and Magnanimity along with the more general social virtues like Modestie and Urbanity. Even a cardinal virtue like Truth is reduced to its social counterpart, when the dialogue concerning Truth is between

"Alazon that arrogates that to himself which is not his; and Eiron, one that out of an itch to be thought modest dissembles his qualities" (sig. C4)

The entertainment ends with Flowerdew being convinced of the moral purpose of the theatre and saying

"Now verily I find the devout Bee
May suck the hony of good Doctrine thence;
And beare it to the hive of her pure family
Whence the prophane and irreligious spider
Gathers her impious venome" (sig. E7^v)

Like the masque, this work ends with a concluding dance, reasserting the possibilities of harmony. There is a speech by Mediocrity, the mother of the Virtues, which is followed by

"The Masque wherein all the Vertues dance together" (sig. F2)

The word masque only refers to the dancing on this occasion but the structure of the piece is an extension of the form of the court masque. Randolph is using figures which are not easily recognisable as Virtues and so each of them has to assert his position by argument. Nevertheless the idea of a dance of disorder followed by a dance of order and the reassertion of a just mean connects this work with the kind of masque where Love is freed from Ignorance and Folly or Pleasure is reconciled with Virtue.¹ Moreover, although there are too many dialogues to hold

¹ v. Jonson's Masques Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue; Love Freed From Ignorance and Folly; Lovers Made Men &c.

the whole work in the masque framework, these dialogues are similar to the kind of anti-masque dialogue found in masques like Chapman's Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn¹ where the anti-masque is a dialogue between Plutus and Capriccio about the proper use of riches. In both the masque and the Late Morality, moral oppositions expressed baldly in debate are both the characters and the action of the work. The form of the play and the life of the characters have been subordinated to the moral design.

Randolph's insistence, through Roscius, that the stage has an important moral function to fulfil, is similar to Jonson's preoccupation with the moral importance of the masque. The Horatian formula of 'utile et dulce' which was nominally the ethic behind so much Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, was taken literally by the writers of the Late Moralities. In the verses 'To his beloved friend Master Thomas Nabbes', Will Cufaude says of Microcosmos

"Seeing thy Microcosmos I began
 To contemplate the parts that make up Man
 A little World. I found each Morall right
 All was instruction mingled with delight
 Nor are thine like those Poets looser rimes
 That wait upon the humours of the times:
 But thou dost make by thy Poetick rage
 A Schoole of Vertue of a common Stage.
 Methinks the ghosts of Stoicks vexe to see
 Their doctrine in a Masque unmasqu'd by thee.
 Thou mak'st to be exprest by action more
 Than was contain'd in all their Bookes before."²

Nabbes subtitles this work a 'Morall Maske', but its action combines the forms of the masque and the morality. The main action traces the

¹ ed. Parrott: The Plays of George Chapman, The Comedies vol. II (reprinted 1961) pp.435-60; also v. below chapter 7

² Nabbes, op.cit., ed. Bullen, The Plays of Thomas Nabbes vol. 2 (1887) pp.161-218.

development of the 'mankind' type hero, Physander. He is tempted by Sensuality, saved from her by Bellanima and Temperance, submits to Fear, the servant of Conscience, and is finally helped by Hope to overcome Despair. This is a clear morality play, but behind this action is the story of the discord among the four elements and the four complexions in which the plot is expressed through dancing.

In the first scene the four elements refuse to be united by their mother Nature. Having expressed their discord in speeches, Ayre says cheerfully

"Lets on to fight
Whilst yet the discord of the untun'd spheres
Adds courage, and delights our warlike eares."

The stage direction then reads

"The 4 ELEMENTS and their creatures dance a confused dance to their owne antique musicke: in which they seeme to fight with one another: and so go forth confusedly"¹

Nature thanks Love for 'this great worke / Of reconciliation' and Love and the Elements dance. At the end of the dance

"They returne into the Scene and it closeth"²

This first act has the form of a complete masque, with the anti-masque of the discordant elements and the main masque of love. All that would be required for a court performance would be for Love and the Elements to dance with the ladies as well as together. However, given that this masque is placed within the morality play framework, the action must continue beyond the initial statement that Love can unite the elements. The significance of the restoration of harmony to the elements through Love, is enacted in the following scenes, stressing its relevance to Physander, the 'perfect growne man'. In a court masque, the implications would have been that the perfection

¹ Nabbes, op.cit. p.171

² Ibid, p.173

of the court through love makes the reconciliation of discord possible and this statement would have been enough; in a play whose frame of reference is not the court, the moral point must be more proved in the action.

As the morality action continues, the characters continue to express themselves in dances but to this is now added an element of mime, and the dancing becomes more dramatic. For example there is the

"dance, wherein the complexions expresse themselves in their differences: the two GENII alwaies opposite in the figure, and the MALUS GENIUS stealing many times to PHYSANDER, whispers in his eare"¹

In this episode Malus Genius is trying to tempt Physander away from Bellanima to whom he has been introduced by Love and Nature. He succeeds in doing so, and Physander is taken to meet Sensuality.

The moral action, however, cannot progress by the dances alone. It is represented by physical action in as much as Physander is weakened by his contact with Sensuality and then wounded. This is clearly interpretable allegorical action in the way that the dancing alone cannot be. For instance Sensuality's servants the five senses dance 'a familiar Countrey dance'² and we are obviously supposed to disapprove of this. However, the servants of Temperance are also country figures - the Hermit, Ploughman and the Shepherd - and they also dance

"everyone in a proper garbe, shewing their respect to TEMPERANCE whilst PHYSANDER sleepes betwixt BELLANIMA and BONUS GENIUS, that seeme to dresse his wounds"³

The action continues through the series of tableaux with songs and speeches. The staging is that of a masque and the action that of a morality play. In the final scene we have again the revelatory method of the masque

¹ Nabbes, op.cit. p.181

² Ibid, p.191

³ Ibid, p.203

and the final harmony expressing itself in a dance, which could easily be extended to a taking out dance

"Here the last Scene is discover'd, being a glorious throne: at the top whereof LOVE sits betwixt IUSTICE, TEMPERANCE, PRUDENCE and FORTITUDE, holding two crownes of starres: at the foote upon certain degrees sit divers gloriously habited and alike as Elysi incolae; who whil'st LOVE and the VERTUES lead PHYSANDER and BELLANIMA to the throne, place themselves in a figure for the dance."¹

If the first act of Microcosmos is in itself a masque with a moral point such as we find in Jonson, the play as a whole shows an attempt to moralise and use dramatically a number of figures and elements which are found in other masques. Nabbes' four elements and four complexions with their sons are found in the Anonymous Masque of the Twelve Months. There the scene was a heart guarded by the pulses. The Heart encloses the masquers but it also contains the first anti-masque, of the sons of the Elements and the Complexions

"Sparke, Atom, Droppe, Ant, Cupid, Furie, Foole and Witch"²

In the Masque of the Twelve Months there is no need for the elements or the complexions to do anything; they are merely there to provide the variety of anti-masque. The moral connotations of the humours, which Nabbes uses, is not necessary for the success of the masque.

It is not true to say that certain figures are specifically masque-like, since it is the technique which takes certain elements and combines them which makes a masque. The emphasis on disorder being restored to order which Nabbes uses in Microcosmos is a concept often used in the masque, but in Nabbes the area of disorder which must be cured is in the individual, Physander, rather than the court; it is this which transforms Microcosmos into a morality play rather than a masque.

¹ Nabbes, op.cit. p.217

² Anon, The Masque of the Twelve Months in J.P. Collier, Five Court Masques (1848)

Nabbes calls his play a 'morall masque', presumably because of the scenery and the importance of the dancing and this looseness in the use of the term which can be confusing. As early as 1623/4 confusion about what constituted a masque is seen in the Herbert licence for Dekker's play The Sun's Darling which is entered as

"For the Cockpit Company; The Suns Darling; in the nature of a masque by Dekker and Forde"¹

Despite being called a masque this is another morality play, with the addition of songs and dances which may be the reason for its being called a masque. The morality is made clear in the address to the Reader in which Dekker says

"It is not intended to present thee with the perfect Analogy betwixt the world and Man, which was made for Man: this I presume hath bin by other Treated on, But drawing the Curtain of this Morall, you shall find him in his progression as followeth"²

and there follows a list of the seasons which Raybright passes through, each of them representing part of the age of man. This moral scheme is more apparent to the reader than to an audience since although Raybright does progress through the lands of the various seasons, the moral points of the voyage are not made in the action or even in the dialogue. There are various moral dialogues like the opening one between Raybright and the Priest on the nature of worldly honour but these are static set pieces and do not have any real connection with the action.

¹ quoted in Fredson Bowers, Thomas Dekker Dramatic Works vol IV (1961) p.10 (v. esp. Bowers' introduction to this work for a discussion of the textual problem and its relationship to the performance problem of The Sun's Darling)

² Ibid, p.17

The play is using similar methods to the masque in that each of the seasons is characterised by a dance. Spring entertains Raybright with a morris dance, Summer with a song by 'country fellows and wenches', Autumn with 'a drinking song and a dance' and, when he is with Winter, Conceit presents a show which represents how

"the spheres
Have for a while resigned their orbes, and lend
Their seats to the Four Elements, who joyn'd
With the Four known Complexions, have atton'd
A noble league." (v, i 210-214)

Raybright is led through the worlds of the seasons by Humour who, at the beginning has taken him away from Spring. Humour is at the beginning associated with disorder of a kind since she introduces into spring's bower

"a souldier, a Spaniard, an Italian Dancer, A French tailor"

These are similar to the kind of 'type' figures found in the anti-masque¹ and there is a certain amount of trivial satire on their affectations. They are then chased from the Spring's bower by Spring, Health, Youth and Delight followed by and this is/the contention between Spring and Humour as to who can offer Raybright more. When Raybright eventually goes off with Humour to the Summer's palace he expresses regret at having lost Spring but this is never made moral in the action since he does not seem to suffer for it as Physander suffered for his rejection of Bellanima.

After Raybright has gone through the seasons Humour tries to persuade him to leave Winter and return to the Spring but the Sun reappears and tells him that he will not be able to. Raybright must now go on, with Winter's advice, to heaven. The Sun draws the moral of the action saying

"here in this mirror
Let man behold the circuit of his fortunes" (V i 305-6)

He goes through the various seasons showing what age of man they represent

¹ Cf. Van Goose in Jonson's Masque of Augurs; or the anti-masque of a May Lord and Lady, a servingman, a chambermaid &c. in Beaumont's Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn

and ends with

"Winter at last draws on the Night of Age
 Yet still a Humour of some novel fancie
 Untasted or untry'd, puts off the minute
 Of resolution, which should bid farewell
 To a vain world of wearinesse and sorrows." (V i 312-317)

But the show in Winter's palace had not appeared as 'a novel fancie' which was taking Raybright's mind off the eternal verities, and the note of the mediæval memento mori which Sun's moralising introduces is not at all in keeping with the rest of the play.

Microcosmos was successful as a morality play while using elements taken from the masque since these elements contained certain moral connotations already. As I suggested Nabbes' first act could have been the kind of moral masque presented at court with its emphasis on resolution and order. The Sun's moral revelation at the end of The Sun's Darling, on the other hand, is a forced extrapolation of a moral point from essentially unmoral material. When the four seasons appear in the masques they need not carry any specific moral connotations which apply to the life of the individual. The morality is much more successful when it presents personifications of an individual's moral attributes.

It is the structure, then, rather than the specific moral concern which makes it possible to talk of certain works as Late Moralities. The action must be able to make the moral implications clear through using figures and events with particular allegorical significance, which can be interpreted by the audience without the intervention of explanatory moralising speeches. It is the allegorised action which makes the work into a successful morality. When the action focuses on an individual who goes through a process of temptation and redemption, it can be called a play; when the moral point is made simply through revelation by a scene change or by banishing the forces of discord then the structure is that of a masque. These structures can be combined by having an action involving a central figure which also

uses revelation to resolve the action. I suggested that this play/masque technique was being used for moral purposes in Nabbes' play, and being used unsuccessfully to impose a moral at the end of Dekker's The Sun's Darling.

It is also possible to combine these techniques of the drama and revelation when there is no allegorical or moral concern in the action.¹ I should like to suggest that this combined technique is used in some of the later masques after the introductions to masques have become dramatic. One example of a late masque which uses this dramatic technique is Shirley's Cupid and Death.

In using allegorical figures like Cupid and Death, one might expect Shirley to be making a moral point about the nature of love. By this stage, however, these figures have lost their allegorical force and can appear simply as characters in a dramatic action. There is no attempt to use these figures to extend the audience's notions about the nature of either death or love. There are, of course, various moral statements but these are localised in the dialogue. For example at the beginning of the entertainment the Host tells the Chamberlain that Cupid has two companions, Folly and Madness. In the dialogue that follows there is some 'satire' in the Host's account of how Folly became a fool:

"... his keeping
Company with philosophers undid him
Who found him out a mistress they call'd Fame
And made him spend half his estate in libraries,
Which he bestow'd on colleges" (67-71)²

The fame referred to here is quite different from the Fame who is a positive virtue in Jonson's Masque of Queens. The terms of the localised satire have

¹ For other examples of works with the late morality structure but without morality themes v. Appendix II

² Shirley, op.cit., ed. B.A. Harris CBM p.371-404

come from the professional comedies rather than from the world of the masque. This account of Folly would be impossible in a normal morality play since Folly would have to be the embodiment of that quality and could not ever have been anything other than foolish.

The action of the masque takes place in three acts. These are not very different from the variety of scenes and entries of the masque, except for the stronger element of causation; one action leads to another rather than the whole masque being a process of banishment followed by revelation such as we find in the traditional form of the masque. In the first 'act' the Chamberlain welcomes Death and Cupid to their inn and the next morning the Chamberlain reveals that he has exchanged their arrows. The next scene presents a garden with 'in divers places ladies lamenting over their lovers slain by Cupid' (360-61). Nature urges the two remaining lovers to fly but they are then shot by Cupid and the man dies. Death then enters and shoots at 'old men and women with crutches' and they 'let fall their crutches and embrace' (394, 399). Again the action is expressed in dance with a dumb show

"Enter six gentlemen armed, as in the field, to fight three against three. To them Death: he strikes them with his arrow, and they, preparing to charge, meet one another and embrace. They dance"
(423-5)

There is also an attempt to link the whole action together since this is followed by a scene with the Chamberlain who is the cause of all this havoc. He comes in leading two apes, is struck by Death and falls in love with his apes. His apes are taken from him by a satyr and he goes off to hang himself with the halter which Despair had given him at the beginning of the action.

The action ends with the appearance of Mercury, the deus ex machina, who comes to judge Cupid and Death and resolve the action. He unblinds Cupid and Death, and shows them the destruction which they have caused. He condemns Cupid to being

"Confin'd to cottages, to poor
 And humble cells; Love must no more
 Appear in prince's courts; their heart,
 Impenetrable by thy dart,
 And from softer influence free,
 By their own wills must guided be." (566-71)

He then says that Death will still have the power to kill

"With this limit, that thy rage
 Presume not henceforth to engage
 On persons in whose breast divine
 Marks of art or honour shine." (575-78)

The flattery for the prince which is essential to the masque is allowed to remain in this entertainment but it is restricted to the homiletic statement of the end. It does not arise out of the action since the old people turned lovers are grotesque rather than symbolising the diminished power of death over the honourable.

The grand masque dance which ends the play is brought about by Mercury and is necessary to establish the happy ending but it does not relate to the court or to any of the moral statements which have been made. The Elysium to which they have gone in death is made physical by a scene change

"The Scene is changed into Elysium, where the Grand Masquers, the slain lovers, appear in glorious seats and habits" (603-4)

This makes it unnecessary and irrelevant to suggest that the court itself has been changed into Elysium by the presence of the masquers. The masque is completely controlled within the confines of its own action and if the masquers were to take out the ladies it could have no symbolic significance. In fact, Mercury's concluding speech makes it clear, through his coy flattery of the ladies, that the world of Elysium is not the world of the court. He urges the lovers to return to the scene

"Lest staying long, some new desire
 in your calm bosoms raise a fire.
 Here are some eyes, whose every beam
 May your wandering hearts inflame
 And make you forfeit your cool groves
 By being false to your first loves." (631-636)

Symbolic praise for the ideal world of the court has become mere flattery

and the ethical concerns of Jonson's masque are turned into a generalised axiom.

The 'late morality' form of this masque may be a result of its theatrical history. It was written for a private performance 'probably by the schoolboys Shirley was then teaching' between 1651 and 1653¹ and it was possible to put it on again on 26th March 1653 to entertain the Portuguese ambassador. It was produced again in 1659 'att the Military ground in Lesceitre ffields' when it was described as a 'Morall representation'. It was possible to produce and reproduce Shirley's entertainment precisely because it is dramatic and more like a play than a masque. Quite apart from the expense of attempting a modern revival of a Jonsonian masque, its frame of reference and its close connection with the company and the occasion for which it was performed make any revival seem irrelevant and pointless without substantial alterations to the text.

The elements of the masque which can be transferred to plays can be summarised as

- a. The use of revelation to resolve the action - which is why for example the transformation of Hermione at the end of The Winter's Tale is called masque-like or the appearance of Jupiter in Cymbeline
- b. The use of dramatic dance to convey action
- c. The moral concern of the action

All these elements are in fact found in the drama before they appear in the masque; the crucial difference is that they are the basis for the masque and they are achieved through scene change and music. The development of the masque is a process of grafting dramatic elements taken from court drama and

¹ v. Introduction to Cupid and Death, ed. cit. p.377

morality plays onto the game form of the masque until they eventually take it over and produce dramatic shows with a certain relevance to the court whose difference from the plays of the professional theatre is that they are simpler in their action and morality and rely more heavily on dance, song and revelation to move the action forward.

* * * *

As a means of illustrating the variety possible in the dramatic masque I should like to end by examining four masques produced between 1615 and 1634 whose libretti are based on nominally the same theme of Pleasure and Virtue: Browne's Ulysses and Circe performed at the Inner Temple in 1615, Jonson's Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue performed at court, in 1618, Townshend and Jones' Temp~~e~~ Restored (1631) and Milton's Comus performed at Ludlow Castle in 1634.

The story of Circe and Ulysses was allegorised by the Renaissance into an example of a man overtaken by his passions and forsaking reason. Balthazar Beaujolyeux used the story for his Balet Comique de La Reine in 1581.¹ In his entertainment, a courtier escapes from Circe's garden to the court. Circe then makes repeated attempts to recapture him, is eventually overcome by Minerva (who symbolises the power of the king) and resigns her wand to him. Quite apart from this moral interpretation of the story, however, Circe's garden offered scope for a variety of spectacles using her traditional train of men metamorphosed into beasts. It was this aspect of the story which appealed to Browne in his Inner Temple Masque. His first anti-masque consists of

"such as by Circe were supposed to have been transformed, having the minds of men still, into these shapes following:

¹ Balthazar Beaujolyeux, Balet Comique de La Reine Q (1582)

"2 with harts' heads and bodies, as Acteon is pictured.

2 like Midas, with ass's ears.

2 like wolves as Lycaon is drawn.

2 like baboons

Grillus, of whom Plutarch writes in his *Morals*, in the shape of a hog." (254-258)¹

This anti-masque is presented as an entertainment for Ulysses by 'one attired like a woodman'. Although these figures are disapproved of in the woodman's final song, the moral remarks made about the importance of banishing them are localised and do not refer to Ulysses or to the audience. In his attempt to transform Circe 'from a wicked enchantress, bent on the ruin of Ulysses and his companions, into a resolute but amiable pursuer of his love',² Browne becomes involved in certain inconsistencies. Before the anti-masque Circe says that it will be

"to instance what I can: music, thy voice,
And all of those have felt our wrath the choice,
Appear: and in a dance 'gin that delight
Which with the minutes shall grow infinite." (214-7)

However, after the anti-masque dance, Ulysses says that he has not enjoyed the sight and Circe is forced to give a long and rather sophisticated explanation of how she is not responsible for their fate. Moreover the anti-masque figures are banished from Circe's garden by the woodman's song when he says

"And now 'tis wished that all such as he
Were rooting with him at the trough or the tree
Fly, fly, from our pure fountains" (281-4)

The second anti-masque illustrates this different nature of Circe's bower with the arrival of the seven Nymphs who

"danced a most curious measure to a softer tune than the first anti-masque, as most fitting". (379-80)

The action then continues with the appearance, in another scene change, of Ulysses' companions who have suffered no more than an enchanted sleep. Ulysses asks Circe that he might free them from sleep and allow them to

¹ Browne, *Ulysses and Circe*, ed. R.F. Hill, CBM pp.179-206

² *Ibid*, Introduction p.182

entertain her with a dance. They do so and then take out the ladies. The taking out is also seen as an emblem of Circe's power since the chorus of the taking out song is

"And if it lay in Circe's power
Your bliss might so persevere,
That those you choose but for an hour
You should enjoy for ever." (455-8)

This extension of the world of Circe's bower to the courtly company makes it essential that her power should not be seen as evil, but more as a representative of love such as Ulysses' knights might hope to enjoy with the ladies.

In this masque the game has disappeared, since there is no suggestion that the knight masquers have come to Gray's Inn expressly to honour the ladies. It has a dramatic construction with a plot, whose various episodes are held together by the figures of Ulysses and Circe. The plot could be moralised into a statement about the power of love to turn men into beasts but also to produce beauty. However, Circe's specific rejection of any responsibility for the anti-masque of beasts makes it difficult to suggest that this was an important point in the masque. The banishment of the beast-headed creatures is not an important moment of revelation but simply an episode in the dramatic action which is enclosed in its brief story.

Jonson's Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue again contains dialogue and action, but its sole aim is not to enact a story. The action is firstly making a moral point and secondly referring to the court for which it was presented. Since the moral point is paramount, the techniques of the masque are different from those in Ulysses and Circe. The action progresses through revelation rather than dialogue and dramatic action, and Jonson uses superior physical power to represent moral power. It opens with the songs and anti-masque dances of the bottles and tuns representing the powers of the belly god Comus. Hercules enters to them and harangues them on the vices of gluttony. But this is not allowed to develop into a real debate in which

Hercules' priggishness might fail before the superior comic power of the exuberant belly song. His moral power is sufficient to make the whole grove vanish and be replaced by a revelation of Pleasure and Virtue seated on a mountain.

Hercules' labours are still not over. He rests at the foot of the mountain and is attacked by pigmies. In the world controlled by Pleasure and Virtue they can have no power and so

"At the end of the music they thought to surprise him, when suddenly, being awakened by the music, he roused himself, they all run into holes." (133-9)¹

The dramatic action centred on Hercules, ends with Mercury descending from the hill to crown Hercules as the 'active friend of Virtue'. He then extends the action to the world of the court by telling Hercules that

"The time's arrived that Atlas told thee of: how
By unaltered law, and working of the stars,
There should be a cessation of all jars
'Twixt Virtue and her noted opposite
Pleasure. (166-70)

With this extension to the world of the court, the dramatic coherence of the masque breaks down since it is no longer controlled by the character of Hercules who has been enacting the triumph of morality. Mercury has to state the moral point that Jonson wishes to make since there is no moment when we actually see Pleasure and Virtue being reconciled. Nor is the reconciliation of Pleasure and Virtue especially well connected with the appearance of the masquers for they are simply described as 'twelve princes ... bred in this rough mountain and near Atlas head / The hill of knowledge' (181-3). They are said to be presented by Virtue and so there is the usual implied flattery, but they are dramatically connected neither with Hercules nor with the conflict between Virtue and Pleasure. The dancing is to be seen as the emblematic revelation of this new union between Pleasure and Virtue.

¹ Jonson, Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue, ed. Orgel pp.263-276

"The dances of the masquers represent, in the first place, the pleasures of activity, courtliness and splendour, but the pattern of the dance also suggests, for Jonson, a labyrinth of beauty and love, as the ladies are taken into the dance"¹

But this is a rather complicated concept to express in dance alone and so again it has to be stated in Dedalus' song

"Come on, come on; and where you go
So interweave the curious knot,
As ev'n th'observer scarce may know
Which line's are Pleasure's and which not." (224-7)

As has often been recognised, the techniques of this masque are emblematic rather than dramatic. The action is made to represent more than is seen and this significance is explained in the speeches. But where in a masque like The Golden Age Restored or The Masque of Queens the action reinforced the moral point by being enacted by the moral abstractions, in this masque the dramatic action of the first part seems irrelevant. The main masque, after the entrance of Mercury is much like the Elizabethan masque with speeches, where Mercury introduces the masquers sent by Virtue and comments on their dancing. The opening sequences of the masque are similar in form to the morality play in that they are about the actions of a single moral figure, Hercules, but this action is stopped short in order to present the main masque, and the two parts are not integrated.

In Jonson's Expostulation with Inigo Jones, he complains that the kind of masque which Jones wished to produce were nothing more than 'shows! shows! Mighty shows!' But, in the poem, Jonson admits that these masques were also 'the spectacles of state'. In looking at Tempe Restored we see again the uneasy combination of morality with scenic devices and the way in which this overflows the confines of a dramatic structure. The story on which this masque is based is very similar to that in Beaujolyeux's

¹ R.A. Foakes, Introduction to Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue in CBM p.231

² Jonson, 'An Expostulation with Inigo Jones' ed. Herford and Simpson, vol VIII p.402-6

Balet Comique and opens with the same action of a courtier, having escaped from Circe, begging refuge from the king. But his opening speech is a moral statement rather than a dramatic one. Rather than setting the action in motion he recites the expected moral axioms:

"It is Consent that makes a perfect Slaue:
And Sloth that binds us to Lust's easie Trades,
Wherein we serue out our youth's Prentiship,
Thinking at last, Loue should enfranchise us,
Whome we haue never, either seru'd or knowne:
"He finds no help, that uses not his owne"¹ (sig. A4^v)

In the second scene of the masque the audience is presented with Circe's 'sumptuous Palace' and this is not immediately seen to be an evil place. Circe sings of the loss of her courtier like any forsaken lover without there being any explicit suggestion that her love is an unnatural or immoral one. The morality is completely relegated to the emblems of the masque whether in the dancing or in the scenery. The scene in Circe's palace is merely an excuse for

"all the Antimasques, consisting of Indians, and Barbarians, who naturally are bestiall, and others which are voluntaries, and but halfe transformed into beastes" (sig. B)

These antimasques make a moral point about the followers of Circe but it is a completely localised one and is not incorporated into a dramatic structure at all. The anti-masques are not even banished. Once their dance is over Circe retires and Harmony takes over the action. There is not even any physical conflict between Harmony and Circe. These little episodes are similar to the 'mythology painted on slit deal' that Jonson complained about and which are to be found physically represented on the scenery. Invention and Knowledge stand on either side of the scene and there are also moral emblems painted into the scenery like 'Envie, under the Maske of friendship'² and 'curious ignorance'. Their function by this

¹ Townshend, Tempe Restored Q (1631)

² Ibid., sig. A3

stage has become purely decorative, and any notion of uniting these various moral concepts into an important statement about court life and the duties of a king becomes rather confused.

This can be seen in the kind of statements which are made about the succeeding scenes, which present a variety of pictures of spheres and stars and the sun ~~rising~~. At the high point of the masque eight spheres seated on a cloud are let down 'as in a chain' and are then followed by two groups of eight stars and six stars. The comment in the text at this point was that the most important aspect of this scene

"Was for the difficulty of the Ingining and number of the persons the greatest that hath beene seene here in our time. For the apparitions of such as came downe in the ayre, and the Chorus standing beneath arrived to the number of fifty persons all richly attired, shewing the magnificance of the court of England." (sig. B3^v)

The magnificence of the court of England had always been an important consideration in the masque but now it could be represented solely by 'Ingining'. The loose narrative frame of the presentation was merely to provide a continuing interest in the spectacle for the audience and some source material for the designer.

After the superb spectacle of the spheres, stars and chorus, the link with the next scene is made by the statutory speeches about the change which had come on earth and this ends with the almost irrelevant comment that

"Heroicke Vertue, is that kind
Of Beautie that attracts the mind,
And men should most implore" (sig. B4)

This is followed by the reappearance of Cupid 'flying forth, and hauing past the Scene, turnes soaring about like a bird'. It is clearly this feat with hidden wires that is impressive in this scene. Again it is given some relevance to the action and the putative moral theme of the masque in that Circe then has an argument with Pallas about the importance of love and eventually gives in to Jove's judgement. This slight narrative framework, although it does not make the masque coherent does destroy any vestiges of

the game which might remain. The action ends with the judgement on Circe and since this is not related to the revelation of the masquers it cannot lead to the taking out. The dancing with the ladies is now a completely separate part of the masque. After the main masquers have been revealed in the central scene, the queen joins Charles on the state and does not go down to take out the gentlemen. It is not until after 'the last Intermedium' that 'the Queene and her Ladies began the Revels with the King and his Lords, which continued all night.'

Since the significance of the masque cannot be expressed in its action through characterised moral abstractions, Inigo Jones felt that it was necessary to append the 'Allegory' to the printed text. This allegory is not an explication of the moral significance of the action so much as an attempt to allegorise the key figures. The 'Allegory' has its sources in Neoplatonic accounts of the pagan figures. Circe is described as

"desire in generall, ... and beeing mixt of the Divine and Sensible, hath divers effects, Leading some to Vertue, and others to Vice ..."
(sig. C2)

This common moral question of the nature of desire and pleasure is taken up again and with a renewed seriousness in Milton's Comus. It is inaccurate to describe Comus as a Masque - despite the fact that this is Milton's original title for it - since, more than any of the other masques, it has a self-contained dramatic action. Its action is especially like a play in that there are figures in the action - the Lady and her Brothers - who are not merely abstractions but must be seen as characters. Comus is a particularly interesting example of the late Morality since it shares the serious moral concerns of the Jonsonian masque but cannot rely on its techniques of revelation made possible by the use of purely moral abstractions and the scenic devices of Inigo Jones.

The action is confined to its own world and is not merely concerned with the presentation of the masquers and the praise of the assembled company.

It dramatizes a narrative about the loss of the Lady and her escape from the world of Comus and his beast headed crew. The movement of the action however, is not purely dramatic in the same way as a play since there is no interaction among the characters; it is moved forward by the superior power of virtue over vice like the movement of the masque. However, in this masque the superior power of Virtue is not made physically apparent and there is a slightly uneasy combination of the dramatic and the revelatory. "

Comus' moral position is made clear by the presence of his attendant 'beast-headed crew' but at the same time he is allowed to argue his case with the Lady. His arguments against chastity are those used by Renaissance seducers from Cecropia to Parolles but they are nevertheless very convincing. He insists that

"Beauty is Natures coin, must not be hoarded
But must be current and the good thereof
Consists in mutual and partaken bliss
Unsavoury in the enjoyment of itself" (739-42)¹

Since the lady does not overcome these objections by arriving on a cloud from an Inigo Jones heaven, Comus has to condemn himself, again by words and not in emblems. Before the Lady enters he explains

"I, under fair pretence of friendly ends
And well placed words of glozing courtesy
Baited with reasons not implausible
Wind me into the easy hearted man
And hug him into snares." (160-4)

The onus of the portrayal of evil is on Comus but he must also show the force of good. He has to appear unconvinced by his own arguments and when the Lady chides him he says

"I feel that I do fear
Her words set off by some superior power" (800-1)

¹ Milton, Comus, ed. Douglas Bush, Milton's Poetical Works (1966) pp.109-139

Even before she appears he is aware of

"the different pace
of some chaste footing near about this ground." (145-6)

It is this 'chaste footing' which breaks off the dancing of the anti-masque of Comus' attendants, but the statement does not have the force of a splendid scene change or a dramatic dance in which Comus' men are overcome.

When figures who are not obviously moral abstractions have to be characterised by their language and explain their villainy as they are about to commit it, the effect is more of melodrama. Judged simply as dramatic characters, the virtuous figures in this masque are absurdly and unattractively priggish. The Attendant Spirit says that he

"would not soil these pure ambrosial weeds
With the rank vapours of the sin worm mold" (16-17)

and the Lady seems too schoolmistressy when she talks distastefully of

"the sound/ of riot and ill managed merriment
such as the gamesome flute or jocund pipe
stirs up among the unlettered hinds." (171-4)

The acceptance of this kind of moral position depends upon the audience accepting that the Lady and her attendant spirit are of a different world from Comus and his mob. This is made clear when the Lady refuses to argue with Comus about chastity since he has

"not the ear nor the soul to apprehend
The sublime motion and high mystery
That must be uttered to unfold the sage
And serious doctrine of virginity." (784-7)

However their world is not dramatised for the audience, either in the action or in the scene changes. In both masque and play the validity of the statements must be shown as well as told. The masque and play at their best both do this, but they use different techniques. Milton does not use the masque technique to the full, but nor does he allow the action to develop into a full scale play.

Milton cannot reject all festivity in his argument, since the masque is being presented at a festive occasion. The disapproval of rustic merriment, which all the virtuous characters profess, is not to be taken as the 'sallow abstinence' which Comus contrasts with his merry life. Milton is trying to make a distinction between the joys of an ideal world represented by the Lady and

the company at Ludlow castle, and the joys of earth. The 'unlettered hinds' are disapproved of because their dances

"praise the bounteous Pan
and thank the gods amiss." (176-7)

but in the country to which the travellers eventually return with the aid of Sabrina

"all the swains ~~that~~ there abide
With jigs and rural dance resort." (951-2)

This nice distinction is understandable as a point in an argument but it is impossible to dramatise except by showing as well as telling which Milton's frame does not allow him to do. His overall narrative structure is the one so often found in the early masque - a journey which will eventually lead the masquers to the place where the banquet will take place. Milton takes this method of dramatising a journey for his masque but he also tries to make it into a moral journey, resulting in a structure more like a morality play.

After the Lady has been freed by Sabrina

"The scene changes, presenting Ludlow Town and the President's Castle;"¹

The masquers have arrived. They are greeted by a country dance and presented to their parents. The song which does this is a beautiful combination of praise for the young Egertons, and the moral climax and point of the action

"Here behold so goodly grown
Three fair branches of your own;
Heav'n hath timely tried their youth,
Their faith, their patience, and their truth,
And sent them here through hard assays
With a crown of deathless praise
To triumph in victorious dance
O'er sensual folly and intemperance" (967-75)

This speech shows very clearly the difference between Milton's scheme and the usual method of the masque. In the ordinary masque the masquers are the embodiment of virtue and there is never any need to prove this. The Hercules who overcomes the pigmies, the Heroic Virtue who overthrows the hags or the Golden Age who overthrows the Iron Age are never the masquers. The masquers

¹ Milton, op.cit., ed.cit., p.137

are their attendants reflecting their moral power but in no need of development. The idea of a changing and developing character is quite impossible in the masque which exists to celebrate certainties rather than examine moral positions. Milton wishes the young people in his masque to achieve a greater crown by proving their moral power through their action, and this makes them like the mankind figure in the morality play who has to go through various trials before he can achieve his time of joy.

Saccio's account of the use of the gods in Lyly points out the particular effectiveness of the masque for presenting certain concepts, and the difficulty of presenting them in drama:

"Once a god is introduced in a human context he is apt to sweep all before him...For all their usefulness as symbols in a totally literary structure, the power of the gods makes them dangerously heavy artillery in stories whose literal sense is non-divine action."¹

This power of the gods, then, can only be used when it is offset by a similar power in their antagonists. Milton tries to give this power to his virtuous characters in Comus but is unable to make it convincing dramatically. In the masque, since it is 'tied to the rules of flattery', the human characters are given the attributes of gods and the action can take place on a completely ideal and other-worldly level.² This other-worldly level is compared with the world of the court and joins the two worlds together. Saccio adds 'that the power of the gods is an aspect of their meaning'. Similarly, the god-like power of Virtue is presented in the masque, and the connection with James' court implies that his power is both god-like and virtuous which can make the masques' meaning ethical as well as aesthetic.

¹ Peter Saccio: The Court Comedies of John Lyly, (1969), p.106.

² The elaboration of scenery and lighting and the splendid effects which it could create was a great help in providing this illusion of an 'ideal' world.

The ethical implications of this world depend upon the poetic conception written into the poetic and dramatic structure. The fact of classical figures descending into the world of the court does not of itself make a moral point since the world of classical mythology can be a source of an interesting and poetic story with a purely ornamental significance. This ornament may itself make a statement about the court - as Jones' device in Temple Restored was 'to shew the magnificence of the court of England' - but it is essentially different from the allegorical power of the classical figures, as used by Jonson, Milton and the writers of the Late Moralities, where they enact a moral story making a particular point about the court or the lives of the audience.

CHAPTER THREE

The Image of the Masque

However well or badly the poets may have succeeded in dramatising the material of the masque, the theory behind the court masque remained essentially the same. The Masque supposedly dealt with an ideal world and it was the task of the masque writers successfully to project this image of an ideal world to the greater glory of the king. The Jacobean court masques in particular took over the vocabulary of panegyric, and since the writers were in the position of entertaining a king they frequently discussed the relationship between their art and the monarch whom they entertained. These comments, made during the speeches of the masque and in the introductions to the printed texts, give some indication of the kind of image of the masque, the kind of associations, which the writers wished their work to have in the minds of the courtiers and other readers of the masque libretti.

The Jacobean masque writers had, of course, certain precedents to follow in their statements about the relationship between shows and the life of the court. The prevalent theory was that the king must both be honoured with shows and also show his own magnificence by providing the shows himself. As the 'Olde Knight' at the Entertainment for Queen Elizabeth at Aylesbury said

"For he that mightie states hath feasted, knowes
Besides their meate, they must be fed with shewes."¹

Stowe in his chronicle sets out the theory at greater length when he says

"Nothing can better set forth the Greatnesse of Princes,
nor more express the affection of friends, together with
the duty, loue, and applause of Subiects, then those
solemne and sumptuous Entertainments which are
bestowed on great and worthy Persons: the outward
face of Cost and Disbursements being the true and liuely

¹ Nichols, Elizabeth | III, p.200
vol.

picture of that hearty loue which is locked up in the bosomes of the Giuers"¹

When the monarch is being **entertained** by others, the show represents their loyalty and devotion to him but masques were often also presented by the courts themselves. On such occasions a similar theory justified the expenditure and the presentation of entertainments was elevated into a positive virtue. For example in Nashe's Summer's Last Will and Testament, Summer rebukes Christmas for his meanness and he says

"Christmas, I tell thee plaine, thou art a smudge,
... It is the honor of Nobility
To keepe high dayes and solemne festivals:
Then, to set their magnificence to view,
To frolick open with their favourites,
And use their neighbours with all curtesie;"²

This theory is present, not only in contemporary literature, but also in the works on the nature of the ideal king. One such work is Floyd's Picture of a Perfit Commonwealth which expounds the idea that

"This property of bestowing is a commendation in noble persons: for in liberall giuing & beneficial doing, are princes compared unto God. For what may be more commendable in Subiectes towards their Prince then to be faithfull and loyall? or what may dererue greater praise then liberality and clemency in a prince towards his subiectes?"³

Floyd is here talking about liberality in the more general sense of bestowing gifts on worthy courtiers but this can easily be extended to expenditure on the masque as we see in Balthazar Beaujolyeux's introduction to his Balet Comique de la Reine where he thanks Henri IV for the money for the masque, saying

"c'est l'ordinaire de sa maiesté, de desseigner choses grandes, il semble toutesfois que l'effect de ses haultes conceptions ne luy peult tourner à si grande reputation, comme la grande despense que volontairement sa Noblesse a faitte (pour luy complaire & obeir) merite de louange"⁴

¹ Stowe: Annales (1631) p.908

² Thomas Nashe op.cit. ed. R.B. McKerrow, The Works of Thomas Nashe (1958) p.287

³ Floyd op.cit. (1600) fo. 224 sig.L4^v

⁴ Balthazar de Beaujolyeux op.cit. (1582) sig.A^v

These then were the contemporary ideas which the poets drew on for their theorising about the masque and in their statements we see similar ideas being expressed. Jonson, in his introduction to The Haddington Masque insists that the spectacle of the masque should be in keeping with the magnificence of the occasion. He writes

"The worthy custom of honouring worthy marriages with these noble solemnities hath of late years advanced itself frequently with us, to the reputation no less of our court than nobles, expressing (through the difficulties of expense and travel, with the cheerfulness of undertaking) a most real affection in the personators to those for whose sake they would sustain these persons. It behooves then us that are trusted with a part of their honour in these celebrations, to do nothing in them beneath the dignity of either."¹

In this Daniel is in full agreement with him. He says in his introduction to The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses that he is presenting

"the figure of these blessings ... which this mighty kingdom now enjoys by the benefit of his most gracious maiestic"²

Moreover in Tethys Festivall he is even more explicit when he says

"... Shewes and spectacles of this nature, are usually registred, among the memorable acts of that time, beeing Complements of state, both to shew magnificence and to celebrate the feasts to our greatest respects."³

The expression of the idea that the masque was an image of the king's magnificence was not merely empty flattery on the part of the masque writers. It was connected to the idea that praise for the king was related to advice and was a positive attempt to make him aware of his duties and the audience aware of his virtues and the honour due to them. When Queen Elizabeth was welcomed into Warwick in 1572, Mr. Aglionby, in his speech of welcome, referred to those 'publik Oracions'

¹ Jonson op.cit. ed. Orgel p.107

² Daniel, op.cit. ed. Joan Rees, CBM, p.25

³ Daniel, Tethys Festivall (1610) sig. E 1

"callid both in Greek and Latyn panegyricae. In thies were sett fourth the commendacions of Kings & Emperors, with the sweet sound whereof, as the ears of evil Prynces were delightid by hearing there undeservid praises, so were good Princes by the pleasaunt remembrance of their knowen and true vertues made better, being put in mynde of their office and government"¹

Elizabeth, on hearing this, said to Aglionby

"you were not so fraid of me as I was of youe; and now I thank you for putting me in mynd of my duety, and that should be in me."²

In the masque this moral function combined with the aesthetic aspects of the masque and its magnificence. According to the masque writers' theory the whole performance

"turns on a sudden change involving the discovery of the masquers, transformation of the entire scene and recognition of the virtues embodied in the king - and arouses wonder and respect in the spectator. By these means a masque accomplishes its purpose of honouring magnificence in the ethical sense, and of inciting in the beholders a conscious moral imitation of the virtues embodied in kingship."³

As a means of achieving this moral and aesthetic awareness of the glory of the king, the masque writers tried to include the king himself in the action. The magnificence of the king was not only imitated in the masque but the king himself was invoked as a source of wonder. In Jonson's masque Oberon, the song by the two fays directed the audience's attention to the king himself. The Sylvan instructs them to 'point out the proper heir/Designed so long to Arthur's crown and chair' and they sing

"Seek you majesty, to strike?
Bid the world produce his like.
Seek you glory, to amaze?
Here let all eyes stand at gaze.
Seek you wisdom, to inspire?
Touch then at no other's fire.
Seek you knowledge, to direct?
Trust to his without suspect.

¹ Nichols Elizabeth vol I p.311

² Ibid. p.316

³ Dolora Cunningham: The Jonsonian Masque as a Literary Form in ELH vol 22 (1955) p.109

Seek you piety, to lead?
 In his footsteps only tread.
 Every virtue of a king,
 And of all in him we sing." (286-97)¹

So inextricably was the image of the masque bound up with the image of the king that it was sometimes suggested that the power of the masque rested only with the king before whom it was presented. In Jonson's Love Restored the anti-masque consists of a dialogue between Robin Goodfellow who has come to see the masque and Plutus who has gained entry disguised as Cupid and is determined that there shall be no masque because of the expense. Robin Goodfellow discovers that the disguised figure is

"that imposter Plutus, the god of money, who has stol'n Love's ensigns, and in his belied figure reigns i' the world, making friendships, contracts, marriages and almost religion;" (162-65)²

He then reassures Masquerado that there will be a masque after all

"I'll bring you where you shall find Love, and by the virtue of this majesty, who projecteth so powerful beams of light and heat through this hemisphere, thaw his icy fetters and scatter the darkness that obscures him. Then, in despite of this insolent and barbarous Mammon, your sports may proceed, and the solemnities of the night be complete without depending on so earthy an idol."
 (180-7)

Jonson is here suggesting that the masque is the kind of festivity that can only take place under the auspices of love. But it is James who gives love his power. Cupid enters covered in furs but as soon as he is in the presence of the king he is warmed and says

"To those bright beams I owe my life,
 And I will pay it in the strife
 Of duty back." (236-8)

The king is the source of Love's power; Love's power makes the masque possible; so the king is not only honoured by the masque but also makes the masque possible. The image of the king also depends on the image of

¹ Jonson, Oberon ed. Orgel pp.170-1

² Jonson, Love Restored ed. Orgel p.193

the masque since by saying this is a masque created and made possible by love rather than money, Jonson is praising both the masque and the king who is responsible for it.

The equation of the glory of the king with the masques' magnificence could work two ways. If the mark of a great king was that he was honoured with beautiful shows, so the shows themselves could become the symbols of glorious kingship. This was implied in the masque writers' statements but it is also interesting to see how this assumption finds expression outside of the immediate context of the court masque. In 1615 the description of Munday's pageant for the ~~Installation~~ of Sir John Jolles as Lord Mayor compares the entertainment on that occasion with a court masque:

"Evening hastening on speedily, and those usual ceremonies at Paule's being accomplished, darkness becommeth the bright day, by bountifull allowance of lighted torches for guyding all the several shewes and my Lord homeward. The way being somewhat long the order of the march appeared more excellent and commendable, even as if it had been a Royall Maske prepared for the marriage of an immortal deitie ..."¹

This statement conveys the splendour of the procession through London but it is also intended to flatter Sir John. The implication is that he is sufficiently glorious to warrant being honoured with a 'Royall Maske'. If the masques were put on by glorious kings, a magnificent display could also suggest that the person putting it on must be a king, or a personage of some importance.

The masque writers all agreed that their art should exist as an emblem of the glory of the king whom they served but there was some disagreement among them about how this should be achieved. The controversy which developed about the form and content of the masque shows some of the attitudes and associations which the masque produced in the different artists. Jonson in particular felt that if the masque was to be a tribute

¹ Munday: Metropolis Coronata (1615) in Nichols James vol III p.118 (Italics mine)

to and a sign of the glory of the king, it had to be more than 'the merry madness of one hour'.¹ He set out his view of how this should be achieved in the preface to Hymenaei:

"It is a noble and just advantage that the things subjected to understanding have of those which are objected to sense that the one sort are but momentary and merely taking, the other impressing and lasting. Else the glory of all these solemnities had perished like a blaze and gone out in the beholders eyes... this it is hath made the most royal princes and greatest persons, who are commonly the personators of these actions, not only studious of the riches and magnificence in the outward celebration or show, which rightly becomes them, but curious after the most high and hearty inventions to furnish the inward parts, and those grounded upon antiquity and solid learnings; which, though their voice be taught to sound to present occasions, their sense or doth or should always lay hold on more removed mysteries."²

In this preface Jonson goes beyond his statement in the introduction to the printed edition of his first court masque where he says that printing the masque was an attempt to make it a more permanent reminder of the glory of the king and to redeem the solemnities 'as well from ignorance as envy, two common evils, the one of censure, the other of oblivion'.³ He is now saying that it is positively in the interest of the prince to care about the learning and the 'invention' of the masque so that it could be a more effective tribute to his glory.

The contrast which Jonson makes in this preface between the soul of the masque which is the invention 'grounded upon antiquity and solid learnings' and the body which is the spectacle and show, is taken from the theory of the Emblem and Impresa. In Daniel's translation of The Worthy Tract of Paulus Iovius we find that a good impresa should have a 'iust proportion of body and soule', 'a beautifull shewe, which makes it become more gallant to the view' and 'a poesie which is the soule of the body'.⁴ The emblems and impresse had a specifically moral function

¹ Plutus in Love Restored ed. cit. p.187

² Jonson, Hymenaei ed. Orgel p.76

³ Jonson, The Masque of Blackneass ed. Orgel p.47

⁴ Daniel, Preface to The Worthy Tract of Paulus Iovius (1585) sig. B iii

since Daniel addresses the volume to

"your wisdomes who had rather gather a pleasant flower springing amongst the sharpe thornes, for the sweet savour, then a gay colored weede for all the fayre semblance; esteeming the value of the precious treasure not by the outward shewe, but the inward substance."¹

Jonson wishes his masques to fulfil the same function as the emblem producing a combination of entertainment and instruction. He makes this explicit in his introduction to a late masque Love's Triumph Through Callipolis where he insists that

"... all representations, especially those of this nature in court, public spectacles, either have been or ought to be the mirrors of man's life, whose ends, for the excellence of the exhibitors (as being donatives of great princes to their people) ought always to carry a mixture of profit with them no less than delight."²

In providing his mixture of profit and delight Jonson took great trouble to bring a wealth of learning to explain the significance of the figures which appeared in his masque and the symbolic importance of their actions and even the dances themselves.

In Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue, Daedalus' song before the first dance explains that

"... dancing is an exercise
Not only shows the mover's wit
But maketh the beholder wise,
As he hath power to rise to it." (241-3)³

The dancing in the masque was a symbol of divine harmony and Jonson's theory was that simply by seeing this harmony the audience itself would become more wise and harmonious. This is made explicit in Hymenaei where the main masque dance 'ended in a manner of a chain, linking hands'. Reason explains the significance of this by saying

¹ Ibid. sig. A i

² Jonson, Love's Triumph Through Callipolis ed. Orgel p.454

³ Jonson, Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue ed. Orgel p.273

"Such was the golden chain let down from heaven
 And not those links more even
 Than these, so sweetly tempered, so combined
 By Union, and refined" (286-9)¹

Similarly in Love Restored where the invention had concerned the power of Love to bring on the masque, the song before the taking out dance described the masquers' dance as enacting in dance the power of love:

"Have men beheld the Graces dance,
 Or seen the upper orbs to move?
 So did these turn, return, advance,
 Drawn back by doubt, put on by love." (265-8)²

Jonson's insistence on the emblematic significance of the masque may have come from the neoplatonic theory, explained by Gombrich, that to see an exactly portrayed figure is to

"behold Justice and that therefore their behaviour may or must be affected by what they see."

He adds

"This attitude would explain the immense care and learning which was spent on the 'correct' equipment of figures not only in paintings but also in masques and pageantries where nobody but the organisers themselves could ever hope to understand all the learned allusions lavished on the costumes of figures which would only appear for a fleeting moment. Perhaps the idea was that under the threshold of consciousness by being in the 'right' attire these figures became genuine 'masks' in the primitive sense which turn their bearers into the supernatural being they represent."³

Very few of Jonson's contemporaries regarded the masque with the same degree of seriousness. To his great delight Prince Henry asked for an annotated copy of The Masque of Queens, and in dedicating it Jonson again stressed the connections between learning and the virtuous prince:

"For, if once the worthy Professors of these learnings shall come ...
 to be the care of Princes, the Crownes theyr Sovereignes weare
 will not more adorne theyr Temples; nor theyr stamps live longer

¹ Jonson, Hymenaei ed. Orgel p.86

² Jonson, Love Restored ed. Orgel p.197

³ E.H. Gombrich 'Icones Symbolicae' JWI 11 (1948) 178-9

in theyr Medalls, than in such Subjects labors. Poetry, my Lord, is not borne with every man; Nor every day:"¹

However the most that Jonson could usually hope for in the way of support was the occasional remark like that in Campion's Lord's Masque where he has Orpheus say to Entheus who represents 'poetic fury'

"Nor are these musics, shows, or revels vain
When thou adorn'st them with thy Phoebian brain."²

The 'more removed mysteries' of his inventions were very occasionally recognised. After Hymenaei John Pory wrote to Sir Robert Cotton and said

"The conceit or soul of the Mask was Hymen bringing in a bride and Juno Pronuba's priest a bridegroom, proclaiming that these two should be sacrificed to Nuptial Union. And here the Poet made an apostrophe to the Union of the kingdoms"³

Pory realises the political significance beyond the celebration of Essex's wedding but this kind of interest was seldom shown by the courtly commentators.

Jonson's insistence on the moral and allegorical significance of the poetry in the masque was a result of his own very keen awareness of the transitory nature of the magnificent entertainment. In his account of the scenery for Hymenaei he fully admires Inigo Jones' devices but is very regretful that they should be so fleeting. He says at the end of the description

"Nor was there wanting whatsoever might give to the furniture or complement, either in riches, or strangeness of the habits, delicacy of dances, magnificence of the scene, or divine rapture of the music. Only the envy was that it lasted not still, or, now it is past,

¹ Jonson, Dedication of The Masque of Queens ed. Herford and Simpson vol VII p.281

² Campion, The Lord's Masque ed. I.A. Shapiro CBM p.107

³ Nichols, James ^{vol.} II p.33; also quoted in Herford and Simpson vol X p.466

cannot by imagination, much less description, be recovered to a part of that spirit it had in the gliding by."¹

Jonson's melancholy tone in this passage was echoed by some of the other masque writers who referred to the notion of transitoriness in the poetry of the masque. In Beaumont's Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn presented at the wedding of princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine, the fourth song, as the masquers leave, says

"Alas that he that first
Gave Time wild wings to fly away,
Hath now no power to make him stay.
But though these games must needs be play'd
I would this pair when they are laid,
And not a creature nigh them,
Could catch his scythe, as he doth pass
And cut his wings and break his glass
And keep him ever by them." (351-60)²

This is a pretty traditional valedictory song but it gains strength and poignancy by the fact that it is reinforced by the physical sight of the departing masquers and the sudden changes of beautiful scenery which had taken place throughout the masque.

Daniel was inclined to be more philosophical about the transitoriness of the masque. In Tethys Festival the Chorus sings

"Are they shadowes that we see?
And can shadowes pleasure give?
Pleasures onely shadowes bee
Cast by bodies we conceiue,
And are made the things we deeme,
In those figures which they seeme.
But these pleasures vanish fast,
Which by shadowes are exprest:
Pleasures are not if they last,
In their passing is their best
Glory is most bright and gay
In a flash, and so away."³

¹ Jonson, Hymenaei ed. Orgel p.94

² Beaumont, op.cit. ed. Philip Edwards CEM p.142

³ Daniel, op.cit. (1610) sig. F3^v

Daniel realised that the masque was transitory but felt that this was one of its great attractions; the magnificence was fleeting but this only made it the more magnificent. Where Jonson tried to sustain the permanent significance of the magnificence in the symbolic movement and invention of the masque, Daniel was happy to accept the double image of a glory that was powerful and should be a 'Complement of State' but was nevertheless a passing show.

As a result Daniel's attitude to the importance of poetry and learning in the masque was very different from Jonson's. In his introduction to Tethys Festival he writes

"But in these things wherein the onely life consists in shew: the arte and invention of the Architect giues the greatest grace, and is of most importance: ours, the least part and of least note in the time of the performance thereof, and therefore haue I inserted the description of the artificiall part which only speakes M. Inago Jones"¹

As far as Daniel was concerned the importance of the masque writer was to provide suitable poetry for an impressive entertainment and any learning which was involved was to further that end. It was not that Daniel was frivolous, he it was who had insisted on the importance of morality in his introduction to Paulus Iovius' collection of *Imprese*², it was simply that he did not feel that the masque was a suitable vehicle for it.

He did in fact use the books of iconography to dress his figures³ but in his introduction to his Vision of The Twelve Goddesses he adds

"And though these images have often diuers significations yet it being not to our purpose to represent them with curious and superfluous observations we took them only to serve as hieroglyphics for

¹ Ibid. sig. E2

² v. above p.78

³ V. Daniel ed. cit. p.28 where he refers to his use of Philostratus' representation of night.

our present intention, according to some one property that fitteth our occasion, without observing other their mystical interpretations, wherein the authors themselves are so irregular and confused as the best mythologers, who will make somewhat to seem anything, are so unfaithful to themselves as they have left us no certain way at all, but a tract of confusion to take our course at adventure."¹

His aim in using learning in the masque was not to become embroiled in the mythological significances of his figures but simply to make them serve 'our present intention'. Again in Tethys Festival he says that the figures in the masque

"... if they come not drawn in all proportions to the life of antiquity (from whose tyrannie, I see no reason why we may not emancipate our inventions, and be as free as they; to use our owne images) yet I know them such as were proper to the business, and discharged those parts for which they served, with as good correspondencie, as our appointed limitations would permit."²

The controversy centred on the question of learning but behind this was the question of the importance which each writer attached to the significance of the masque. Some of the earlier exchanges may have been lost since in Daniel's earliest masque, The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses, he seems on the defensive as he snaps

"And for those captious censurers, I regard not what they say, who commonly can do little else but say ... and whoever strives to show most wit about these punctilios of dreams and shows are sure sick of a disease they cannot hide and would fain have the world to think them very deeply learned in all mysteries whatsoever"³

In his more casual attitude to learning in the masque, Daniel was more typical of courtly attitude to masquing. The courtiers saw the masque much more as a social event and indeed the poet who furnished the

¹ Ibid. p.26

² Daniel Tethys Festival (1610) sig. E2

³ Daniel, Vision of the Twelve Goddesses ed. cit. p.30

'high and heartie invention' was sometimes not mentioned at all in their accounts of the masque. When Daniel's own masque of the Twelve Goddesses was being prepared, a letter from Sir Thomas Edmonds to the Earl of Shrewsbury described the activity merely in terms of the courtiers who were to take part in it:

"Both the K.' and Q.'s Majesties have an humour to have some Masks this Christmas time; and therefore, for that purpose, both the younge Lordes and the Chiefe Gentlemen of one parte, and the Queene and her Ladyes of the other parte, doe severallie undertake the accomplishing and furnishing thereof; and because therer is use of invention therein, speciall choice is made of Mr Sanford to dyrect the order and course of the Ladyes."¹

Daniel's part in the proceedings is referred to merely as 'use of invention' which will necessitate the help of Mr Sanford.

Other comments on the masque show the importance which the courtiers placed on such questions as who danced with whom and which ambassadors were invited. In Chamberlain's letter to Dudley Carleton in 1616 he makes this comment on Jonson's Christmas his Masque:

"On Twelfth Night there was a Masque, wherein the new-made Earl (of Buckingham) and the Earl of Montgomery danced with the Queen. I have heard no great speech nor commendations of the Masque, neither before nor since. But it is appointed to be represented again tomorrow night, and the Spanish Ambassador invited."²

The social side of the masque was very important for the contemporary image of the masque. As I pointed out in chapters one and two the masque also contained elements of game, however much these were reduced in the court masque, and this aspect of the masque presented a very different popular image of the masque from that projected by the masque writers who were concerned with its importance as royal entertainment. The image

¹ Nichols, James vol I p.301

² Nichols, James vol III p.243: for other evidence about the importance of ambassadorial attendance at Masques v. M.S. Steele Plays and Masques at Court (1926) passim; M. Sullivan, The Court Masques of James I (1913)

projected by these writers could be easily undermined by the reality of the entertainment presented by courtiers rather than gods.

The image of the masque as less than a representation of an ideal entertainment first started with the simple game masque when the disguised strangers came to dance with the audience at a banquet. Holinshed writes how

"Thomas Walsingham and divers others ... write that the conspirators meant upon the sudden to have set upon the king in the castle of Windsor, under colour of a masque or mumery, and so to have dispatched him"¹

The masque and mumery which both involved the entrance of disguised strangers was felt to be a potentially dangerous affair. As early as 1414 we read that

"Lollers hadde caste to have made a mommyng at Eltham, and under coloure of the mommyng to have destryste the Kyng and Hooly Chyrche"²

and Hall when describing the festivities at Calais in 1520 says that

"In these reuelles were put in maskers apparel diuers gentlemen of the French court vvwetyng to ye kyng or any other that bare rule, for diuers yong gentlemen of the French court fauored more the Frenche partie then the Emperors partie, through which meanes they saw and much more heard then they should have done"³

Whether or not Hall's assessment of the situation was accurate is irrelevant. What is important about this account is that Hall is aware of the possibilities of using the masque for spying or undercover activity and is expressing a common fear.

The commentators on the Jacobean masque tended much more to be aware of potential social misdemeanour rather than physical danger. In a letter to Chamberlain describing the banquet after The Masque of Blackness, Carleton tells how the crowd was such that the tables were overturned and

¹ Holinshed Chronicle ed. 1586 vol II p.515 quoted in Inga-Stina Ewbank, 'Those Pretty Devices' in CEM p.438.

² Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage vol I (1904) p.395 n.3

³ Hall, p.621

"It were infinite to tell you what losses there were of chaynes, Jewels, purces, and such like loose ware, and one woeman amongst the rest lost her honesty, for which she was caried to the porters lodge, being surpris'd at her busines on the top of the Taras."¹

The urge to spend money on the masque, seen by the writers as a just and proper display of magnificence, was also commented on by the more sardonic courtiers. In Bacon's essay 'Of Masques and Triumphs' he notes

"These things are but toys to come amongst such serious observations. But yet since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegance, than daubed with cost."²

His advice was not always taken as we read in Chamberlain's comment on Lord Hay's masque in 1616:

"The French men are gone after their great Entertainment, which was too great for such petty companions, specially that of Lord Hay, which stood him in more than £2200, being rather a profusion and spoil than reasonable or honourable provision."³

The gap between the ideal world suggested by the panegyric and the actuality of masquing was certainly apparent to the courtiers who could occasionally play very wittily on it. In John Harrington's account of the masque presented for the visit of the King of Denmark, much of the wit comes from his ironic contrast between the roles the figures should have been playing and their actual behaviour in a performance where the greatest liberality had been in the wine. He writes describing the masque

"Next came Victory, in bright armour, and presented a rich sword to the King, who did not accept, it but put it by with his hand: and, by a strange medly of versification, did endeavour to make suit

¹ Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain Jan 7th 1603-4 quoted in Herford and Simpson vol X p.449

² Bacon, op.cit., in Essays ed. Ernest Rhys (1906)

³ Nichols, James vol III p.252

to the ~~king~~. But Victory did not triumph long; for, after much lamentable utterance, she was led away like a silly captive, and laid to sleep on the outer steps of the ante-chamber. Now Peace did make entry, and strive to get foremost to the king; but I grieve to tell how great wrath she did discover to those of her attendants; and much contrary to her semblance, most rudely made war with her olive branch, and laid on the pates of those who did oppose her coming."¹

This less than ideal aspect of the masque provided an image which could be both exploited and reinforced by writers of satire on fashionable life. In Edward Guilpin's Skialethia, for example, masquing is an aspect of fashionable behaviour which is regarded with some scorn. In Epigram 52 he describes the Inns of Court men going to a masque

"In silken sutes like Gawdy Butterflies
To paint the Torch-light sommer of the hall,
And shew good legs, spite of slop smothering thies"²

and in Satire III he presents among his list of arrivistes

"La volto Publius,
Who's growne a reveller ridiculous:
... Thinks scorn to speake; especially now since
H'ath been a player to a Christmas Prince."³

Through these satires as much as through the facts of the case, the masque became associated with a young man's ruin, wasteful expense and idle flirtation. In Francis Lenton's Young Gallant's Whirligig, a satire on the passage of a promising man through lusty youth to a sordid end in disease and poverty, revelling is the beginning of his downfall. The young man's parents

"send him to the Innes of Court
To study Lawes, and never to surcease,
Till he be made a justice of the peace.
Now here the ruin of the Youth begins ..."⁴

¹ E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage vol 1 (1923) p 172

² Edward Guilpin, Skialethia or a Shadowe of Truth (1598) sig.B4

³ Ibid sig.C8

⁴ Francis Lenton, The Young Gallant's Whirligig (1629) sig.B2

In this moral tale the Inns of Court are much more the centre of revelling and a wild social life than law and learning. The young man learns to dance

"Now learns the posture of the cap and knee
Carrying his body in as curious sort
As any reveller at the Innes of Court"¹

It is important to remember that this image of the masque as a young man's ruin, or as silly social affectation depended very much on the kind of work being written. Guilpin makes his position very clear in his introduction to Scialethia when he says

"Bunglers stande long in tink'ring their trim Say
Ile onely spit my venome, and away."²

In a collection of venom we must expect the masque to be treated with the same scorn as everything else.

Similarly in John Northbrooke's Treatise against Dicing, Dancing, Vaine Plaies or Enterludes, since he is writing to condemn anything which will lead youth away from the church he speaks angrily of how instead of sleeping at night

"We keepe ioly cheer one with another in banquetting ... also we used all the night long in ranging from towne to towne, and house to house with Mummeries, and Maskes, Diceplaying, Carding and Dauncing"³

This activity, even as he describes it, does not sound especially wicked. His condemnatory tone comes from the function of his treatise rather than any vice inherent in these entertainments.

A different view of the masque can be seen within the work of a single author. For example Francis Lenton's collection of anagrams, The Innes of Court Anagrammatists is on the central theme of the appearance of all the

¹ Francis Lenton, op.cit. sig. B3-B3^v

² Guilpin, op.cit. sig. A3^v

³ Northbrooke, op.cit. (1579) p.5

characters, whose names he anagrammatised, at a masque. Some of the comments are in the moral vein associated with the satirists but others, like the poem on Thomas Dayrell present the masque as a pleasant social activity worthy to entertain the gods.

"Great Iove and Juno, once desiring sport,
To shew the glory of the Innes of Court,
Commanded them a most renowned taske
Only present them with some pleasant Maske;"¹

The masque can be used by the satirists as an example of a certain kind of activity which they wished to satirise but that did not mean that it was universally regarded as an abuse; the satirists themselves could, in a different context, use the associations which the masque writers themselves were at pains to project.

Nonetheless the associations of the game masque with riotous behaviour and a certain danger was a very powerful one. In Whetstone's Heptameron of Civil Discourses he takes great care to distinguish the masque presented by the young gentlemen on the second night from the usual game masque. The gentlemen entered with devices containing poems for each of their mistresses

"In this order, and with these devises, the Maskers entred, and after they had saluted Queene Aurelia, and the honourable of the company, they placed themselves, some of the one side, of the greate Chamber, and some of the other, obseruyng therein a more discrete order then the ordynary Maskers: who at their first entraunce, either daunce with them selues, or rudely sease uppon the Gentlewomen: but these Maskers intertained a smal Tyme, with their Musick, while they had leasure to looke about, and espie who were the worthyest amonge the Ladies ...
In the end, Ismarito kyssing his hand, with a Countenance abased, humbly desired Queene Aurelia, to do him the grace to daunce with him"²

¹ Lenton, Innes of Court Anagrammatists ; or the Masquers Masqued in Anagrammes (1634) sig. B-B^v

² George Whetstone, A Heptameron of Civil Discourses (1582) sig. H-H^v

This double image of the masque which could be seen as either courtly behaviour or riotous revelling, royal magnificence or extravagant profusion, meant that it could provide material for various different groups of writers. It was not that either view was right or wrong, it was simply that different writers used the idea of the masque for different functions. The material for either attitude was there in the form of the masque.

At the centre of the masque there was dancing and where Jonson saw the Graces and the movement of the orbs in the masquing dance other writers saw that

"Dancing is the vilest vice of al ... They daunce with disordinate gestures, and with monstrous thumping of the feete to pleasant soundes ... maidens and matrones are groped and handled with unchaste handes and kissed and dishonestly embraced."¹

If Jonson could bring a wealth of Neoplatonic learning and examples to support his theories of the harmony inherent in the dance, the writers against the masque referred to the church fathers and the bible to support their theories that dancing was dishonourable and dangerous. Moreover the difference in attitude to the dance is not simply one between those who refuse to see the reality of the dangers and those who condemn pleasure, but a genuine distinction between the types of dancing which each group is talking about. Even Northbrooke, in a treatise specifically against dancing, concedes that dancing 'to express joy' or as 'an exercise in war' is acceptable, but he distinguishes very carefully between those kinds of acceptable, dancing and

"another kinde of dauncing which was instituted onely for pleasure and wantonnes sake ... it is vaine, foolish, fleshly, filthie, and diuelishe"²

This is, of course, dancing between men and women which Northbrooke claims began when the Israelites danced around the golden calf.

¹ Northbrooke; op.cit. (1579) p.66^v

² Ibid. p.55^v

The distinction is between the dancing of the masque as show, which might legitimately be seen as expressing harmony, and the taking out dance where men and women meet with potentially disastrous consequences. This distinction is made clear in Sir Thomas Elyot's The Booke Named the Governour where he disagrees with St. Augustine's condemnation of dancing. He makes a careful distinction between the Platonic notion of dancing emulating the movement of the spheres, which he finds 'most like the truth of any opinion I have hitherto found', and dances

"which were superstitious and contained in them a spice of idolatry or else did with unclean motions or countenances irritate the minds of dancers to venereal lusts whereby fornication and adultery were daily increased. Also in those dances were interlaced ditties of wanton love or ribaldry with frequent remembrances of the most vile idols Venus and Bacchus."¹

Even this distinction is not entirely convincing to Balthazar Gerbier when trying to decide whether to include dancing as a subject at his Academy of Artes and Sciences. He says warily

"Of dancing among the other exercises of the body, the Academy is not desirous to say anymore then what is warranted by the holy writ, that King David and Miriam Aaron's sister, were moved by a pious zeale to dance before the Lord. And doubtlesse their Dances were neither Galliardes, nor Sarabandes, Pavans, nor Corantos; Yet as their dancing is to be supposed to have been more free from pride then now adayes they are; so it is likely they were gracefully performed with agility and dextrous carriage of body ... which if it could be observed in dancing in these times, the Academy would with more confidence maintaine the practice thereof, to be more requisite, as a necessary means to prevent those stinging whisperings, which al the care of Parents cannot save their Daughters from, at publick meetings where if there be no dancing ... which is a recreation by all men seene young men will be apt to buz in Maidens eares that which cannot be heard, and that which very oft strikes a dangerous sting even to the very heart."²

Jonson was aware of both sides of this debate and so in his masques he is careful to banish the hags in The Masque of Queens whose dancing is

¹ Sir Thomas Elyot, The Booke Named the Governour ed. Arthur Turberville Eliot (1834) p.59

² Balthazar Gerbier, A Publique Lecture on all the Languages, Artes, Sciences and Noble Exercises which are taught in Sir Balthazar Gerbier's Academy (1650) p.17

like the pagans' dancing condemned by the moralists,¹ and the belly God Comus in Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue. Nevertheless, even he could not fully control the taking out where the fashionable dances were performed,

"ces voltes, et autres semblables dances lasciuës et esgarées ... en dancant lesquelles, on fait bondir les Demoiselles de telle mode, que le plus souvent elles monstrent à nud les genoulx, si elles ne mettent la main à leurs habits pour y obuier."²

This attack on dancing as encouraging lust and unseemly behaviour tended by association to be applied to the masque. Polydore Vergil in his de Rerum Inventoribus clearly regards the masque as a social vice. In his section on Venus he tells how

"one Melampus brought out of Egypt into Greece, the rites of Bacchus' sacrifices, wherein men use to company dissolutely with women in the night, in such wise that it is shame for Christian men to speak of: much like our shewes or Dances called Masks in England, and Bone-fires as they used in some parts of the realm. But Spu. Posthumius, Albinus and Q. Martius abolished those Feasts; I would all Masks and Bone-fires were likewise banished from among us Christians."³

In his section on 'Dancing, Maying etc.' he again specifically attacks the masque when he says

"The use of Dancing (as Livy saith) came from the Hetruscans to Rome, which we exercise much on Holidayes, as they did: not without slander of our Religion, and hurt and Damage of Chastity ... As for Masks, they can be so devilish that no honesty can be pretended to colour them."⁴

The vicious aspects of dancing could be more commonly associated with the masque since masquing also involved wearing a visor and this brought in

¹ Jonson, op.cit., ed. Orgel p.123

"The eleven witches beginning to dance (which is a usual ceremony at their couvents ... where sometimes also they are visarded and masked" cf. Savaron, Traicte Contre les Masques (1608) (sig Aij; sig C) for references to the association between masquing and dancing and heathen rites. The same argument comes up in many of the treatises against the masque including Northbrooke, op.cit., and Polydore Vergil de Rerum Inventoribus (1546)

² Tabouret, Orchésographie fo. 45 quoted in Reyher p.452

³ Polydore Vergil, op.cit., tr. John Langley (1867) p.119

⁴ Ibid p.151

the various associations of deceit and duplicity. All sorts of dangerous and vicious activity could take place behind a mask and these are reflected in literary references to masks. The Duchess of York remarks about Richard III in Shakespeare's play

"Ah that deceit should steal such gentle shape
And with a virtuous visor hide deep vice." (II ii 27-8)

and in Pettie's Civile Conversations we read how

"There are certaine glorious fellowes who at Shrouetide goe
with Maskes on their face, and yet would faine be knowne what
they are."¹

These various associations of the masque, as an ideal entertainment which can be seen to be far from ideal, involving dancing, which is at best frivolous and at worst vicious, and in which the dancers wear masks which can hide their real selves, could combine to provide a powerful image of doubleness and deceit which was used in moralising literature. Edward Guilpin uses this image in his 'Satyre Secunda' which is an extended satire on the duplicity of fashionable life. In this poem the narrator commiserates with the young man who has been deceived by the ladies

"Why thou young puisne art thou yet to learne,
A harper from a shilling to discerne?
I had thought the last mask which thou caperedst in
Had catechiz'd thee from this error's sinne,
Taught thee S. Martin's stuffe from true gold lace
And know a perfect from a painted face:
Why they are Idols, Puppets, Exchange Babies
And yet (thou foole) tak'st them for goodly Ladies:"²

Guilpin can use the fact that the young man cannot see beyond the mask as a symbol for his naiveté and lack of sophistication. The mask that covers the revellers face has, in this poem, become another image of hollowness covered over with beauty. In the next four lines Guilpin leaves the image of the mask to return to the more commonplace images of

¹ Pettie, op.cit., (1586) Book I p.28

² Guilpin, op.cit., sig. D1^v

corruption

"Consider what a rough worme-eaten table,
By well mix'd colours is made saleable:
Or how toad-housing sculs and old swart bones,
Are grac'd with painted toombs, and plated stones:"¹

In Guilpin's poem the masque can take its place among the conventional moralised images because of its associations with wearing masks.

Other aspects of the masque, such as the taking out dance and the associations with transient beauty which Jonson lamented, made possible an even more interesting cross fertilisation of images with the association between the masque and the familiar mediaeval image of the Dance of Death. In the Dance of Death, the figure of Death appears among the dancers whom he takes out to join in his dance. None of the characters protest at being taken by Death and all draw the obvious religious and moral conclusion. For example, the *Canonicus Regularis* says

"Whi shulde I grutche or disobeye
The thyng to which of verray kyndly riht
Was I ordeyned & born for to deye
As in the world is ordeyned every wiht
Which to remembre is no thyng liht
Praying the lord that was sprad on the roode
To medle mercy with his eternal myht
And save the sowles that he bouht with his blood" (281-7)

The monk's reply makes the general moral point as part of his reply to Death

"Al ben not meri whiche that men seen daunce." (392)²

Here are dancing, feasting and taking out such as are found in the masque. The moral implications of the Dance of Death could thus be transferred to the masque - especially as Ripa also presents Death wearing a mask, which suggests his various disguises.³ It is important (cont. over)

¹ Guilpin, op.cit., sig. D1^v

² The Dance of Death, ed. Florence Warren EETS (1931) pp.29, 50

³ v. Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance (1967) p.165 n.54

to stress that the source of this image is not the masque itself since the Dance of Death is considerably more ancient in its origins¹ but it is possible to see how the images could become connected. Elements from the Dance of Death are included in entertainments. Enid Welsford gives an account of a Death appearing in a carnival entertainment presented in 1524 by Florentine and Venetian merchants living in Constantinople:

"The Florentine nations gave a banquet with music and dancing, and young Turkish women performed a dance with many playful gestures and agile movements. Then there came in a momaria, which consisted of a young maiden splendidly dressed, accompanied by two old men and two shepherds, who began to sing a lamentation in which it appeared that the young girl was kept in constraint by the old men, and that she would die unless she could have some taste of worldly delights. After that the girl herself danced and expressed the same thing by her gestures, until at last a Death came in, seized her in the middle of her dancing, despoiled her of her finery and left her naked and dead"²

The appearance of a Death in this entertainment is a reflection of the consciousness of such things as the Dance of Death, though the moral message is not very strong. Death also appears in this casual way in the masques at the court of Edward VI. There the moral point seems to have disappeared completely in that there are several 'deaths' in the same masque, as we see in the revels account payment

"The same for makinge of vj ffrockes of Canvas for vj deathes being torchbearers to the seide Maske of deathes at viij the pece"³

Nevertheless, alongside these almost joking inclusions of deaths in court entertainments, there are connections between masques and the Dance of Death made in a much more serious way. There is, for example,

¹ The Origins of the Dance of Death are discussed in Warren op.cit., v. also Bibliography.

² Quoted in Welsford pp.90-91

³ Feuillerat, Edward and Mary, p.131

the curious account of the entertainment at the wedding of Alexander III of Scotland where

"While a band of maskers danced before the king and queen, Death, in the form of a skeleton appeared in their midst and struck terror into spectators and performers alike"¹

Withington² comments that the arrival of the death could have been a political plot, but what is much more interesting is the fact that the king died soon after. We cannot even be sure that a death figure did appear since it is possible that the fact of the king dying soon after his wedding struck the writer of the chronicle as being so similar to the Dance of Death that he wrote his account accordingly.

The clearest example of the association of the Dance of Death with the masque comes in Nathaniel Richards' poem 'Death's Masquing Night'. This is a completely conventional poem on the vanity of earthly things, but it opens

"As mighty Kings in glorious Masques delight
Death (Time's Grand Masquer) has his masquing Night
In evr'y Pallace, evr'y Nooke Death ranges
Death takes his root from sinne, Hee's full of changes
With solemne Pace unseene, Death dos advance
His Sable shaft to lead the World a dance."³

The poem is not notable for its consistency and is in no way unified by this concept of the masque of death. Richards goes through the traditional images of luxury which will have to be laid aside (quoting The Revengers Tragedy on the way⁴) and then moves from the notion of Death as the masque

¹ P.H. Brown, History of Scotland vol I (1899) pp.128-9

² Withington, English Pageantry (1918) vol I p.103

³ Nathaniel Richards op.cit., in Poems Sacred and Satyricall (1641) p.173

⁴ Cf. Richards op.cit., p.174. This parrell is hitherto unnoticed.

"all are laid aside
Gold glittering Glory, Cloath of Silver Silke
Forgetfull Feasts, their sinfull Baths of Milke
(When many a poore soule sterves, wanting the food
Of their superfluous outside)...

and Revenger's Tragedy Act III sc. v, ed. R.A. Foakes (1966)

"Does every proud and self affecting dame
Camphor her face for this? and grieve her maker
In sinful baths of milk, when many an infant starves
For her superfluous outside - all for this?" (83-86)

For a fuller discussion of the image of the masque in The Revenger's Tragedy v. below chapter five pp.145-152

to

"Death is a dreadfull Antimasque 'twill fright
The worlds Grand Masquers in his full delight.
Figures and Footings, practiz'd to in trance
Spectators Eyes, Deaths interposing Dance
Dissolves to darknesse, in a moments space."¹

Richards has a problem maintaining his image throughout the poem since he wishes to insist on the horror of Death's arrival. The most stringent of moralists could not suggest that the masque was not enjoyable - indeed their complaint was that it was too enjoyable - and so Richards has to change his analogy in the middle of the poem and make the masque one of the pleasures which will have to be rejected when death comes. The poem ends

"Thinke on thy end: thinke on the Day of Doome
The paines of Hell; Deaths Masqueing Night will come
Not in the Pompe of Princely merriment
But the dread fall of soules impenitent."²

Richards finds it difficult to control the image of the masque in his poem since he is not writing a Dance of Death in the mediaeval style. Nevertheless his use of the image of the masque is a very interesting example of the associations which the masque set up in contemporary mythology. He sees the masque as being like the 'Gold glittering Glory, Cloath of Silver silke, Forgetfull Feasts' etc. which Death will take away, it is an example of 'Princely Pompe'; but it is particularly appropriate to suggest that Death will make it 'Dissolve to darknesse, in a moments space' when the masque writers themselves had lamented that the masque 'lasted not still' and the readers of the poem may themselves have seen the lights of a masque with torchbearers pass through the streets at night. The masque on its own could not be moralised into an image of approaching death - it is too closely associated with merriment and feasting - but its similarity in form to the Dance of Death means that the symbolic connections

¹ Richards, op.cit. p.175

² Ibid p.177

can be made by moralising writers.

Jonson wanted his masques to be like emblems of instruction for the prince in their combination of beautiful pictures and moral poetry; the moral writers made the masque into an emblem of a different sort, where the picture of the masque was an emblem of passing glory. There is in fact an actual emblem which is a picture of revellers dancing at a feast, engraved by Jasper Isaacs for a French edition of Philostratus' Imagines; it has a poem appended to it which reads

"Le masque est bien seant à l'ame deguisée
 Et la danse et le bal convient à l'inconstant
 L'un cache son dessein et voile sa pensée
 Et l'autre nous fait voir qu'il n'est jamais content.
 Comme on voit ce flambeau se consumer soy-mesme
 Et ces chapeaux de fleurs decà delà iettez
 Tout ainsi fait Comus à celui là qu'il aime
 Car il se perd enfin dedans la voluptez."¹

¹ v. Orgel, The Jonsonian Masque (1965) plate 3 and p.154

PART TWO: MASQUES IN THE DRAMA

CHAPTER FOUR

The Masque as a Dramatic Device

The Jacobean Masque for which the libretti are extant was the product of a hundred years of development during which time it incorporated the techniques and ethical concerns of other court entertainments; similarly the inserted masque in Jacobean Drama was not simply a straightforward borrowing from masque to play. As well as the masques at court and in rich households¹ which dramatists may have seen or heard about, inserted masques in plays were also influenced by other spectacle and dancing in contemporary plays. The subtlety and skill with which any device is used depends so much on an individual author's skill that it is impossible to set up a strict chronology for the use of masques in plays;² my concern in this chapter will be to examine the different ways in which masques were used as plot devices in order to establish the relationship between the inserted masque and other forms of dramatic spectacle in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama and as a means of showing the dramatic traditions within which these writers were working.

Masques are referred to in connection with plays in some very early accounts of dramatic performances. Hall's chronicle gives this account of a play produced at Gray's Inn in 1526:

"This Christmas was a goodly disguisng plaied at Greis Inne whiche was compiled for the moste part, by master Iohn Roo seriant at the law xx yere past, and long before the Cardinall had any auctoritie, the effect of the plaie was, that lord gouernance was ruled by

¹ Machyn's diary has several interesting references to masques produced at city weddings. v. Diary ed. J.G. Nichols (1848) pp.215, 247, &c.

² v. below Appendix III: the list of plays including masques gives some indication of the form which these took and the degree of integration with the plot.

dissipation and negligence, by whose misgouernance and euill order, lady Publike wele was put from gouernance: which caused Rumor Populi, Inward grudge and disdain of wanton souereignitie, to rise with a greate multitude, to expel negligence and dissipation, and to restore Publik welth again to her estate, which was so done. This plaie was so set furth with riche and costly apparell, with strange diuises of Maskes & Morrishes that it was highly praised of all menne, sauyng of the Cardinall, whiche imagined that the plaie had been diuised of hym."¹

The text of this play has been lost and so it is impossible to tell exactly what part the masque played in the action.² The significance of Hall's account is that it shows that 'Masks and Morrishes' were thought of as an appealing part of a performance. It is not even entirely clear whether they were part of the play or just part of the whole evening's entertainment.

A similar problem occurs in a later reference to a masque connected with a play. In 1564 there is a revels account payment for

"wages or dieats of the officers and Tayllors paynttars workinge upon the diuers Cities and Townes and the Emperours pallace and other devisses ... and other provicions for A play maid by Sir percivall hartts Sones with a maske of huntars and divers devisses and a Rocke, or hill ffor the ix musses to Singe uppone with a vayne of Sarsnett Drawen upp and downe before them."³

On both these occasions the masques referred to could have been performed after the play was over.

We know that throughout the 16th century masques were brought in after plays to round off the evening's entertainment. Hall's account of William Cornish's play The Triumph of Amity (1522) records that

"On Sunday at night in the great halle was a disguisyng or play ... after this play ended was a sumptuous Maske of xii men and xii women and when they had daunced, then came in a costly banquet and a voidy of spices, and so departed to their lodgng"⁴

¹ Hall p.719

² Schoenbaum in his entry in Annals for this play does not note the masques separately which suggests that he assumes that they were part of Roo's play.

³ Feuillerat, Elizabeth p.117

⁴ Hall p.641

Similarly in 1560 we learn from Machyn's diary that

"the sam nyght was set up a skaffold for the play (in the) halle,
and after the play was done ther was a goodly maske and after a grett
banquet that last tyll mydnyght"¹

In this early period of the drama, the various elements of spectacle
in a play seem to have been included or not at will. The text of Rastell's
Interlude of the Four Elements opens with the information that the interlude

"if the whole matter be played, will contain the space of an hour and
a half; but, if ye list, ye may leave out much of that sad matter,
as the Messenger's part, and some of Nature's part, and some of
Experience's part ... and then it will not be past three quarters of
an hour in length"²

Given this information it is not surprising to find under the list of The
Names of the Players', the comment

"also if ye list, ye may bring in a Disguising"³

The place in the play where a disguising seems most appropriate is
in the episode where Sensual Appetite tempts Humanity saying

"And I will go fet hither a company,
That ye shall hear them sing as sweetly
As they were angels clear;
And yet I shall bring another sort
Of lusty bloods to make disport;
That shall both dance and spring,
And turn clean above the ground
With friskas and with gambawds round
That all the hall shall ring."⁴

Sensual Appetite describes these pleasures as 'revels', the term used for
dancing in court entertainments which suggests that her entertainment might
take the form of an entry with dancing such as was found at the Tudor court.

¹ Machyn, op.cit. p.222

² Rastell, op.cit. ed. J.S. Farmer Six Anonymous Plays (1905) p.1

³ Ibid. p.2 6f. Greene, James IV V, ii

"After a solemn service, enter from the Countess of Arran's house
a service, musical songs of marriage, or a masque, or what pretty
triumph you list" ed. Norman Sanders (1970) v. below chapter 5 pp.138-9

⁴ Rastell, op.cit., ed.cit. p.39

Apart from these rather ambiguous references to masques in plays, entertainments which took the form of a masque-like entry are found in Elizabethan plays. In Peele's *Arraignement of Paris*, for example, Juno, Pallas and Venus present shows to Paris so that he may choose between them. Pallas's show is presented with the stage direction

"Hereuppon did enter 9 knights in armour, treading a warlike
Almaine, by drome and fife ..." (II ii 512-3)¹

The form of this show is similar to some contemporary court masques, like the masque of Knights and Amazons who appeared in the masque presented in 1579 for Alençon's agent M. de Simier.² Within the structure of Peele's play the episode cannot really be called a masque since it is not really part of a social occasion; the knights who come to entertain Paris are not pretending to have come to his banquet, it is merely a show.

Much nearer to the traditional device of the masque is the episode in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* where the devils come to bring gifts to Faustus for the first time. Mephistophiles presents Faustus with a show to take his mind off his fatal signing of his soul to the devil;

"Mephistophilis. I'll fetch him somewhat to delight his mind.

Enter Devils, giving crowns and rich apparel to Faustus; they dance and then depart. Enter Mephistophilis

Faustus. What means this show? Speak, Mephistophilis

Mephistophilis. Nothing Faustus, but to delight thy mind
And let thee see what magic can perform." (II i 80-85)³

This episode is again not a masque but a show and is much more closely connected with the other spectacles which Mephistophilis presents with his diabolic power, like the pageant of the seven deadly sins or the vision of Helen of Troy. These shows are themselves similar in form to certain

¹ Peele, op.cit. ed. Harold H. Child MSR (1910)

² v. above chapter 1 pp. 13-14 v. also Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage vol IV (1923) Appendix A p.96

³ Marlowe, op.cit. ed. Roma Gill The Plays of Christopher Marlowe pp. 334-387

courtly spectacles but this indicates the difficulty of categorically assigning the source of any given device. Dramatists who use masques in their plays are drawing on a tradition of spectacle in the drama as much as directly referring to courtly entertainments.

This sort of spectacle in the drama may have been the kind of set piece referred to by Gosson in his Plays Confuted in Five Actions where he complains that

"For the eye, beside the beauty of the houses, and the Stages, hee (the devil) sendeth in Gearish apparell, maskes, vaulting, tumbling, dansing of gigges, galliardes, morisces, hobbihorses; showing of judgeling castes, nothing forgot that might serve to set out the matter, with pompe, or rauish the beholders with variety of pleasure"¹

If, however, the function of the inserted dancing and masques had been simply to 'ravish the beholders with variety of pleasure', its use in plays would have been extremely limited.

The idea of using spectacle as more than a pleasing show, which could be dispensed with, is also found in the dumb shows of Elizabethan drama. They originally pointed the moral of the action by a short allegorical set piece which preceded each act.² (Faustus seems to regard Mephistophole's devils as a kind of dumb show since he asks what it means.) In certain of the plays, however, they contained the action of the plot, while the spoken dialogue within the acts provided the motives for and commented on this action.

In the anonymous play A Warning for Faire Women there is a dumb show in act II which presents Anne Sanders succumbing to Browne's advances. This

¹ Gosson, op.cit. Q (n.d.) sig. E1

² v. Deeter Mehl, The Elizabethan Dumb Show (1965) part one pp.3-28

takes place at a banquet introduced by Tragedy

"This deadly banquet is prepar'd at hand
Where Ebon tapers are brought up from hell
To lead black Murder to this damned deed." (II i 9-11)¹

In the dumb show

"First the Furies enter before leading them, dancing a soft dance to solemn music. Next comes Lust, before BROWNE, leading MISTRESS SANDERS covered with a black veil; CHASTITY all in white pulling her back softly by the arm. Then DRURY, thrusting away CHASTITY; ROGER following. They march about, and then sit to the table. The Furies fill wine. LUST drinks to BROWNE; he to MISTRESS SANDERS; she pledgeth him. LUST embraceth her; she thrusteth CHASTITY from her; CHASTITY wrings her hands and departs. DRURY and ROGER embrace one another. The Furies leap and embrace one another."²

This dumb show is not the same as a masque; there is no taking out dance or masquing dance and the figures who take part in the action are not masquers disguised as Furies but the Furies themselves. Yet after the dumb show Tragedy says

"Here is the Masque unto this damned murther
The furies first, the devil leads the dance" (II i 28-9)

Tragedy can call it a masque because there is dancing and the show has all the associations of a masque. It takes place at a banquet, there is dancing, and in the course of it Mistress Sanders succumbs to Lust.³ Dieter Mehl shows how it is part of the technique of this play that

"real life is abandoned at certain important points and an allegorical, pantomime is employed to portray mental processes and moral decisions."⁴

This dumb show gives some indication of how, in a more realistic play, it would be possible to portray similar action in a masque without having to abandon the realism of the rest of the action.⁵

¹ A Warning for Faire Women ed. R. Simpson in The School of Shakespeare Vol II (1878) pp.240-335

² Ibid p.269

³ v. above chapter 3 'The Image of the Masque'

⁴ Mehl, op.cit. p.21

⁵ v. below pp.119-121 the discussion of Shirley; The Traitor

In Tancred and Gismund there is another example of a dumb show presenting action which could easily be transferred to a masque. In the dumb show before act III

"the Hobaies sounded a lofty Almain, and Cupid Usereth after him Guizard and Guismund hand in hand, Iulio and Lucrece, Renuchio and another maiden of honour. The measures trod, Guismunda gives a cane into Guizard's hand, and they are all led forth by Cupid."¹

After the action Cupid explains its significance. Love has made Gismunda 'burne in raging lust' and Guizard is 'wounded with her peircing eyes'. In the dumb show itself we see ~~G~~ismunda giving Guizard the cane containing her protestations of love and this provides the motive for the moralising and speeches which follow the dumb action.

In form this dumb show is very similar to a masque. Cupid is the presenter and the figures who follow two and two dance a measure. Although Gismunda and Guizard come hand in hand they have not met before this scene and the dance is being used to bring them together so that Gismunda's message can be delivered. In a play where the separation between the action of the play and the dumb show would be inappropriate the masque could easily be used for this kind of significant meeting; Cupid could be replaced by a figure disguised as Cupid but the formality needed to emphasise the meeting would remain.² In real life masques made secret and surprise meetings possible,³ and this real life situation combined with the theatrical precedent for using inserted spectacles for significant action made it possible for a masque to be used to further action in the earliest plays.

In the anonymous play Woodstock written in 1591, King Richard comes

¹ The Tragedy of Tancred and Gismund ed. W.W. Greg MSR (1914) sig. H4^v

² Three years later a masque was used in Romeo and Juliet for the lovers to meet. v. below chapter 6 pp. 158-163

³ v. above chapter 3

with Bushy, Bagot and Green to arrest Woodstock, gaining access to his house in a masque. The contrast between the revelling of the masque and the events which will result from it is prepared for in the atmosphere of impending doom which is built up in the scene before the masquers enter. Woodstock has sent his duchess away to tend the dying Queen Anne and the scene ends with the reference to the gathering storm which Woodstock connects with Anne's imminent death:

"God bless good Anne a Beame. I fear her death
Will be the tragic scene the sky foreshows us
When kingdoms change, the very heavens are troubled" (IV ii 69-71)¹

The gathering storm is actually foreshadowing Woodstock's own disaster and when the masquers are announced the contrast between Woodstock's mood and the gaiety which the revellers should bring is made in the lines

"We must accept their loves, although the times
Are no way suited now for masks and revels" (IV ii 92-3)

This slightly heavy handed dramatic irony is carried into the speeches which introduce the masque. It opens with a speech from Cynthia who says

"From the clear orb of our ethereal Sphere
Bright Cynthia comes to hunt and revel here,
The groves of Calydon and Arden woods
Of untamed monsters, wild and savage herds,
We and our knights have freed, and hither come
To hunt these forests, where we hear there lies
A cruel tusked boar, whose terror flies
Through this large kingdom ..." (IV ii 102-109)

Woodstock replies to Cynthia's speech by agreeing that the nation is being ruined by wild animals and adds,

"I care not if King Richard hear me speak it." (IV ii 140)

Woodstock is referring to the courtiers whom Richard has allowed to misrule

¹ Woodstock, A Moral History ed. A.P. Rossiter (1946)

the kingdom but these are the very people who have come to present the masque. Consequently when Richard ends the masque by arresting Woodstock instead of revelling with him, he takes up the imagery of the opening speech and says

"This is the cave that keeps the tusked boar
That roots up England's vineyards uncontrolled." (IV ii 167-8)

As one of the first writers to use an inserted masque in this way, the author of Woodstock is less able to control the impact of the masque than some later writers. He overworks the irony with Woodstock's long reply to Cynthia which holds up the movement of the masque, and instead of neatly effecting Woodstock's arrest in the taking out dance the rest of the scene is rather disordered. There is no taking out dance and after the masquers have danced there is 'a drum heard afar off'.¹ Richard thanks the masquers for their entertainment and invites them to the banquet. Cheyne who should be coming to announce the banquet then enters to say

"This is no time, I fear for banquetting.
My lord, I wish your grace be provident
I fear your person is betrayed, my lord:
The house is round beset with armed soldiers." (IV ii 155-8)

Woodstock then commands the masquers to unmask but instead they put him in a masquing suit

"On with his masking suit and bear him hence
We'll lead ye fairly to King Richard's presence" (IV ii 193-4)

Despite the confusion of Woodstock's arrest the scene has some nice ironic touches. As well as using the masque to bring the characters to Woodstock's house and exploit the paradox that revelling should bring danger, the author also contrasts those who are masked and those who are not. When Woodstock hears King Richard's voice commanding his arrest he again asks him to unmask, Richard refuses to do so and a contrast

¹ Woodstock, A Moral History, ed.cit. SD p.143

is made between the King, who will only act behind a mask and Woodstock himself who is 'plain Thomas still'. Woodstock is told that he is going to be taken to Richard's presence in a masque, but 'plain Thomas' has to be forced into his masking suit. The masque is quite effectively used as a device to gain access to the house but the author is unable fully to exploit its potential for dramatic irony.

This simple use of a masque to further the action did not require particular ingenuity and is found very frequently in the plots of Elizabethan and Jacobean plays. This kind of masque also appeared in plays presented on the public stage and was by no means restricted to the private theatres of the Jacobean and Caroline period. In 1599 we find a masque being included in what Meagher calls 'le drame moyen sensuel',¹ the hack writing produced for Henslowe's company. In Chettle and Munday's Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon, a masque is used for King John to gain access to Fitzwater's castle. In the taking out dance, King John takes out Matilda, Fitzwater's daughter and, under cover of the masquing dance, makes advances to her. Matilda is angry and tries to break from him and Fitzwater has to intervene. He tells the masquers to unmask and when they do so King John says

"The plaine troth is, we are not come in sport
Though for our coming, this was our best cloake:
For if we never come, till you doe send,
We must not be your guest while bankets last." (1368-1371)²

Again there is the obvious irony that supposed revelling has brought danger.

The masque in The Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon is only one spectacle in a play which contains a number of theatrical set pieces. These include a dumb show of visions which appear to John, a hunting entertainment with 'Frier Tuck carrying a stag's head, dancing',³ and the play

¹ v. J.C. Meagher ed., The Downfall and Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon, Ph.D. thesis University of London (1961), introduction p.8

² Ibid., p.358

³ Ibid., p.298

ends with a funeral procession for Matilda, complete with a company of mourning nuns! However the masque is not just another stop in the action but actually moves on the plot. Chettle and Munday are obviously aware of the masque's potential for suspense and exciting action.

The usefulness of the masque for bringing characters into the action meant that it became a convenient dramatic shorthand by means of which dramatists could resolve a complicated action in a short and spectacular scene. This use of the device can be seen in one of the most elaborately constructed 'well made plays' of the Jacobean theatre, Nathan Field's A Woman is a Weathercock. The plot, as it concerns the events of the masque, is that Scudmore is in love with Bellafront who has rejected him and married the count. She is, however, still really in love with Scudmore and plans to commit suicide on her wedding night. This is forestalled by Scudmore who appears in her wedding masque in place of his friend Nevill, takes out Bellafront and marries her off stage, her previous marriage being null by virtue of the fact that it was conducted by Nevill disguised as a parson.

In this play Bellafront herself plays on the paradox that the masque which should bring joy can bring her nothing but sorrow. At the beginning of V i she speaks a soliloquy in which she rehearses the variety of paradoxes which she sees in her situation:

Joy dwells not in the Princes Pallaces
They that envie em do not know their cares
Were I the Queen of Gold, it could not buy
An houres ease for my oppressed heart." (V i 4-7)¹

She plans to commit suicide and even this plan involves her acting out a paradox. She says, almost perversely that she will

¹ Nathan Field, op.cit., ed. W. Peery, The Plays of Nathan Field (1950) pp.67-139

" ... put on feigned mirth
And meane to sit out this nights Revels too" (V i 16-17)

Bellafront's own awareness of the irony of her situation which is expressed in these clichéd phrases makes her into a comic figure at that moment. The audience knows that Nevill has promised Scudmore that he will 'give thee Bellafront in thine arms tonight'; these revels which she endows with such ironic significance are bringing on the happy ending.

The masque itself is a very simple entry of dancers:

"the Musicke playes, and they enter. After one straine of the Musicke, Scudmore takes Bellafront, who seemes unwilling to dance, Count takes Lucida, Pendant Kate, Sir Abraham Mistris Wagtaile; Scudmore as they stand, the other Courting too whispers as followes."
(V ii 7-11)

While soft music plays he tells her that he is Scudmore and is true to her and this is followed by

"Musicke, & they dance, the second straine; in which Sudm: goes away with her
Omn. Spect. Good verie good
The other foure dance, another straine, honor and end." (V i 29-31)

This scene has to cover an enormous amount of business, resolving all the other plots of the play and marrying off the spare characters, so the masque is a very useful way of disposing of one plot with the minimum of explanatory speeches. Worldly sums up the action at the end with

"Ne'er was so much (what cannot heavenly powers)
Done and undone in twelve short howers" (V ii 235-6)

The heavenly powers in this play are the skills of Field who is able to use the dramatic tradition of masquing to complicate and unravel his plot in the quickest way possible.

Once this convention had become established the masque was used in a variety of ways to initiate, complicate and resolve plots.¹ One of the

¹ v. Appendix III

most interesting examples of this is Brome's The English Moor in which two masques are presented, the first to set up part of the action and the second to complicate the plot. Brome uses the masques in an especially well thought out way in that the second masque is produced in direct retaliation for the first. This adds to the comic contrast between the groups of characters who are judged by how they respond to the revelling.

In act I a set of young gallants who are in debt to Quicksands the usurer, present him with a masque to celebrate his forthcoming marriage to Millicent Meanwell. This is a game masque which is completely unexpected and it introduced by Mercury. He tells the story behind the masquers arrival which is that Cupid and Hymen have fallen out over

"this question, which might happier prove
Love without Marriage, or Marriage without Love" (I iii)¹

Cupid has made many people fall in love and Hymen only allows those who have been brought together by Avarice to marry. The masquers Mercury presents are the victims of this battle. They are

"A Stag, a Ram, a Goat, and an Ox followed by four persons
A Courtier, a Captain, a Schollar, and a Butcher." (I iii)

Mercury describes how the various masquers have fallen foul of the gods' disagreement and ends by indicating the goat which represents

"This old Goatish Usurer that must
Needs buy a wretched daughter to his lust
Doated and married her without a groat
That Herald gave this crest unto his coat." (I iii)

Having insulted Quicksands in this way, Mercury ends by advising him

"let husband that doth wed
Bride from her proper love to loathed bed
Observe his fortune" (I iii)

¹ Brome, op.cit., ed. Pearson, The Dramatic Works of Richard Brome
vol II (1873) pp.1-85

and the Masquers 'dance to Musick of Cornets and Violins'.

In Act IV, Quicksands, having married Millicent, is determined to have his revenge on the gallants. He decides to taunt them by presenting them with a masque in which Millicent, whom he has disguised as a moor, will appear. He is thwarted in this since Phyllis, Millicent's maid, wishes to use the masque to get her revenge on Nathaniel. She takes Millicent's place and goes off with Nathaniel who thinks he is keeping an assignation with Millicent whom he has wooed as the moor in an earlier scene.

The induction of the masque is intended to be as insulting to the gallants as theirs had been to Quicksands. The presenter reads their palms and reminds them that they are all in debt to Quicksands and so cannot have the black bride who is to lead the masque.¹ When the speeches are over

"Enter the rest of the Moors. They Dance an Antique in which they use action of Mockery and derision to the three Gentlemen." (IV v)

The gentlemen are not in the least daunted by this and Nathaniel asks if he might take out the leader of the Moors. Quicksands is so sure of his triumph by this stage that he agrees and Nathaniel takes Phyllis off to bed.

Quicksands is a character who does not know about masques. Just as he thinks he can control his other activities by money, he has hired moors from other merchants to perform his masque, rather than dancing in it himself as the gallants did. The hired moors serve him well by coming to reveal what has happened to Nathaniel and Phyllis but by then it is too late. They complain in aggrieved tones

¹ Cf. the palm reading episode in Jonson's masque, The Gipsies Metamorphosed (1621) ed. Orgel pp.329-343

"We were hired to dance and to speak speeches; and to do the Gentleman true service in his house: And we will not see his house made a bawdy house, and make no speech o' that."

What neither they nor Quicksands realise is that masquing involves more than dancing and speaking speeches. As well as being unable to understand his young wife and the gallants, Quicksands does not realise that to present a masque is courting danger and complication. Brome could rely on his audience expecting complication from a masque and he seems to delight in extracting the most dramatic and theatrical profit from it. It takes the rest of the play to resolve the complications set up by this single masquing scene.

When the masque had become firmly established as a dramatic technique, its connections with masquing and revels in real life were ignored by some of the dramatists. It came to be used simply for convenience in the plot, even in situations where revelling is ludicrously inappropriate. An extreme example of this is Henry Glapthorne's play, The Lady Mother. In this play the masque is used to turn the potential tragedy into comedy, a conventional enough use, but it takes place in, of all settings, a court of law. The Lady Marlowe has just been condemned to death for her supposed murder of Thurston. As she is sentenced the constable enters to announce

"Sir, yonder are some six or seaven without
Attird like Masquers, that will not be denied
Admittance ...
Heareing of the lady Marlowe's condemnation,
They are come ...
With shew of death to make her more prepared fort." (V ii)¹

Here again there is the, by now completely commonplace, 'reversal' of the normal expectations of the masque. Instead of brilliantly dressed

¹ Glapthorne, op.cit., ed. Bullen A Collection of Old English Plays vol II (1882) pp.101-200; p.195

masquers with torchbearers, there is

"Flourish, Horrid Musike, Enter Death, Gri(mes) and Furies"¹

Gri: If in Charnell houses, Caves
 Horrid grotts and mossie graves,
 Where the mandraks hideous howles
 Welcome bodies voide of soules
 My power extends, why may not I
 Hugg those who are condemnd to dy?
 Grimme Dispaire, arise and bring
Horror with thee and the king
 Of our dull regions; bid the rest
 Of your Society be adrest
 As they feare the frowne of chaunce,
 To grace this presence with a daunce."²

Instead of Despair, Timothy appears as Hymen and, like a main masque, banishes Death. He brings with him Thurston and Clariana who unmask after his speech banishing Death and they reveal that Thurston has only pretended to be dead in order to marry Clariana without Lady Marlowe's consent. Lady Marlowe then gives her consent to the marriage and they all live happily ever after.

There is no taking out dance since the masquers do not wish to abduct Lady Marlowe or to further the action of the play. The masque speeches are a convenient device to banish death and applaud Hymen, stressing the symbolic relationship between the action of the masque and what is happening in the play. Thurston and Clariana's marriage is dramatised in their arrival with Hymen and the explanations are mercifully out a little shorter.

In The Lady Mother the masque brought in the unexpected characters and resolved the plot. By presenting them as part of a marriage masque with Hymen, it also dramatised the past action for the benefit of Lady Marlowe and as a reminder to the audience. This function of the masque was a very common one which also provided a suitably theatrical opportunity to draw the moral implications of past action to the attention of both the characters in the

¹ Unlike the furies in A Warning for Faire Women, act II, these are figures disguised as Furies

² Glapthorne, op.cit., ed.cit. p.196

play and the audience in the theatre. In Ford's Love's Sacrifice, for example, there is a double masque in which the after dinner entertainment prepared by the Abbot and danced by Ferentes, Roseilli and Maurucio, is thwarted by a counter masque danced by Colona, Julia and Morona who have been seduced and abandoned by Ferentes.

"Enter in Anticke fashion Ferentes, Roseilli and Maurucio at severall doores, they dance a little: suddenly to them enter Colona, Iulia, Morona, in odde shapes, and dance: the men gaze at them, are at a stand and are invited by the women to dance, they dance together sundry changes, at last they close Ferentes in, Maurucio and Roseilli being shooke off and standing at severall ends of the stage gazing. The women hold hands and dance about Ferentes with divers complimentall offers of Courtship; at length they suddenly fall upon him and stab him, he fals downe, and they run out at severall doores.

Cease Musicke." (III sig H-H^V)¹

Ferentes screams that he has really been killed - 'I am slain in jest!' and the others unmask him whereupon

"Enter Iulia, Colona and Morona unmask'd, every one haveing a child in their arms" (III sig H^V)

They tell the assembled company that there was no other way

"to revenge / Our publike shame, but by his publike fall"

and Julia, enraged by the memory that she had been considered 'not faire enough', stabs him again.

Although the second entry makes the masque itself slightly clumsy, the entry of the women, carrying their bastard children, reminds the audience of Ferentes' perfidy and tells those on stage about it. Their relationships with Ferentes are reversed in that the women are now inviting Ferentes to dance instead of his seducing them and the 'divers complimentall offers of courtship' can be seen as a parody of the way that he had courted them. The whole of this masque is a show for the audience and the information which it gives is as important as the action which it initiates. This may be the

¹ Ford, op.cit., Q (1633)

reason why it does not follow the usual form of the simple masque where there is a masquing dance followed by a taking out dance. The ladies enter to the masque of gentlemen much as a main masque entered to the anti-masque¹ rather than moving into the audience to take out Ferentes as they might have done in an earlier inserted masque.² The show of the women with their bastards is as important for the stage action as Ferentes ironically being 'slain in jest' and by the end of the scene, the point has been taken, at least by the Abbot, who says

"Here's fatal sad presages but 'tis iust
He dyes by murther, that hath liv'd by lust" (sig H2)

The notion that spectacle or the presentation of a show could be used to moral effect was transferred to the idea of the masque from the idea of the play.³ Consequently when making the moral point to the stage audience becomes as important as invoking the real life masque, the influence of the late morality and the dumb show is seen in the form of these shows and it becomes increasingly difficult to be precise about the term 'inserted masque' as it applies to these set pieces. The moral point could be made to the stage audience and the offender either by presenting the offender with an image of his past misdeeds or by an artistic fiction which presents an abstract of them. Both kinds of show are used in plays in a way that is similar to the inserted masque but using a form which is rather different.⁴

In Massinger's The City Madam, for example, Sir John Frugal presents his brother Luke with a 'pageant' of all the people he has wronged in order

¹ Or as in a disguising which consisted of a double entry of ladies and gentlemen, the ladies disguised might enter to the gentlemen disguised.

² Cf. Marston, Antonio's Revenge (v. below chapter 8 pp. 231-237) and Tourneur, The Revenger's Tragedy, v. below chapter 5

³ The best known expression of this idea is, of course, in Hamlet III i 585-9

⁴ Both Massinger's The City Madam and Shirley's The Traitor are included in Forsythe's list of plays containing masques.

to try to make him repent of his meanness. This piece is best described as a dumb show but its function is very similar to the inserted masque in Love's Sacrifice. It takes place at a banquet to music but there is no dancing. Sir John prepares the entertainment at the beginning of the scene, asking Holdfast, his steward, if the banquet and the music are prepared. The presentation then opens with

"Music, At one door CERBERUS, at the other, CHARON, ORPHEUS, CHORUS"
(V iii SD line 43)¹

Then there follows

"Sad Music. Enter GOLDWIRE and TRADEWELL as from prison. FORTUNE, HOIST, PENURY following after them. SHAVEM in a blue gown, SECRET, DINGEM. OLD GOLDWIRE and OLD TRADEWELL with SERJEANTS, as arrested. They all kneel to Luke, heaving up their hands for mercy. STARGAZE with a pack of almanacs, Millicent."²

Luke is completely unmoved by all this and says

"Ha ha ha! This move me to compassion? or raise
One sign of seeming pity in my face
You are deceived ..." (V iii 59-62)

It is not until Sir John makes all the figures 'come alive' that Luke is overcome with what he has done, and says

"I am lost
Guilt strikes me dumb." (V iii 109-110)

Massinger's device fulfills the same function as many masques of bringing the characters onto the stage but he wanted to go further than the, by then hackneyed, ironic contrast between apparent revelling and real sadness. It would have been technically possible to present these figures in a masque; the mythological figures are there to introduce them and the others would similarly have had to be masked, dance and then reveal themselves with

¹ Massinger, op.cit., ed. T.W. Craik, The New Mermaids (1964)

² Ibid, p.34

suitable speeches. But the full force of the scene depends on Luke thinking that the figures have been brought there by magic and although masque writers may pretend that their scenes are magical, the audience at a masque knows that it is watching an entertainment.¹ The moral point about Luke's lack of mercy or Ferentes' perfidy could have been made by a presentation of figures representing Lust or Avarice and when this is the form used in a show, it tends to take the form of a Late Morality.

In Shirley's play The Traitor, III ii,² Duke Alexander is entertained by Schiarrha who is involved in a plot to kill the Duke because he has lusted after his sister Amidea. Given this plot which combines murder with lust the audience might expect the proposed entertainment to follow the usual pattern of an entry of masquers who take out the Duke and kill him. Schiarrha says that his show cannot be called a masque but this is an expression of modesty in that he does not wish to compare his slight entertainment with a court masque.

During the action Schiarrha's words build up the expectation that the Duke will be killed during the entertainment. The show opens with an induction from Lust and he is followed by 'a young Man richly habited'. The Duke asks 'Why looks he back' and Schiarrha replies

"There is a thing called Death, that follows him"

which is a direct hint that death is about to come to the Duke. This expectation is further built up when

"Lust, the Pleasures, and the young Man join in a Dance"³

and Schiarrha says

"you shall see all his tormentors
Join with them; there's the sport on't"⁴

¹ Cf. the pageant of Kings in Macbeth IV i, SD line 111

² Shirley, op.cit., ed. Gifford, The Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley vol II 98-187 (1966)

³ Ibid., p.136

⁴ Ibid.

He suggests that he is going to reverse the revelling of the court masque which ends in glory when he says

"In hell they do not stand upon the method
As we at court; the grand masque and the glory
Begin the revels"¹

Shirley, however, does not allow these expectations to come to anything. The figure of Death appears simply as another character in the late morality. He brings in the

"Furies, who join in the dance, and in the end carry the young
Man away. The rest flee in confusion"²

It seems that Schiarrha merely wishes to show the Duke the evils which spring from lust and a late morality is the most suitable way of doing this.³

The point of the whole scene is slightly confused since it is difficult to see why Schiarrha should want to show the Duke the error of his ways when he is about to kill him. This point is made by Florio who says

"I do not like my brother's moral masque;
The duke himself was personated: I
Wonder it did not startle him."⁴

Moreover the Duke is quite unmoved and when asked how he liked the dance, admits that he was too engrossed with Amidea

"My eyes feasted here, I did not mark it
But I presume 'twas handsome"⁵

¹ Shirley, op.cit., ed.cit., p.136

² Ibid., p.137

³ Cf. similar Late Morality type entertainments in Ford, The Fancies Chaste and Noble V iii; The Lover's Melancholy III iii; Shirley, The Coronation IV iii.

⁴ Shirley, op.cit., ed.cit., p.137

⁵ Ibid.

Shirley seems to have wished to set up all the expectations of the masque, in which the show either initiates action or exposes the action to the other characters, and then thwart these expectations so that the plot can go through even more complications and reversals until the final spectacular dénouement when the Duke finds Amideia dead in bed. The point of the 'moral masque' seems only to be made for the benefit of the audience in the theatre who know already what the consequences of the Duke's lust are to be.

Despite Shirley's rather inconsequential handling of it, this kind of inserted show is an interesting example of the overlap of the dumb show, the inserted masque and the inserted morality. The entertainment is related to the inserted masque in much the same way as the late moralities were related to the masque. It has a very similar structure to a masque, in which one set of dancers banishes another, but it is different from a masque in that the final dance does not restore order and praise the assembled company. In the final dance the Furies 'take out' the young man, but this is watched by the audience and not participated in.¹ There is no movement out to the audience at the end in the form of either a taking out dance or a speech in its praise. It works quite independently on its own level and does not require the audience to complete its meaning or its action. Its meaning is related to the action of the play only because of what the audience in the theatre know.

This particular inserted morality is very similar to the use of the dumb show in the early plays of Elizabethan drama. Like a dumb show it draws the moral of the action and shows the forces at work behind it, but

¹ Cf. Brome, *The Antipodes* V x ed.cit., vol III pp.336-8 where there is another late morality entertainment which is more celebratory than the one in *The Traitor*. There Discord and his followers are banished by Harmony and hers after a conflict in dance. The action does not move out to the audience and it is up to Letoy to draw the analogy between the action of the show and the renewed happiness of the characters in the play.

where in the dumb show the allegorical figures themselves are presented enacting a mime of the action, this is an entertainment produced by actors who are part of the world of the play.¹ As Dieter Mehl points out,² the dumb show involves a temporary abandonment of the realism of the play which would have been impossible in the context of The Traitor; the inserted entertainment allows Shirley to introduce allegorical figures into his play without leaving the world of the action. This kind of moral 'entertainment' traditionally demanded some response from its audience, but Shirley gives it no part in the action of the plot which makes it even more like the older dumb show.

It seems to me important to distinguish between these set pieces and inserted masques in plays even when the functions of the various devices seem to overlap. As I suggested in chapter three the masque had its own particular associations of revelling and celebration. The fulfilment or reversal of these expectations creates a dramatic effect which is different from that of a straight presentation of a show or entertainment.³ When Shirley's duke Alexander is entertained with a morality which shows him the effects of lust, there is an ironic relationship between the Duke's actions and the material of the entertainment. However, this irony is oblique and depends on the audience recognising the analogy between the events of the play and those of the entertainment. With a masque, on the other hand, the relationship between it and the audience is a more direct one and when praise turns to blame the irony is not only in the analogy between the action of the masque and the action of the play but also in the reversal of what is expected in a masque. Since a play or a morality can have any

¹ Cf. above pp. 104-5, A Warning for Faire Women or the dumb show of Hymen in The Spanish Tragedy III xv 30-35

² v. above p. 105

³ This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

sort of plot, it is possible to insert them in plays without changing their form or their plots. A Masque, on the other hand, is always celebratory and so when it does not bring celebration the form of the speeches, entries and dancing remains the same but their message would never be found in a court masque.

In Goffe's play, Amurath I, the Courageous Turk, I iv, Amurath, who has forsaken war for love of Eumorphe, calls for a masque

"which lively represents
How once the gods did love" (sig B4)¹

This gives Scahin, who disapproves of the king's new love, a chance to present him with an entertainment which will show him the discord love can bring. Since Amurath has asked for a masque, the entertainment takes that form but Scahin reverses the normal expectations by turning praise to abuse.

The entertainment opens with all the ceremony of a court masque:

"Enter from aloft two Torchbearers, the Iupiter and Iuno, and two torchbearers more, then Mars and Venus, and two Torchbearers more, then Apollo and Pallas, and two more Torchbearers, then Neptune and Diana. Whilst they are descending, Cupid hanging in the Ayre, sings to soft Musicke this song following" (sig B4^v)²

Cupid's song refers to the love of the gods in most disparaging terms like the reference to how

"Mars sterne Mars, he will not fight
But with Venus when 'tis night" (sig B4^v)

and after his song the gods take their goddesses to dance. During the dance

"Juno observes Ioves glances to Eumorphe, and at the end of the dance speaketh thus

"Jup. How now (wanton)? Can I no where goe
For recreation but you follow me?" (sig C)

¹ Goffe, op.cit. Q (1632)

² Cf. the form of this masque with the masque presented to Queen Elizabeth at Norwich in 1578. v. above chapter 1 pp. 19 ff.

and the show ends with an outright quarrel in which Juno pointing at Eumorphe says

"For here you came
For some new harlot, some new queen" (sig C)

Where the masque normally ends by drawing the audience into its ideal world, this masque includes the audience in a world of disharmony and anger. Cupid makes the significance of the gods' row plain in his parting speech

"Faire Bride I sang thy Epithalamy,
And left Elisium for thy Nuptials:
Juno here thundered 'gainst the Thunderer
Knowing how thy beauty dazles hers" (sig C2)

Amurath cannot ignore the analogies between the action of the masque and his own action since the masque makes clear its direct relationship with its onlookers.

Scabin presses his point home with a further show which is a play presenting the ghosts of the heroes. In it Alexander is offered a present of

"exquisite form'd Ladies
Besides a Troope of such shapt Ganimedes
That love not equals" (sig C3)

Alexander rejects this unworthy offering and suggests that Philoxenes present them to 'some coward'. Here the reference to Amurath is so direct that it has to be veiled in the fiction but following on the insulting masque, it was the effect of troubling him with the realisation of what he has done to the court.

When a masque is used to make this kind of moral point which does not have any direct involvement in the plot, it often stops short before the taking out dance. The taking out dance makes the entertainment too long, holding up the action and, in later plays, leading the audience to expect action resulting from it. When masques can no longer be defined in terms of the taking out dance it becomes important to distinguish them from dancing which is inserted simply as entertainment for the stage

audience. It seems to me possible to do this by invoking the formal requirements of the masque as it was performed at court and in private households. The important feature is the relationship between the audience of the masque and the event: the masque was more than dancing; it presupposed a direct relationship between the masquers and the audience and worked on the assumption that the masquers had come to the banquet either to view the ladies or to praise and bless the assembled company.

To show this distinction it is interesting to compare the inserted entertainments in Jasper Mayne's The Amorous Wars and Aston Cockaine's Trappolin Supposed a Prince both of which are included in Forsythe's list of plays which included masques. In Mayne's play a dancing entertainment is produced to entertain the Amazons who have come to the soldier's camp. In it

"six Moores dance after the ancient AEthiopian manner. Erect Arrowes stucke round their heads, in their curled haire, instead of Quivers. Their Bowes in their hands, Their upper parts naked; Their neather from the wast, to their knees cover'd with bases of blew Sattin, edged with a deepe silver fringe. Their legs also naked, incircled with rings of gold; the like their Armes. Great pendants of Pearle at their eares. At every close, expressing a cheerefull Adoration of their Gods." (sig B2V)¹

Now dancing moors had been seen in Jonson's Masque of Blackness and at the Tudor court; pagans adoring their gods are found in Chapman's Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn. Nevertheless this entertainment cannot, strictly speaking, be called a masque. The moors have not come explicitly to entertain the Amazons and their dancing adoration of their gods makes no reference to the audience or the occasion for their presence.

In Trappolin Supposed a Prince, on the other hand, the masque is presented specifically to honour Lavinio and Isabella's wedding. The

¹ Mayne, op.cit. q (1648)

figures who appear in it are appropriate to a wedding celebration as they are led by Venus and Hymen. They are not involved in the action of the rest of the play and are described in the Dramatis Personae as 'Maskers', but their speeches and their actions are closely connected with the wedding celebration.

Hymen's opening speech recounts the fiction behind the appearance of the masquers

"That you, most worthy happy pair, should know
The gods themselves are pleased with what you do.
Me you have honoured, and to honour you
I have brought the deities along which do
Command and rule the days, that they may bless
You all the years with plenteous happiness!" (II i p.141)¹

Hymen leads a dance and after it each god or goddess comes forward to present his particular blessing for the couple. The masque ends with another dance and a final blessing from Hymen.

If we insist on formal connections between the masque in real life and the inserted masque in plays, it is tempting to take this further and try to establish some sort of direct influence which the court masque had on these inserted entertainments. Thorndike, in his early article 'The Influence of Court masques on the Drama',² suggested that since professional actors were used to present the anti-masques at court, dances used in the court masques may have been transferred to the stage. His theory applies particularly to the dance of satyrs in the Winter's Tale which he suggests is the same as the dance of satyrs at the beginning of Oberon and uses to date Shakespeare's play. This seems to me to be a very difficult connection to prove since masques of satyrs had been seen at the Elizabethan court³ before

¹ Cockaine, op.cit., ed. J. Maidment and W.H. Logan, The Dramatic Works of Sir Aston Cockaine (1874) pp.113-203

² Thorndike, op.cit. PMLA vol 15 (1900) pp.114-20

³ v. Schoenbaum entry for 1565 where a masque of satyrs and tilters was presented at court. v. also Feuillerat, Edward and Mary, p.178, where there is a reference to ox legs being bought to make satyrs' costumes.

Jonson used them in his masque. Moreover the dance of satyrs is perfectly appropriate in the pastoral setting of Bohemia and in any case the players were perfectly capable of devising their own dances.

More particular attempts are made by Reyher in Les Masques Anglais to connect spectacle and inserted masques in plays with masques at court. He attempts to find a connection between Hymenaei and the dumb show at the beginning of The Two Noble Kinsmen, and says

"Il suffit de rapprocher les indications scéniques de la pièce de la description par Jonson pour se convaincre des obligations des auteurs du drame"¹

However when the connection he suggests is made, the differences become all too plain. The stage direction in The Two Noble Kinsmen reads

"Enter Hymen with a torch burning; a boy in a white robe before, singing and strewing flowers. After Hymen a nymph, encompassed in her tresses, bearing a wheaten garland. Then Theseus, between two other nymphs with wheaten chaplets on their heads. Then Hippolyta, the bride led by Pirithous, and another holding a garland over her head, her tresses likewise hanging. After her Emilia, holding up her train ..."²

Fletcher and Shakespeare's stage direction makes no reference to the saffron colour of Hymen's garment nor to the fact that the bride's hair is sprinkled with grey. Moreover in Hymenaei the bride's garland is 'of roses like a turret'³ and there is no mention of the 'wheaten garlands' and chaplets which are carried or worn by the figures in the dumb show. The representation of Hymen in The Two Noble Kinsmen is a perfectly traditional one and it simply confuses the issue to insist on a direct derivation of detail from Jonson's masque.

There are some plays in which connections with court masques seem more obvious. Reyher's account of how Campion's Squires Masque is parodied

¹ Reyher p.325

² Fletcher and Shakespeare, op.cit., ed. G.R. Proudfoot, Regents Renaissance Drama Series (1970) p.7

³ ed. Orgel, p.77 line 50

in Middleton's No Wit No Help like a Woman's¹ is more convincing. In Campion's masque there is an anti-masque of the four winds and the four elements² and in Middleton's play the masque presents the four elements introduced by Weatherwise wearing a costume covered with signs from the almanac.³ However even when the connection seems to be possible it is not essential to make it since the action of the masque is perfectly appropriate within the context of the play; Weatherwise is obsessed with almanacs and it is his humour to forecast. Moreover it is difficult to see what point this parody could have in the play and if it were recognised it would be much more likely to cause confusion in the action.

Even when a connection with actual events at court may seem to be appropriate, the inserted masque in a play did not necessarily derive its form or content from particular court masques. L.W. Payne in his introduction to The Hector of Germanie, a pseudo-historic play in praise of a 14th century Palsgrave, writes

"Nothing could be more natural than that the citizen class should desire to be entertained by a play which introduced the stately dances, masks tournaments, ceremonials of the Order of the Garter, etc., which were being enacted in real life at court, (i.e. in connection with the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine) and at the same time presented the prototypes of the very characters in whom the whole community and the nation was just then so deeply interested."⁴

The topicality of the play may have encouraged the theatre managers to produce it at this time but the masque inserted in it bears no resemblance to the grandeur and spectacle seen in the court entertainments at this time.

¹ Reyher, loc.cit.

² v. Campion, op.cit., ed. P. Vivian Campion's Works (1909) pp.149-156

³ v. Middleton, op.cit., IV ii 65-170 ed. Bullen The Works of Thomas Middleton vol IV (reprinted 1964) pp.282-425, also v. below chapter 8

⁴ W. Smith, The Hector of Germanie, ed. Payne (1906) introduction p.35

The stage directions for the masque in V v suggest simple dancing without any clear indication that the ladies are even taken out. It reads simply

"Enter King Edward, the Palsgrave, and Y. Fitz. Floramell, Cullen & divers Lords in the Maske, they daunce there."¹

The Palsgrave uses this masque to bring the King of England into his enemy's palace which would seem to suggest that the author did not want to make a connection with the celebrations at Whitehall. He is using the masque in its form and function laid down by a dramatic tradition which was a much more important source of material than the actual court masque.

The only inserted masques that I have found which seem to bear a direct resemblance to elements in court masques are the second masque in Brome's The English Moor² which is similar to the first anti-masque in Jonson's The Gypsies Metamorphosed, and the masque in Cartwright's Seige or Love's Convert which could be connected with Campion's Lords Masque. The masque in Cartwright's play is presented to celebrate the joint wedding of Pyle and Nicias and Misander and Leucasia. A Curtain is drawn and the audience sees the statues of heroes. A Priest's song tells them to

"Grow pliant o ye Marbles, Love
Is able to make Statues move.
The Priest having ended this Song, the Statues by the stealth
of a slow Motion, do by little and little as it were assume life;
and descending from their Pedastals walk about in a grave sad
March to Trumpets, with their severall weapons in their hands,
the Curtain in the mean time shutting: But making at last toward
their former station, the Curtain flies aside, and they find
five Ladies on their Pedastalls in the Posture of Amorous Statues;
at whose feet they having leaid their weapons, conduct them down,
and fall into a sprightly dance to Violins, and so depart."
(V viii SD line 2295)³

¹ W. Smith, op.cit., ed.cit., p.135

² v. above p.112-114

³ Cartwright, op.cit., ed. G.B. Evans, The Plays and Poems of William Cartwright (1951) pp.364-438

This is similar to the Episode in Campion's Lords Masque¹ in which Prometheus' statues of women come alive and dance with the Masquers while a second group of statues appear in their place:

"While this song is sung, and the Masquers court the four new-transformed Ladies, four other Statues appear in their places" (278-9)

Cartwright uses the device of dancing statues because it presents a lively scene but where Campion's statues come to life because of Jove relenting, the statues in Love's Seige are brought to life by Love. The device may have been borrowed from Campion's masque but Cartwright adapts it to the purpose of his play and there is no attempt to invoke the earlier masque.

One of the most important features of the inserted masques is that they are nearly always subordinated to the action of the play. Even when they do not advance the action itself or reflect the characters' attitude to the action, they are always produced for some occasion and can thus be integrated into the normal events of the play. This tends to mean that masques do not often come in for the sort of criticism which is levelled at spectacle in plays.

Jonson's address to the reader of The Alchemist complains of plays

"wherein, now, the Concupiscence of Daunces, and Antickes so raigneth, as to runne away from Nature, and be afraid of her, is the onely point of art that tickles the Spectators."²

But Jonson himself included a masque in Cynthia's Revels³ and his complaint is only about the spectacles which 'run away from nature' which the masque did not.

The kind of spectacle complained of is much more frequently the 'drum and trumpet' activity of the public stages and the masque does not seem to

¹ Campion, op.cit., ed. I.A. Shapiro CBM pp.105-117 lines 255-297

² Jonson, op.cit., ed. Herford and Simpson vol V pp.273-407

³ v. below chapter 5 for a discussion of this masque

come into this category. There is a considerable difference between a masque and

"Gipsie Igges, ... Drumming stuffe
Dances, or other Trumpery to delight,
Or take, by common way, the common sight." (Sig A4)¹

which Massinger's friend scorns in the introductory verses to The Bondman.

The prologue to Heywood's The English Traveller is one of the few places in which the masque comes in for part of the general censure:

"A strange Play you are like to have, for know,
We use no Drum, nor Trumpet, nor Dumbe show;
No Combate, Marriage, not so much to say
As Song, Dance, Masque, to bumbaste out a Play;" (sig A3v)²

The reference to the masque seems to have been included here so that Heywood's list will be complete and he does not mean to scorn it any more than he rejects the other devices in their place. He adds

"Yet all these good, and still in frequent use
With our best Poets ...
There have been so many, that Hee desires not any
At this time in his Sceane."³

Heywood was probably right to leave masquing out of his play for it was a device whose popularity soon made it very hackneyed. Its principal use was that it was a convenient way of introducing figures onto the stage in an unexpected and spectacular way: the visual impact of the masque could underline important action and it provided suitable spectacular entertainments for weddings and important guests.

¹ Introductory verses to Massinger, The Bondman Q (1624)

² Heywood, op.cit. Q (1633)

³ Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Masque as an Image

The degree of effectiveness with which the masque could be used as a plot device is an interesting indication of the dramatist's ability to handle the delicate balance between the spectacle and the action of his play. One important aspect of this balance is found in those plays where the dramatist uses the masque not only as a plot device but also as an image with which to focus and extend his audience's response to the events of the play. When discussing the significance of the masque as an image I am not trying to claim that certain passages of poetry were derived from recollections of particular court masques¹ but rather to suggest that evocations of the masque and references to masquing can be used to work on the audience's awareness

¹ cf John Cunliffe 'Gascoigne and Shakespeare' MLR vol 4 (1908-9) pp. 231-3 where he refers to 'Halpin's theory' that a well known passage in A Midsummer Night's Dream (II i 148-163) refers to the Kenilworth festivities.

cf Ruth Nevo 'The Masque of Greatness' Shakespeare Studies vol 3 (1967) pp. 111-28 which compares Antony and Cleopatra V ii 79-92 with Jonson's Masque of Hymen.

Or cf Demaray Milton and the Masque Tradition (1968) p.129 where he claims that

"Milton writes of the way in which Heaven 'as at some festival' would open her gates and reveal main masque figures if such holy song/Enwrap our fancy long"

The danger of these connections is recognised in Ruth Nevo's article where she talks of 'the poet-dramatist and the masque-librettist sharing a world of symbols and images' (p.116). The connection she sees between Antony's delights being dolphin-like and the appearance at Kenilworth of Arion on a dolphin could equally have been suggested by Whitney's emblem on the Dolphin.

"The Dolphin swifte, upon the shore is throwne
 Though he was bred and fostered in the flood
 If Neptune shewe such wrong, unto his owne
 Then how maye man in shippes have hope of good

.....
 And though this fishe, was mightie in the sea
 Without regard, yet was he caste on shore
 So famous men, that longe did beare the swaie
 Have bene exil'd, and liv'd in habit pore."

Whitney, A Choice of Emblems (1586) p.90

similarly in Milton's 'On the Morning of Christ's Nativity' the vision of Truth and Justice coming to men and Mercy: 'Throned in celestial sheen' could equally come from contemporary paintings or architectural representations of allegorical figures in glory v. Kernodle From Art to Theatre (1944) pp.52-108.

in such a way as to extend and complicate the significance of the language and the action beyond the events of the plot or the immediate information imparted by a character's speech.

As the critics of Caroline Spurgeon's Shakespeare's Imagery and What it tells us¹ have pointed out it is extremely difficult to determine the exact source of any given image in poetry. This problem is clearly stated in Rosemond Tuve's appendix to Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery where she says

"One initial difficulty any reader may test for himself. It is seldom possible to determine except by an arbitrary decision the province to which an image's content allows us to assign it... Even objects are unsafe: for Marlowe 'brass vessels' may belong to the province of commonplace domestic objects, for me, to whatever province would include art museums in a remote and 'romantic' foreign country - no reader of either of our images could ever tell it. Let the image mention not objects but things historical, religious, political and one is in a far worse case. No NED could tell us the precise overtones of a particular vehicle to certain men in a certain region in a certain year and our knowledge of social and political currents would have to be unimaginably delicate."²

However my aim is not to say that an individual dramatist is thinking of the masque when writing a particular passage, but to try and determine the effect of references to masques and masking which occur frequently in the language of a given play. The crucial factor which Rosemond Tuve does not mention here is that images only occur within a context and the difficulties of assigning a province to an image within a series of images are far less than with her attempt to locate these isolated 'brass vessels'.

Given that individual images can be located in a variety of areas, it is the pattern which surrounds them which guides the connections which the reader or the audience makes. For example in The Merry Wives of Windsor, Mistress Ford says to Mistress Page as they plan their first trick on Falstaff

¹ Caroline Spurgeon, op. cit. (1937)

² Rosemond Tuve, op. cit. (1947) pp.422-3

"Mistress Page, remember your cue" (III iii 30-31)

and Mistress Page replies

"I'll warrant thee if I do not act it, hiss me" (III iii 32-3)¹

Both characters can be said to be using 'theatre imagery'. This is made clear only by the individual words like 'cue' and 'act', since 'act' is not exclusively associated with the theatre, but by the combination of these words. It seems to me that the connections thus set up in the minds of the audience between the wives' action and acting in the theatre remind the audience that the wives are acting out a fiction which will end with the ending of the play. Moreover this combination of 'theatre imagery' occurs throughout the play and this, together with the deception and pretence in the action makes it possible to talk about the questions of 'role playing' in The Merry Wives².

What I want to call the image of the masque is analogous to the example of the Merry Wives. If the references in a play are to masking, dancing and music, it seems to me reasonable to say that they combine to create a pattern of 'masquing imagery' which has certain connotations for an audience. I agree that Rosemond Tuve's task of defining the 'precise overtones...to a certain man in a certain region in a certain year requires an 'unimaginably delicate' reaction but I think it is true to say that the audience and the author do share a common language and this language is as much one of shared associations as of shared vocabulary. This shared language presents something of a problem when the audience is dealing with a work from another period but it is possible to arrive at some idea of the associations of particular references and thus to work out how they operate within the

¹ Shakespeare, op. cit. ed. Alexander, William Shakespeare, the Complete Works (1951) pp.53-84

² v. Anne Richter, Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play (1962) pp.130-132

structure of a given work. This need not be a conscious apprehension on the part of an audience - they simply respond to an atmosphere created by the language - but it can be consciously analysed by the critic. The connotations I outlined in Chapter Three which became part of the idea of the masque can be used to extend the force of a reference to the masque.

For example, the masque, in which disguised figures intrude on a celebration, was often associated with the danger which the masquers could bring. Ann Righter in her Shakespeare and the Idea of a Play¹ quotes lines from Henry VI in which this image of the masque is very important.

"King Lewis, about to march against England in deadly earnest
ironically bids his messenger
"tell false Edward, thy supposed king
That Lewis of France is sending over masquers
To revel it with him and his new bride." (III iii 223-5)

Anne Righter quotes these lines as an example of 'the idle frivolous nature of the play' but in fact it is the image of the masque which is working here to reinforce Lewis' sarcasm. The irony is not simply the result of the contrast between an army and a group of masquers; it rests in the fact that Lewis is being both ironically and literally threatening. The masquers which he says he will send may not be an army but they could be equally dangerous. Lewis is angry because Edward has married Lady Grey and his reference to the masque that he will send to the wedding is a reminder both to the poet and to the audience of why he has changed his mind about giving aid to Queen Margaret. In the same localised way the image of the masque can be used to characterise a situation and the persons involved in it. In Marlowe's Edward II, Gaveston plans in the beginning of the play how he will gain Edward's favour. He aims to have sumptuous entertainment for the king:

"Music and poetry is his delight:
Therefore I'll have Italian masques by night,
Sweet speeches, comedies and pleasing shows;
And in the day when he shall walk abroad,
Like sylvan nymphs my pages shall be clad;
My men like satyrs grazing on the lawns
Shall with their goat feet dance an antic hay;
Sometimes a lovely boy in Dian's shape,
With hair that gilds the water as it glides,

¹ Righter op. cit., p.97.

Crownets of pearl about his naked arms,
 And in his sportful hand an olive tree
 To hide those parts which men delight to see,
 Shall bathe him in a spring;...." (I i 53-65)¹

Here the double image of the masque works with great power. Gaveston's view of the masque is of a beautiful entertainment fit to entertain a lover and a king. However as the speech continues and the sensuality of the proposed entertainment begins to grow almost too lush, the other associations of the masque make themselves felt. Gaveston wishes to create for Edward the kind of landscape which was created for Elizabeth on her progresses but where the gods who entertained Elizabeth reminded her of her position as queen, Gaveston's are all for purely physical pleasure.² The audience can appreciate the beauty and artistry of his vision but there is also the uncomfortable reminder of the fact that masques could also be an excuse for licence and excess. The double attitude to Gaveston created in this speech is some measure of the complicated response to him which the audience will have throughout the play. The contrasting and complex reactions which this speech seems to invite do not have to be seen purely in terms of a polemic on masquing but when the attitudes to masquing are known we can perhaps better appreciate the way in which Marlowe is able to use the image of the masque to create a speech which sets up such conflicting associations.

These associations from a particular cultural context need not be imprisoned in the study or the footnotes. The atmosphere or impression which I spoke of earlier will come over to the sensitive audience anyway from the language. Moreover in the drama it is possible to reinforce this atmosphere by producing a masque on stage. If crucial action takes place in a masque

¹ Marlowe op. cit. ed. Roma Gill, The Plays of Christopher Marlowe (1971) pp.258-329

² The dangerous sensuality of Edward's proposed entertainment is also indicated by the fall of Acteon which he will have enacted: v. lines 66-69. This story was 'moralised' in contemporary emblems into a warning against unlawful desires. v. Whitney op. cit. p.15 cf. Sambucus Emblems (1564) p.128 where the Acteon story is a warning against harbouring parasites.

it makes it more memorable to the audience and if the language of the play has been referring to this kind of spectacle throughout, the audience will surely connect the questions raised by the associations of the language and the action which reinforces it. The drama is unique in its ability to use the visual to reinforce and extend the power of the language spoken by the characters in the play.

"The words are, after all, only a part of the full imaginative experience of the play, and...there are many non-verbal elements in a performance which work together with the poetry of the text and help to express it...the play an audience sees creates its own set of images and metaphors that are not merely those of the spoken lines." ^a 1

Alan S. Downer in his article, 'The Function of Imagery in the Poetic Drama' insists that the dramatist must deal with 'the thingness of things'. He says

"...to him a mossy stone must be a mossy stone and a ship tossed on the ocean, not a synonym for peace or turmoil"²

Downer is right to the extent that if a masque is to act as the focus for the imagery of a play it must be a real masque in the action of the play but it would be a mistake to restrict the significance of things in the drama to their literal function in the action. Certain images, a ship tossed on the ocean is one and the masque another, have gained certain symbolic connotations. The dramatist must be allowed to use both the literal and the symbolic aspects of an image in such a way that these work together to extend the significance of the work beyond the plot. Downer's reservation is important in that these symbols must be controlled by the author; every time a ship appears it need not be a synonym for peace and turmoil and every time a masque appears it must not be symbolic of intrigue or harmony.

¹ Maurice Charney, Shakespeare's Roman Plays: The Function of Imagery in the Drama (1961) pp.4-5 quoted in A.C. Dessen, 'Hamlet's Poisoned Sword: A Study in Dramatic Imagery', Shakespeare Studies 5 (1969) p.53

² Downer op. cit. in Shakespeare, Modern Essays in Criticism ed. Leonard Dean, (1957) p.20

The very complexity of the association of the masque make it essential for the author to control how it works within the structure of his play.

The inserted masque in a play does, however, have certain regular features which make it particularly suitable as a focus for images. It produces a still point in the action which sets up certain expectations and a certain atmosphere. In simple physical and visual terms it is an exciting theatrical event in any play. The arrival of masked figures with torches and music creates a moment of excitement, both for the theatre audience and for the figures in the play.

This effect can remain a purely local one when the masque is inserted as decoration or entertainment for the characters in the play. In Greene's Scottish History of James IV, the stage direction at the beginning of V ii reads

"After a solemm service, enter from the Countess of Arran's house a service, musical songs of marriage, or a masque, or what pretty triumph you list." ¹

Greene's directions here are rather vague; he does not specify the form of the masque and there would appear to be no place for elaboration or taking out. He simply wishes there to be some event to show the festivity connected with the marriage of Ida and Eustace; since the masque was suitable for that kind of festivity it is included as one of the possibilities. The connotations of the masque are not especially significant here since the masque is only one of the festive possibilities. Nevertheless the song and dancing so briefly referred to in the stage direction would provide a joyful spectacle which would celebrate the marriage not only for the characters in the play but also for the audience.

The use of a masque in Greene's play can be called the 'literal' use of the inserted masque, but in certain contexts the masque is also used like an image in language. It makes literal sense for the spectacle to be

¹ Greene op. cit. ed. Norman Sanders (1970)

there but the connotations of masquing are being forcibly brought into play so as to react with or against the context. With the possibility of presenting a masque on stage, the use of the masque to characterise a situation or a figure in the action was greatly extended from the localised use of the image in the language which I discussed earlier. The dramatist is able to present the masque in such a way as to control the audience's response to it and to the character who presents it.

In Dekker's play, The Wonder of a Kingdom IV i, Torrenti, the 'riotous lord' presents a masque. The stage direction for the masque reads

"Trumpets sounding. Enter Torrenti very brave, betweene the two Dukes, attended by all the Courtiers, wondering at his costly habit. Enter a mask, women in strang habitts, Dance. Exit. He gives jewells, and ropes of pearle to the Duke; and a chaine of gold to every Courtier. Exeunt..."¹

The masque here acts as a physical image of Torrenti's excess and ostentation and gives point to the argument which then takes place between Torrenti and Nicholetto. Nicholetto asks

"...what doest thou thinke, that I now think,
Of thy this days expence?"

to which Torrenti replies

"That it was brave"

Nicholetto then tells him what he thinks of the excesses of his life

"I thinke thee a proud vaine-glorious bragging knave.
The golden wombe thy father left so full
Thou Vulture-like eat'st through: oh heeres trim stuffe;
A goodeman's state, in Gartyres, strings and ruffe;" (IV i 11-14)

The masque in this scene gives the audience a physical representation of the riot and excess with which Torrenti is charged. Moreover Nicholetto's point is further reinforced by the contrast between Torrenti's ostentatious masque and the banquet which Iacomo Gentili 'the Noble House-keeper' provides for the poor in the following scene.

¹ Dekker op. cit. ed. Fredson Bowers, The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker vol. III (1958)

Another play in which the physical impact of the masque is used to make a dramatic point is Nathaniel Richards' Messalina. In Act IV the masque is prepared by Saufellus, Messalina's counsel who says

"At the Bachanalian feast which now
Drawes nigh, then a rich stirring Maske will best
Express itself in greatest glory." (IV i 185-7)¹

Saufellus' statement prepares the audience to see the masque as something which will be 'rich' and 'stirring' - the moralists' view of the masque - but which will also express Messalina's glory - the aim of the court masque writers. This double image of the masque as something which could be both licentious and glorious is reflected in the physical presentation which the audience sees, and complicates the view of Messalina and her actions in the play.

The masque presents an exciting spectacle as described in the stage direction

"Cornets sound a Flourish. Enter Senate who placed by Sulpitus, Cornets cease, and the Antique Maske consisting of eight Bachinalians enter guilt with Vine leaves, and shap't in the middle with Tunne Vessells, each bearing a Cup in their hands, who during the first straine of Musick play'd foure times over, enter by two at a time, at the Tunes end, make stand; draw wine and carouse, then dance all: The Antimasque gone off: and solemne Musicke playing: Messalina and Silius gloriously crowned in an Arch-glittering Cloud aloft, Court each other." (219-225)²

Messalina and Silius have themselves become the main masque in that they appear in glory after the antimasque has gone off. This shows the outrageous public nature of their affair which scandalised Rome but by being placed in the context of the masque it also makes an ironic point. The figures who usually appeared after the antimasque were gods or virtues who banished the disharmony of the anti-masque; Messalina and Silius are the reverse of that and their 'courting' is an ironic parody of the harmonious dance of main masque dancers. There is no question here of Pleasure being reconciled to

¹ Richards op. cit. ed. A.R. Skemp Materialien (1910)

² cf. these anti-masque figures with the followers of Comus disguised with bottles and tuns which make up the first anti-masque of Jonson's Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue

virtue.

The ironic point here, however, does not merely depend upon an unfavourable contrast between Messalina and Silius and the gods who normally appeared in the main masque. Messalina and Silius are not gods but their appearance in glory makes them like gods for the audience in the theatre as well as the audience at their masque, and this is a manifestation of Messalina's power, however much the audience may disapprove morally of this power.

Skemp in his introduction to his edition of the play, suggests that

"The incidents described by the Tacitus furnish obvious opportunities for stage pageantry: the Masque and the marriage of Messalina and Silius."¹

The passage from Tacitus which he suggests as a source for the masque in fact describes a Bacchanalian feast but Richards presents a masque and not a feast. Presenting a feast on stage would have shown Messalina's love of excess and sensual pleasure but the presentation of a masque in which there is an inherent contrast between Messalina and the Bacchanals which she follows shows that her power is far greater than that of an ordinary seductress.

Richards himself seems to be aware of this power in his spectacle since he tries to overcome it with Narcissus' moral comments in the speech at the end of the masque. He says that lust is 'A thicke blacke cloud onely compos'd of ill' but at the same time even he has to admit that

"hadst thou the rellish
Of sweet good, as thou are badly bitter,
Thee above all the Gods I would adore,
The, thee adore, that unresisted thus,
Snare the besotted Faction to their fall." (2241-2245)

In Act I Messalina has plans to pervert all those 'Rome most admires for foolish chastitie' and 'squeeze their spungie vertue into vice' by 'stirring, masque, midnight revells/All rare varietie to provoke desire'. (I i 541-2)

¹ ed. Skemp op. cit., p.56.

During the action of the play she perverts not only her victims but the audience. Her power to produce exciting spectacle makes her into an attractive figure and when she appears in the masque it is impossible to dismiss her with moralising.

The double image of the masque works here with its full force. Because of the power of the physical presentation it is dramatised for an audience. They would not need to know of the polemic on masquing or the historical background of the image of the masque; the contrasting attitudes to masque and the glorious power which some writers felt that it had are both present in this scene, complicating the audience's response to the events.

Thus the image of the masque can be used in a single scene to extend and complicate the point being made in the action. However it is further possible for the masque to be used as an image in such a way as to provide a focus for a variety of themes in the drama. A play which uses its inserted masque in this way is Ben Jonson's Cynthia's Revels.

The play is about an affected set of gallants whose pretences and pretentions make them unfit to be at Cynthia's court and Jonson ends the play with a double masque in which the foolish courtiers are both literally and metaphorically unmasked. All the action takes place under the auspices of Cynthia's revels, when Diana herself will descend and

"In which time, it shall bee lawfull for all sorts of ingenuous persons, to visit her palace, to court her nymphes, to exercise all varietye of generous and noble pastimes" (I i 97-100)¹

Far from exercising 'generous and noble pastimes', the courtiers indulge in extreme forms of affectation and their behaviour is seen as a series of elaborate acts. When they court the equally affected ladies it is an act, and they spend much of their time planning the witticisms of wooing and rehearsing them under the instruction of Amorphus.

¹ Jonson, op. cit. ed. Herford and Simpson, vol. IV pp. 33-183

Crites, who sees through their affectations, describes them as

"The strangest pageant, fashion'd like a court,
so diffused,
 So painted, pied, and full of rainbow straines" (III iv 4-6)

They are all 'actors' in a pageant but although their acting in courtly revels should be to the greater glory of Cynthia, it is all a projection of their own egos. In the conversation with Arete where Crites describes the 'pageant', Arete says that

"This knot of spiders will be soone dissolv'd
 And all their webs swept out of Cynthia's court
 When once her glorious deitie appears." (III iv 87-90)

Just as the anti masque is banished by the appearance of the god-like figures of a main masque these false gallants will be banished by the appearance of Cynthia.

In Act IV Arete tells the gallants that they are to

"provide for solemne revels, and some unlook't for device
 of wit..." (IV v 8-11)

to entertain Cynthia 'against she should vouchsafe to grace your passtime with her presence'. They decide to present a masque and Arete suggests that Crites should 'discharge you of the inventive part'.

When Crites is asked to provide for the masque he again shows that he regards the gallants as unfit to perform the serious part of a masque which he thinks requires a certain harmony. He says that his task will be impossible for

"Better, and sooner durst I undertake
 To make the different seasons of the yeere,
 The windes, or elements to sympathise,
 Than their unmeasurable vanitie
 Dance truly in a measure" (V v 4-8)

This statement prepares the audience to see the masque as a symbol of harmony rather than just courtly amusement. Such is the power of the masque that it can create harmony. Arete comforts Crites with the assurance that

"...as HERMES wand
 Charmes the disorders of tumultuous ghosts;
Respect of maiestie, the place, and presence,
 Will keepe them within ring; especially
 When they are not presented as themselves
 But masqu'd like others." (V v 15-28)

In the masque the courtiers appear in two sets, the women as the followers of Anteros, and the men as the four cardinal virtues. Each set of masquers

is introduced by their presenters, Cupid and Mercury, whose speeches tell what virtues the courtiers represent; each of them represents the courtly virtue which the character himself has turned into a vice through exaggeration. After these speeches the groups join together for a series of dances.

As the dancing ends Cynthia comes down from the state and asks the dancers to unmask. She is appalled

"That any (under trust of their disguise)
Should mix themselves with others of the court
And (without forehead) boldly presse so far,
As further none." (V xi 52-55)

She is not in the least amused that the masque should be used for unworthy characters to gain entrance where they have no right to be. She does not see masquing as a game at all and she rejects the possibility of love entering into it when she banishes Cupid. She calls on Crites to reveal the true identity of the masquers which he does and they all admit that they must be corrected. The harmony of the masque and the court is then restored as the *masques* exit, singing of the affectations from which Mercury must defend them.

A masque is an especially appropriate end to this play since it makes it possible for the final scene to work through the images of combined seriousness and festivity which are part of the idea of the masque. The play is a comedy and, despite the moralising tone in some of Crites speeches, the gallants are not wicked. The play is about a time of revels but Jonson is trying to make the point that revels must be conducted with decorum. Consequently there is a nice balance created by exposing the pageant of false gallants in a masque. They had been pretending all along but it is only when they actually appear in masque before the power of Cynthia that their pretence can be unveiled.

In the speech before she unmasks the imposters Cynthia asks

"But what have serious repetitions
To do with revels and the sports of court." (V xi 28-29)

Jonson could reply that there was a very strong connection when the masque can be an image for and examine the whole idea of masking and revelling in a virtuous court.¹

For Jonson the masque remained a powerful image of the harmonious court and was indeed the means whereby the court could be made harmonious. However, as I suggested in chapter three there was a considerable credibility gap between this view of the masque and the reality of the court at a masque. The masque itself could only create an artificial harmony; it did not allow for real conflict but worked through a reaffirmation of harmony and social order. The maskers and the spectators who are taken out are all play acting; the masque could be regarded as an elaborate construct of flattery based on deception. This could be a powerful image for a corrupt way of life and it is this image of the masque which is exploited so successfully in Tourneur's (?)

The Revenger's Tragedy.²

In Act V two masques are prepared to celebrate Lussurioso's accession to the dukedom. In the first masque Vindice, Hippolito and the two lords kill Lussurioso and the three Lords who are sitting at the banquet. Then the second masque of Lussurioso's brothers enters. They find the banqueters dead and proceed to kill one another as they quarrel over who is to be the new Duke. The masques themselves are a convenient way of enacting the final murder since they allow the revengers to enter the banquet unimpeded, but in this play the final masque is the culmination of imagery of masking, disguise

¹ v. Gilbert, 'The Function of the Masques in Cynthia's Revels' EQ vol. 22 (1943) pp.211-30. This article does not deal with the use of the masque as an image but is mainly concerned with the relationship between panegyric and instruction in Jonson's Court Masques and other Renaissance expressions of this idea.

² For a full discussion of the problems of the authorship of this play v. R.A. Foakes Revels edition (1966) pp. xlviil-liv

and acting which have created a sense of deceit and double dealing throughout the action.

Throughout the play Tourneur carefully builds up the images of masking and disguising so that the masks which all of the characters wear, literally and metaphorically, become symbols of the inescapable falsehood of the court. From Act I Vindice uses the word mask as an image for deceit, especially the deceit involved in sexual intrigue. After his description of 'Dutch lust, fulsome lust' to Lussurioso he says

"...and in the morning
When they are up and dressed and their mask on
Who can perceive this?" (I iii 66-8)¹

Masking in this play is, moreover, especially associated with the masque rather than general pretence. In the following scene we hear how the Duchess' son has raped Antonio's wife during a masque. The speech describes the atmosphere of a game masque which Antonio is describing and whose connotations the author is using:

"Last revelling night
When torchlight made an artificial moon
About the court some courtiers in a masque
Putting on better faces than their own
...amongst all the ladies
Singled out that form, who ever lived
As cold in lust as she is now in death.
...And therefore, in the height of all the revels
When music was heard loudest, courtiers busiest,
And Ladies great with laughter - O vicious minute,
Unfit but for relation to be spoke of! -
Then with a face more impudent than his vizard,
He harried her amid the throng of panders
That live upon damnation of both kinds,
And fed the ravenous vulture of his lust." (I iv 26-44)

By describing this scene rather than presenting it, Tourneur, is able to make clear the kind of associations masquing will have in this play, without making the action of that particular masque too significant a part of the plot.

¹ Tourneur (?) op. cit. ed R.A. Foakes (1966)

Putting on a disguise becomes particularly associated with courtly disguising and the masque. The procession of the court across the stage at the beginning of the play is similar to the procession which was a prelude to masquing:¹ Vindice is the presenter to this procession of 'four excellent characters' who are to play their parts throughout the action.

At this point Vindice is outside the procession and can see the roles that the characters take but he soon accepts the disguise and joins in the masking and deception of court life. Whereas Antonio had complained that the masquers who raped his wife were 'putting on better faces than their own', Vindice is quite willing, for the sake of revenge, to put on a worse face than his own. Yet in wearing his false face he is more like a masquer than an actor for he does not adopt another character; his disguise is a protection which enables him to be more himself.² When he agrees to go to serve Lussurioso as 'some strange-digested fellow' he regards it merely as a change of dress. In his determination to become a man of the time he is prepared to

"put on that knave for once" (I i 90)

and tells Hippolito

"I have a habit that will fit it quaintly" (I i 101)

The dress for him becomes an excuse as well as an opportunity for action.

Although in I iii he is enraged that he has sworn to foul his sister he decides

"It would not prove the meanest policy
In this disguise to try the faith of both" (I iii 178-9)

¹ cf. the procession of the goddesses in Daniel's The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses where, as the goddesses proceed down the stairs they are described by the Sybilla

² cf. Lily, Euphuus: The Anatomy of Wit ed. Bond vol. II p.103 quoted in Inga-Stina Ewbank op. cit. CBM p.424 "It hath been a custom, fair lady, how commendable I will not dispute, how common you know, that masquers do therefore cover their faces that they may open their affectations, and under colour of a dance discover their whole desires."

The relationship between Vindice and his disguised self is complicated. When he is in disguise he commits actions, like the corruption of his mother, which are alien to his moral sense; yet the same disguise of Piato is the means by which he achieves the revenge on the Duke which he had been plotting from the beginning of the play. His mask is a cover for his actions but it does not provide a moral shield between him and the action. Vindice and Piato are seen to be the same person and are finally condemned for their actions in and out of disguise.

With the death of the Duke the revenge as planned in Act I is over and Piato can unmask. But the action does not stop there; Vindice re-enters the action in his own name and dress. The change is still only a change of dress; Vindice remains Lussurioso's servant and his role has not changed. The whole court can operate on appearances for as Hippolito says to Vindice

"He that did lately in disguise reject thee
Shall, now thou art thyself, respect thee." (IV ii 3-4)

Vindice himself realises the complications of his identity for when he is accusing his mother of acting bawd to his sister he says

"Oh, I am in doubt
Whether I'm myself or no" (IV iv 27-8)

Vindice's many disguises make him a very appropriate figure to appear in a masque. It is he who organises the final masque of vengeance and this is made to seem especially apt in view of his ability throughout the play to out-act and out-direct all the other characters. In his first scene at court we see Lussurioso revelling in his cleverly contrived act. He is talking of how he deceived Hippolito but Vindice's comments show that he has out-manceuvred Lussurioso before the action even begins:

"Luss. We may laugh at that simple age within him
Vind. Ha ha ha
Luss. Himself being made the subtle instrument to wind up
a good fellow -
Vind. That's I, my Lord.
Luss. That's thou
To entice and work his sister

Vind. A pure novice!
 Luss. 'Twas finely managed
 Vind. Gallantly carried..." (I iii 138-45)

The pleasure in an act well contrived which appears here is echoed in the scene where Hippolito and Vindice are preparing for the murder of the Duke. He is to be killed by being made to kiss the poisoned skull of Vindice's dead mistress whom he has seduced. Vindice's moralising on the transience of feminine beauty and the absurdity of lust makes it clear that he thinks of himself as being on the side of virtue but there is still a sinister feeling to Hippolito's

"Brother I do applaud thy constant vengeance
 The quaintness of thy malice above thought." (III v 106-7)

Vindice explicitly shares Hippolito's pleasure at the quaintly contrived murder. In Act V after the Duke's murder he is very angry that Lussurioso is not coming alone to see the dead duke. Having produced the Duke's murder with great theatrical skill Vindice feels

"Here was the sweetest occasion, the fittest hour, to have made my revenge familiar with him; shown him the body of the Duke his father, and how quaintly he died, like a politician in hugger-mugger, made no man acquainted with it; and in catastrophe, slain him over his father's breast; and O, I'm mad to lose such sweet opportunity." (V i 15-21)

When the masque is eventually planned all of the characters see it as opportunity for a well contrived act of murder. Hippolito and Vindice turn to one another with the exclamation "Revels!" and Supervacuo makes all their thoughts explicit:

"In time of revels, tricks may be set afoot
 ...A masque is treason's licence, that build upon;
 'Tis Murder's best face when a vizard's on" (V i 180-86)

The final lines, by being in rhyme, stand out as a motto for the last act. We have been prepared throughout the play to see the masque as an opportunity for violence and this charges the atmosphere of the final scene. By combining the associations of the masque, with what we know of Vindice's love of a quaint device, Tourneur is able to set up expectation without losing any suspense; the audience waits for the final 'act' which Vindice will direct.

In the following scene Vindice is preparing the masque:

"we to take pattern
Of all those suits, the colour, trimming, fashion,
E'en to an undistinguished hair almost;
Then, ent'ring first, observing the true form,
Within a strain or two we shall find leisure
To steal our swords out handsomely." (V ii 15-20)

The plan is simple but the real pleasure comes from the fact that

"when they think their pleasure sweet and good,
In midst of all their joys, they shall sigh blood." (V ii 21-2)

All of the main characters are involved in the masque in some way and so the whole of Act V iii has an atmosphere of artificiality. This formality isolates the action and creates the tension for the expected climax. The scene opens with the stage direction

" a blazing star appeareth"

and the courtiers at the banquet go through the formalities of flattery:

"1. Noble. Many harmonious hours, and choicest pleasures
Fill up the royal numbers of your years.
Luss. My lords, we're pleased to thank you - though we know
'Tis but your duty now to wish it so. (V iii 1-4)

The artificiality and flattery of the scene are only dropped in the asides

"3. Noble. His grace frowns
2. Noble. Yet we must say he smiles (V ii 5-6)

and in Lussurioso's more significant

"...after these revels
I'll begin strange ones" (V ii 8-9)

These two exchanges are sufficient to remind the audience of the undercurrent of tension and danger beneath the conventions of courtly behaviour. The scene contains two levels of pretence. There is the flattery of the courtiers which is expected by the situation and the darker, more dangerous pretence of the masquers who will come to kill in earnest. The formality and flattery are part of the ethos of courtly entertainment but Lussurioso is to be entertained in a more deadly way.

The pretence of courtly behaviour is suddenly dropped in the lines immediately before the masquing dance.

"Brothers and bastard, you dance next in hell" (V iii 41)

says Lussurioso and we are reminded that this masque is in fact a danse macabre. Lussurioso thinks that he will turn it into a dance in hell by killing his brothers but the audience knows that it is a dance in which death has come for Lussurioso himself. Lussurioso thinks that he can see through the illusions of the court but he is unable to penetrate the masks which Vindice and Hippolito wear at these courtly revels.

The stylisation of the double masque prevents the number of deaths from being too incongruously grotesque. The double killing of Ambitioso and Supervacuo could be comic but this is part of the theatricality of the whole scene where even the elements accompany the killing with thunder and blazing stars - a grotesque parody of the fireworks and revellings of courtly entertainments.

The emphasis provided by this spectacle is very important. All the characters have been masked and counter-masked for so long that the final unmasking must be so spectacular as to make it symbolic. When Vindice unmasks it is the final return to truth after the deviousness of the whole action. It is not enough for revenge murders to be committed 'like a politician in hugger-mugger' for this happens all the time at court. The justice which Antonio brings out in the open and the last words Lussurioso hears before he dies are the final truth

"Now thou'lt not prate on't, twas
Vindice murder'd thee

.....
Murder'd thy father

.....
and I am he.
Tell nobody." (V iii, 784-90)

The theatricality of the murders contrasts with the openness which comes with the arrival of Antonio. He does not have any long speeches but abruptly commands that Vindice and Hippolito should be taken off to execution. He refuses to see these deaths as a brilliantly produced entertainment and brings a more simple morality to bear. The game of revenge is over.

Yet Antonio's simple morality is only the last word in the play. Like Vindice and the others, the audience in the theatre are impressed by an act well produced; the masque may not bring the glory that Lussurioso expects but it is still an entertainment and we, who are not affected by the deadliness of the game, appreciate the power of the characters who provide it. Antonio's condemnation of Vindice cuts through the deceit of masquing which is very necessary in that particular court, but his moral position, however admirable it may be, also means the end of the game. The audience approve Vindice and Hippolito's execution morally but the masque in which music and thunder joined to create the spectacle is still a more powerful final image.

I have tried to show in this analysis of Cynthia's Revels and the Revenger's Tragedy the ways in which the masque can work as an image. Because of the variety of associations which the masque had the author has to be specific about how his characters view the masque but at the same time the opposing associations work together to complicate the audience's response to the scene. If an image in poetry works in such a way as to present a 'composite idea' and 'to enable us to evaluate and to appreciate through a full perception the experience with which it deals'¹ the physical representation of a masque on stage, when backed up by images in the language works in a similar way. It may be argued that in the drama, an audience is not especially aware of poetic images which occur in the speeches, but it seems to me that when images of acting or disguising or masking are backed up by the spectacle of a masque, the visual impact of the masque reminds the audience of these images. This makes it possible for the critic or the audience to talk about the image of the masque in relation to the themes of the play.

¹ R.A. Foakes, The Romantic Assertion (1958) p.27

CHAPTER SIX

The Masques in Shakespeare's Plays

As a plot device Shakespeare's use of the masque does not differ significantly from the uses of the masque which I outlined in chapter 4. In The Merchant of Venice Jessica is taken through the streets of Venice disguised as Lorenzo's torchbearer, in Romeo and Juliet the lovers meet in a masque and in Henry VIII Anne Boleyn and Henry fall in love when Henry takes Anne out in the masque at Wolsey's house. I should like to suggest, however, that Shakespeare's use of the masque is not limited to a conventional plot device. M.C. Bradbrook suggests in her British Academy lecture on 'Shakespeare's Primitive Art'¹ that 'spectacle is transformed by Shakespeare into a characteristic mode of imaginative working'; by discussing the relationships between Shakespeare's inserted masques and the themes of his play I should like to examine what Professor Bradbrook calls the 'integration of spectacle and poetry' in Shakespeare's plays.

Shakespeare first uses the inserted masque in Act V ii of Love's Labours Lost. The king and his nobles, having realised that none of them will be able to keep their vows to abjure the sight of women, resolve to woo the ladies with entertainments. Berowne says

"Then homeward every man attach the hand
Of his fair mistress, in the afternoon
We will with some strange pastime solace them,
Such as the shortness of the time can shape;
For revels, dances, masks, and merry hours,
Fore-run fair Love, strewing her way with flowers" (IV iii 371-6)²

In Act V ii the masquers arrive before the ladies:

"Enter Blackamoors with music, BOTH as Prologue, the KING and his lords as masquers in the guise of Russians." (V ii 3D line 157)

¹ M.C. Bradbrook, 'Shakespeare's Primitive Art' PBA 51 (1965) pp.215-34.

² All quotations for this chapter are taken from Alexander ed. William Shakespeare. The Complete Works (1951).

The attractiveness of this spectacle is entirely in keeping with the courtliness of Navarre's park and could have been suggested by the historical sources of the play. Sully, describing the historical meeting between Catherine de Medici and Henri of Navarre, says

"On se livra au plaisir, aux festins et aux fetes galantes ne nous amusant tous qu'a rire, danser et courir la bague"¹

But the masque, for all its attractiveness and despite its suitability for the occasion, is thwarted by the ladies. Boyet comes and warns them of the lords' plan, so they oppose it with a counter masque, replying to the masquers speeches and refusing to act simply as a delighted audience. The effect of this scene is principally comic for, as the princess says, 'there's no such sport as sport by sport o'erthrown'. However the way in which the masque is overthrown makes an important point about the nature of the game of love, of which the game of the masque is only a part.

From the beginning of the play the ladies have been presented as intelligent and witty young women. The first time we see the Princess she is rejecting Boyet's flattery with

"Good Lord Boyet, my beauty though but mean,
Needs not the painted flourish of your praise" (II i 13-14)

Moreover when the king and the lords arrive, Rosaline proves more than a match for Berowne's witticisms. In the masque scene, the ladies are forewarned and so can control the situation 'in mocking merriment'. They do this by thwarting the rules of the game of masquing. They do not unmask the courtiers but on the contrary accept literally everything they say. They begin by pretending to accept the masque when Rosaline asks Boyet to act as interpreter for the masquers and

¹ quoted in R. David, ed. Love's Labour's Lost (1951) introduction p. xxxiii.

this means that Boyet has ridiculously to repeat everything the courtiers say. The King is enacting the conventional fiction of the masque but when it is repeated by Boyet who is not part of the masque it is transformed into a statement in an everyday context which Rosaline can gully by taking it literally;

"King: Say to her we have measur'd many miles
 To tread a measure with her on this grass.
 Boyet: They say that they have measur'd many a mile
 To tread a measure with you on this grass
 Ros: It is not so. Ask them how many inches
 Is in one mile? If they have measured many,
 The measure, then, of one is eas'ly told". (V ii 184-190)

The courtiers can only speak to the ladies in the language of their sonnets for this is the language which they have been using all along to describe them. In IV iii Berowne cries

"...Who sees the heavenly Rosaline
 That, like a rude and savage man of Inde
 At the first op'ning of the gorgeous east,
 Bows not his vassal head and, stricken blind,
 Kisses the base ground with obedient breast?" (IV iii 217-220)

and not to be outdone the King says

"My love, her mistress, is a gracious moon".

Similarly in the masque Berowne starts off his courtship with

"Vouchsafe to show the sunshine of thy face,
 That we like savages, may worship it" (V ii 201-2)

to which Rosaline replies

"My face is but a moon, and clouded too." (V ii 203)

This reminds the king of his earlier conceit

"Blessed are clouds, to do as such clouds do.
 Vouchsafe, bright moon, and these thy stars, to shine,
 Those clouds removed, upon our watery eyne" (V ii 204-6)

Rosaline's quickness in answering the king with his own imagery draws the conceit to the ridiculous conclusion of the King asserting that he is the man in the moon, making it impossible to introduce the subject of love.

Such commonplaces of poetic imagery had been adapted for the masque ever since poets had been employed to write the speeches, so it is understandable that the courtiers should continue to use them. But they are appropriate only to the language of a particular kind of courtly game; Rosaline can play the game as well, replying to the courtiers in their own language and so restricts their conversation to that level. Just as the masque required the ladies to be taken out in the final dance before the commoning could take place, so the king and the courtiers wanted the ladies to accept the fiction of their language of flattery until they could move to the language of love.

The ladies eventually relent and allow themselves to be taken out and commoned with. The guying of the masque, however, is not over. Since the ladies are also masked the men take out the wrong ones. They must return without their masks for when being wooed the ladies wish to see the real men. The men do not need the masque in order to meet the ladies since they have met already. They are using it as a mask for the fact that they have broken their vows and the ladies retaliate by making them woo 'but the sign of she'. Through all the mocking and merriment the serious point is being made that love involves more than an exchange of signs - the signs of the masquing habits or the language of courtship.

This is reiterated when the courtiers offer their love seriously.

The Princess says that they have left

"A time, methinks, too short
To make a world-without-end bargain in." (V ii 780-1)

Having shown the silliness of the game and its conventions it would be impossible to allow the conventional romantic conclusion. The return to seriousness after Marcade's arrival takes the form of an epilogue for the playing. Berowne starts the theatrical metaphor with

"Worthies away, the scene begins to cloud"

The use of the word 'cloud' here is a reference both to the change in atmosphere and to the fact that they are still taking part in a play since clouds had been in use as stage properties at court since 1574.¹

Similarly the Princess's speech apologising for the ladies' performance is the language of an epilogue and is, in effect, the epilogue for all of their playing. Like an actor at the end of a performance she asks

"that you vouchsafe
In your rich wisdom to excuse or hide
The liberal opposition of our spirits,
If over-boldly we have borne ourselves
In the converse of breath." (V ii 719-723)

This image of a game played and a scene acted is taken up again in the last lines:

"Ber: Our wooing doth not end like an old play
Jack hath not Jill: These ladies' courtesy
Right well have made our sport a comedy.
King: Come, sir, it wants a twelvemonth and a day,
And then 'twill end.
Ber: Thats too long for a play." (V ii 862-866)

Berowne is both correct and mistaken. It was the ladies lack of courtesy which has made such splendid comedy and yet a twelvemonth and a day is too long to carry on that kind of playing. The love which might require a 'world-without-end bargain' cannot be undertaken in fun. Although it may start in fun it must go beyond the world of games and masquing. The courtiers have made a start in this direction by returning without their masks but the affair cannot be concluded at 'the latest minute of the hour'.

It is important to remember while making these serious points that the ladies do not reject the masque outright. Although the princess has said

"to their penn'd speech render we no grace;
But while 'tis spoke each turn away her face" (V ii 147-8)

the masquers are accepted to the extent of allowing Boyet to introduce them and their speeches. The ladies prevent the masque from reaching its required

¹ Richard Southern, Changeable Scenery (1952)

conclusion but they do not stop it at the very beginning. Such churlishness would make the ladies very unsympathetic. Although they make the speeches sound silly, neither they nor the audience can deny the attractiveness of the arrival of masquers with music - an appropriate beginning for a love affair.

The masque in Romeo and Juliet creates another of these moments of beautiful spectacle in which lovers meet. The masque solves perfectly the plot problem of how to get Romeo into the Capulet household but the appearance of masquers and torchbearers also creates a theatrically significant event making the meeting of the lovers memorable both visually and verbally. The attitudes to this scene of visual splendour are indicated in the kind of language which is used to talk about the masque and in the events of the masque scene itself.

There are no speeches to introduce this masque, and the masquers are not disguised as something else. When the masque is being prepared Benvolio says

"We'll have no Cupid hoodwinked with a scarf
 Bearing a Tartar's bow of painted lath
 ...But let them measure us by what they will
 We'll measure them a measure and be gone." (I iv 4-10)

Romeo cannot go to the masque disguised as someone else as the courtiers of Navarre did, for he is to meet Juliet in his own person, although he will be masked.

Romeo must enter the Capulet banquet as the herald of love and this association is indicated by Capulet's response to the masquers' arrival.

He welcomes them and remembers

"the day that I have worn a visor and could tell
 A whispering tale in a fair lady's ear,
 Such as would please" (I v 23-6)

He regards the masque as a game of love for youth in which the attraction was the commoning. The audience know that Romeo and Juliet are going to the banquet as lovers even before the entrance of the masque. When it is first mentioned, Benvolio persuades Romeo to go to the feast so that he may compare

his beloved Rosaline with 'all the admired beauties of Verona', and Romeo agrees to go 'to rejoice in splendour of mine own'. In the following scene we are reminded that Juliet is also a potential lover. When Lady Capulet is talking to Juliet of her proposed marriage to Paris she says

"Can you love this gentleman?
This night you shall behold him at our feast" (I iii 80-1)

However the masque is not only measured as an opportunity for love. In the context of the Montague and Capulet feud the masquers can also be seen as potentially hostile strangers. In the midst of the revelling we hear of another possible measure in Tybalt's furious

"What, dares the slave
Come hither, covered with an antic face
To flear and scorn at our solemnity." (I v 53-5)

For Tybalt the masque is seen only in terms of the masks the intruders wear, which are a temporary cover for the activities of the real world. This 'real' world of names and families, the outward aspects of man, is the reality for which he prepared to violate all ceremony. In Act I Romeo had talked about

"These happy masks that kiss fair ladies' brows
Being black, put us in mind they hide the fair."

The idea that a masque could hide something more beautiful than itself is inconceivable for Tybalt.

For the lovers the masque provides simply a suitable protective anonymity. It creates a world lit by torches and heralded by music in which they can meet simply as a young man and a girl. This is made explicit in the scene after the banquet when Juliet, realising that Romeo has overheard her expression of love, says

"Thou knowest the mask of love is on my face
Else would a maiden blush bepaint my cheek" (II ii 85-6)

However their masks can be penetrated by Tybalt and the insecurity of their world is shown by placing immediately before their meeting Tybalt's threatening reminder of the outside world:

"I will withdraw; but this intrusion shall
Now seeming sweet, convert to bitterest gall." (I v 89-90)

Within the single scene of the masque, Shakespeare produces all the elements of the story and its tragic outcome. The arrival of Romeo with the masquers brings in the love affair which is the centre of the plot, but it also enrages Tybalt against him, causing their later duel with all its consequences of banishment and death. Moreover this masquing scene also presents the audience with a powerful image of the masque. It is a visual image of light and music which dramatises the language of the rest of the play. This image is echoed in other situations in the play referring back to the scene of the lovers' meeting and contrasting with later events.

The attitudes to the masque which I have discussed¹ show how it has the dual connotations of potential love or danger. This double image of the masque as an entertainment which contains the seeds of tragedy as well as joy, is further exploited in the associations set up by other references to the masque. When Capulet first mentions the banquet to Paris he says

"At my poor house look to behold this night
 Earth-trading stars that make dark heaven light.
 Such comfort as do lusty young men feel
 When well-apparell'd April on the heel
 Of limping winter treads, even such delight
 Among fresh female buds shall you this night
 Inherit at this house." (I ii 24-30)

Capulet's image of the 'earth-treading stars' is a perfect description for the masquers who will appear at his banquet. It is particularly appropriate for Romeo who is not merely a masquer but a torch-bearer. He had insisted to Benvolio

"Give me a torch; I am not for this ambling;
 Being but heavy, I will bear the light.
 Let wantons, light of heart,
 Tickle the senseless rushes with their heels...
 I'll be a candle holder and look on' (I iv 11-12, 34-37)

Shakespeare's association between Romeo and an earth-treading star, made both visually and verbally, is very important since it suggests the idea of the feast reflecting the harmony of the stars as well as their light. The

¹ v. above chapter 3 passim.

dancers will also be earth-treading stars in that their dancing will reflect the harmonious movement of the stars.

In Elyot's The Boke named the Governour he says that

"The interpreters of Plato do think that the wonderful and incomprehensible order of the celestial bodies, I mean stars and planets and their motions harmonical, gave to them that intensively and by deep search of reason behold their courses in the sundry diversities of number and time, a form of imitation of a semblable motion which they call dancing." (book † ch. xx)¹

Dancing at its highest figures the harmony of the spheres and in the masquing scene Capulet vainly attempts to maintain this harmony when he forbids Tybalt to challenge Romeo.

Within the harmonious world of the masque Tybalt can only threaten but once the banquet is over he can put his threats into action. His language takes up again the image of the masque and makes it clear that he does not regard it as harmonious. When we next see Tybalt he challenges Mercutio with

"Tybalt: Mercutio, thou consortest with Romeo
 Mercutio: Consort: What, dost thou make us minstrels? And thou make minstrels of us, look to hear nothing but discords. Here's my fiddlestick; here's that shall make you dance. Zounds, consort! (III i 43-7)

Mercutio is here being quarrelsome and simply playing with Tybalt's words but it is significant that his word play should develop an image of music and dancing. Tybalt is coming to settle the score for Romeo's intrusion into the Capulet feast and Mercutio's words are a reminder of how Tybalt did not take part in the dancing on that occasion. For Mercutio dancing and fighting are the same sort of game (this was brought out beautifully in the Zeffirelli film of the play) but Tybalt takes them both very seriously. He had wanted to disrupt the game of masquing at the banquet; here he refuses to play the game of duelling by the rules and wounds Mercutio when Romeo is trying to part them.

¹ Sir Thomas Elyot: The Boke Named the Governour ed. A.T. Eliot, (1834) p.63

In the serious world created by the death of Tybalt where nothing can be left as a game, the masque is no protection. The next time the image of the masque is used it heralds not a joyful meeting but a sorrowful parting. When the lovers part at daybreak after their wedding night Juliet, seeing the dawn, insists

"Yond light is not daylight; I know it, 't
It is some meteor that the sun exhales
To be to thee this night a torchbearer
And light thee on thy way to Mantua." (III v 12-15)

This reversal of the image of the masque is made to work both visually and verbally in the latter part of the play. The next festive scene which takes place is in preparation for Juliet's wedding. The bustling preparation of the servants supervised by a jovial Capulet is an ironic echo of the scene before the first banquet, for this time Juliet is lying 'dead' in her chamber. At the first banquet, the threat of death was present in Tybalt but this time 'death' is Romeo. Capulet's speech to Paris expresses this when he says

"...the night before thy wedding day
Hath Death lain with thy wife. There she lies
Flower as she was, deflowered by him.
Death is my son in law, Death is my heir
My daughter he hath wedded." (IV v 35-9)

The double image is very strong here for the audience know that Juliet has, in fact, married Romeo and not Death. She is not really dead and yet, by calling Romeo Death, Capulet is foretelling the end of the play where both Romeo and Juliet will be united in death. The funeral procession will take Juliet to her wedding with Romeo but this will also be a wedding with death.¹

The mingled feelings of sadness and joy have as their culmination the final scene in the grave where Shakespeare returns to the theme and imagery of the first banquet. When Romeo goes to bury Paris in the Capulet vault he exclaims

¹ For a fuller discussion of this point and its connection with the images of dreaming in the play v. my article 'Shakespeare's "Earth-Treading Stars": The Image of the Masque in Romeo and Juliet' Shakespeare Survey 24 (1971) 63-69

"A grave? O no! A lantern, slaughtered youth
 For here lies Juliet, and her beauty makes
 This vault a feasting presence full of light." (V iii 85-7)

A 'feasting presence full of light' is surely a reference to the simply theatrical effect of the arrival of torchbearers at a banquet. Moreover the image of light reminds us of Juliet as she was at that banquet. The first time he sees her Romeo says

"O she doth teach the torches to burn bright
 It seems she hangs upon the cheek of night
 As a rich jewel in an Ethiop's ear" (I v 43-5)

The echo of the banquet is a tragic recollection of their earlier love. The scene is not altogether cheerless however, for where there is the 'feasting presence full of light' there is also the possibility of the love of 'earth-treading stars'. In the grave Romeo says that 'unsubstantial death is amorous' but he has come as Death to a different kind of banquet. He brings to Juliet a different kind of death whereby

"Thou art not conquer'd; beauty's ensign yet
 Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
 And death's pale flag is not advanced there." (V iii 94-5)

The masque in Romeo and Juliet provides a visually striking moment which is also a very significant moment for the plot. In this moment it dramatises the images of light and darkness which Caroline Spurgeon has noted in this play¹ and gives them a point of reference from which to set up comparisons and echoes which create the atmosphere of later scenes. The controlling associations of the masque, of revelry within danger, sudden light in darkness, are the opposites, contrasting and yet reconcilable, which give the play its poetic and dramatic coherence.

In the discussions of Love's Labour's Lost and Romeo and Juliet I have tried to show Shakespeare's interest in the implications of masking. Tybalt's attitude that masquing is merely a means of deceiving is clearly an incomplete one and yet in Love's Labours Lost we saw how the ladies, aware of the deceit involved, refused to play the game of the masque. In Much Ado About

¹ Caroline Spurgeon, Shakespeare's Imagery and what it Tells Us (1935) pp.310-316

Nothing Shakespeare again uses a masque to focus on the different kinds of deception which make up the action of the rest of the play.

The form of the masque is the simplest entry of masked dancers introduced by the stage direction

"Enter DON PEDRO, CLAUDIO, BENEDECK, BALTHASAR, DON JOHN and BORACHIO, as maskers with a drum." (II i 50 line 71)

The masquers then move immediately to the taking out as each couple comes to the centre of the stage for their exchanges. These exchanges show that all the characters are playing the game of commoning in the masque. Like the ladies in Love's Labours Lost, Beatrice plays the double game of pretending not to recognise her partner and so playing the game of the masque, while in fact knowing him perfectly well and so being able to play her usual game of teasing him.

In the earlier part of the play there are references to the kind of plot development which the masque would make possible. Don Pedro tells Claudio

"I know we shall have revelling tonight
I will assume thy part in some disguise
And tell fair Hero I am Claudio,
And in her bosom I'll unclasp my heart
And take her hearing with the force
And strong encounter of my amorous tale
And after to her father will I break
And the conclusion is she shall be thine." (I i 282-90)

This simple plan for a revelation in the masque is, however, complicated by the fact that others are given access to the information. In the next scene Antonio mistakenly tells Leonato that

"the Prince discovered to Claudio that he loved my niece your daughter,
and meant to acknowledge it this night in a dance" (I ii 7-10)

Leonato prudently decides to 'acquaint my daughter withal, that she be better prepared for an answer'. The game of surprise in the masque is not to be allowed to work. Don John is also told of the proposed wooing in the masque and this gives him the advantage of being able to see through the masks and plan his strategy accordingly.

It is important that none of the characters are deceived by this masque. Ursula recognises Antonio and Beatrice and Benedick know one another. Claudio is deceived in this scene but his deception takes place after the dancing of the masque has ended. He, as much as anyone else, had the information to understand the events of the masque, and this makes it doubly preposterous that he should believe Don John's insinuations. Don John appears to be playing the game that Beatrice has played with Benedick. He appears not to know Claudio since they are both masked, and so is able to appear to be telling him the truth. Claudio, ironically, is more prepared to believe what is told him under a mask than the truth which he is told before and after the masque. The characters who can see through the masks and yet know how to play the masking games are in a position of tremendous power. They can use this power for fun, as Beatrice does in this scene, but it can also be a dangerous power when used by someone as unscrupulous as Don John on someone as gullible as Claudio.

The plot begun in the masque comes to a dead end in the play since Claudio is easily disabused in the same scene. Nevertheless the masque has a useful function in the play since it establishes Claudio's character as one who is easily deceived and as easily reconvinced. When the serious plot gets underway the audience can perhaps hope that it will repeat the same pattern.

Claudio's continuing inability to distinguish between those who are masked and those who are not, is seen at its most serious when he denounces Hero at their wedding. He again assumes that she must be wearing a mask to hide her real foulness when he says

"She's but the sign and semblance of her honour
Behold how like a maid she blushes there
O what authority and show of truth
Can cunning sin cover itself withal" (IV i 32-35)

Claudio prides himself on his ability to see through the masks but he is, in fact, the only one who does not know how to play the game.

The whole of the play is concerned with the difference between deception

for fun and deception for gain, between deception and deceit. Beatrice and Benedick are deceived into an acceptance of the truth. This deception is felt to be acceptable in the comic world because of the comedy both of its execution and its conclusion. The plots of deception which bring Beatrice and Benedick together create an atmosphere where even Don John's deception, born of resentment and hatred, is expected to have a comic conclusion. All the major characters in the play are deceivers at one moment or another and at one point the only character who knows the complete truth is Dogberry.

Throughout the play Claudio thinks that he is the only character who can see through the masks that all the others are wearing but, just as Beatrice and Benedick are deceived into the truth, Claudio must be made to see what in fact lies behind the mask. It would not be enough for Claudio simply to discover or be told the truth; he has to be shown not only the truth about his situation but also the more general truth of the nature of masking. This is revealed in the anti-masque and masque of the final act.

In V iii Claudio goes to Leonato's monument to mourn Hero. As the scene begins

"Enter DON PEDRO, CLAUDIO and three or four with tapers." (V iii 50)

The figures enter with torchbearers just as they would to a masque; there is a solemn speech read out as an epitaph to Hero, followed by a song. The similarity of this spectacle to a masque is more than coincidental. The spectacle is one of mourning and Claudio is deceived by it just as he was deceived by the events of the masque. At this point in the play he still sees things in terms of outward images and the fictions which they project. Realising that Hero had been wronged he says

"Sweet Hero, now thy image doth appear
In the rare semblance that I loved it first" (V i 237-8)

'Semblance' is the word he had used to describe her deceit - 'She's but the sign and semblance of her honour'-and it is also the word he uses to describe the reality. His mourning is false mourning for a 'semblance' of dead Hero.

The false masque of mourning is followed by the real masque of reconciliation. When Claudio comes to 'make amends' Leonato stages a wedding masque. The ladies are led in masked and Claudio has to 'take out' one of them. He has to trust the mask enough to marry the lady behind it and only when she does so will she unmask. This makes Hero's unmasking more than a coup de théâtre; it becomes symbolic. - a symbolic as well as a literal end to all the confusion about the nature of masks which has beset Claudio throughout the play.

The only other play in which Shakespeare uses a masque to advance the action of the play is in his last play, Henry VIII. In Act I iv of this play, Henry comes to Wolsey's banquet in a masque of shepherds.

The Lord Chamberlain presents the masquers saying

"Because they speak no English, thus they pray'd
To tell your Grace, that having heard by fame
Of this so noble and so fair assembly
This night to meet here, they could do no less
Out of the great respect they bear to beauty
But leave their flocks and, under your fair conduct,
Crave leave to view these ladies, and entreat
An hour of revels with 'em." (I iv 65-72)

This event is an exact presentation of the masque described in the historical sources of Shakespeare's play.¹ But Shakespeare takes the historical account and integrates it into the structure of his play, making it the occasion on which Henry falls in love with Anne Boleyn. When the moment comes for the masquers to take out the ladies, Henry chooses Anne saying

"The fairest hand I ever touch'd! O beauty,
Till now I never knew thee!" (I iv 75-6)

It would perhaps be enough to see this episode as simply another of the spectacular scenes which appear throughout the play. But there is an important difference between this scene and the other moments of pageantry in the play: this is the only public scene in which Henry can appear as a private person. Just as the masque provided a protective anonymity for Romeo, so

¹ v. R.A. Foakes, ed. King Henry VIII (1968) App. II pp.204-6, also v. above chapter I pp. 11-12.

Henry can come to a banquet and woo a lady disguised as a shepherd. This is made very clear when we see how brief Shakespeare makes Henry's private moment. No sooner has Henry taken out Anne than Wolsey says

"There should be one amongst 'em, by his person,
More worthy this place than ~~th~~myself; to whom,
If I but knew him, with my love and duty
I would surrender it." (I iv 78-81)

Wolsey then identifies the king who unmasks.

It is interesting to compare Shakespeare's presentation of this part of the episode with Holinshed's. In Holinshed when the cardinal surveys the masquers

"...at the last (quoth he) me seemeth the gentleman with the blacke beard, should be even he (sic): and with that he arose out of his chaire, and offered the same to the gentleman in the blacke beard... The person to whom he offered the chaire was Sir Edward Nevill, a comelie knight, that much more resembled the king's person in that maske than anie other.

The king perceiving the cardinal so deceived, could not forbear laughing, but pulled down his visor."¹

Shakespeare does not include the episode of the mistaken identity and this makes Henry's moment of anonymity with Anne last only for the duration of the dance. For the rest of the play he has to be a king and take kingly responsibility for his actions. His taking out of Anne had been within the game but when he asks her name he is acting as a king. To dance with her in a masque would not have been a serious action with consequences for the state, but when he kisses her, it is outside the masque and he marks its importance by calling for a health to go round.

The masque in this play, like all the pageantry, presents the audience with a scene in which important action is underlined visually. These visual images set up a pattern in the play which gives it a certain coherence of contrasts and parallels. J.P. Cutts in his article 'Shakespeare's Song and Masque Hand in Henry VIII'² points out the parallels between the masque scene

¹ quoted in R.A. Foakes, ed. cit. p.206

² Cutts, op. cit., Shakespeare Jahrbuch , 99 (1963) pp.184-95

in Act I and Katherine's vision before she dies in Act IV ii. This scene is, of course, not a masque since it is not part of a banquet or a festivity but Katherine's vision does have a form which is similar to a masque.¹

"Enter, solemnly tripping one after another, six Personages, clad in white robes, wearing on their heads garlands of bays, and golden vizards on their faces; branches of bays or palm in their hands. They first congee unto her, then dance..."

Katherine is not taken out by the vizarded figures but they do include her in their dance:

"...at certain changes, the first two hold a spare garland over her head, at which the other four make reverend curtsies. Then the two that held the garland deliver the same to the other next two, who observe the same order in their changes, and holding the garland over her head; which done, they deliver the same garland to the last two who likewise observe the same order." (IV ii 50 opening)

Katherine's involvement in this dance has greater significance than Anne's being taken out by the King. As Cutts points out

"...Katherine is not crowned once but three times by each of the three pairs of spirits in turn...The triple crowning obviously invites a symbolic interpretation with its trinitarian (and possibly papal) implications."²

The double events of dancing and crowning in this vision make it possible for the one scene to invite parallels not only with the masque in Act I but also with Anne's coronation in the previous scene (IV i). Cutts shows that in the coronation procession Anne, too, is one of seven crowned figures but her coronation is an earthly one where Katherine's has a heavenly significance.³

¹ As M.C. Bradbrook points out (op. cit. p.25) this scene 'might have come from a mediaeval craft cycle' which were much more related to this kind of emblematic drama. But the fact that in this play the masque vision scene is preceded by a visually similar scene invites comparisons with the masque scene.

² Cutts, op. cit. p.192

³ I agree with Professor Foakes' suggestion that 'these spirits of peace' have the symbolic value of angels ed. cit. introduction p.iii.

These three scenes, the masque in Act I, Anne's coronation and Katherine's vision are all interconnected. As well as the contrast between Anne's earthly and Katherine's heavenly coronation, there must surely be a connection between the public pomp and stateliness of Anne's coronation and the social merriment of her first meeting with the king. It seems difficult however to ascribe any thematic or moral significance to these contrasts and parallels in the visual effects of this play. There appears to be no suggestion that Anne and Henry are less or more fortunate (as Cutts suggests) in one scene or the other or that Katherine's apotheosis into a heavenly bliss is to be seen as devaluing Anne's earthly success in any way. It seems to me heavy handed to describe the masque, as Cutts does, as

"a very secular entertainment in which lust figures prominently"¹

Wolsey's banquet is certainly a secular occasion, but the good humoured joking with the ladies is not morally disapproved of in any way.

We can see the casual, almost bland, juxtaposition of a variety of events in the comments of the gentlemen before Anne's coronation.

"2nd Gent: ...At our last encounter

The Duke of Buckingham came from his trial

1st Gent: 'Tis very true. But that time offered sorrow;

This general joy." (IV i 4-6)

There is no moral comment on the difference between the two events or the persons involved in them. The gentlemen accept that the coronation is an event for rejoicing even though they regret Katherine's divorce which made it possible. This is summed up in the gentleman's remark before the procession appears when, almost in the same breath, he laments Katherine's fall and looks forward to the arrival of Anne

"Alas good lady.

The trumpets sound: stand close, the queen is coming." (IV i 35-6)

The events of the play, isolated in these static and theatrical scenes, present the audience with a sequence of events, the rise and fall of great

¹ Cutts, op. cit. p.193

men, controlled only by the course of history and understandable only in those terms. Professor Foakes' general comment on the last plays is particularly apt for Henry VIII.

"The schemes and intentions of men do not control the action, and at the same time, suffering, though sharply felt and often present, is a detail in the total pattern. Dramatically the last plays embody such a view of human existence. They emphasise event, however strange yet true, for its own sake, and merely as happening, to be accepted; what happens is apprehended as fact, not as an occasion for moralising, and not in terms of causes and consequences."¹

The masque in Henry VIII is just such an 'event'. It is literally a dramatisation of history and one which Shakespeare could use for the purposes of his plot. In presenting the audience with the masque and the masque vision Shakespeare is dramatising two of the associations of the masque.² In Act I it is an opportunity for feasting, merriment and love, and in Act IV it is a symbol of the harmony of music and dance. There is however, no attempt to control attitudes to it either in the characters or in the audience. Anne has her earthly success from the masque and this brings about the fall of Katherine; but it also leads to the birth of Elizabeth. Katherine suffers divorce and rejection as a result of Henry and Anne meeting in the masque, but she is taken out to heaven in a masque of her own. The events are like that.

In the plays which have been discussed so far, Shakespeare uses the inserted masque as a means of moving the action. The figures who enter in the masques are characters who appear in the rest of the plot; it marks a significant meeting which will have consequences in the rest of the play. In the remainder of the plays in which masques and masquing entertainments occur they are used mainly to set up a certain kind of atmosphere rather than moving the actual events of the plot.

¹ R.A. Foakes, From Satire to Celebration: The Dark Comedies to the Last Plays (London 1971) p.97

² v. above ch.3 passim

In Timon of Athens a masque is presented at Timon's banquet in Act I ii. It consists of an entry of Amazons 'with lutes in their hands, dancing and playing'; they are introduced by Cupid and then dance with the lords at the banquet. The ladies do not appear in the rest of the action; they have not come from outside to grace the banquet in a masque but are Timon's 'own device'. Timon says that the appearance of the ladies has

"Set a fair fashion on our entertainment,
Which was not half so beautiful and kind
You have added worth unto't and lustre" (I ii 141-3)

The first lord also says that the masque shows Timon 'how ample y'are beloved'. This praise of Timon would certainly be real if the masquers had come to praise Timon but as it is they are only an extension of the banquet he has prepared for his guests.

Cupid, the presenter of the masque, connects the masque with the sensual delights of the banquet when he says

"...The five best Senses
Acknowledge thee their patron, and come freely
To gratulate thy plenteous bosom. Th'Ear
Taste, Touch, Smell, pleas'd from thy table rise;
They only now come but to feast thine eyes." (I ii 118-121)

The delights of the banquet do not, of course, come freely; Timon has paid for them. The masque, like all his apparent generosity, is very closely connected with expensive self praise.

In presenting a masque at his banquet, Timon is trying to project the idea of himself as a noble and liberal prince. Although this idea was accepted by the writers of masques and entertainments, it was regarded with more scepticism by those who wrote more seriously on the behaviour of princes.

Sir Thomas Elyot in The Boke Named the Governour writes

"there is in that friend small commodity, which followeth a man like his shadow, moving only when he moveth, and abiding where he list to tarry. These be mortal enemies of noble wits, and especially in youth, when commonly they be more inclined to glory than to gravity. Wherefore that Liberality, which is on such flatterers employed, is not only perished, but also spilled and devoured" ¹

¹ op.cit. ed. A.T. Eliot, London (1834), p.84.

The Lords' assurance that the masque and the banquet show how Timon is loved has to be seen not only in terms of the image of the masque but also in the light of such works as Machiavelli's advice to princes:

"From this arises the following question: whether it is better to be loved than feared, or the reverse. The answer is that one would like to be both one and the other...but because it is difficult to combine them, it is far better to be feared than loved if you cannot be both... friendship which is bought with money and not with greatness and nobility of mind is paid for, but it does not last and it yields nothing."¹

Timon has to provide his own masque for it is important for him to be thought of as generous and his need to value his 'friends' far beyond their worth is seen in his emotional speech on friendship before the masque

"O, what a precious comfort 'tis to have so many like brothers commanding one another's fortunes! O joy! e'en made away e'er it can be born! Mine eyes cannot hold out water, methinks. To forget their faults, I drink to you." (I ii 97-103)

This need to be thought generous also comes under the sceptical eye of Machiavelli

"I say it would be splendid if one had a reputation for generosity; nonetheless if your actions are influenced by a desire for such a reputation you will come to grief...you have to be ostentatiously lavish; and a prince acting in that fashion will soon squander all his resources."²

This questioning of the image of the masque as projected by Timon and his guests would be carping were it not for the fact that it is questioned within the masque itself. It would be entirely illegitimate merely to refer back to the masque from the later events of the play since the audience has no way of knowing them at this point. Shakespeare carefully places within the action of the masque information about the rest of the action and a way of viewing it. Apemantus' speech scorning the masque is carefully placed while the Amazons are dancing; Cupid has given his speech as presenter but this

¹ Nicolo Machiavelli, The Prince ed. and translated George Bull (1961) p.96 - I do not wish to suggest that Shakespeare was directly influenced by Machiavelli, simply that this was one expression of contemporary ideas on princes.

² Ibid p.92

is before the masquers have entered and so Apemantus' speech is in a much more forceful position to comment on both the masque and the other lords' reaction to it. He sees the Amazons as an anti-masque of madwomen and his moralising on them forecasts the future events of the play:

"Like madness is the glory of this life,
 As this pomp shows to a little oil and root.
 We make ourselves fools to disport ourselves,
 And spend our flatteries to drink those men
 Upon whose age we void it up again,
 With poisonous spite and envy.
 Who lives that's not depraved or depraves?
 Who dies that bears not one spurn to their graves
 Of their friends' gift?
 I should fear those that dance before me now
 Would one day stamp upon me, it has been done:" (I ii 128-138)

The simple theatrical effect of this railing set against the music and movement of the masque dance is very powerful. Again the visual and the verbal effect combine to provide a 'memorable moment' against which to set other episodes in the play. It is important that Apemantus' speech should make us question the image of the masque. When Flavius complains of Timon

"What he speaks is all in debt
 He owes for every word"

he must be seen not as a stingy steward, but as justified in his anxiety.

Apemantus' comments set up expectation for the rest of the play which are fulfilled before the next banquet. This banquet in III iv again projects Timon's self image. He realises that he is no longer the patron of 'the five best senses' and so he serves a feast of 'smoke and luke warm water'. Timon's change of circumstances and heart are underlined visually and dramatically as well as in the speeches.

* * * * *

It is only with reference to the five plays discussed above that it is strictly accurate to describe the inserted entertainments in the plays as masques.⁹ Only in these plays do disguised and masqued figures come to a banquet and take out the audience to dance. In all of them Shakespeare

used the simple Tudor game masque: the Russians of Love's Labours Lost and the Amazons in Timon as well as the historical shepherds in Henry VIII had appeared as costume types on various occasions at the Tudor courts.¹ By 1607 when Timon of Athens was written, Jonson's masques of Blackness and Hymenaei as well as Daniel's Vision of the Twelve Goddesses had already been seen at James' Court. However Shakespeare is not concerned in these plays to adapt a fashionable entertainment for the public stage but to produce the form of the masque most suited to the plot requirements of any given play. What is important in his use of the masque is the confrontation in the plot between those who provide the entertainment and those who enjoy it. A set piece like the Jacobean masque would have held up the action whereas in these plays the masque provides a device which can create action as well as producing a scene of spectacular and visual impact.

Nevertheless the episodes most frequently referred to as 'masques' in commentaries on Shakespeare are those spectacular presentations of the gods in Shakespeare's last plays, the descent of Jupiter in Cymbeline and the 'Masque of Ceres' in The Tempest. These episodes are not strictly speaking masques at all; there is no taking out to dance and the figures who appear in them are not other characters in disguise but manifestations of the gods themselves. However it is easy to see why these episodes have been compared with the masque. In form they are very similar to the opening of a Jacobean masque where classical figures would come to introduce the masquers and present the fiction of the masque in the form of a speech of praise to the audience. Moreover the fact that these manifestations of the gods themselves should be confused with masques shows an interesting connection with the kind of fiction presented in the masque. The assumption in the masque was always that the gods themselves had come to grace the court.

¹ v. above chapter 1 pp.13, 24-26.

This impression of a world in which the gods appeared as part of the normal order of things was, of course, even more the illusion created in the open air entertainments presented to the sovereign on his royal progresses. In chapter one¹ I talked about Leicester's entertainment for Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth. On that occasion the whole estate was turned into a magical landscape where the figures of Juno and Diana, or Arion on a Dolphin would appear to the Queen. This is much more the kind of world which Shakespeare was creating in the plays which contained the appearance of gods since the entertainments were not set pieces as part of a festive occasion but rather 'events' as part of the action.

There is an interesting use of this kind of 'event' in the final scene of As You Like It. There the final reconciliation and betrothals of all the characters are heralded by the appearance of Hymen with Rosalind and Celia to 'still Music'. Hymen speaks of the 'mirth in heaven/When earthly things made even/Atone together' (V i 111-3) and formally presents Rosalind to Orlando and the Duke. The formality of their speeches of acceptance is followed by another speech from Hymen and the whole piece ends with a song.

Now this episode is not a masque: it is not intended only as an entertainment for the assembled company and there is no dancing or taking out. Yet the presentation of Rosalind and her formal acceptance by Orlando and the Duke are analogous to the presentations of masquers and the taking out dance. Rosalind presents herself first to her father and then to Orlando:

"(To Duke) To you I give myself, for I am yours
(To Orlando) To you I give myself, for I am yours" (V iv 109)

They then accept her with similar echoing sentences

"Duke S. If there be truth in sight, you are my daughter
Orlando If there be truth in sight, you are my Rosalind"

The whole exchange is summed up in Rosalind's balanced and repetitive speech which joins the three of them together

"I'll have no father, if you be not he;
I'll have no husband, if you be not he;
Nor ne'er wed woman if you be not she." (V iv 115-3)

¹ v. above chapter 1, pp.18-19.

This episode is rather hard to define. It is an event like all the other events in the Forest of Arden - it really happens to the characters - and yet its formal structure sets it apart from the rest of the action. The status of Hymen is crucial to our interpretation of the episode. He appears as god of marriage to give divine approval to the events which have already developed by that point in the action. But the question remains in the audience's mind as to whether Hymen is the god himself or someone else acting the part.

He says to the Duke

"Good Duke receive thy daughter
Hymen from heaven brought her" (V iv 11-12)

and yet the audience know that Rosalind has been in the forest of Arden all along. Rosalind has left the stage only 85 lines before and the 'conclusion of these strange events' for which Hymen takes the credit has been seen throughout the play to have been the work of Rosalind.

Just before she leaves the scene, the other characters themselves are heard to suggest that there is some similarity between Ganymede and Rosalind.

Duke Senior says

"I do remember in this shepherd boy
Some lively touches of my daughter's favour" (V iv 26-7)

and Orlando adds

"My lord, the first time that I ever saw him
Methough he was a brother to your daughter" (V iv 28-9)

Orlando also makes the suggestion that something magical is about to occur.

He tells the Duke

"...this boy is forest born
And hath been tutored in the rudiments
Of many desperate studies by his uncle,
Whom he reports to be a great magician
Obscured in the circle of this forest." (V iv 30-34)

The conflicting explanations define the dual response of both the audience and the characters to the event. There is a rational explanation - they know it was Rosalind all along - but the event is also strange and magical.

It seems to me apt to invoke the kind of event which was produced for royal entertainments since a similar ambiguity operates there. When Elizabeth was suddenly greeted by gods while out hunting she and her train must have

realised that this was an 'act' put on by human beings but the blessings and praise bestowed on her were none the less real. She would reply with formal thanks, involving herself in their act and this fusion of the fictional world with the real world would create a magical moment when by her action - itself an 'act' - Elizabeth would literally become the ideal 'Faery Queen' of poetry and eulogy. Similarly in As You Like It the ambiguity about Hymen's deity is extremely effective because it allows Hymen's blessing to have the force of a god's blessing without there being any suggestion that the happy conclusion is something outside the control of the humans in the play.

By staging an 'act', Rosalind can for the first time in the Forest of Arden stop acting. The most obviously 'magical' event in the forest is the one which reveals the truth. She and Orlando learned to love one another when she 'acted' the part of Rosalind, and their betrothal is an 'act' accompanied by the music and blessings of Hymen. The masque-like episode in the action has a similar dramatic effect to the ordinary use of the masque in that it underlines an important moment with visual and aural effects but by introducing the ambiguity in the figure of Hymen, the important moment can be made magical literally as well as metaphorically.

Hymen's relation to the other characters in the play is slightly different from the usual one of a god in a play and this makes the final scene in As You Like It rather different from scenes in which a deus ex machina appears in other plays. The appearance of Jupiter in Cymbeline, for example, is often described as a masque, but it seems to me that it is merely the descent of a deus ex machina; the god himself appears rather than a figure playing the part of a god in a fictional entertainment.

In Act V Posthumus has a dream vision in which

"Jupiter descends in thunder and lightening, sitting upon an eagle.
He throws a thunderbolt..." (V iv SD line 92)

The fact that this action takes place as part of Posthumus' dream takes it out of the area in which the other events of the play have taken place; it is something literally supernatural and Posthumus is its passive spectator.

Jupiter's appearance is part of a vision in which Posthumus' ancestors, the Leonati, appear to him and recite their account of his misfortunes which began at his birth and have continued to this point in the play. They are not making any significant addition to the facts already known to the audience and in blaming Jove for all these events they are suggesting that human will has no force and so virtually negating all the action of the play.

In Cymbeline Jupiter appears after 'the lines of action have converged and all the elements needed for a happy ending have been assembled'.¹ Nevertheless he is not brought in by any character who has power to make sure that the happy ending will in fact come about. He tells the Leonati that

"Your low-laid son our godhead will uplift" (V iv 103)

While this is a comforting thought, at the same time Jove does not bring only comfort. He advises the Leonati

"Be not with mortal accidents opprest:
No care of yours it is; you know 'tis ours.
Whom best I love I cross; to make my gift
The more delayed, delighted." (V iv 99-102)

This provides the audience with a curious view of the events of the play. Jove presents himself as a capricious divinity watching the sufferings of men with an equanimity born of a complete lack of sympathy. The Leonati open their supplication to him with the plea

"No more, thou thunder-master show
Thy spite on mortal flies" (V iv 30-31)

and although in this play Jove is not disposed to 'kill us for his sport' his tone and the thrown thunderbolt suggest that the mood could take him. The reconciliation and the happy ending are only taking place with his consent which could, equally arbitrarily, be lifted. This makes the events of the

¹ Bertrand Evans Shakespeare's Comedies (1960) ch.8.

play, as Posthumus finds

" A dream, or else such stuff as madmen
Tongue and brain not; either both or nothing
Or senseless speaking, or a speaking such
As sense cannot untie." (V i 144-147)

The vision introduces a darker note, another means of interpreting all the previous action which has only been dramatised in the inconsequentiality of so many of the events in the play.

Jupiter's position, outside the action and yet apparently in control of it, makes it impossible to describe his appearance as a masque. If a masque is to be part of the plot of a play it must be under the control of the characters in the play and as a result cannot include the gods in their own persons and in full strength. As Bertrand Evans points out, Jupiter is necessary to the action in that he prevents the events from appearing to happen completely by accident; he controls the play in the absence of any character who can be said to have a complete awareness of events and an ability to direct the action. But because he is a god he can only have a relationship of power to the other characters, he can control or not control the action at will but there can be nothing ambiguous about his power. Compare this with Hymen, the god in a masque: he has the power to effect the final reconciliation but by existing in art - outside the main action of the play - he does not take any of the significance away from the rest of the actions in the play.

Shakespeare returned to the dramatic problem of the presentation of magic and the gods in The Tempest. In this play he returns to the method of presenting magical events which he used in As You Like It. His enchanted island, like the great parks where Elizabeth was entertained, is a setting where the gods can appear and yet because it is ruled over by Prospero, a magus with real magical powers, these gods are both the gods themselves and the local spirits acting a part.

In Act IV i Prospero instructs Ariel to

"Bestow upon the eyes of this young couple
Some vanity of mine art" (IV i 39-40)

He has accepted Ferdinand's suit for Miranda and presents the entertainment to celebrate their betrothal. Just before the arrival of the masque he says

"Now come my Ariel! bring a corollary
Rather than want a spirit" (IV i 57-8)

which makes clear that the entertainment is under Prospero's and Ariel's control. The lines before Iris' entrance may suggest that one of the parts may be taken by Ariel but the speech headings give the names of the gods themselves, Iris, Ceres and Juno. They are not acted by the figures who appear in the rest of the action; their blessings have the power of the gods themselves.

If these figures are to have the force and power of gods it would be impossible for them to take out the audience, and so the form of the entertainment is that of the more dramatic Jacobean masque.¹ Iris enters and calls Ceres to come and entertain Juno; Ceres comes to her and Iris narrates the fiction behind the masque. It is connected with Prospero's insistence on Miranda's chastity being maintained until she and Ferdinand are married. Iris tells Ceres how Venus has been prevented from spoiling the marriage

"I met her Deity
Cutting the clouds towards Paphos, and her son
Dove-drawn with her. Here thought they to have done
Some wanton charm upon this man and maid,
Whose vows are that no bed-rite shall be paid
Till Hymen's torch be lighted; but in vain:
Mars's hot minion is return'd again;
Her waspish son has broke his arrows,
Swears he will shoot no more, but play with sparrows
And be a boy right out" (IV i 92-101)

Juno appears and with Ceres sings a song blessing the couple which is followed by the masquing dance of the Nymphs and reapers. The end of a full scale masque would be the taking out of the audience by the masquers but this is prevented by the sudden movement of the action to Prospero's remembering 'the foul conspiracy of the beast Caliban'. Shakespeare does not want to hold up the action by having a taking out dance and in any case there is no need for this combination of the world of the masque and the world of the action. The masque is part of the world of the island which we have seen

¹ v. above chapter 2, pp. 69-71.

dramatised in the music and magic which occur throughout the rest of the play. Although the masque has the form of a dramatic entertainment which we can relate to the Jacobean court masque, it is also part of Prospero's island where the border between 'real' events and the drama have become blurred.

The importance of telling the truth, through and about the shows, is also important in the masque scene. Ferdinand and Miranda have not only to be blessed by the masque but also to learn about reality through understanding its working. Although Ferdinand realises that the appearance is brought about by spirits he is so charmed with his vision of Iris and Ceres that he says

"Let me live ever here
So rare a wonder'd father and a wise
Makes this place Paradise." (IV i 122-124)

Prospero does not answer him immediately; his reply to Ferdinand's suggestion must be dramatised both for the audience and for the characters in the play. This is achieved when the masque, which has made the island seem so full of blessing, does not end on a traditional note of harmony. Instead it breaks off suddenly as Prospero remembers that even this island has its wicked inhabitants. He

"starts suddenly, and speaks; after which, to a strange, hollow,
and confused noise they heavily vanish" (IV i SD line 138)

Since the conspiracy of Caliban, Trinculo and Stephano is not a serious problem on an enchanted island, Prospero reassures Ferdinand with

"You do look my son, in a mov'd sort
As if you were dismay'd; be cheerful, sir" (IV i 146-7)

Nevertheless this is also the moment when Prospero can illustrate the relationship between the masque world and the real world. The masque is physically disrupted by this reminder of outside events and Prospero can explain its significance in his famous 'insubstantial pageant' speech. He shows Ferdinand how transitory is the kind of dream which he had thought paradise; the whole of life is equally transitory. However, the images he uses to describe the 'real world' are just as much pictures of the artificial world of a masque:

"The cloud capp'd towers, the gorgeous ⁴places,
 The solemn temples, the great globe itself
shall dissolve
 And, like this unsubstantial pageant faded,
 Leave not a rack behind" (IV i 152-6)

The masque in Act IV, like the masque in Romeo and Juliet, provides a moment of harmony in which the lovers can establish themselves, but they have to see its relationship with the real world in which their love must be tested. In Romeo and Juliet Tybalt was not allowed to break the harmony since the masque was the only harmonious scene in a world of chaos, but in The Tempest the masque scene was only another part of a world which was generally kind to the lovers and the transition to the real world can be accomplished there and then.

The other sets of characters in the play are also presented with 'dramatic' entertainments which are part of the 'real' world of the island. These appear immediately before and after the scene which contains the masque. In III iii there is the banquet presented to the shipwrecked lords:

"Solemn and strange music; and PROSPERO on the top, invisible. Enter several strange shapes, bringing in a banquet; and dance about it with gentle action of salutations; and inviting the King, &c., to eat, they depart." (III iii 3D line 18)

A banquet brought in by costumed figures was a regular feature of courtly entertainment as is seen in, for example, the banquet given for Queen Elizabeth at Nonesuch where the servers were dressed as 'Rangers of the Forest' and the dishes served 'with ministralsye'. The entertainment in this scene, however, is turned upside down. Instead of the expected flattery, Ariel makes the banquet disappear and proceeds to tell the lords the truth about themselves. The appearance of the banquet has made Sebastian believe

"That there are unicorns; that in Arabia
 There is one tree, the phoenix throne; one phoenix
 At this hour reigning there." (III iii 22-24)

Prospero does not want this kind of incredulous belief in wonders; his shows are presented so as to return the viewers to an appreciation of the reality which does not exist only in story books and enchanted islands.

When Ariel makes the banquet disappear, the reversal of his audience's expectations allows Prospero through Ariel to make them receive the truth, not only about the source of his magic but also about themselves:

"You are three men of sin, whom Destiny -
That hath to instrument this lower world
And what is in't - the never surfeited sea
Hath caused to belch you up; and on this island
Where man doth not inhabit; you amongst men
Being most unfit to live. I have made you mad

.....
I and my fellows
Are ministers of fate: the elements
Of whom your swords are tempered, may as well
Wound the loud winds, or with bemock'd-at
Kill the still closing waters, as diminish
One dowle that's in my plume; my fellow ministers
Are like invulnerable." (III iii 53-66)

Caliban and the servants' punishment also takes the form of a courtly entertainment. Stephano and Trinculo dress up in the 'glistening apparel' and parody courtly behaviour as they order Caliban about. In the middle of all this there is

"A noise of hunters heard. Enter divers Spirits, in shape of dogs and hounds, hunting them about." (IV i 3D line 253)

The ensuing hullabaloo would make a splendidly comic scene and is also reminiscent of some of the boisterous entertainments produced at Elizabeth's court. At an entertainment in February 1565, for example, shows were presented with Diana and Pallas but there was also a

"crye after the fox (let loose in the coorte) with theier howndes, hornes, and hallowing in the plays of narcisses"

The hunters hired for the occasion were given 'Rewardes amounting to xxj^s viij^d.¹

Effective as this scene is as stage action, it is not merely a coup de théâtre. The echo of the Acteon story suggests the moralising whereby the dogs chasing Acteon are symbols of his unchaste desires and remind the audience

¹ Feuillerat, Elizabeth p.302.

that Caliban is being punished for his attempt on Miranda's chastity as well as the projected murder of Prospero. This is, of course, not made explicit, for in this show there is no hope of bringing the characters to a greater knowledge through an understanding of life and art. Caliban and his conspirators must simply be chased away and can have no part in the brave new world which education on the island might bring about.

Just as Prospero tries to bring the characters to a greater humanity and understanding through art, the characters' reception of this understanding is also described in images taken from art; their nature can be seen in the way they respond to the artistic vision which is provided for them on the island. Alonso's realisation of his evil past is described in musical imagery. After the strange banquet he says

"O it is monstrous, monstrous!
 Methought the billows spoke, and told me of it;
 The winds did sing it to me; and the thunder,
 That deep and dreadful organ pipe, pronounced
 The name of Prosper; it did bass my trespass" (III iii 96-100)

Alonso can hear what the music is telling him for it has been explained by Ariel, but he is distinguished from Antonio and Sebastian in that he is prepared to accept the message given to him by Prospero's art. The art can provide the conditions for a recovery and reformation but it does not cause them.

Caliban, for example, sees the music of the island only as an escape from the reality which is all he can understand. The beautiful visions seem to come to him in dreams and his only reaction is that he cries to dream again. His speech in III iii when he talks about the beauties of the island connect his vision with the image of the masque. He could be describing a masque designed by Inigo Jones when he says

"Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
 Will hum about mine ears;....
and then, in dreaming,
 The clouds methought would open and show riches
 Ready to drop upon me;" (III ii 149-154)

This is certainly what it suggests to Stephano who replies

"This will prove a brave kingdom to me, where I shall have my music for nothing." (III ii 156-7)

Caliban's crying to dream again, picks up the mood of melancholy characteristic of the ending of masques and writings on the masque.¹

Prospero's way of overcoming the melancholy transitoriness of the masque is to give it lasting power through its moral effect. While realising that he is presenting the characters with an 'insubstantial pageant', he uses his art to show them the truth which will enable them to return to Milan with the hopes of creating a brave new world. The 'insubstantial pageant' speech with its melancholy tone is not the last word in the play but a preparation for the reconciliation of the last scene where Ariel is given his freedom and Prospero abjures his magic.

As Jan Kott has pointed out in his essay on The Tempest² the whole of the action is a play within a play; Prospero's prologue where he tells Miranda their past history and reassures her that he is in control of the storm, sets the play within a framework. This effect 'as if everything, the desert island included were just a theatre performance staged by Prospero' is created by the fact that at all the crucial moments Prospero or Ariel are present as director and audience to the action. Their control is continually necessary to make the play a comedy. It is Ariel who makes Ferdinand fall in love with Miranda, and when the danger of Antonio's and Sebastian's wish for power arises, Ariel controls it again by waking Gonzalo and Alonso.

By placing his enemies on the desert island Prospero can make events happen more quickly in accordance with his pre-conceived plan. The island is a controlled environment where the necessary action and learning, which all the characters must go through, will not risk harmful complications for them.

¹ v. above Chapter 3, pp.81-82.

² Jan Kott: Shakespeare Our Contemporary (1967) p.180

Nevertheless, as Prospero stresses in all the 'masque' scenes, the controlled environment of a play-within-a-play cannot be permanent. The play opens with a speech which tells Miranda of the past events, giving her the necessary knowledge to understand the events of the action, it closes with Prospero promising to tell all the other characters

"The story of my life
And the particular accidents gone by
Since I came to this isle." (V i 304-306)

With this knowledge, the promises made on the island can perhaps be put to the test outside the island. It would certainly be unsatisfactory for them to remain only in the limbo of the magical world, and so in the Epilogue, Prospero pleads with the audience

"...let me not
Since I have my Dukedom got
And pardoned the deceiver, dwell
In this bare island by your spell." (Epilogue 5-8)

Because Prospero is part of the play his action is laid under a spell too, just as his playing had put spells on the characters he manipulated.

In The Tempest Shakespeare seems to have resolved the problems of dramatising Romances where a great diversity of action must come, almost arbitrarily, to a happy ending. He removes the sense of arbitrariness by placing the action under Prospero's control. However, this control does not remove moral responsibility from the protagonists as Jupiter's control in Cymbeline seemed to do. Prospero's magic which seems to control the action is frequently called his 'art' and it is analagous to the moral and educative power of art in the real world. It can bring the characters to a greater understanding and awareness but it only has the power to do so if they can allow themselves to respond to it intelligently. By dramatising Prospero's art in the series of 'shows' which he presents, Shakespeare makes the image into a symbol. The characters of the play (and the audience) are presented with a physical representation - in the unfinished masque and the disappearing banquet - of the things that Prospero has been saying about life and art; the poetry and the spectacle come together.

In his plays Shakespeare uses the inserted masque in the conventional dramatic ways - bringing lovers together in the taking out dance or celebrating a banquet or betrothal. But these scenes of spectacle are not merely showy digressions, they are also part of the plays' structure. The time taken up by the dancing or spectacle provides a still point in the action which creates a memorable point of reference for the ideas and images occurring in the remaining action in the rest of the play.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Chapman: The World of Masques and Masking

In one of his characteristically sweeping statements about his fellow poets, Jonson asserted that "next himself only Fletcher and Chapman could make a mask".¹ There is no extant masque which can be attributed to Fletcher but Chapman wrote The Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn which was part of the celebrations for the wedding, in 1613, of princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine. The title page of the first edition explains that the masque was "Invented and fashioned, with the ground, and speciall structure of the whole worke: By our Kingdomes most Artfull and Ingenious Architect Inigo Jones. Supplied, Applied, Digested and written, by Geo. Chapman."²

D.J. Gordon suggests that

"'Invented and written' is probably the full and accurate formula to be used when the poet has found both the subject and written the words. A distinction is frequently made between the invention - which is the subject or fable - and the writing"³

Thus it would seem from the title page that the idea behind this masque had been Inigo Jones'; Gordon continues

"Chapman means by application the application of the subject of the masque to the persons and occasion for whom it had been devised".⁴

Inigo Jones could take the credit for the colourful idea of having the priests of Phoebus as masquers, but the form of the masque and the relationship of the speeches to the occasion belongs to Chapman. This distinction is worth making since The Masque of the Middle Temple is much more than the colourful show which rode from Sir Edward Phillips' house to the Tilt yard at Whitehall.

¹ v. Jonson, *Conversations with Drummond* ed. Herford and Simpson vol.1, (1925), p.133.

² Chapman, The Memorable Maske of the two Honourable Houses or Inns of Court; The Middle Temple and Lyncoln's Inne. (1613) sig. A1

³ v. D.J. Gordon, 'Poet and Architect. The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Jonson and Inigo Jones'. *JWCI* vol. 12, (1937), p.176.

⁴ Ibid, p.177.

Jonson's approval of Chapman's masque doubtless stems from the fact that Chapman attached the same importance to the poetic element and theme of the masque as he did himself. Chapman makes this explicit in the introduction to the printed masque where he is as quick to answer his critics as Jonson himself had been.

"To answer certain insolent objections made against the length of my speeches and narrations, being (for the probability of all accidents, rising from the invention of this masque, and their application to the persons and places for whom and by whom it was presented) not convenient, but necessary. I am enforced to affirm this: that as there is no poem nor oration so general, but hath his one particular proposition;...so all these courtly and honouring inventions (having poesy and oration in them, and a fountain to be expressed from whence their rivers flow) should expressively arise out of the places and persons for and by whom they are presented; without which limits they are luxurious and vain".¹

Chapman directly connects the masque to the occasion by the common fiction that the masquers have come from a distant land to honour the celebrations. Honour opens the main masque by telling Plutus that the priest of Phoebus,

"...the princes of the Virgin land
Whom I made cross the Briton ocean
To this most famed isle of all the world,
To do due homage to the sacred nuptials
Of Love and Beauty, celebrated here,
By thus hour of the holy even, I know,
Are ready to perform the rites they owe" (218-224)

Chapman took the charge that masques were 'luxurious and vain' very seriously and his anti-masque is a statement of his position on the expenditure of the magnificent court. In 'The Applicable Argument of the Masque' he explains how

"Plutus (or Riches) being by Aristophanes, Lucian, etc., presented naturally blind, deformed, and dull witted, is here by his love of Honour, made see, made sightly, made ingenious, made liberal."²

The anti-masque itself consists of a conversation between Plutus and Capriccio in which they discuss the nature of riches. Capriccio takes the view that

¹ Chapman, op. cit., ed. Parrott, George Chapman, The Plays of, The Comedies, vol.II, (reprinted 1961), pp.439-457; introduction p.444.

² Ibid, p.446

riches are damnable to which Plutus replies

"Sinful and damnable? What a Puritan?...a religion forger I see you are, and presume inspiration from these bellows, with which ye study to blow up the settled governments of kingdoms" (85-9)

Despite thinking that riches are damnable, Capriccio has come to seek them and he has also come to present a show at the marriage. His mistaken attitude to riches is reflected in his attitude to shows. He wears a bellows on his head to show that he

"can puff up with glory all those that affect me" (127-8)

and his entertainment is the anti-masque of baboons who have

"cut out the skirts of the whole world in amorous quest of your gold and silver." (141-2)

Plutus, on the other hand, has gained his sight through love of Honour and he rejects Capriccio and his show, saying

"These humble objects can no high eyes draw
Eunomia (or the sacred power of Law)
Daughter of Jove and goddess Honour's priest,
Appear to Plutus and his love assist!" (201-4)

In choosing Honour and Riches as the chief actors in his masque Chapman presents a particularly effective compliment to James and the court which he makes visual and dramatic in the splendour of the scene. The invocation to Eunomia is a direct compliment to Princess Elizabeth since she is the daughter of Jove and James is often compared with Jove in the court masques.

Although the action of the masque is not a marriage, the speeches refer to marriage and love. The Phoebades' song as they worship the setting sun refers to the union of Phoebus and Tethys:

"Descend, fair Sun, and sweetly rest
In Tethys crystal arms thy toil
Fall burning on her marble breast
and make with love her billows boil" (252-5)

Even the flattery to James, who is the rising Sun compared with the setting sun worshipped by the Phoebades, refers to the theme of marriage as the Chorus sing

"O may our Sun not set before
He sees his endless seed arise
And deck his triple crowned shore
With springs of human deities". (276-9)

Just as Honour and riches have their visual counterparts in the gold mine, which is the centre of the scene, so the very movement of the scenery is related to the theme of marriage. At the first presentation of the masquers

"the upper part of the rock was suddenly turned to a cloud, discovering a rich and refulgent mine of gold, in which the twelve masquers were triumphantly seated, their torch bearers attending before them"¹

The significance of this spectacular effect is emphasised by the song 'being used for an Orphean virtue for the state of the mines opening':

"Kiss Heaven and Earth, and so combine
In all mixed joy our nuptial twine" (242-3)

This image of the union of heaven and earth is picked up in the final nuptial hymn of Love and Beauty:

"Bright Panthaea, born to Pan
Of the noblest race of man,
Her white hand to Eros giving,
With a kiss joined heaven to earth
And begot so fair a birth
As yet never graced the living

CHORUS

A twin that all worlds did adorn,
For so were Love and Beauty born." (332-339)

The marriage of Love and Beauty is related to that of Elizabeth and the Elector because

"The bride and bridegroom were figured in Love and Beauty,
Twins of which Hippocrates speaks, called and being both of an age"²

but by making the song about the marriage of abstracts which led to the golden age Chapman can bring in the more general themes of the masque. In the nuptial hymn we are told how

"Love from Beauty did remove
Lightness, call'd her stain in love,
Beauty took from Love his blindness" (343-5)

¹ Ibid, p.443

² Ibid, p.455

and this harks back to Plutus' anti-masque with Capriccio where he explains that he is now 'sightful and witful' on account of his 'late being in love with the lovely goddess Honour'.

The union of Love and Beauty brought in the golden age. Similarly this new combination of Riches and Honour, and the stress on the fact that Honour can only be aspired to through Virtue, has brought in a different kind of golden age instigated by James. The masque celebrates the marriage and compliments James as the ideal king. This praise for the king is, however, carefully worked into the structure of the masque. In the splendour of the show we have a visual image of James' magnificance and this is restated in the union of Honour and Riches which fulfills the requirements for the magnificent man.¹

Chapman seems here to be making an effort to give form and point to the statutory compliment. In the contest between James and the sun, which occupies the central position of the masque, Honour states that James is

"...our clear Phoebus, whose true piety
Enjoys from heaven an earthly deity" (266-7)

This is a reference to the recurring image of James as God's representative on earth which is a feature of James' own political theory.² Moreover this reference to piety is dramatically connected to the action of the masque.

The Phoebades have been worshipping the sun and Honour urges them to renounce

"Your superstitious worship of these Suns,
Subject to cloudy dark'nings and descents;
And of your fit devotions turn the events
To this our Briton Phoebus, whose bright sky
(Enlightened with a Christian piety)
Is never subject to black Error's night" (307-312)

This makes it possible for the masque to move from the show of the Phoebades' worship to direct praise and blessing for the bride and groom. Praise for James' support of missionary zeal in the colonies can be integrated into

¹ v. above ch.3.

² v. James' speech to Parliament 19th March 1603 in *Stowe, Annales* (1631) pp. 837-842.

into Honour's speech to the Virginians when she says that the Briton Phoebus

"...hath already offer'd heaven's true light
To your dark region" (313-4)

and asks them to

"Descend and to him all your homage vow" (315)

The comparison of the king with the sun was often found in praise of James.¹ In the Welcome for the King of Denmark the song at Theobalds greets the two kings with

"Mayle double flame of Maiesties
Whose luster quickens, blinds not eyes
Who ever saw such light
Would wish for night
When two sunnes shine, the ample day
Could not so haste itself away"²

and in Jenson's Masques of Blackness and Beauty and Love restored there are frequent references to James as being greater than the sun. In this masque, Chapman is taking the idea and elegantly dramatising it with the contrasting visual images of the setting sun and the glory of James on the state: in the introduction to the masque Chapman describes the scene:

"Over this golden mine in an evening sky the ruddy sun was seen ready to set; and behind the tops of certain white cliffs by degrees descended, casting up a bank of clouds; in which awhile he was hidden; but then gloriously shining, gave the usually observed good omen of succeeding fair weather.

Before he was fully set, the Phoebades (showing the custom of the Indians to adore the setting sun) began their observance with the song, ...All the time they were singing, the torch bearers holding up their torches to the sun; to whom the priests themselves and the rest did, as they sung, obeisance; which was answered by other music and voices, at the commandment of Honour, with all observances used to the King."³

¹ For the Neoplatonic significance of this symbolism v. D.J. Gordon, 'Le Masque Memorable de Georges Chapman', in Fêtes de la Renaissance ed. Jean Jacquot, vol.II (1961), pp.305-317.

² v. Welcome for the King of Denmark sig. Biiiij^v in Humphrey Dyson: Collection of 23 Masques and Pamphlets, (1606), p. 1.

³ Chapman, op. cit., ed. cit., p.443

The design of the scene would have been the work of Inigo Jones but Chapman underlines the visual contrast with the elegant alternation of the stanzas in praise of the Sun and then in praise of the King, to whom the sun is but a beam. Thus Chapman perfectly integrates the show and theme of the masque; the spectacle of the masquers dancing with torches lighted at both ends is a splendid show but it is also another manifestation of the light of religion which James is sending to the colonies and which emanates from himself who is greater than the sun and so similar to God.

This is a large claim to make for any man but in the context of the masque it is at once 'true' and part of the masque's fiction. The James whom they are complimenting is the king in a masque who stands in artistic rather than actual relation to the real James. The references of the compliments would have been understood and taken seriously, but because they are within the masque's fiction their implications are not being examined seriously in relation to the 'real' world of politics or colonial policy.

The absence of a proscenium arch in Inigo Jones' set enabled Chapman to include the whole court in the idealised world of the masque with the presence of the Temple of Honour on one side of the rock showing that

"Honour is so much respected and adored that she hath a temple erected to her like a goddess; a virgin priest consecrated to her (which is Eunomia, or Law since none should dare access to Honour but by virtue, of which Law being the rule, must needs be a chief)"¹

Thus, in the picture of the king and court presented in this masque, Chapman has resolved the ancient debate as to whether Honour is to be achieved by Virtue or Fortune.² Nevertheless because the masque in its idealisation admits of no conflict, he does not even take sides in this debate for Fortune is also presented, emblematically rather than dramatically, as having given her support to James:

¹ Chapman, op.cit. ed. cit. p.446.

² v. Schoell, Etudes sur l'Humanisme Continentale en Angleterre à la Fin de la Renaissance (1926), App.II, pp.197-245.

"For finishing of all upon a pedestal was fixed a round stone of silver, from which grew a pair of golden wings, both feigned to be Fortune's. The round stone when her feet trod it ever affirmed to be rolling, figuring her inconstancy; the golden wings denoting those nimble posers that pompously bear her about the world; on that temple erected to her daughter Honour, and figuring this kingdom put off by her and fixed, for assured sign that she would never forsake it"¹

James' court is the ideal where Fortune, Virtue and Honour live along with magnificence and riches and where Fortune Love and Riches, all formerly blind, have regained their sight.

Jean Jacquot in his comment on D.J. Gordon's article feels that this masque shows Chapman at his most optimistic in his presentation of the virtuous king² and certainly this opinion of James as the epitome of virtue does not bear with many of the contemporary records of his attitudes and behaviour. The masque, however cannot be considered as a discussion of any problem leading to a reasoned conclusion, and this was accepted by those who saw and read the masques. They accepted the theory that

"For Flatterie, no man will take Poetry Literall since in commendations it rather shewes what should bee, than what they are."³

Chapman's serious concerns with Kingship and virtue which he displays in his masque are also reflected in the importance which he attaches to instruction in his plays. In the dedication to The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois he pities those

"poor envious souls...that cavil at truth's want in these natural fictions"

and goes on to explain that

"material instruction, elegant and sententious excitation to virtue, and deflection from her contrary being the soul, limbs and limits of an autenticall tragedy" ⁴

1 Chapman, op.cit., ed. cit. p.442.

2 Jacquot, op.cit., p.315.

3 Owen Feltham: Resolves, (1682) sig.5^v
Quoted in Neagher, Method and Meaning in Jonson's Masques, (1966), p.160.

4 Chapman, op.cit., ed. Parrott op.cit. The Tragedies, vol.1, (reprinted 1961), p.77.

In his tragedies, however, Chapman is not presenting the ideal court which we found in the masque but is concerned with the realities of politics and the place of honour and virtue in this world.

In The Tragedy of Biron,¹ the only tragedy in which Chapman included a masque, the masque stands as an emblem of the ideal king - a point of reference for the action of the rest of the play. Since the plays are about the reality of seeking virtue and honour they cannot simply accept the ideal version of the court and their action comes from the clash and conflict of values which Chapman reconciled in the masque.

The occasion for the masque in Act II is not a purely political one since it is ostensibly to celebrate the reconciliation of the King's Queen and Mistress. As an entertainment it is rather tedious, consisting of a long speech by Cupid which ends with a riddle, and this is followed by some dances by Marie, Mme. D'Etragues and 'four ladies with their torchbearers'.² Cupid's speech tells the king how

"...these nymphs, part of the scattered train of Friendless Virtue...

.....

Have put their heads out of their caves and coverts
To be your true attendants in your Court." (II i 3-12)

He goes on to explain how Chastity and Liberalitie had argued over who should have supremacy until one nymph had shot the other with Cupid's bow and

"this they took so well that now they both are one
And as for your dear love their discords grew
So for your love they did their love's renew." (II i 58-60)

He ends with a riddle about what 'a fair lady most of all likes' which, despite the sexual innuendo in the rhyme, Epemon solemnly guesses is 'good fame'.

There is obviously a contrived effect of comic anti-climax at the solution of the riddle, however seriously Chapman took the importance of good fame, but it is significant that whereas the masque in plays is more often associated

¹ Chapman, op. cit., ed. cit. vol.1, pp.208-271.

² Ibid., p.220.

with veiled licentiousness under a virtuous exterior, this riddle is actually more bawdy than it seems rather than the reverse. This inserted masque does not even suggest the image of duplicity associated with masks and masquing; on the contrary its outward seeming is more questionable morally than its inner meaning. There is no irony in Cupid's request at the end for

"Your Highness' will, as touching our resort,
If Virtue may be entertain'd in Court." (II i 126-7)

It is difficult to criticise the masque in this play at all since we cannot be sure how far its form is the result of the mutilations of the censor.¹ In the original play the Queen and the king's mistress may have played a greater part in the action, but any attempt to reconstruct the significance the masque would have had in such a context can only be conjecture. However, in spite of these difficulties, the masque as it stands does bear some relation to the other themes of the play. It reasserts the changed circumstances inherent in this play as opposed to those of The Conspiracy. In this play France is at peace and, with his domestic matters in order, the king is in a stronger position to resist elements of disorder like Biron. The masque is one of the symbols of this peace: the nymphs can only come 'out of their caves and coverts/
To be true attendants at your court' now that:

"...sweet Peace,
Was by your valour lifted from her grave,
Set on your royal right hand, and all Virtues
Summon'd with honour and with rich rewards
To be her handmaids." (II i 6-10)

Henry's valour is contrasted with that of Biron in that he used it not to bring honour or reward to himself but peace to France.² Biron is perhaps

¹ v. Peter Ure, 'Chapman's Tragedy of Biron', MLR 7.54, (1959), pp.557-8.

² In passing it is relevant to note that James is frequently praised in Jonson's masques as the bringer of peace.
v. Hymenaei: ed. Orgel, pp.78, ll 80-81.

"'Tis so; the same is he
The King and Priest of Peace"

included in the virtues 'summoned with honour and with rich rewards' but, as we have seen in the previous scene, he will not accept this subordinate position or subdue his virtu to the cause of peace. His vision of the world of peace is not the Arden to which Cupid invites the masquers but chaos where

"The world is quite inverted, Virtue thrown
At Vice's feet, and sensual Peace confounds
Valour and cowardice, fame and infamy;" (I ii 14-16)

and which sees the return of the iron age.

"When the red sun held not his fixed place,
Kept not his certain course, his rise and set
Nor yet distinguish'd with his definite bounds". (II i 20-22)

In his reference to the red sun Biron picks up an image often used in masques and entertainments as a metaphor for the king. However, Biron's regret that the king is not in control, symbolising a complete lack of order, is denied by the previous scene which shows the king and his heir representing his new position of strength, and by the masque in the following scene which enacts another view of the world at peace.

The complete lack of intrigue in this masque and its emphasis on sexual virtue undercuts Biron's later diatribe against the corruption which follows on a peaceful nation. In the opening speech of IV i he says that men at peace

"Grow rude and foggy, overgrown with weeds,
Their spirits and freedoms smothered in their ease;
And as their tyrants and their ministers
Grow wild in prosecution of their lusts,
So they grow prostitute, and lie, like whores,
Down, and take up, to their abhorred dishonours" (IV i 9-14)

This is a difficult ~~but~~ speech for it is in the convention of the isolated virtuous man railing against the vice and corruption which surrounds him and by Act IV Biron is in the position of an isolated man who certainly sees himself as the sole supporter of virtue. Nevertheless, having consistently presented Henry as a virtuous man, Chapman undercuts this speech, especially since the reference to the wild prosecution of lust does not fit well the picture of Henry's virtue as it is presented in the masque.

The masque in Act II also asserts that the harmony brought to the court by Henry extends beyond the political to the personal values of love, just as The Masque of the Middle Temple celebrates the marriage of Love and Beauty as well as the virtue of James. Cupid tells Henry

"...as for your dear love their discords grew
So for your love they did their loves renew" (II i 59-60)

The conflict between Marie and Mme. D'Entragues could have been a vital weak spot in the affairs of the kingdom - as is seen in Biron's readiness to accuse the court of wild prosecution of lust - for the king's love affairs are equally political action.¹ In The Tragedy of Biron, Henry, as the example of the virtuous man as well as the virtuous king, has to impose his personality to all who seek to bring discord to the court. With his wife and mistress he is successful and so they can live in Arden, or the ideal world of the masque, but with Biron his personality and his power to inspire love are not enough. Biron will not respond out of love for the king and so Henry has to exert the full powers of kingship and condemn Biron to death.

The masque in Act II presents Chapman's view of how the ideal king must be praised but not flattered. Cupid's moderate praise for the king and the complete lack of pomp in the entertainment makes it impossible to see the masque as base flattery and this is emphasised in the King's response to it. He says simply

"This show has pleased me well for that it figures
The reconcilment of my Queen and Mistress" (II i 128-9)

and carries straight on with the business of his court which is 'to entertain our trusty friend Biron.'

Chapman's concern with the relationship between flattery and praise is also seen in the other Biron play, The Conspiracy of Charles Duke of Biron,²

¹ cf. Chapman, Bussy d'Ambois where love becomes involved in the struggle for political power with tragic consequences for Bussy and Tamyra.

² Chapman, op. cit. ed. Parrott, op. cit., vol.1, pp.153-207

where he again uses a courtly entertainment to examine this problem. In I ii of The Conspiracy of Biron we see Picote preparing a triumph for Biron's entry into the Arch Duke's court. Biron deserves this reception for in I i we have heard Roncas tell how

"...he is a man
Of matchless valour, and was ever happy
In all encounters, which were still made good
With an unwearied sense of any toil,
Having continued fourteen days together
Upon his horse" &c. &c. (I i 61-66)

and since Biron is not present we have no reason to attribute this statement to flattery. The triumph prepared for him, however, is markedly different from the usual in that it is not the expression of a communal joy at the return of a conquering hero, but part of a plot by one faction to flatter, not his virtue, but his ambition. Picote prepares a carpet containing a history figured in it

"That earth may seem to bring forth Roman spirits
Even to his genial feet, and her dark breast
Be made the clear glass of his shining graces;" (I ii 16-18)

Biron is taken in by the artifice of music and pictures and thinks he hears 'the harmony of all things moving.'

His reaction to this reception is a parody of the virtuous king's acceptance of praise in a masque. Bacon defined Praise as being 'when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be'¹ and Biron sees this act of praise, indirect and ironical as it is, as being a justification and encouragement for his high aspirations. He says that

"'Tis immortality to die aspiring
As if a man were taken quick to heaven" (I ii 31-2)

and after the second burst of music he feels already that

"...wheresoe'er I go
They hide the earth from me with coverings rich
To make me think that I am here in heaven" (I ii 49-50)

¹ Bacon 'Of Praise' ed. Rhys, The Essayes or Counsels Civill and Morall of Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam (1906), p.156.

This acceptance of flattery is referred to again in III ii where Henry uses the imagery of Biron's triumph to describe the attributes of flatterers which must be avoided. He says of the flattered men

"...his head is napped with bays,
His lips break out with nectar, his tun'd feet
Are of the great last, the perpetual motion" (III ii 256-8)

and this sounds an echo of Biron's

"They follow all my steps with music
As if my feet were numerous and trod sounds
Out of the centre with Apollo's virtue". (I ii 45-7)

The imagery of Henry's speech about the dangers of flattery foreshadows some of the images developed in The Masque of the Middle Temple written some ten years later. Henry talks about how the flattered man

"puffed with their empty breath believes
Full merit eas'd those passions of wind,
Which yet serve but to praise, and cannot merit,
And so his fury in their air expires:
So de la Fin and such corrupted heralds,
Hir'd to encourage and to glorify
May force what breath they will into their cheeks
Fitter to blow up bladders than full men," (III ii 259-266)

Compare this with the anti-masque to The Masque of the Middle Temple, where Capriccio, who represents false glory says

"...and I wear these bellows on my head to show that I can puff up
with glory all who affect me". (126-8)

After Capriccio's baboons have duly performed, Plutus refuses at first to pay him, remarking "'Alas poor man of wit, how want of reward daunts thy virtue' and this again is an idea which Chapman had used in the Biron plays. Henry had said that the flattered man is so in need of praise 'that he pays men to praise him' and in the astronomer scene (III iii), when Biron hears his destiny from La Brosse and is angry, La Brosse says

"I told truth/And could have flattered"

to which Biron replies passionately

"O that thou had'st
Would I have given thee twenty thousand crowns
That thou hadst flattered me". (III iii 89-91)

The problems which in the tragedies Chapman examines, he has to resolve for the ideal world of the Masque of the Middle Temple. In the masque he accepts that Eunomia or Law should be the particular virtue which will lead to honour. However Chapman understands the world of politics sufficiently well to realise that there can be a conflict between the honourable man and the power of law. In the Bussy plays and the Biron plays some of the heroes' finest moments are when they are defying the power of law over them with statements like

"There is no danger to a man that knows
 What life and death is; there's not any law
 Exceeds his knowledge; neither is it lawful
 That he should stoop to any other law.
 He goes before them, and commands them all,
 That to himself is a law rational." (Conspiracy III iii 140-6)¹

However, Chapman is not simply reversing the attitudes of the plays in his masque. In the plays he allows his humane but powerful kings a full reply to the aspiring heroes. In the Tragedy of Charles Duke of Biron, King Henry refuses to allow a safe passage to the Spanish army until their part in the conspiracy has been examined in Biron's trial. He explains that kings have to be ruled by law, saying

"...if, because
 We sit above the dangers of the laws,
 We likewise lift our arms above their justice,
 And that our heavenly Sovereign bounds not us
 In those religious confines out of which
 Our justice and our true laws are inform'd,
 In vain we have expectance that our subjects
 Should not as well presume to offend their earthly
 As we our heavenly Sovereign" (Tragedy V i 49-56)

Because the problems of political action with which Chapman deals in the tragedies cannot be seen in terms of simple vice and virtue, he cannot use the conventional image of the masque. The courts which he presents are not the vicious and corrupt courts of Italy where lust and treason lie just beneath a glittering surface but the near contemporary French court which is not significantly corrupt.² In these plays, the masque does not stand as an image

¹ cf. Chapman, Bussy d'Ambois II i 194-20 ed. Parrott, op. cit., vol.1, p.

² e.g. in Bussy d'Ambois, Bussy's aim to 'bring up a new fashion and rise in court with virtue' is in fact successful. By Act III he is the king's favourite. He only falls because of the more subtle power of Monsieur who attacks him because 'his estate should never be such as to be a subject to the king'.

for the duplicity and pretence of all the courtiers since Chapman is dealing with the deadly rationality of powerful figures rather than with the problems of a virtuous man in a vicious world, where vice is hidden by masks and kings are falsely praised.

* * * * *

In the comedies, where the serious concerns of the court masque may have seemed less relevant, Chapman uses the inserted masque in a rather more conventional way. The shows in The Gentleman Usher¹ are presented by Lord Lasso to entertain Duke Alphonso who is wooing his daughter, Margaret; the masque in May Day brings all the characters on to the stage for the final unmasking, and the masque in The Widow's Tears is an entertainment at Tharsalio and Eudora's wedding. In The Gentleman Usher, Chapman seems almost to be rejecting the idea of complication or action in the masque. In I i when the show is being prepared we learn that Vincentio, the Duke's son, is also in love with Margaret and hopes to spoil his father's wooing. At the end of the scene, Alphonso exits with Medice saying

"come, we will prepare us to our show." (I i 265)

and Strozso and Vincentio add

"Which, as we can, we'll cast to overthrow." (I i 266)

However, when the show is eventually put on and Strozso has to make the speech, in spite of Vincentio's urging, he fulfills his obligations to the Duke and duly tells the story of the hunt in which the Duke is wounded by Diana.

Despite this conventional use of the plot device, in May Day and The Widow's Tears Chapman does examine the implications of disguise and masking. In May Day

¹ These shows are not really masques. The first one presents Duke Alphonso bound by Margaret's cruelty and is prefaced by an allegorical speech about the Duke hunting a boar and being shot by Diana's arrow. The second is described as a 'pageant' and a 'glee' and is a dancing entertainment by a Broom man and woman, a Rush man and woman, a 'Nymph, Sylvanus, and two Bugs'. v. Chapman, op. cit. ed. Parrott, The Plays of George Chapman, The Comedies, vol.1, (reprinted 1961) pp.243-5; 252-256.

especially, he seems to be guying the disguise plots of romantic comedy.¹

The play opens with Lorenzo, who is really too old for lust, trying to write a love letter to Francheschina. He admits that 'my old vein will not stretch to her contentment' and his letter opens with an echo of the most famous line in Elizabethan drama when he says

"O hair, no hair but beams stol'n from the sun" (I i 32)²

The guying continues when Aurelio who is in love with Aemilia, sees her, is overcome with passion and falls down crying

"O stay and hear me speak, or see me die" (I i 196)

Lodovico and Giacomo then enter and Lodovico, seeing Aurelio on the ground, says

"How now! What have we here? What loathsome creature man is, being drunk! Is it not pity to see a man of good hope, a toward scholar, writes a theme well, scans a verse very well, and likely in time to make a proper man... and yet all this overthrown as you see - drowned, quite drowned, in a quart pot." (I i 197-203)

The most extended comment on the conventions of the old plays comes in one of the funniest episodes of the play. Angelo is persuading Lorenzo to go in disguise to visit Francheschina so that he will be out of the way when Aurelio and Aemilia meet. Lorenzo suggests that he might go as a friar but Angelo scorns his suggestion:

"Out upon't, that disguise is worn threadbare upon every stage and so much villainy committed under that habit that 'tis grown as suspicious as the vilest. If you will hearken to any, take such a transformance as you may be sure will keep you from discovery; for though it be the stale refuge of miserable poets by change of a hat or a cloak to alter the whole state of a comedy...yet you must not think they do in earnest carry it away so; for say you were stuffed into a motley coat, crowded in the case of a base viol, or buttoned up in a cloak-bag even to your chin, yet if I see your face, I am able to say, 'This is Signor Lorenzo', and therefore unless your disguise be such that your face may bear as great a part in it as the rest, the rest is nothing". (II i 475-499)

¹ For a discussion of the view that the boy players at the turn of the century put on plays which guyed the features of Elizabethan drama v. R.A. Foakes, 'Tragedy of the Children's Theatres after 1600: A Challenge to the Adult Stage', in David Galloway ed. Elizabethan Theatre, vol.II (1970).

² Chapman, op.cit., ed. Parrott, op.cit. The Comedies vol.1, pp.164-232. cf. this line with Hieronimo's in Kyd, The Spanish Tragedy, (III iii 1-3) ed. Cairncross 1967. "Oh eyes! no eyes, but fountains fraught with tears; Oh life! no life, but lively forms of death; Oh world! no world, but mass of public wrongs".

This long rejection of old fashioned disguises need not be seen as Chapman's statement about the art of his play since it is also part of Angelo's attempt to make Lorenzo's disguise as ridiculous as possible by making him smear his face with soot. Nevertheless, the action of the play shows that the author is more in control of the action even than Angelo and Lodovico, and Chapman uses the action not only to mock the old dramatic traditions but also to examine the degree of control which a knowledge of disguise can bring.

In the masque scene, Lorenzo asks Lodovico why he is not one of the masquers and Lodovico replies

"I use no masking, sir, with my friends." (V i 148)

On one occasion in the play, however, Lodovico has tried to use masking and, although he has proved so adept at arranging others' affairs, he is caught out. In III iii, Temperance lets him into Lucretia's chamber thinking he is Leonoro. He is quite happy to take the advantage that his masking gives him saying

"Thus muffled as I am she could not have perceived me till I had been in, and I might have safely stayed awhile..." (III iii 174-6)

The events then take an unexpected turn as Lucretio turns out to be a man in disguise and beats him up.

In Act V, Chapman uses the masque to give a further unexpected twist to the action of plotting and counterplotting. In IV ii it looks as though the masque will be used for the conventional comic plot as Leonoro and Quintiliano plan to disguise Lionello, the page, as a woman and have Innocentio woo him. In the masque Innocentio takes out Lionello disguised as a woman and there is an exchange in which Lionello is able to insult Innocentio who thinks himself unrecognised:

"Inn. Did you see the play today, I pray?

Lion. No, but I see the fool in it here.

Inn. Do you so, forsooth? Where is he, pray?

Lion. Not far from you sir; but we must not point at anybody here

Inn. ...Do you know me through my mask?

Lion. Not I sir; she must have better skill in baked meats than I, that can discern a woodcock through the crust." (V i 135-143)

This exchange is comic enough but the comedy which the theatre audience derives from it is the same as that which the characters in the play see.

Chapman reasserts his final control over the action when Lucretio is brought in to explain how he came to be disguised as a woman and is recognised by Lionello who unmasks and reveals that he/she is Theagine, his betrothed. In leaving this coup de théâtre until the very end, Chapman loses some of the comedy which could have come from Innocentio taking out a woman whom everyone else thought a man but who was really a woman. However this is more than made up for by the force of this unmasking and the comedy of the situation comes through when Quintiliano teases Innocentio.

There is nothing heavy handed or moralising in Chapman's examination of disguise in this play and much of its fun comes from the clever structure of the plots. The whole action takes place in an atmosphere of youth gulling age, and this air of general festivity, of which the masque is a part, is created in the opening stage direction.

"Chorus juvenum cantantes et saltantes. Exeunt saltantes." (I i)

In II i where the three plots are arranged there is the impression that a huge joke is about to explode over Venice and Chapman's final trick in the play only adds to the sense of a comic world where the lovers will be united even if the audience laugh at the tricks which bring their union about.

Chapman takes a more serious look at the moral aspects of disguise in The Widow's Tears. The inserted masque in this play marks the turning point between the light comedy where Tharsalio pursues the widow Eudora and exposes the hypocrisy of her affected mourning, and the dark plot where Tharsalio sets out to prove that his virtuous sister-in-law is also incapable of fidelity after death. Had the first part of the play where Eudora rejects her fanatical widowhood and marries Tharsalio stood on its own, ending with the triumphant marriage masque, Chapman would have written a highly amusing play of the city comedy type, where a witty young blade manipulates the hypocritical characters and ends up with the money and the girl. As it is, Chapman introduces the story of Cynthia and Lysander and so brings a more serious and thoughtful dimension to the play.

It is this second part of the play which presents most of the problems. Cynthia is not simply a hypocritical widow and she is forced into unfaithfulness by the circumstances set up by Tharsalio's manipulation. He contrives the whole of her situation with the bogus death of her husband and sets it up as a test case in order to prove his hypothesis that all women are subject to the frailty of flesh. He in fact proves his point, for Cynthia does give in to the soldier, but Chapman examines the basic morality of manipulating such a test case by his presentation and criticism of Tharsalio. The whole atmosphere of the play changes as the scene moves from Eudora's house, filled with her suitors, to the graveyard where the tomb is the central stage prop and crucified men are frequently mentioned, if not actually present on stage.

In the first part of the play we see Tharsalio applying his view of the animal vitality of women to a pretentious widow and, by his consummate skill in acting, forcing her to reveal the hollowness of her affectations and marry him. In the Cynthia and Lysander plot, however, he applies this same philosophy of life to a genuinely virtuous character. He uses his skill as a director to play upon her emotions until she falls from virtue to a level which he understands and at the same time rather despises. Tharsalio is controlling the actions of all the characters in the play but Chapman is able to control and manipulate the attitude to Tharsalio's own activities and he does this through his use of the theme of acting and playing which runs throughout the play.

Tharsalio bases his feelings of superiority to the other characters on the fact that, in his travels, he has rejected the illusions which he associates with the reign of Fortune

"that delights
 (Like a deep-reaching statesman) to converse
 Only with fools, jealous of knowing spirits." (I i 1-3)¹

and now has the ability to

¹ Chapman, op. cit. ed. Parrott, op. cit., The Comedies, vol.1 pp.366-434.

"...see with clear eyes, and to judge of objects as they truly are, not as they seem, and through their mask to discern the true face of things" (I i 141-3)

He does not, however, use this knowledge to establish truth and eradicate hypocrisy. He rather joins in with the actors and hypocrites of the world in order to manipulate characters, who are unsure of their roles, until they join in his play and serve his own ends.

In the first scene of the play Tharsalio and Lysander both enter carrying mirrors. This is realistic enough in that they are both preparing themselves, but it might also suggest the mirror held up to nature. The audience would be given a physical and reflected image of each character. Cynthia teases Tharsalio about his face saying it is

"made to be worn under a beaver" (I i 24)

But Tharsalio has given up the role of soldier and has joined the world of courtly masquing, so he replies

"Ay, and 'twould show well enough under a mask, too." (I i 25)

He is sufficiently skilled as an actor to take on a new role simply by changing his costume. He will wear a mask despite the fact that for him it represents hypocrisy since his greater perception

"tells me how short liv'd widows' tears are, that their weeping is in truth but laughing under a mask." (I i 143-5)

Tharsalio's knowledge is nevertheless restricted, for he sees only the opposition between 'true' facts and 'seeming' hypocrisy. He is unable to acknowledge the role playing which is almost unconscious and which is a necessary part of every human action which adapts itself to time and circumstances.

It is important for a complete understanding of the play to see that in The Widow's Tears there are three levels and different types of role playing. The play is divided in two by the inserted masque celebrating Eudora and Tharsalio's marriage in which a part (perhaps that of Hymen) is taken by Tharsalio's nephew, Hylus. Here Hylus takes on a part in the normal sense of 'acting'; - he knows that he is adopting another character with

another name and the audience knows that it is an accepted pretence. It is especially significant that this part is in a masque and not in a stage play, for the masque relates to the world which it is celebrating in a way which a play with its separate world does not. The congratulations spoken by the actors in a masque are felt sincerely by the person who speaks them although he makes the speeches in the guise of another character. He is more closely related to the character he assumes than an actor in a stage play which has a completely fictitious world with no direct relationship with the world of its audience.

The second type of acting is seen when Lysander returns to the city disguised as a soldier guarding the crucified bodies around the tomb, where Cynthia mourns him, supposing that he is dead. Here Lysander is playing another role but his 'audience' does not know who he is and accepts his character at face value. He knows that he is playing a part but he plays it almost too well. He gives his created character different attitudes from those we have seen him show in his former life and is prepared to carry them out even when this will prove painful to his 'real' self. The kind of knowledge which he obtains in his disguised self eventually comes to seem more real than the view which he had of the world before he adopted this disguise. When he resumes his disguise before his final return to the tomb he feels that the disguise 'in truest shape hast let me see/that which my truer self hath hid from me.' (V iii 60-1)

Neither Lysander's disguising nor Hylus' taking part in the masque can properly be called hypocrisy and even the third type of role-playing is not as sinfully hypocritical as Tharsalio assumes it must be. It is the almost unconscious role playing which consists of reacting to circumstances and settings in such a way as to give a character a central and pleasing role. When we first see Eudora she is rejecting her suitors and enjoying the role of the virtuous and steadfast widow. She has not necessarily prepared this role as a conscious act but it is simply a projection of an aspect of her personality which she finds pleasing. It is not until Act II that this

pretence is broken down by the more cleverly performed and more carefully prepared action of Arsace and then Eudora rejects her former role in the face of a newly discovered aspect of her personality. One role is substituted for another rather than hypocrisy falling before the force of truth.

Tharsalio's power as a director is seen when he produces the masque. He accepts the, to him, hypocritical conventions which idealise the occasion, and shows that he is not ashamed of the irregularities of his marriage. The discrepancy between the marriage of a city lady and her former servant and the ideal masque, is a source of comedy in itself, but Tharsalio does not hesitate to use the form of congratulation common to the masque. Hymen's speech refers to

"Those noblest nuptials; which great Destiny
 Ordained past custom and all vulgar object
 To be the readvancement of a house
 Noble and princely, and restore this palace
 To that name that six hundred summers since
 Was in possession of this bridegroom's ancestors
 The ancient and most virtue fam'd Lysandri" (III i 99-104)

This speech is richly comic, for the audience, both at the masque and in the theatre, know that Tharsalio was once Eudora's servant. The tone of the masque is also a complete reversal of Tharsalio's forthright wooing when he said to Eudora

"Madam, I come not to command your love with enforced letters, nor to woo you with tedious stories of my pedigree, as he who draws the thread of his descent from Leda's distaff, when 'tis well know his grandsire cried cony skins in Sparta." (II iv 146-150)

The masque is the culmination of a series of 'play acting' scenes in which Tharsalio gradually becomes a more successful director. The attitude to the various scenes of courtship is controlled by the presence of a separate 'stage audience' which comments on the progress of the scenes and gives the opinion of the other characters in the play. In Act I scene i Tharsalio's first attempt on Eudora is watched by his sceptical brother Lysander who represents the commonly held view that Tharsalio will be unsuccessful. His opening remarks, however, show that he is not completely taken in by Eudora's pose, for on hearing that she admits suitors at all he says

"By your leave Lycus, Penelope is not so wise as her husband Ulysses, for he, fearing the jaws of the siren stopped his ears with wax against her voice. They that fear the adder's sting will not come near her hissing" (I ii 13)

Tharsalio is not alone in his perception of self deceit, only in possession of the nerve to undermine it.

Eudora's entrance itself shows the artificiality of the situation and her obvious delight in setting a scene around herself where she is wooed and does not succumb. The formality is obviously contrived, for a non aristocratic household:

"Enter Argus, bareheaded with whom another usher, Lycus, joins, going over the stage. Hiarbus and Psorabeus next, Rebus single before Eudora, Loadice; Stethenia bearing her train, Ianth~~e~~ following." (SD. I ii line 36)

Tharsalio bursts into this formality with a completely different style and the forthright vitality of

"liberal and ingenuous graces, love, youth, and gentry, which... deserve any princess." (I ii 89-90)

He then goes on to insist that the difference between him and the other suitors is not in their desires but only in their approach. He turns on Rebus with

"You are the lord, I take it, that wooed my great mistress here with letters from his Altitude, which while she was reading, your lordship (to entertain time) straddl'd and scal'd your fingers, as you would show what an itching desire you had to get betwixt her sheets." (I ii 104-108)

Tharsalio's unveiling of the truth behind the conventional approach of the suitors is comic in terms of that particular scene. The discomfiture of Eudora and her carefully arranged train at insults like

"...a lean lord, dubbed with the lard of others! A diseased lord, too, that opening certain magic characters in an unlawful book, up start as many aches in's bones, as there are ouches in's skin." (I iii 117-20)

could provide a particularly comic effect. Moreover Rebus' cowardice in showing greater reverence to the place than to his honour by refusing to challenge Tharsalio, puts Tharsalio into an especially superior position in this scene. Despite his greater vitality, however, Tharsalio realises during the course of this scene that the direct approach will not prove effective since he is a better director than actor. Consequently he produces

his own little act by sending the bawd Arsace to 'warn' Eudora of his sexual prowess.

The scene with Arsace is also placed within the context of a play-within-the-play, in that Arsace, although in her own person, is acting out the reformed bawd and the scene is watched by the waiting women Stethenia and Ianthe. Their opening comments further corroborate Tharsalio's scepticism about Eudora's purity with "I never knew but a good gift would welcome a bad person to the purest". This statement is comically confirmed when Eudora, having beaten Argus in a frenzy of outraged virtue, says that she will keep the jewel.

The scene that follows is a subline piece of comic acting on the part of Arsace, who outdoes Eudora in her condemnation of

"the most incontinent and insatiate man of women that ever Venus blessed with the ability to please them." (II ii 82-3)

Arsace appears to accept Eudora's chosen role as genuine with

"Alas, madam, your honour is the chief of our city, and to whom shall I complain of these in chastities (being your ladyship's reformed tenant) but to you that are chastest?" (II ii 118-20)

Nevertheless in providing her with the titillating information that Tharsalio

"will so enchant you, as never man did woman: nay, a goddess (say his light huswives) is not worthy of his sweetness" (II ii 103-5)

she is playing on the sexual side of Eudora's character which she is sure exists and which she wishes Eudora to see and accept. Thus Eudora is eventually overcome, not by an appeal to the truth but by an act which is better organised than hers because deliberate and prepared. We leave Eudora musing

"it is the course of the world to dispraise faults and use them, so we may use them the safer. What might a wise widow resolve on this point, now? Contentment is the end of all worldly beings." (II ii 131-5)

By placing both the wooing scenes within this framework of acting and dissimulation, Chapman indicates that Tharsalio and many of the other characters regard the whole world of courtship as a revel and a play, where in order to win one must simply be a more skilful director of the revels. This is brought out in Ianthe's catalogue (II iv) of the affairs of the town which

ends up with

"what revels, what presentments are toward, and who penned the pegmas and so forth" (IIIiv 60-63)

Smeak notes that "a pegma was originally a kind of framework or stage which sometimes bore an inscription; hence transferred to the inscription itself (OED)".¹ Ianthe is therefore seeing all the love affairs of the town as another general pageant. Similarly Tharsalio refers to his wedding as a 'hymeneal show' and after Lysander had watched the first wooing of Eudora he calls it 'sport' which has the first meaning of amusement but is also a generic term for dramatic and masquing entertainments.

In presenting Eudora's wooing as a series of games ending in a 'hymeneal show', Chapman is not making a facile 'satiric' point that inside every virtuous lady there is a whore waiting to be unmasked and enjoyed.² In this play he looks at relationships between characters, events and their audiences and so we see Tharsalio's view of women being applied to a separate situation with very different results.

After Tharsalio's first unsuccessful wooing of Eudora, Lysander teases him about it and his sexual pride is so wounded that he insinuates that Cynthia is not as chaste as she seems. When Lysander is troubled Tharsalio decides to make Cynthia 'act' for him saying

"Well out of this there may be molded matter of more mirth than my baffling. It shall go hard but I'll make my constant sister act as famous a scene as Vergil did his mistress, who caused all the fire in Rome to fail so that none could light a torch but at her nose." (I ii 133-8)

In the Eudora story Tharsalio had been acting in order to make Eudora realise that she had been dissembling and his act was organised with a view to making Eudora marry him. Moreover her posing was made obvious to both the stage audience and the audience in the theatre by the remarks of the other

¹ E. Smeak, ed. Chapman, The Widow's Tears, (1967), p.42, note line 57.

² cf. other versions of the Widow of Ephesus story which is the source of this part of the play. v. P. Ure, 'The Widow of Ephesus: Some Reflections on an International Theme', Durham University Journal, 19 (1956) 1-9, pp.

characters and the staging of the scenes. In the action with Cynthia, on the other hand, it is made even more clear that the acting and directing of the scenes is performed by Tharsalio alone and his view of the situation is not endorsed by the opinions of the other characters.

Lycus explained that his acting of the story of Lysander's 'death' had had to be prepared especially since he had not chosen his part. Tharsalio asks him

"And didst act the Nuntius well...Could'st thou dress thy looks in a mournful habit?" (IV i 51-2)

and Lycus replies

"Not without preparation sir, no more than my speech; 'twas plain acting of an interlude in me to pronounce the part." (IV i 53-5)

Lycus knows the difference between 'acting' and sincerity and insists that Cynthia's tears are not 'laughing under a mask'. Tharsalio is sure that Cynthia is acting and asks

"Did she perform it well for her husband's wager?" (IV i 34-5)

to which Lycus replies in horror

"Perform it, call you it? You may jest; men hunt hares to death for their sports, but the poor beasts die in earnest." (IV i 36-8)

Lycus' outraged comment is an echo of Raleigh's lyric 'On the Life of Man', which realises the differences as well as the similarities between life and acting. In the last two lines Raleigh makes the same contrast as Lycus for, having talked about the stage of life, he continues

"Thus march we playing to our latest rest
Only we die in earnest, that's no Jest."¹

In this plot we feel that Tharsalio is playing with elements much more dangerous than those involved in his game with Eudora. The issues at stake are no longer the difference between dissembling and reality or the truth behind the disguise; they move into the more serious court of life and death. By the time the action moves to the graveyard Cynthia has been fasting for four days but Tharsalio

¹ ed. Agnes M.C. Latham, The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh, (1951), p.51.

is prepared to take the trial further, to death if need be. When he sees that Cynthia is being true to her vows he says

"This strain of mourning wi' th' sepulchre, like an overdoing actor, affects grossly, and indeed is so far forced from life, that it betrays itself to be altogether artificial" (IV i 106-8)

and vows to Lycus

"...my sister may turn Niobe for love; but till Niobe be turned to marble, I'll not despair but she may prove a woman" (IV i 134-6)

His desire to make his sister 'turn Niobe for love' shows that he sees a sterile ideal as the only possible alternative to his cynicism. In this he is very similar to Cynthia and Lysander. Cynthia had described her love for Lysander in the quasi-religious imagery of

"one temple sealed our troth
one tomb, one hour, shall end and shroud us both" (III ii 74-5)

This imagery suggests that neither she nor Lysander have yet understood the possibility of a chaste love which is less than divine. When Lysander first sees Cynthia in the tomb he describes her as 'the envy of the deities' and says

"Now by the immortal gods,
They rather merit altars, sacrifice,
Than love and courtship" (IV ii 4-6)

He sees Cynthia as an abstract of chastity without realising that this cannot exist outside the idealised world such as is found in a masque. He refers to her as

"Cynthia, heir of her bright purity
Whose name thou dost inherit, thou disdain'st
(Sever'd from all concretion) to feed
Upon the base foods of gross elements.
Thou art all soul, all immortality,
Thou fasts for nectar and ambrosia;
Which till thou find'st and eat'st above the stars,
To all food here thou bid'st celestial wars." (IV ii 180-7)

He does not realise that to be 'all soul, all immortality' is cold comfort to a human since it negates life and, instead of seeing in women the potential harmony of the graces of chastity, beauty and desire, for him the alternatives are the absolute and deadly devotion of Cynthia, or the behaviour of the Bawd, Arsace. His two soliloquies emphasise this attitude; in the first he invokes

Cynthia as the moon goddess and yet the second time he leaves the tomb it is with curses of

"Lust, impiety, hell, womanhood itself, add, if you can, one step to this." (V i 122-3)

The contrast between these two speeches makes Lysander into a ridiculous figure especially since he brought this knowledge upon himself and is himself instrumental in making Cynthia aware of the importance of the claims of life over an abstract ideal. In his disguise of a soldier Lysander is most convincing when he appeals to the life force in Cynthia:

"Beat not the senseless air with needless cries,
 Baneful to life and bootless to the dead

 No tears, no prayers, can redeem from hence
 A captiv'd soul; make use of what you see:
 Let this affrighted spectacle of death
 Teach you to nourish life." (IV ii 69-77)

The irony lies in the fact that the persona which Lysander is assuming is much more 'true' to the values of life than his 'real' self, and he acts so well in convincing Cynthia that life is more important that she falls in love with him. When she commits herself to him completely she does not say that she did not love her husband but that she must serve the superior necessity and demands of life saying

"What hurt is't, being dead, it save the living
 ...Arise, I say, thou saviour of my life,
 Do not with vain-affrighting conscience
 Betray a life, that is not thine, but mine
 Rise and preserve it." (V ii 22, 45-48)

She realises that life must go on and that these new loves and values in no way make her earlier vows into deliberate deceit; they simply stemmed from a lack of knowledge that what she had termed vice in the remarriage of Eudora was simply one of the necessary equivocations of living.

Nevertheless the play still does not end in the comedy of knowledge gained leading to a more balanced life and greater happiness. The graveyard setting and the sheer horror of the plan to substitute the body of Lysander for the stolen body on the cross, takes the action on to a positively macabre level.

The momentum of Cynthia's fall from idealism and absolute purity has carried her past the middle point of believing in life as well as her values, down to the depths of deception and hypocrisy demanded by Tharsalio's world. From simply accepting the food necessary to sustain her life, she makes love to the soldier, and we see that she has become a helpless actor in the play designed by Tharsalio, for outside the tomb is the 'audience' of Lycus and Tharsalio. The implications that her actions will have in Tharsalio's world are shown in Tharsalio's pun on 'drawing on':

Lycus: What; is she well sir?
 Tharsalio: O no, she is famish'd;
 She's past our comfort, she lies drawing on
 Lycus: The gods forbid!
 Tharsalio: Look thou, she's drawing on.
 How say'st thou?" (V i 25-30)

Ironically the new found knowledge which she possesses at the end of the play is even more bogus, for it is based on falsehood and playing which arise from jealousy and cynicism. Tharsalio takes upon himself the role of her moral teacher but he does this by using the masks and actions of others and his methods are the sick and cruel actions of a man whose philosophy of 'he who believes in error never errs' shows an inability to understand any values above his own.

Through Tharalio's machinations Cynthia is in all sincerity prepared to violate a dead body for love and forgive the soldier for the 'murder' of her late husband. As a result when she hears that all her real actions have been based on falsehood, her reaction is to join with the society of actors; to join in the dissembling. In her last encounter with the soldier in which Lysander had planned to unmask her she realises that she must act a part and can outdo his acting. It is interesting to note, however, that the role she adopts is not very different from her protestations of love in the earlier part of the scene, but where before it was based on an unconscious falsehood she has now joined the cynics in no longer believing in her part and consequently can convince Lysander that she had been acting all the time.

The complexity of the final scenes of the play stems from the fact that within the framework of the playing - suggested by the physical frame of the

tomb and the 'audience' of Tharsalio and Lycus - both Cynthia and Lysander are acting themselves. Lysander is 'false' since he is in disguise and masquerading as a soldier. But many of the things he says, like the folly of being determined by Opinion and the importance of asserting life, ring true. Cynthia was not acting at all, although she was being 'false' in the moral sense of rejecting her earlier vows and accepting that a time would come when it would be essential to act and dissemble as she and her lover faced the censure of opinion. The confusion which arises from this kind of acting and counter-acting is reflected in the complexity of Lysander's speech when he resumes his disguise before his final visit to the tomb:

"Come, my borrow'd disguise, let me once more
 Be reconciled to thee my trustiest friend;
 Thou that in truest shape hast let me see
 That which my truer self hath hid from me,
 Help me to take revenge on a disguise
 Ten times more false and counterfeit than thou,
 Thou, false in show, hast been most true to me;
 The seeming true hath prov'd more false than thee." (V iii 58-65)

The disguise here is both the physical disguise of the soldier which has made Lysander see the truth, as he thinks, and act the truth, as the audience sees it, and the 'disguise' of piety which Lysander thinks that Cynthia has adopted. His attitude is ironic, in that we know that her earlier faithfulness was not in fact a consciously adopted disguise. But when he next sees her she will pretend that she had been in disguise throughout the episode in the tomb. Lysander's punning on 'false' meaning disguised and 'false' meaning immoral indicates the impossibility in the society of actors of finding any firm moral centre behind the acting. Just as Cynthia has had to pretend that she was disguised, Lysander feels that the only solution to a sane life is to

"...Paint them, paint them ten parts more than they do themselves,
 rather than look on them as they are; their wits are but painted
 that dislike their painting." (V ii 68-70)

Consequently the final reconciliation between Cynthia and Lysander is not a reconciliation through greater knowledge and understanding but a defeat which leaves them no option but to adopt the cynicism of conscious acting and join in the dissembling.

Ben Jonson writes in Discoveries

"I have considered, our whole life is like a Play: wherein every man forgetfull of himselfe, is in travaile with expression of another. Nay, wee so insist in imitating others, as wee cannot (when it is necessary) returne to ourselves."¹

In this play it is not even the case that the characters are imitating others. It is just that, in the absence of firm moral values, all activities above the level of lust and appetite are felt to be some kind of play-acting.² In the world of *Tharsalio* there is no distinction between role-playing and hypocrisy.

In the final reconciliation scene where traditionally the ultimate truth is revealed, the Governor's speech pretends to represent 'reality' without sentimentality:

"I'll have all young widows spaded for marrying again. For the old and withered, they shall be confiscate to unthrifty gallants and decayed knights; if they be poor, they shall be burnt to make soap-ashes, or given to the Surgeon's hall to be stamped to salve for the French measles". (V iii 314-9)

This 'reality', however, cannot provide a suitable formula for living and so we return to the solution of 'paint them, paint them'. Moreover, as *Tharsalio*, again controller of the scene, points out, the Governor is also merely playing a part:

"Nay, the Vice must snap his authority at all he meets; how shall't else be known what part he plays?" (V iii 275-6)

In this play it is important to examine Chapman's control of attitudes to the various scenes, for the cases of Cynthia and Eudora are not simply two examples of lust in women. Chapman is examining the two cases through the imagery of acting in order to show the nature of the act and the importance and consequences of acting in the life of the characters. The clever acting and the ability to direct the play are shown as amusing and witty in the first

¹ Jonson: Timber or Discoveries, ed. Herford and Simpson: vol. VIII, (1947) p.597.

² Note that the appetite for food and lust are equated in the graveyard scene.

half and a means of undermining pretensions, but continued acting, with no basis of moral values, presents an impossible universe ruled by blind Opinion, blind Fortune and a new goddess, Confidence, whose firmest belief is in error.

Tharsalio in The Widow's Tears is not an heroic figure who can see through all the acting and falsehood while living a pure and honest life himself. Yet Chapman allows him some very funny moments in the play. He seemed, in these comedies, to be pointing out the dangers of 'perpetual dissimulation' and yet showing the amusement which playing could provide. Weidner in his article on The Widow's Tears says that

"Illusion and ceremony are the attributes of the honourable world which Chapman so often indicates are the fragile but essential vehicles whereby man makes his way in the imperfect failed state."¹

However Eudora's illusions and ceremony in the play have to be broken down in the interest of the comic conclusion of the first half of the play.

Chapman produced the Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn as a vision of an ideal state, in all seriousness, but in his plays he shows that he is aware of the inadequacy and impossibility of such a vision of perfection. The masque in The Tragedy of Biron celebrates the reconciliation of the King's mistress and wife rather than the marriage of Love and Beauty, since in the real world a harmonious compromise is all that can be expected. In The Masque of the Middle Temple Honour, Fortune and Law are reconciled, but his tragedies show that these are more usually in furious conflict, cheered on by Ambition. The masque is an ideal which might be aspired to but in The Widow's Tears he shows how these ideals can be life denying. Chapman's masque is an interesting counter balance to his plays showing the harmonious abstract of the questions which he examines there.

¹ Weidner, Homer and the Fallen World: The Focus of Satire in George Chapman's The Widow's Tears, JECOP 62, (1963), p.520.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Masque as Theatrical and Dramatic Device in Marston's Plays

John Marston, the satirist turned dramatist, did not simply transfer his satires from poetry to the stage, an area where Bishop Whitgift's fires could not harm them. Professor Foakes has argued cogently that Marston's plays, written for the boy players at the private theatres, were conceived as a mockery of the conventions of Elizabethan theatre,¹ and Marston himself explicitly referred to the importance of action and theatrical requirements in the production of his plays.

In his introduction to The Malcontent, he says

"...only one thing afflicts me, to think that scenes, invented merely to be spoken, should enforcively be published to be read...the unhandsome shape which this trifle in reading presents, may be pardoned for the pleasure it once afforded you when it was presented with the soul of lively action."²

In the Epilogue to Sophonisba, he again excuses his play by referring to the requirements of the stage, saying

"After all, let me intreat my Reader not to taxe me for the fashion of the Entrance and Musique of this tragedy, for know it is printed only as it was presented by youths, and after the fashion of the private stage."³

This awareness of theatrical conventions means that he uses the masques in his plays, in the traditional ways, to unmask villains and allow lovers to meet.⁴

¹ v. R.A. Foakes, 'John Marston's Fantastical Plays' PQ 41, (1962) 229-239.

² Marston, op. cit. ed. Bullen, The Works of John Marston, vol.I, (1887), pp.198-317.

³ Marston, op. cit. ed Bullen, op. cit., vol.II p.316, n.3.

⁴ Villains are unmasked in Antonio's Revenge and The Malcontent and Isabella meets her new lover Massina in the masque in Act III of The Insatiate Countess.

In his satires too, Marston's references to masking are quite conventional. He associates the entertainment with feminine folly and the wearing of a face mask or disguise with vice and lechery. In Satire VII of 'The Scourge of Villainy' his Cynic is railing at a simpering woman

"Out on these puppets, painted images,
Haberdashers' shops, torchlight maskeries,
Perfuming-pans, Dutch ancients, glow-worms bright,
That soil our souls, and damp our reason's light!" (180-3)¹

Again in Satire IX, he sees it as his role as a satirist to unmask the follies of the age and threatens

"Disguised Messaline,
I'll tear thy mask, and bare thee to the eyn
Of hissing boys, if to the theatres
I find thee once more come for lecherers,
To satiate, (nay, to tire) thee with the use
Of weak'ning lust." (121-6)²

In the plays, when a character refers to the masque in this general way, masques are again seen as one of the attributes of a vicious world. For example, in The Malcontent, when Bilioso says that he is going to Florence and leaving his wife at court, Malevole tells him that she will be

"Left to the push of all allurement,
The strongest incitements to immodesty,
To have her bound, incens'd with wanton sweets,
Her veins fill'd high with heating delicates,
Soft rest, sweet music, amorous masquerers
Lacivious banquets, sin itself gilt o'er..." (III ii 192-7)

Despite this conventional response to the idea of a masque however, it seems to me that Marston also uses his masques dramatically in the plays. He takes the conventional notion that 'all the world's a stage' and, like Chapman, shows an acute awareness of the potentially tragic or absurd results of confusing acting with action, or the world of the stage with the world of real life. In guying the actions of a 'mount tufty Tamburlaine' he invites the audience to consider the implications of these actions, and by using spectacle

¹ Marston, op. cit. ed Bullen, op. cit. vol. III, p.351.

² Ibid., p.367.

and theatrical devices, he deliberately makes his plays artificial so that the audience will see the differences between the world of the play and the real world.

Antonio and Mellida opens with an induction in which all the main characters in the action enter

"with parts in their hands; having cloaks cast over their apparel"¹

They discuss the parts they are to play, and in this discussion, they show that it will be possible to put on and take off their parts like clothes. Alberto says that he will be playing two parts and Antonio who is to play two parts in one is worried that

"I shall grow ignorant, when I must turn
Young prince again, how but to truss my hose." (Induction 35-6)

Quite apart from stressing the artificiality of the play's context, however, this induction does set up a contrast between the action of the players and the real world. Piero says that he will find his part easy for

"Who cannot be proud, stroke up the hair, and strut?" (Induction 14)

and Alberto agrees

"Truth; such rank custom is grown popular;
And now the vulgar fashion strides as wide,
And stalks as proud upon the weakest stilts
Of the slight'st fortunes, as if Hercules
Or burly Atlas shoulder'd up their state." (Induction 15-19)

Similarly, when Antonio is nervous at playing two parts in one, Alberto says

"Not play two parts in one? away, away, 'tis common fashion. Nay,
if you cannot bear two subtle fronts under one hood, idiot, go by,
go by, off this world's stage!" (Induction 79-82)

The Induction makes Antonio and Mellida into a play about acting rather than about the events of the play. The characters move through the silly action, responding to the events in a kind of literary shorthand rather than examining their relationship to their various predicaments. When the page comes in to tell Antonio that Mellida has been recaptured after their brief reunion, even

¹ Marston, op. cit., ed. Bullen, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 5-92.

before he gives the information, Antonio is seized with a dire premonition and

"A sudden horror doth invade my blood;
My sinews tremble, and my panting heart
Scuds round about my bosom, to go out,
Dreading the assailant, horrid passion". (IV i 281-4)

This kind of reaction is not restricted to the tormented Antonio; when Alberto realises that he will never have Rossaline's love he launches himself into the same kind of tirade with

"I'll go and breathe my woes unto the rocks,
And spend my grief upon the deafest seas.
I'll weep my passion to the senseless trees
And load most solitary air with plaints.
For woods, trees, sea or rocky Appenine
Is not so ruthless as my Rossaline." (V i 62-66)

As naturalistic responses both of these speeches are absurd, but then, very little in the play is naturalistic. Whenever Antonio is beset by any difficulties he responds by falling on the ground. It is impossible to take this at all seriously since the other characters are so unsympathetic. In Act II when Mellida dances with Galeatzo, Antonio is overcome with despair, but when he falls down Alberto remarks

"What means the lady fall upon the ground"

and Rossaline makes the unhelpful suggestion

"Belike the falling sickness" (II i 212-13)

The events of the play are obviously controlled by the requirements of the plot; Mellida's hat is knocked off so that she is recaptured, Piero discovers the letter which tells him where Mellida is to meet Antonio, and Alberto's sudden pining for Rossaline is so that he can come on in the final scene as Andrugio. He ends his moaning speech with

"Farewell, dear friend, expect no more of me:
Here ends my part in this love's comedy." (V i 68-9)

and we remember that he had said in the induction that

"The necessity of the play forceth me to act two parts: Andrugio,
the distressed Duke of Genoa, and Alberto, a Venetian gentleman..."
(Induction 21-3)

In creating such a rickety plot with only the barest motivation for the action, Marston is mocking the kind of romantic drama in which such absurdities are taken seriously. However, he is also showing how easily such 'acts' are undermined and he gives this point more force by the continual presence of commentators who transform much of the action into plays within the play. In the opening scene when Piero meets each of Mellida's suitors in turn, the action takes place in dumb show on the lower stage while Rossaline and Mellida, on the upper stage, comment on the suitors' potential as husbands and lovers. At the end of the scene, Mellida says 'The triumph's ended'; the whole scene has been an 'act' put on by Piero, but it has failed in its appeal because of Rossaline's ability to interpret it with such insight.

In this way an interesting relationship is set up between the actions on stage and the comments of the characters who see them. The commentators are usually right about the nature of these actions but their judgement is not always to be trusted since they themselves are also only characters in a play. For example in III^I ii Feliche enters with a long soliloquy about the evils of the court. He reflects

"O, if that candlelight were made a poet,
He would prove a rare firking satirist
And draw the core forth of imposthumed sin" (III ii 12-14)

At the end of this speech, however, we have a glimpse of the court in the form of Castilio and his page Catzo and, although, with their interest in their appearance and in ladies, they are stupid and laughable, there is certainly no impression of 'imposthumed sin'.

All of the court's actions are presented in such set pieces. Later in III ii there is a long court entry described in the stage direction

"Enter BALURDO, backward; DILCO following him with a looking-glass in one hand, and a candle in the other hand; FLAVIA following him backward, with a looking-glass in one hand, and a candle in the other; ROSSALINE following her; BALURDO and ROSSALINE stand setting of faces: and so the Scene begins (III ii SD line 119)

Feliche's comment on this is

"More fools, more rare fools! O, for the time and place, long enough, and large enough, to act these fools! Here might be a rare scene of folly, if the plot could bear it." (III ii 120-3)

In fact, there is no need for the plot to bear it since they do not need any more action to show what fools they are. They are recognised as fools in their dumb show and in Feliche's comment, and the audience have no further interest in their actions.

With Antonio and Mellida, on the other hand, there is some conflict between their appearance and their action. Antonio is absurd in his posturing and over reaction, but he is still engaged in a 'serious' action of love and bereavement and we cannot entirely share the other characters' unsympathetic response to it. In IV i, when Antonio and Mellida are reunited, they greet one another with a burst of twenty lines of Italian. This is a comic moment and to some extent we share the page's bewilderment when he says

"I think confusion of Babel is fall'n upon those lovers, that they change their language; but I fear me, my master having feigned the person of a woman, hath got their feigned imperfection, and is grown double-tongued: As for Mellida, she were no woman, if she could not yield strange language." (IV i 210-215)

However, his response is a very cold hearted one. He does not see them as lovers but as representatives of types of women who might be expected to be double tongued. Their 'act' on meeting one another is an inadequate representation of their true feelings and so it can be mocked both by the page and the audience.

Andrugio also makes the distinction between adequate and inadequate acts when he is in the wilderness. He is not alone there since his acts must have an audience; he is accompanied by Lucio, who can join in his outbursts against Fortune, and a page who can set the melancholy atmosphere with a song. Andrugio says to him

"We'll sing yet, faith, even in despite of fate" (III ii 105)

His page sings to him but Andrugio still feels that it was an inadequate representation of his state of mind. He says to him

"O, and thou felt'st my grief, I warrant thee,
Thou wouldst have strook division to the height,
And made the life of music breathe." (III ii 107-9)

Similarly Antonio feels constrained to instruct his page in singing so as to achieve the right emotional effect and to emphasise the occasion for the song:

"Let each note breathe the heart of passion,
The sad extracture of extremest grief.
Make me a strain speak groaning like a bell
That tolls departing souls;
Breathe me a point that may enforce me weep,
To wring my hands, to break my cursed breast,
Rave and exclaim, lie grovelling on the earth,
Straight start up frantic, crying Mellida." (IV i 134-41)

Both of these comments would, in a naturalistic context, have seemed gross self indulgence. However, in a play where all of the characters are being judged by how well they can act their parts, they show that both Andrugio and Antonio are aware of the importance of effective presentation.

Power in this play depends on the ability to put on an act which will be convincing, regardless of the true feelings behind it. Piero, for example, can maintain his position of duke simply by being surrounded with the attributes of a powerful ruler. Throughout act I the sounding of sennets indicate that he is a victorious duke. The play opens with

"the cornets sound a battle within"

and Antonio enters to lament Piero's victory. When Piero enters, it is with his state, in triumph:

"The cornets sound a sennet. Enter FELICHE and ALBERTO, CASTILLO and FOROBOSCO, a Page carrying a shield; PIERO in armour; CATZO and DIJDO and BALURDO. All these (saving PIERO) armed with petronels. Being entered, they make a stand in divided files. (I i SD line 34)

Similarly in II i, when Piero presents the suitors to Mellida, it is as part of an elaborately staged show in which he has as important a part as they:

"Enter PIERO, ANTONIO, MELLIDA, ROSSALINE, GALMATZO, MATZAGENTE, ALBERTO, and FLAVIA. As they enter, FELICHE and CASTILLO make a rank for the DUKE to pass through. FOROBOSCO ushers the DUKE to his state: then, whilst PIERO speaketh his first speech, MELLIDA is taken by GALMATZO and MATZAGENTE to dance, they supporting her: ROSSALINE, in like manner, by ALBERTO and BALURDO: FLAVIA, by FELICHE and CASTILLO. (II i SD line 162)

Mellida does not want to play a part in this act but Piero insists that she react in the way he has chosen for her. When he sees her looking miserable he says,

"Nay, daughter, clear your eyes,
From these dull fogs of misty discontent:
Look sprightly, girl." (II i 165-7)

In act V, the final masque is another grand scene in which Mellida must accept her final choice of husband. It will be an 'act' in every sense since Mellida did not choose a husband in reality, loving Antonio as she does. Nevertheless Piero again insists that she join in as she should. When she says that she is too sad to dance he threatens her

"How's that, how's that? too sad? By heaven, dance
And grace him too, or go to -, I say no more." (V i 75-6)

Galeatzo is an unworthy husband for Mellida in every way, but Rossaline's comments before the masque make us distrust him even further. Piero had asked her

"sweet niece, what makes you thus suspect your gallants' worth?"
(V i 164-5)

and she replied

"O, when I see one wear a periwig, I dread his hair; another wallow
in a great slop, I mistrust the proportion of his thigh; and wears
a ruffled boot, I fear the fashion of his leg. Thus, something in each
thing, one trick in everything makes me mistrust imperfection in all
parts; and there's the full point of my addiction." (V i 167-72)

Galeatzo is not only dressed in this way but is also masked, so hiding the imperfection of his face.

This is followed by the entry of the masque as

"The cornets sound a senet. Enter GALEATZO, MATZAGENTE, and
BALURDO in a maskery." (V i SD line 172)

It is a splendid sight since Balurdo has told Feliche that he will be in

"...a yellow taffeta doublet, cut upon carnation velure, a green
hat, a blue pair of velvet hose, a gilt rapier, and an orange-tawny
pair of worsted silk stockings..." (V i 81-4)

The poor fool cannot even control his act sufficiently to be disguised by his masking costume and Flavia instantly knows who he is. She teases him by saying

"Though you are mask'd, I can guess who you are by your wit. You
are not the exquisite Balurdo, the most rarely-shaped Balurdo."
(V i 219-20)

The fools cannot control their acts and when Antonio is being foolish he can be mocked by his page. However, by the end of the play, Andrugio and Antonio have learned to present themselves effectively and both of them present

themselves to Piero and the court with the trappings which Piero has used so successfully throughout the rest of the action. The masque had entered to a sennet, and when it is in full swing, the cornets again 'sound a sennet' and Andrugio enters in armour. He says that he has come to claim the ransom for Andrugio's head and with a flourish lifts his beaver to present his own head to Piero. This sudden scene has the effect of reforming Piero who says

"We blush, and turn our hate upon ourselves,
For hating such an unpeer'd excellence.
I joy my state: him whom I loath'd before,
That now I honour, love, nay more, adore." (V i 284-7)

Piero's response here is not a 'sincere' one, as is suggested by the trite rhyme of his response, but for the purposes of the play it is all that is required. In a world of acting all that is necessary is for the characters to respond in the way that the 'acts' determine.

Piero's sudden change of heart is put to the test, not by a 'real' situation but by another well contrived spectacle. Again

"The still flutes sound a mournful sennet. Enter a funeral procession, followed by LUCIO." (V i 3D line 287)¹

Lucio says that he has brought in 'the breathless trunk of young Antonio'. The characters all respond in the way required by such a 'tragic spectacle' and Piero says

"O! that my life, her love, my dearest blood,
Would but redeem one minute of his breath!" (V i 323-4)

Having controlled the audience's response the way he wishes, Antonio then leaps out of the coffin and is reunited with Mellida.

This balancing of effect, of show and countershow, where the characters respond according to the show's effectiveness, creates a splendidly comic play where one has the impression of watching marionettes moving through a story in song, dance and dumb show. However, behind the comedy, there is a serious story of love and possible death and there is some sense of the harshness of a world

¹ I think, in a production, it would be essential to have the flourishes sound the same tune on each occasion so that the connections could be made aurally as well as visually.

where actions and feelings are judged aesthetically rather than morally. The lovers do not succeed in the end because they are lovers who have overcome their adversity but because Antonio and Andrugio have been able to contrive a suitably 'tragic spectacle' to move Piero. If all the world is a stage, it is one where actions and responses are manipulated and there is no sure code for coping with them.

This point comes over even more forcibly in the second part of Antonio and Mellida, Antonio's Revenge. There again much of the action makes its points through visual effects and the events of the play, controlled by 'acting', are concerned with real, rather than merely potential, murder and villainy. Again in this play, all the significant events are a kind of 'act' controlled by Piero. In the opening scene of the play we see Piero and Strozo who have just murdered Feliche, and Piero asks Strozo to admire his newly recovered villainy. His anger at Strozo's ineloquent replies - 'nothing but no and yes, dull lump' - are comic but the laughter freezes as we remember that he has 'really' killed Feliche and his contrived villainy is real in its effects. In I ii when Feliche's body is discovered

"stabb'd thick with wounds...hung up" (I ii SD line 195)¹

it is a dumb show arranged by Piero. There is something very artificial about the sudden reversal of expectations as Antonio calls to waken his lover and then sees the horrid sight. This effect, even allowing for the recognition of the echo of The Spanish Tragedy², does not take away from the horror of the sight, and the realisation that Piero's play acting is dealing with real life and death.

In this play Piero wishes not only to direct his own actions for the maximum effect, but also to control the actions and responses of the other characters. He has Strozo to help him in this plan and in II ii, when he sees

¹ Marston, op. cit. ed. Bullen, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 101-191

² cf. The Spanish Tragedy II ii
where Hieronimo finds Horatio's body hung up in the harbour.

Antonio grieving, he instructs Strozo to

"cause me straight
Some plaining ditty to augment despair." (II ii 133-4)

He is concerned not only with acts of villainy but with gaining the maximum theatrical effect from them, so as to increase the anguish of his victims.

Strozo's part in the play is important, for he shares Piero's love of the well contrived act. When Piero is planning how to clear Mellida of the charge of adultery with Feliche, Strozo agrees to pretend that Antonio had bribed him to accuse her. Piero suggests that Strozo should

"...Rush me in
Whilst Mellida prepares herself to die,
Halter about thy neck, and with such sight,
Laments, and applications lifen it..." (II ii 189-192)

and Strozo enthusiastically says that he will

"beg a strangling, grow importunate..." (II ii 197)

However, Strozo shows the danger of becoming involved in an act which he does not direct. When the time comes for his performance he acts his part very well. He duly delivers his speech with the required rhetoric, but, when the moment comes, Piero strangles him in earnest. It is comic to see Strozo hoist with his own petard but again the comedy is cut dead when we see that this only reinforces Piero's power and brings about Antonio's arrest.

By presenting the events of the play in this way Marston makes it impossible for a simple moral response to be dictated by any single character. The audience sees the characters pass over the stage, going through the story without any individual character gaining enough sympathy to become its centre. At the beginning of Act II

"The cornets sound a sennet. Enter two mourners with torches, two with streamers, CASTILIO and POROBONCO with Torches, a Herald bearing ANDRUGIO's helm and sword, the coffin, MARIA supported by LUCIO and ALBERTO; ANTONIO by himself; PIERO and STROZO talking; GALBAEZO and MATZAGENTE, BALURDO and PANDULPHO; the coffin set down; helm, sword and streamers hung up placed by the Herald, whilst ANTONIO and MARIA wet their handkerchers with their tears, kiss them, and lay them on the hearse, kneeling: All go out but PIERO. Cornets cease and he speaks. (II i 5D)

The dumbshow has given us the information that Andrugio is dead and in its arrangements of the characters in pairs shows their allegiances. Piero is then given the chance to speak and reaffirm his villainy without any possible redress from the other characters involved.

Where this effect is even more important is in Piero's wooing of Maria which takes place in the dumbshow to Act III.

"PIERO passeth through his guard and talks with MARIA with seeming amorousness; she seems to reject his suit, flies to the tomb, kneels and kisseth it. PIERO bribes NUTRICHE and LUCIO; they go to her seeming to solicit his suit. She riseth, offers to go out; PIERO stayeth her, tears open his breast, embraceth and kisseth her, and so they all go out in state." (III i 5D)

An extremely important aspect of the plot is here achieved in a few minutes rather than three scenes. No sympathy is allowed for Piero and any love he may have for Maria; and she in turn is not totally culpable for her submission, making Andrugio's forgiveness of her in III ii more acceptable.

In this atmosphere of actions set up and emotions feigned, the admirable characters are those who refuse to fall in with the play prepared by Piero. After Feliche's death Antonio is surprised that Pandulpho laughs at the death of his son. Pandulpho replies

"Would'st have me turn rank mad,
Or wring my face with mimic action;
Stamp, curse, weep, rage, and then my bosom strike?
Away 'tis apish action player like" (I ii 315-18)

Similarly, although Antonio is less controlled in his grief, he insists frequently that it is genuine. When Mellida asks if he loves her, he replies seriously

"I will not swell, like a tragedian,
In forced passion of affected strains,
If I had present power of ought but pitying you,
I would be as ready to redress your wrongs
As to pursue your love" (II ii 109-13)

The rejection of Piero's act, however, does not mean that the characters reject acting altogether. In II ii when Piero is pretending to be friendly to Antonio, Antonio realises that all that is left to him now is dissembling, and exits with

"Thou that wants power, with dissemblance fight" (II ii 166)

The next time he is seen in court he is disguised as a fool, since in that role he is not only safe from Piero but

"...I should want sense to feel
The stings of anguish shoot through every vein;
I should not know what 'twere to loose a father;
I should be dead of sense to view defame
Blur my bright love..." (IV i 51-55)

The climax of this discussion of acting comes in IV ii when Pandulpho comes in to bury his son. In this scene he explains that his previous action had been false

"Why, all this while I ha' but played a part,
Like to some boy that acts a tragedy" (IV ii 70-71)

The implication is that now the time for dissembling among themselves is over and Pandulpho even rejects music for the burial of Felinche:

"No, no song; 'twill be vile out of tune.
....When all the strings of nature's symphony
Are crack'd and jar" (IV ii 89-93)

They have moved into the more serious world of vengeance where they must find a plot and then act upon it.

However, the balance which they try to find between acting and sincerity is a difficult one to attain. In a play where there is no clear dividing line between action and 'acting', the part of a revenger is dangerously like that of a villain. When the moral designations are given by outward appearance it is very difficult to make fine ethical distinctions. For example, Act I opens with the entrance of

"PIERO unbrac'd, his arms bare, a poniard in one hand, bloody and a torch in the other". (SD I i)

He has just come from the murdering Felinche and he is presenting himself as the villain. In III ii, after the scene at Andrugio's tomb Antonio enters to his mother

"his arms bloody, bearing a torch and a poinard". (III ii SD 1. 75)

Antonio has just murdered Julio and sworn revenge. The similarity to Piero shows merely that he too has become a man of blood and will commit a revenge which is fitting to Piero's crimes. There is no explicit suggestion that he will become like Piero and so equally morally culpable; but the visual similarities seem

to make that point. Andrugio in this scene urges both Antonio and his mother to revenge but at the same time wishes them

"Peace and all blessed fortunes to you both"

without any warning to Antonio to 'taint not thyself'.

The audience knows that Antonio is not exactly the same as Piero since he does have some justification for his actions. Nevertheless, Marston does show the inadequacy of this simply moral judgement in the scene where Antonio murders Julio. Julio is the only character in the play who cannot understand the machinations of act and counteract since he ^{is} too young. He comes over as the only truly innocent character who is incapable of the others' posturing. All of the other characters see the action in terms of moral abstractions but Julio is beautifully realistically portrayed. He does not know that Antonio is a 'bad' character and his response to Antonio's threats is the simple

"O God you'll hurt me. For my sister's sake,
Pray you do not hurt me. And you kill me, 'deed,
I'll tell my father". (III i 167-69)

As a result when Antonio tries to treat him as a moral abstraction, black and on the side of Piero, his words sound like villainous sophistry. He says

"...Come, pretty, tender child,
It is not thee I hate, not thee I kill.
Thy father's blood that flows within thy veins
Is it I loathe, is that revenge must suck.
I love thy soul, and were thy heart lapped up
In any flesh but in Piero's blood
I would thus kiss it". (III i 174-180)

Consequently when the final masque of revenge is prepared, the audience's response to the action has become very complicated. On one level it is entirely conventional; it is a scene of supposed happiness which the audience knows will end in disaster - the 'acting' which has controlled events throughout the play will now turn out to be real. At this point Piero still sees himself as the successful director. The masque has been prepared for Piero and Maria's wedding after Mellida's death. Piero talks of both events in the same speech when he is calling for a masque:

"Strain all your wits, wind up invention
 Unto this highest bent; to sweet this night
 Make us drink Lethe by your quaint conceits
 That for two days oblivion smother grief
 But when my daughter's exequies approach;
 Lets all turn sighers." (IV i 316-321)

At the height of his success Piero feels that he can control his court's emotions sufficiently to turn from celebration to mourning in two days, but in the masque we see that Antonio and Pandulpho have taken over the role of director from him. After the masquers have entered we see Antonio's concern for the plan in his whispered aside to his mother about Julio's body. When he hears that all is set he is happy to play the role of masker in earnest

"Then I will dance and whirl about the air
 Methinks I am all soul, all heart, all spirit." (V ii 47-8)

However the masque is substantially over when Piero calls for 'sweetmeats'. There is no taking out dance and the masquers ask Piero to dismiss the court while they eat. They bring on the Thyestean feast of Julio's body and triumph over Piero, as they pluck out his tongue. Inga-Stina Ewbank has suggested that 'through the use of masque, revenge has become ritual'¹ (ii) and she compares the patterned speech of the masquers, as each one stabs Piero, with the taking out dance. However, the masquers' speeches are merely insults, and the blood-curdling effect of plucking out Piero's tongue makes the dignity of ritual impossible.

The feast of Julio's body is an ironic echo of the banquet for which Piero has called and of his comment that 'Even I have glut of blood!' However this ghoulish appropriateness does not make it any the less horrible. Antonio presents him with the dish saying

"Here's flesh and blood, which I am sure thou lov'st" (V ii 81)

and Piero 'seems to condole his son'. Just as the comedy of Piero's well contrived scenes was frozen by the real suffering which they caused, so Antonio's joke is made to seem a very sick one.

¹ Inga-Stina Ewbank "'These Pretty Devices": A Study of Masques in Plays' CBM pp.431-3.

The complexity of the scene makes it impossible for the audience simply to approve or disapprove of the revengers. The other characters in the play see it simply as the proper resolution of Piero's evil deeds. After Piero's murder is complete, the rest of the court re-enters and the revengers argue over who could claim to be the perpetrator of 'this gory spectacle'. The senators' response is total approval

"Blest be you all, and may your honours live
Religiously held sacred, even for ever and ever
Thou art another Hercules to us,
In ridding huge pollution from our state" (V ii 127-30)

Antonio's revenge seems to be completely justified by the report of the senators who

"have found
Beadrolls of mischief, plots of villainy,
Laid 'twixt the Duke and Strozo, which we found
Too firily acted." (V ii 133-36)

But the audience know this already and it does not make Antonio's decision to

"cleanse our hands,
Purge hearts of hatred..." (V i 153-4)

seem any the less ironic.

The values of the play are accepted by the characters. It is only a play and it has come to a satisfactory conclusion. It seems to me, however, that Marston invites the audience to take a more complicated view of the action, by the dramatic and physical presentation of the horrors of the revenge.

In The Malcontent, Marston deals with the themes of revenge and violence in a corrupt court in a more straightforward way. The complications of the moral response are made simpler 'by setting a solitary cynical "observer" against a procession of sophisticated and self-confident vice'.¹ The presence of Malevole as the sympathetic 'centre of consciousness' in the play makes the audience interested in the events of the plot as they relate to him and are manipulated by him, which gives a point of reference to the dramatic devices and spectacular effects.

¹ G.K. Hunter: 'English Folly and Italian Vice' in Jacobean Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon Studies I ed. John Russell Brown and Bernard Harris (1960), pp.102-3.

The masque in Act V provides a spectacular finale to the play but it is also closely related to the action in that the unmasking is the real one of Malevole and the other characters who have been forced into disguise by Mendoza's corruption. The relation of the masque to the plot is seen in V iii when Mendoza, thinking he has poisoned Malevole asks Malevole's best friend and confidant to prepare him a masque to celebrate his accession as Duke. It is ironic that he should ask Celso, who is the one person in the court who knows the truth, to prepare

"...any quick-done fiction;
As some brave spirits of the Genoan dukes,
To come out of Elysium, forsooth,
Led in by Mercury, to gratulate
Our happy fortune." (V iii 256-260)¹

The relationship between the masque and the events of the plot is further seen when the entry of the masquers and Mercury is forestalled by the entry of Aurelia 'in mourning habit', who proceeds to ask Mercury if he will act as her advocate in hell. Aurelia in her distracted state refuses to accept the fiction of the masque which reminds the audience that this masque is bringing in a greater truth which is invisible only to Mendoza.

This kind of irony is the commonplace of the inserted masque in plays but it is particularly effective here because of the visual contrasts which would also be produced. The first is the very simple contrast of Aurelia's mourning habit with the presumably gay colours of Mercury's masking attire. When the masquers enter they are wearing

"white robes, with dukes' crowns upon laurel wreaths, pistolets
and short swords under their robes" (V iii SD line 110)

The dukes' crowns which they wear are their right but if they are to be able to wear them in any kind of earnest they will have to be gained by the force of swords and pistolets.

¹ Marston op. cit. ed. Bullen, op. cit., vol.I, pp.207-318.

The last scene where these four characters were seen together was also a scene of masking. Aurelia had met Piero as she was led off to banishment. He offers her asylum in his cell which is the antithesis to the corrupt court

"where, instead of masks
 Music, tilts, tourneys, and such court-like shows,
 The hollow murmur of the checkless winds
 Shall groan again; whilst the unquiet sea
 Shakes the whole rock with foamy battery." (IV ii 41-5)

He is dressed in his hermit's gown and does not reveal his identity to her.

This scene also contains its unmasking for Piero renounces his dukedom to Malevole/Altofronto who then takes off his disguise. The other two characters of the masque, Ferneze and Celso then enter, and while Piero and Ferneze are reconciled, they pledge together to 'stand full shock of fortune.' At that time the masque for Mendoza has not been prepared but these characters, knowing one another in their true and undisguised state, can undertake disguise and use it knowingly for their own success.

The masque in Act V is again the simple taking out of the ladies by masked dancers but the dancers' conversation is connected with the main theme. Of all the characters involved in the masque only Mendoza is truly joyful and both Aurelia and Maria show that the masque is mere illusion for them. When Malevole asks Maria to dance she says

"Why, then you dance with death." (V iii 114)

This dance of revengers could so easily turn into a dance of death but for the magnanimity shown by Malevole at the end. Even Maquerelle's lighthearted remarks are related to the central theme of hypocrisy and truth. When Ferneze promises to marry Bianca, whom he takes out, Maquerelle warns

"Believe him not; that kind of cony-catching is as stale as Sir Oliver Anchovy's perfumed jerkin: promise of matrimony by a young gallant, to bring a virgin lady into a fool's paradise; make her a great woman and then cast her off; - 'tis as common, and natural to a courtier as jealousy to a citizen, gluttony to a puritan, wisdom to an alderman, pride to a tailor, or an empty handbasket to one of those sixpenny damnations." (V iii 139-147)

Mendoza is the only character who needs to be surprised by the unmasking, and so the true identity of Pietro and Malevole is revealed to Aurelia and Maria during the taking out dance. By spinning out the final revelation to separate groups of people throughout the masque Marston avoids the often complicated and cumbersome final explanation and succeeds in concentrating the moral interest on Mendoza.

The harmony which is returning to the court thus makes up the action of the masque and the speeches to Mendoza, after the unmasking are the conclusions both of the masque and of the play. In these final speeches Malevole stresses the political nature of this final concord, widening the interest of the play to a general consideration of political themes which could be related to the masque. He shows how it is possible for a bad king to gain power, but reminds Mendoza that evil kings cannot be said to be kings at all:

"O they that are as great as be their sins,
 Let them remember that th'inconstant people
 Love many princes merely for their faces
 And outward shows; and they do covet more
 To have a sight of these than of their virtues.
 Yet thus much let the great ones still conceive
 When they observe not heaven's imposed conditions
 They are no kings, but forfeit their commissions." (V iii 185-192)

Immediately after this speech we see the sycophants and the flatterers in action, as Bilioso and Maquerelle try to curry favour with the new Duke. Bilioso pretends that he had known the Duke in disguise all along and that was why he allowed Malevole to insult him. The return of harmony to the court has not put an end to flattery and hypocrisy. Still the end of the play is light hearted. Malevole literally kicks Mendoza out of the court and sends Bilioso and Maquerelle away. The masque has provided Malevole as well as Marston with an occasion where unmasking is expected and the physical revelations set one another off. The 'idle actors' are sent away and the new Duke assumes his right.

The masque at the end of The Malcontent can work effectively, since throughout the play music has been used to set off the action.

The play opens with

"the vilest out-of-tune music being heard, enter BILIOSO and PR-PASSO" (I i SD)

This music is the cue to bring all the characters on to the stage to find out what has caused the music. Bilioso explains that

"the discord rather than the music is heard from the malcontent Malevole's chamber" (I i 11-12)

It opens the play with a flourish, but also characterises the court and the action and shows what Malevole thinks of them before he comes down to rail at the assembled company. The out-of-tune music does not seem to apply to Malevole himself since his entrance 'below' is prefaced by a song which is not out of tune. Just before he enters Piero says

"Hark! they sing. See he comes. Now you shall hear the extremity of a malcontent" (I i 40-41)

Malevole's railing is characterised as being more harmonious than the out of tune court.

At the beginning of Act II we see Marston's fondness for tableaux set off by music:

"Enter MENDOZA with a sconce, to observe FERNEZE'S entrance, who, whilst the act is playing, enters unbraced, two Pages before him with lights; is met by MAQUERELLE and conveyed in; the Pages are sent away." (II i SD)

This silent action with lights and music creates an atmosphere of suspense before this important action. Mendoza is preparing to murder Ferneze who has been taken to the Duchess' chamber by Maquerelle. The music sets the scene for love as Ferneze is led away, but Mendoza is watching the action and as soon as the music ends he bursts in with

"He's caught, the woodcock's head is i' the noose
Now treads Ferneze in the dangerous path of lust..." (II i 1-2)

The action will be quite the reverse of the love scene expected by Ferneze.

In IV i Marston again uses music to characterise the court. After Ferneze has been found in Aurelia's chamber and the Duke has been 'murdered' by Malevole, Aurelia comes from her chamber, completely unashamed, safe in the favour of Mendoza. She calls for dances and music but the characters'

comments make it clear that these dances are not a figure of harmony. When Guerrino asks what dance she will have Aurelia says that she has 'forgot the brawl' and Guerrino reminds her of the steps which end with

"...a figure of eight, three singles broken down, come up, meet, two doubles, fall back, and then honour." (IV i 5-7)

Maquerelle then puns on his explanation saying she has forgotten everything

"save the falling back, and the honour" (IV i 80-81)

As they are dancing, various messengers enter and ask after the Duke, but Aurelia ignores them all, calling again and again for 'Music!' This gives the scene a slightly hysterical quality as Aurelia dances faster and faster to her ruin. When the page enters to tell her that he has left the duke and that

"wheresoe'er he is, he's sad" (IV i 97)

Aurelia cries

"Music, sound high, as is our heart! sound high!" (IV i 98)

At the height of this musical and dramatic crescendo the action is abruptly stopped by the entry of Malevole and 'PIETRO disguised like an hermit'. Malevole stops the music with

"The duke, - peace! - the duke is dead" (IV i 99)

From then on the scene calms down and Aurelia's final cry for 'Music!' is greeted with an unnerving silence. Pietro explains how the duke has drowned himself in sorrow and Aurelia is banished.

The wonderfully dramatic use of tone and pace in the music and dancing of this scene shows that Marston is fully aware of the dramatic potential of non-verbal action. The continuing use of music to make ironic points, and to set the tone of scenes, prepares for the final revelation in the masque. Revelation and a reversal of expectations in a masque is a conventional enough dramatic device, but Marston's attention to the stage picture, with the contrast between Aurelia in mourning attire and the brightness of the music and the masquing costumes, gives the device renewed vitality. The theatrical and the dramatic come together as the spectacle and music are used to create the contrasts which give coherence to the action.

Marston's awareness of the effect of a theatrical scene to control an audience's expectations is extended to his characters. In The Malcontent Aurelia tries to make the court forget Pietro's disappearance by continually calling for music, and Mendoza calls for a masque to give spectacular validity to his usurpation as well as to try to entertain Maria. On both occasions, Malevole cuts across their shows and reminds the audience of the truth behind the mask. Just as Marston had geyed theatrical conventions in the Antonio and Mellida plays, he shows how important it is to be able to interpret the spectacle put on by his characters correctly.

In The Dutch Courtesan he again uses a masque, among other devices, to show how characters can be taken in by shows. At the beginning of the play we are presented with Malheureux as a character who is very firm in his view of the world. He tries to dissuade Freevill from going to the prostitute with the usual moralising arguments about lust. However when Freevill takes him along to the prostitute he is very attracted to her. He agrees to go in order to

"make her loath the shame she's in
The sight of vice augments the hate of sin." (I i 169-70)¹

In the real world, however, the images presented are not so simply interpreted; vice does not present itself so obviously. As Freevill explains, Francheschina is

"...none of your ramping cannibals that devour man's flesh, nor any of your Curtain gulfs that will never be satisfied until the best thing a man has be thrown into them." (I ii 194-6)

Freevill asks her to sing for them and her song is suitably bawdy a comparison between herself and the nightingale. The bawdiness of the song shows that she is a prostitute and an immodest woman, but its comedy shows her sense of humour. It is impossible to reject either her or the song with heavy handed moralising and since the attractiveness of the music would reflect her own

¹ Marston, op. cit. ed. Bullen, op. cit., vol.IV, pp.6-103.

attractiveness, the song becomes the image of the courtesan. Malheureux is so taken with the image which Franceschina presents that he reverses his former attitude and falls in love with her. He has not the subtlety to see that although the courtesan is attractive she is still a prostitute.

Marston makes this point subtly in the following scene where Freevill and his pages enter with torches and music to serenade Beatrice. Here we have only the beauty of the music to celebrate the beauty of Beatrice without the bawdy words provided by Franceschina.

After Beatrice and Freevill have pledged undying love Malheureux enters and 'The Nightingales sing'. This sound could apparently be produced by a special pipe on the regal¹ and it is important that it should be birdsong noise rather than simply singing off stage. Malheureux is making a specific comparison between the music of civilisation and

"...how the free-born birds
Caroll their unaffected passions." (II i 67-8)

Throughout the discussion between Freevill and Malheureux on the question of going to prostitutes, a distinction has been made between the free love of nature and

"The common bosom of a money creature
One that sells human flesh - a mangonist!" (I i 103-4)

Freevill in his teasing manner counters this argument with

"You will say that beasts take no money for their fleshly entertainment: true because they are beasts, therefore beastly, only men given to loose, because they are men, therefore manly." (I i 119-123)

After Malheureux has fallen for the charms of Franceschina he is no longer prepared to regard her as a prostitute but laments that he does not have the freedom of animals

"O you happy beasts!
In whom an inborn heat is not held sin,
How far transcend you wretched, wretched man,
Whose national custom, tyrannous respects

¹ Marston: The Dutch Courtesan ed. Peter Davison (1968), p.97.

Of slavish order, fetters, lames his power,
 Calling that sin in us that in all things else
 Is nature's highest virtue." (II i 75-81)

The inadequacy of Malheureux's view is seen in the fact that although Franceschina compares herself to one of these free creatures, and it is in the course of this comparison that Malheureux falls in love with her, she has no freedom at all. When comparing herself with the nightingale she chooses its least characteristic aspects and those which will apply especially to her:

"My body is but little
 So is the nightingale
 I love to sleep 'gainst prickle,
 So doth the nightingale" (I i 224-7)

Malheureux's love for her may wish to emulate the beasts but Franceschina is singing artificial music written for the lute in a situation which is the antithesis to that of the birds who

"Now sing their sonnets, thus they cry, we love." (II ii 69)

In order for Malheureux to be able to fulfill his 'natural' desires, however, he has to become involved in games and shows. Franceschina persuades him that she will love him if he will kill Freevill. He at first agrees to do so but is then struck with the horror of what he is to do and confesses to Freevill. He and Freevill arrange a game whereby he will be able to have Franceschina and still not kill his friend. They agree to pretend to fall out in the masque and pretend to challenge one another.

It is most appropriate that the challenge should come in a masque for it emphasises the fact that the characters are playing a game. In the tragedies the characters who pretend to be acting in the masque are, in fact, in deadly earnest, and in this comedy this process is reversed, as the challenge in the masque is only a pretence. The masque is prepared to celebrate Freevill and Beatrice's forthcoming wedding and it brings all the characters on to the stage, providing an audience for Freevill's and Malheureux's game.

The characters present at the masque take the challenge seriously and try to dissuade Freevill, and their concern is to some extent comic. Nevertheless the play also shows the immorality of solving one's moral problems by pretence and playing. Malheureux, for all his railing about how 'man's but man's excrement' is a character without any moral soundness. He is easily seduced by the prostitute's image of beauty and when he realises that he can enjoy Franceschina without having to kill Freevill, he is willing to do so. He challenged Freevill in jest in the masque and sees the rest of the action as being under their mutual control.

Freevill, however, will not allow him to escape without seeing the potential reality of the game. He does not keep to his part in the plot but says

"I'll be thy friend
But not thy vices'; and with greatest sense
I'll force thee feel thy errors to the worst;" (IV iii 33-5)

Malheureux falls foul of Freevill's continued game and learns the true danger of the passions with which he is dealing when he nearly goes to the gallows.

I do not wish to suggest that Warston disapproved of shows and pretence; Freevill's ability to arrange the games makes him the most comically powerful character in the play and, in the sub-plot, Cockledemoy's continued gulling of the unfortunate Mulligrab depends entirely on his superb acting ability as he steals more and more money in his various disguises. Neither he nor Freevill allows their victims to go to the gallows; they both know when the playing must stop, and this enables the play to be a comedy.

In the Insatiate Countess, Warston again uses spectacle and theatrical devices to present the action of a play in which many of the characters are involved with acting. The first act opens with a tableau presenting

"ISABELLA, Countess of Suevia, discovered sitting at a table, covered with black, on which stand two black tapers lighted, she is in mourning." (I i SD)¹

Marston does not merely present this tableau for the audience. Its beauty and appeal are also recognised by Roberto and Guido who come to visit the Countess. Guido says

"As melancholy night masks up heaven's face,
So doth the evening star present herself" (I i 6-7)

and Roberto also sees Isabella as a star

"See how yond star, like beauty in a cloud,
Illumines darkness, and beguiles the moon
Of all the glory in the firmament." (I i 12-14)

This static picture, however, soon comes alive when Roberto starts to woo the countess who says that

"I mourn thus fervent 'cause he died no sooner" (I i 48)

Guido's response when he hears of her imminent marriage to Roberto exclaims

"Sancta Maria! what think'st thou of this change?
A player's passion I'll believe hereafter." (I i 121-2)

Isabella has the ability to act the role which her surroundings demand but she easily leaves one act for another, moving through an idealised world of her own creation. When she falls in love with Roberto she wants it to be like the loves of the gods. She says

"A donative he hath of every god:
Apollo gave him locks; Jove his high front;
The god of eloquence his flowing speech;
The feminine deities strew'd all their bounties
On his face;..." (I i 62-66)

The stage direction reads

"The second change, Isabella falls in love with Massino;
when they change she speaks" (II i SD line 109)

When Isabella comes to describe her passion she repeats the pun with

"Change is no robbery; yet in this change
Thou robb'st me of my heart. Sure Cupid's here

¹ Marston, op. cit. ed. Bullen, op. cit., vol.III, pp.130-243. On the problems of the authorship of this play v. Bullen, op. cit. vol.I. Introduction pp.xlviii-lix, and R.A. Small 'The Authorship and Date of The Insatiate Countess', Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, 5 (1896).

Disguised like a pretty torchbearer
 And makes his brand a torch, that with more sleight
 He may entrap weak women". (II i 110-14)

In this scene dancing replaces speeches and Massino's reciprocation of Isabella's love is acted out in the dance.

"MASSINO dances a Levalto or a Galliard, and in the midst of it falleth into the Bride's lap, but straight leaps up and danceth it out." (II i SD line 158)

He is overcome with shame at his fall, and its symbolic implications are stressed in the mirth of the other characters who bandy about remarks like

"the stiffest man in Italy may fall between a woman's legs."
 (II i 174-5)

From then on the Isabella plot is entirely taken up with her falling in and out of love with the additional difficulties of disposing of the cast off lovers. Each time she sees a new lover she tries to see him as the ideal lover brought to her by Cupid. Just as Roberto had had his donatives from the gods, so Massino is Jove to her Juno and Apollo to her Daphne. Similarly Gnaica seems to her 'like Adonis in his hunting weeds' and she calls on Anna to

"Prepare a banquet fit to please the gods;
 Let sphere-like music breathe delicious tones
 Into our mortal ears;" (III iv 26-8)

Isabella tries to make her life into a masque, a series of changes among the beautiful and god-like lovers of mythology. When Don Sago sees her for the first time he vows

"But now my sword I'll consecrate to her,
 Leave Mars and become Cupid's martialist" (IV iii 50-51)

But what for Don Sago and the others are merely elegant turns of phrase are reality for Isabella and she asks Don Sago to murder her former lovers as she had asked Gnaica to murder Massino. Don Sago tries to act the revenging hero with his blustering and theatrical speech at the beginning of IV v where he says

"the stage of heaven is hung with solemn black
 A time best fitting to act tragedies." (IV v 4-5)

The absurdity as well as the danger of this response are seen when Massino enters and behaves in an urbane and sensible way, reasoning with Don Sago

"I know thee, valiant Spaniard, and to thee
Murder's more hateful than is sacrilege" (IV v 39-40)

However Don Sago insists on carrying out the part to the last, and kills Massino. His view of the act as one of honour is completely undermined when a Captain enters with soldiers and arrests him.

Don Sago escapes into a more sane world, but to the last Isabella tries to act her part. There is particular pathos in her last appearance before her execution

"with her hair hanging down, a chaplet of flowers on her head, a nose-gay in her hand" (SD line 66)¹

She is dressed for a festive occasion, never admitting the true reality even at the very end with the final pathetic echo of the masque

Isa: What place is this?
Car: Madam, the Castle Green.
Isa: There should be dancing on a green I think.
Car: Madam, to you none other than your dance of death". (V i 67-70)

The masque in The Insatiate Countess is also interesting in that it provides the only occasion where the characters from all the plots are present on stage at the same time. This is not simply in the interests of a superficial neatness, for the sub-plots do reflect and elaborate the concerns of the main action. The masque is a false celebration in every way since its image of harmony is undermined, not only by Isabella's action within the masque, but by the falseness of the reconciliation between Rogero and Claridiana. Claridiana has feigned reconciliation with Rogero because he desires his new wife Thais and has thought of a particularly effective revenge.

"Strumpet his wife! branch my false-seeming friend!
And make him foster what my hate begot,
A bastard, that, when age and sickness seize him,
Shall be a corsive to his griping heart." (I i 461-4)

¹ of. the bride in Jonson's Hymenaei whose hair is loose and who has a garland of roses on her head. ed. Orgel, p.77.

The only dissident voice among those who witness this reconciliation is Mizaldus who says

"I liked the former jar better. Then they show'd liked men and soldiers, now like cowards and lechers." (I i 410-411)

The mood even in the sub-plot has moved from the world of Mars to Venus and in teasing Mizaldus about his attitude Guido brings in the image of music and harmony, which will be travestied in the masque:

"Well said, Mizaldus; thou art like the bass viol in a consort - let the other instruments wish and delight in your highest sense, thou art still grumbling" (I i 412-4)

During the actual masque we see the first approaches made to Lady Lentulus by Mendoza and how Rogero successfully solicits Abigail during the masque dance, with the same aim of revenge through cuckoldry as Claridiana has had before him. In the scene following the masque when Abigail and Thais compare notes and discuss what they will do about their husbands we see that this plot will have a comic resolution. However in the masque dance itself Abigail gives no indication that she plans to get out of Rogero's proposition and their bawdy talk make Isabella's references to Cupid seem a much nobler sort of love.

The sub-plot has a comic resolution simply because the characters involved, notably the women, are cunning and not in the least because of their superior virtue. The only danger arises in this plot because Rogero and Claridiana prefer to hang as murderers than be ridiculed as cuckolds and this position is contrasted with Isabella who throughout the play has had the courage, albeit misplaced, to show her love and try to fulfill it even to the point of killing for her desires. During the comic trial scene Rogero and Claridiana reject the offers of pardon since they cannot bear to live cuckolds but the comic plot has not given them any cause to know the nature of what they are rejecting so thoughtlessly. In the tragic plot Don Sago is offered a free pardon for Massino's murder. His rejection of this offer is more telling because it is based on real guilt coming from real passion:

"Medina, I thank thee not; give life to him
That sits with Risus and full check'd Bacchus,
The rich and mighty monarchs of the earth;
To me life is ten times more terrible
Than death can be to me" (V i 33-37)

In moving from homage to Venus back to the world of Mars, Don Sago has to reject Risus and Bacchus, the gods of the masque, and accept death.

The world of the comic plot, on the other hand, always revolves round a masque. We first meet the comic characters after their wedding, so in a sense the masque in Act II is their wedding masque as well as Isabella's. At the end of the play, after the circuitous trial, the Duke winds up the action with

"Night, like a masque, is enter'd heaven's great hall,
With thousand torches ushering the way
To Risus will we consecrate this evening" (V ii 244-6)

* * * * *

It is important to remember while noting this concern with the problems of acting and dissembling that Marston was also a dramatist, aware of the need to present his action in the most suitable way. Alongside the dramatic appropriateness of his masques, he was also concerned with purely theatrical problems. The masques in the final acts of his plays provided the dramatist with a suitable device to wind up the action of the plays, whether comic or tragic, and those which take place in the middle of the action give him an excuse to bring all the characters on stage to witness important action. In this respect the masque must take its place as a theatrical convenience along with the funeral at the end of Sophonisba or the court of fools which ends The Fawn.

Towards the end of his theatrical career, Marston composed a masque for

"The honourable Lorde and Lady Huntingdons Entertainment of theire right Noble Mother Alice: Countesse Dowager of Darby the first night of her honors arrivall att the house of Ashby."¹

¹ Marston, op. cit. ed. Bullen, op. cit., vol.III, pp.344-402.

Marston's masque has a dramatic plot into which he carefully works the statutory flattery for Lady Alice and the assembled company. Cynthia enters riding on a cloud and the flattery for the ladies begins immediately with her annoyance that they are more beautiful than she herself:

"Are not we Cynthia? and shall earth display
Brighter than us and force untimely day?"¹

Ariadne then appears to explain that the Lady Alice is Pasithea and her daughter, the Countess of Huntingdon, is

"grace of the Muses, daughter of Apollo
Precious Sehlis".

The main masquers are the stars from Ariadne's crown who

"...will not be confined
Or fix themselves where Mercury assign'd,
But every night upon a forest side
On which an eagle percheth they abide"

The Eagle is a feature of the Derby crest and the first appearance of the masquers has this eagle as part of the show, thus relating their appearance specifically to the Derby family.

The sudden breathtaking appearance of a spectacular show was one of the principal attractions of the masque and Marston exploits this theatricality to the full. Ariadne calls the masquers in the first song and then

"Suddenly, upon this songe the cornets were winded, and the travers that was drawn before the masquers sank down. The whole show presently appeareth which presented itself in this figure: the whole body of it seemed to be the side of a steeply ascending wood; on the top of which, in a fair oak, sat a golden eagle, under whose wings sat, in eight several thrones, the eight masquers, with visards like stars, their helms like Mercury's, with the addition of fair plumes of carnation and white, their antique doublets and other furniture suitable to those colours, the place full of shields, lights and pages all in blue satin robes embroidered with stars."

The stars are related to the plot in being the stars from Ariadne's crown but they are also appropriate since the masque is taking place at night and the masquers must leave at the end of the masque because day is approaching. Thus the traditional song of departure at the end of the masque which always heralds the approach of day is worked into the plot with

¹ Ibid, p.394. Bullen's edition does not give line references for this text.

"Then now let every gracious star
 Avoid at sound of Phoebus' car;
 Into your proper place retire,
 With bosoms full of beauty's fire;
 Hence must slide the Queen of Floods
 For Day begins to gild the woods."

Marston brings a lightness of tone to the masque in the taking out song where Cynthia warns the dancers against choosing the wrong kind of partner; in the 'Ladies that are rudely coy' and the 'Gallants who still court with oaths' we recognise the kind of men and women railed against by the Rossalines and Freevills of the comedies. Marston obviously did not share with Jonson his ideas on the great moral importance of the masque, yet we have in his entertainment a perfect example of how delightful such occasions could be. The compliment to the Countess of Derby does not have the same political importance as flattery of the king and so Marston is free to mix music and poetry and theatrical effects into a light but attractive piece of artistry.

In his plays with the boy players, Marston was equally concerned to present an enjoyable entertainment. He creates this by presenting a similar artifice, self consciously theatrical and stressing the difference between the world of the play and the world of the audience. However, by making his characters watch shows and masques he also forces the audience to make analogies between the world of the stage audience and the audience in the theatre. The comets, out of tune music and the dancing all add to the theatrical pleasure, but it is possible for the audience to see in them an image of the play that they were watching.

If the stage was a microcosm of the world¹ then it was a world which contained its own acting. As well as seeing the characters going through their actions we also see them coping with masquing and acting. The characters' problem is different from that of the audience in the theatre in that they are not dealing with a play world which is entirely different from theirs but with the masking and 'acting' which takes place in real life and for which the masque was a powerful image.

¹ The view that the world was a megacosm of the stage was fairly common. The actual term is used by Rowley in his *Epistle to A Faire Quarrel* (1617) when it says

"Yet if it be (as some Philosophers have left behind 'um) that this Megacosm, this great world, is no more than a stage, where everyone must act his part, you shall of necessity have many partakers, some long, some short, some indifferent, all some, whilst indeed the Players themselves have the least part of it, for I know few that have lands (which are a part of the world) and therefore no grounded men, but howsoever they serve for mutes, happily they must weare good clothes for attendance, yet all have their exits and must all be stript in the tyring house (viz the grave) for none must carry anything out of the stocke" sig. A2.

CHAPTER NINE

The Masking World in Middleton

Like Marston, Middleton used masques in plays as part of an action which was controlled and motivated by disguise. In his comedies, however, disguise is not so much an emblem of moral duplicity. He writes the comedy of clever deception and comic gulling where the characters divide, if only in their own minds, into winners and losers, and the reconciliation at the end is neither perfect nor permanent. As a result the masque occupies a curious position in these plays, different in its use from other contemporary examples. The celebratory aspect of the masque is used neither straight nor ironically and is just another factor in a series of more or less fantastical tricks and disguisings. The comedies stand on disguise and deception but these themes are not linked to the usual theatrical image of the masque. In Michaelmas Term, for example, the whole of the plot depends on the multiple disguises of Falselight and Shortyard but there is no moralising on the pretence involved. In their disguises Falselight and Shortyard are not acting out other roles but simply being the cheats they really are. The dominant image is not the masked face of the actor but the half light of the penthouse over the draper's shop.¹ References to seeming and pretence are not given any ironic force and the comic world which puts all the characters in Your Five Gallants into disguise at some point in the action does not seem to take the moral and metaphysical implications of masking very seriously. The worst fate in the comedies is financial ruin and the twists of the cheats and fools can be regarded totally objectively without the involvement of absolute moral ideals.

In this attitude Middleton was following, and to some extent, satirising the attitudes of the middle class handbooks of morality, which use financial reward and punishment as the basis of their moral advice.² In Richard Johnson's

¹ This point was made by Roma Gill in a lecture given at the University of Glasgow Literary Society in 1968.

² Louis B. Wright: Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England (1935) p.192.

Look to Me London (1613) the warnings against usurers and bawdy houses stressed not the sinful, but the wasteful, nature of indulgence in these vices. In this world the lavish spending of the masque as a symbol of liberality has no place; the image of the masque as a reflection of both the grandeur and duplicity of court life cannot be part of Middleton's city comedies.

Even in his entertainments Middleton did not use the form or image of the court masque. His most elaborate entertainments were the 'Triumphs' written to celebrate the installation of a series of Lord Mayors¹ and these, understandably enough, tended to concentrate on civic virtue. His Masque of Cupid, written for the celebration of the Earl of Somerset's marriage at the Merchant Taylor's hall has been lost,² but his Honourable Entertainments contains a celebration for the

"noble marriage...betwixt the Right Hon^{ble} Charles L. Howard Baron of Effingham, and Mary, eldest daughter of the said S^r William Cockaine, then L. Mayor of London and L. Generall of the Military Forces."³

This entertainment of songs and a speech has the statutory praise for the Cockaine family but it cannot be called a masque since there is not even the fiction that masquers have come to celebrate the wedding, nor is there any taking out dance. It is in form much more similar to an entertainment described simply as 'An Invention':

"performed for the Service of ye Right honourable Edward Barkham, L. Mayor of the Cittie of London: at his L^{ds} Entertainement of the Aldermen his Brethren and the hon^{ble} and worthie Guests: At his House assembled & feasted in the Easter Hollidays; 1623"⁴

¹ Bullen. The Works of Thomas Middleton, vol.VII, (reprinted 1964).

² Dyce: Middleton Works 1885. vol.I xix-xx.
quotes city records Rep. no. 31 fol. 239 b

"Item: it is ordered by this Court that Thomas Middleton Gent. shall be forthwith allowed upon his Bill of particulars such recompense and chardges as the Committees lately appointed for the ordering of the late Solempneties at Merchaunt tailors Hall shall think meete."

There is a payment for the 'last maske of Cupid and other Shewes lately made at the aforesaid Hall by the said Mr. Middleton'.

³ Middleton's Honourable Entertainments ed. R.C. Bald, MSR (1953) sig.B-B4

⁴ Bullen, op. cit. vol.VII, 372-378.

In this show none of the figures are masquers; they take on the roles of Mean, Base and Honour. Honour delivers a speech which combines praise with instruction. He explains why he carries a sheaf of arrows by saying

"'tis an emblem that concerns you all.
 You of the honourable brotherhood,
 Knit all together for the city's good,
 In whose grave wisdoms her fair strength doth stand,
 You are the sheaf; the magistrate's the band
 Whose love is wound about you." ¹

Base and Mean then sing with the chorus a song which wishes various blessings on the guests

"That this city's honour may
 Spread as far as morn shoots day." ²

Even where a more courtly form might be expected, Middleton seemed to prefer the kind of entertainment which depended on dialogue and a plot rather than the task of expanding the arrival of the masquers into a fiction which included the praise of the assembled company. He described his World Tossed at Tennis, performed in 1620 as 'a Courtly Masque', but it has much more of the structure of a Late Morality and was acted 'diuers times...by the Prince his Servants'.³ It opens with a dialogue between a Soldier and a Scholar who complain about their neglect and poverty. They are interrupted by Pallas descending who tells them that she is 'goddess of arts and arms' and that the virtues of the soldier and scholar should be combined. She tells them that they should not seek after riches and calls down Jove to hear their complaints. Jove in fact scolds them for their greed and decides to show them

"what the young world
 In her unstable youth, did then produce;" (252-3)

There seems to be some contrast intended between the mutability of their world and that of the Nine Worthies who

¹ Ibid, p.376.

² Ibid, p.377.

³ Bullen, op.cit., vol. VII, pp. 137-193.

"did propagate and beget their fames,
And for posterity left lasting names" (264-5)

However the Nine Worthies who then appear as a sort of main masque do not banish the discontent of the Soldier and Scholar. They descend from the upper stage¹ and are described by Pallas after which

"The Nine Worthies dance, and then exeunt" (SD line 295)

The appearance of the Nine Worthies makes some concession to the form of the masque. It is possible to see how this action could be made into a complete masque by banishing the soldier and scholar and shifting the focus on to the main masquers, who would then dance with the ladies with the usual praise for them and the rest of the audience. However, as in the Late Moralities, the action in fact continues in its own world, without any recognition of the audience. The audience for the ensuing action is the soldier and the scholar, who are on stage throughout.

Quite contrary to the usual suggestion in the masque that the audience has the power to herald a golden age, Jupiter continues to lament its passing. This is symbolised in the dance of the Five Starches who seem to represent

"Forgetfulness of goodness, merit, virtue,
Vain glory, fashion, humour, and such toys,
That shame to be produced." (363-6)

The starches, like the usual anti-masque, represent disharmony and after their dance they argue with one another as to who is the most proud and ridiculous.

After these dancing shows there follows a slightly more coherent moral tale about a contest for the early world between Simplicity and Deceit. Deceit brings in various figures and the world is passed to them. Each in their turn renounce Deceit until the world is finally in the possession of the King and the lawyer who represents the power of just law. This action is then summed up in the final dance in which

¹ The reference to the upper stage for the appearance of the Nine Worthies suggests that there was no elaborate scenery to make their appearance sudden.

"...as an ease to memory, all the former removes come close together; the DEVIL entering, aims with Deceit at the World; but the world remaining now in the Lawyer's possession, he, expressing his reverend and noble acknowledgement to the absolute power of majesty, resigns it loyally to royal government; Majesty to Valour, Valour to Law again, Law to Religion, Religion to Sovereignty, where it firmly and fairly settles, the Law Confounding DECEIT, and the Church the DEVIL. (SD line 810)

This action in dance is characteristic of the Late Morality, and similarly the action of the whole entertainment is self contained in its own morality world.

There is some praise for the king in that he eventually receives the world. Deceit and the Devil leave saying

"I thought all these had been corrupted evils,
No court of virtues, but a guard of devils" (823-4)¹

but this refers to the court as it appears in the action, which is only implicitly connected with the court which is the show's audience. The action is supposed to be showing the Soldier and Scholar a better world than they are in now, so at the end, Jupiter and Pallas turn, not to the audience, but to the Soldier and Scholar who resolve no longer to blame the world for their ills.

Middleton himself seemed to realise that his 'courtly masque' was something between a masque and a play. His prologue explains

"This our device we do not call a play,
Because we break the stage's laws today
Of acts and scenes...
You shall percieve, by what first comes in sight,
It was intended for a royal night:
There's one hour's words, the rest in songs and dances" (1-3, 11-12)

The one hours words is certainly very dull, mainly because it does not have enough of a plot to carry so much dialogue; perhaps the dances of the Five Starches and the Nine Worthies made up for that. Certainly Middleton seemed to have felt it necessary to apologise for it. In the Epilogue he says

"We must confess that we have vented ware
Not always vendible: masques are more rare
Than plays are common; ...
Invert the proverb now, and suffer not
That which is seldom seen be soon forgot."²

¹ cf. also lines 831-39.

² Bullen, op. cit., vol.VII, p.193.

Middleton's other masque was produced by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple, an establishment which produced some of the most spectacular court masques.¹ However, here again Middleton seems rather off hand about his creation. He writes, in the introductory poem,

"I only made the time, they sat to see,
Serve for the mirth itself, which was found free;
And herein fortunate, that's counted good,²
Being made for ladies, ladies understood."

The structure of this entertainment is more like that of the court masque in that it has the two parts of anti-masque and main masque. There is, however, no thematic connection between the dialogues ~~and~~ the anti-masque and the main masque of the Heroes. New Year who appears in the anti-masque provides the audience for the main masque, and the Heroes enter, not to admire the ladies of the audience but to entertain New Year. After the second anti-masque dance good, bad and indifferent days, the stage direction reads

"These having purchased a smile from the cheeks of many a beauty
by their ridiculous figures, vanish, proud of that treasure."
(SD line 229)

But then Dr. Almanac turns to New Year and says

"I see these pleasures of low births and natures
Add little freshness to your cheeks; I pity you,
And can no longer now conceal from you
Your happy omen." (230-3)

Harmony then appears from behind a cloud and tells the New Year how happy his reign will be. When the Masquers appear from behind another cloud, Harmony again says that they have come to honour New Year rather than the audience

"Glory's come down
To crown
Thy wishes with me." (257-9)

¹ e.g. Beaumont's Masque of the Inner Temple and Grays Inn for the wedding of Princess Elizabeth in 1613. Ulysses and Circe (1614-5), Shirley's The Triumph of Peace (1634). v. A. Wigfall Greene, The Inns of Court and Early English Drama (1931), pp. 97-136.

² Middleton, op.cit., ed. Bullen, op.cit., vol. VII, pp.195-216. v. also R.C. Bald's edition, CBM, pp. 251-275.

We can see some contrast between the changing Good and Bad Days and the permanence which the Heroes represent. Harmony says that the Heroes

"By making Time their king,
See, they're beyond time rear'd;
Yet, in their love to human good,
In which estate themselves once stood,
They all descend to have their worth
Shine to imitation forth;
And by their motion light, and love,
show how after-times should move" (282-289)

It is not until the very last song that Harmony introduces the usual motivation for the masquers' appearance. She says

"See, whither fate hath led you, lamps of honour,
For goodness brings her own reward upon her;
Look, turn your eyes, and then conclude commending,
And say you've lost no worth by your descending." (282-5)

The masquers then take out the ladies to dance, after which Time 'closes all' by telling them that they must leave. He blesses them with the wish that

"Live long the miracles of time and years,
Till with those heroes you sit fix'd in spheres! (294-5)

Middleton's off-handness about these masques would seem to suggest that he did not share Jonson or Chapman's feeling about their potential significance. He is concerned to write amusing entertainments which would beguile the time and does not seem to have attempted to create the golden world of the more courtly entertainments. Similarly in the comedies the masques are used to resolve the action as comically as possible, by unmasking characters in an unexpected way. Middleton is using the dramatic tradition of such unmaskings, rather than developing the image of the masque and its moral attitude to masking.

In Your Five Gallants the masquers are Katherine's would be suitors and the masque celebrates her election of a husband. Fitzgrave plans the masque and the devices which the masquers carry on their shields, and uses this to unmask the suitors' unworthiness. Nevertheless Fitzgrave does this out of a sense of fun rather than from any sense of duty to unmask sin. The audience know already that Fitzgrave is going to make a fool of the gallants since in V i he is seen devising the mottoes for their shields. He gives

them nonsensical Latin mottoes and gives the gallants an entirely erroneous translation.

The fun builds up in the masque scene itself as the refrain for the opening song is

"Look you to that, nay, you to that, nay, you to that:
Anon you will be found, anon you will be found, anon you will be found."
(V ii 16-17)

This is followed by the entry of the masquers

"Cornets sound: enter the Masque, thus ordered: a torchbearer, a shield boy, then a masquer, so throughout; then the shield boys fall at one end, the torchbearers at the other; the masquers i' th' middle: the torchbearers are the five gentlemen, the shield boys the whores in boy's apparel; the masquers the five gallants: they bow to her; she rises and shows the like: they dance, but first deliver the shields up; she reads." (V ii SD line 17)

This masque brings a certain stylisation to the scene in that the separation of the masquers, torch-bearers and shield-bearers divides the characters into three groups, gallants, gentlemen and whores, who have been inter-acting throughout the play. This is not an effective division into the forces of good and evil since Pyamont and Bungler, the other two gentlemen, have not been active along with Fitzgrave in the plot and the number of the torch-bearers have been made up by two anonymous gentlemen. The main importance of this separation is that it sorts out the groups which will have to be dealt with. Their silent show slows down the action before the crucial moment of revelation when

"all making an honour, FRIPPERY presents her with the chain of pearl"
(V ii SD line 24)

At that moment comes the huge comic anti-climax as Katherine cries

"That very chain of pearl was filched from me."

Once the ceremony of the masque has been broken down, chaos reigns and all of the figures are unmasked. Fitzgrave explains to the assembled company

"'Twas I fram'd your device, do you see? 'twas I!
The whole assembly has took notice of it.
That you are a gallant cheater,
So much the pawning of my cloak contains; (to Goldstone)
You are a base thief, think of Combe Park and tell me (To Pursenet)
That you're a hired smockster (To Tailby); here's her letter,
In which we are certified that you're a bawd. (To Primero)" (V ii 40-46)

¹ Middleton, op.cit. ed. Bullen, op.cit., vol.III, pp.124-245.

In this way, the explanation of the plot can be achieved as quickly as possible, amid a lot of fun and noise and it also establishes Fitzgrave as the most sympathetic, because the most comically aware, character in the play. After that he does not need to prove his worthiness to marry Katherine. The gallant masquers on the other hand, have no place in Katherine's world and so they are at the greatest disadvantage in terms of knowledge and understanding of the set-up. Fitzgrave is able to catch them out by their ignorance of Latin rather than by any moral superiority, for their cleverness only operates in their own limited underworld. Consequently in the play they are punished, not for their misdeeds but for presuming to try to marry Katherine. When Goldstone tries to bring in righteous indignation by crying 'we are all betrayed', Fitzgrave puts him in his place

"Betrayed?....you have not so much worth: nay struggle not with the net, you are caught for this world." (V ii 36-38)

The gallants enforced marriage to the whores is a fitting end since it will not reform them but will limit them to a world where they can do no serious harm. Katherine, and women like her must be protected from them for

"How easily may our suspectless sex
With fair appearing shadows be deluded. (V ii 53-4)

In their world, however, there are no illusions; Mistress Newcut, one of the whores, accepts the verdict with

"...let's marry 'em, and it be but to plague 'em; for when we have husbands we are under covert baron, and we may lie with whom we list!"
(V ii 83-86)

Even the prospect of marriage to such a woman is not a daunting punishment to the gallants, for as Goldstone says,

"since all our shifts are discovered, as far as I can see, 'tis our best course to marry 'em; we'll make them get our livings." (V ii 78-80)

The end of the play does not bring any ideal state. It is a return to the status quo with the simple difference that Fitzgrave is now married to Katherine. The masque which brings this about is simply another comic situation where the masquers are made to appear fools; their 'crimes' do not merit any more serious treatment than that.

The masque is the culmination of a play in which references to disguising abound. They build up a picture of a society taken in by appearance and so able to be taken advantage of by those characters who can change their appearance at will. The disguise is simply a cover which will prove acceptable to the outside world rather than the conscious assumption of another role working towards a particular end. The characters appear in the play in and out of disguise, but throughout the action they are wearing the disguise of gallants. In IV viii Tailby sees Goldstone and thinks

"...who that saw him now would think he were maintained by purses?
so, who that meets me would think I were maintained by wenches?" (IV viii
78-80)

The outward appearance is most important to the society in which they are working. This is confirmed in the same scene when Tailby tries to have Goldstone arrested. The constable is amazed

"He a thief, sir? who, that gentleman i' th' satin?
...Farewell, sir; you're a merry gentleman." (IV viii 102-4)

The characters are all prepared to accept the other people's disguises to make life easier for themselves. When Primero demurs before letting his girls leave the music school/brothel, the other characters do not deny his assertions about their honour. On the contrary, Goldstone points out how they can retain the appearance of respectability. He invites them to join his world with

"All this may be prevented: what serves your coach for?
They may come coach'd and mask'd." (II i 277-8)

The one disaster in this world is to be discovered to an enemy. When Fitzgrave beats the disguised Pursenet and nearly kills him after he has been robbed in Combe Park, Pursenet's main worry is that he had been found out:

"I was ne'er so afraid in my life but the fool would have seen my face: he had me at such advantage, he might have commanded my scarf. I 'scaped well there; 't 'ad choked me; my reputation had been past recovery; yet live I unsuspected, and still fit for gallants' choice societies".
(III iii 12-17)

The climax of the play comes before the masque, when all the gallants unmask one another. To the very last, Goldstone, the cheater-gallant, pretends to be outraged by the others - 'I have a reputation to look to'; I must be no more seen in your companies'. However, after his devices have been told by Frippery he exclaims

"Slife, why were we strangers all this while? 'Sfoot, I perceive we are all natural brothers!...

A cheater!

A thief, a lecher, a bawd and a broker". (IV vii 14-18)

Significantly, however, this does not indicate any moral change or turning point, for when the bewildered constable tries finally to arrest the thief, Goldstone dismisses him with

"How? You're scarce awake yet, I think; look well, does any appear like a thief in this company? Away, you slaves!"

You stand loitering when you should look to the commonwealth." (IV viii 224-29)

It seems to me important to stress the comedy of these incidents. The bewilderment of the constable in these episodes is very funny and this completely undermines the sense of a world out of joint. The five gallants wear their masks as a game and when they are exposed, first by one another, and then by Fitzgrave they are undaunted, for the world of the play will afford them other disguises and their trickery will always succeed in triumphing over others less cunning than themselves.

Indeed, it is only after the gallants have unmasked to one another that they can join forces to produce the masque with which they hope to gull Katherine. Even here they do not need new costumes, Frippery is able to produce gallants' suits from his pawn which he has been using to dress himself all along. In the masque the gallants are only defeated because they underestimate the strength of the opposition. They entrust the details of the plan to Fitzgrave whom they still think is Bouser. After they have unmasked to one another, he is still masked and so in control.

Throughout the play Fitzgrave makes various moral statements about the gallants' pretence but none of these have the force to undercut the comedy of their action. At the end of IV v after he has discovered all the tricks he says that the ruler of the world is

"Thou Impudence! the minion of our days
On whose pale cheeks favour and fortune plays." (IV, v, 82-3)

and he resolves

"Now only rests. That as to me the've known
So to the world their base arts may be shown." (IV, v, 88-9)

However his knowledge does not give him moral superiority but only comic superiority. However much he may rail against 'Impudence' he retains the audience's sympathy because he is able and prepared to use a far greater impudence himself.

The end of the play is not the end of the cheating. As we have seen the gallants and whores play to join forces. The unmasking is simply another incident, and temporary set back, in a world where

"One tradesman deceaveth another
And sellers will conycatch buyers,
For gaine one will cheat his own brother,
The world's full of swearers and lyars:
Men now make no conscience of oathes,
And this I may boldly say,
Some Rorers doe were gallant clothes
For which they never did pay."¹

The world of these comedies is not one where the image of the masque as such has any special force. The only connection between the gullers' activities and the masque is that in both cases the actors are disguised and are conducting a game which depends on masking for its fun. In these plays the images of masquing and the image of acting overlap. In A Mad World My Masters, for example, the witty trickery of the comic figures is seen both as acting and as masking.

In II iv, Follywit and his friends rob Sir Bounteous disguised in masking suits and vizards.² The theft does not take place in a masque but Follywit regards the escapade as such. He has been received into Sir Bounteous' house as Lord Owenmuch and in II ii we see Sir Bounteous leading him off to bed.

Sir Bounteous wishes him goodnight with

"Once again, a musical night to your honour!" (II ii 22)³

¹ Parker: Broadside Ballad. ed. Rollins A Pepysian Garland, (1922), p. 412, quoted in L.B. Wright, op.cit. p.427.

² Reyher in his list of plays containing masques, p.497 indicates that II ii of this play contains a masque. He may have been misled by Follywit's reference to 'masking suits'.

³ Middleton, op.cit., ed. Bullen, op.cit., vol.III, pp. 245-358

After he has left the room, Follywit replies

"So, come the vizards! where be the masking suits" (II ii 25)

By referring to the new disguise as a 'masking suit', Follywit is punning on Sir Bounteous' remark, but it also reinforces the sense that he is about to embark on a game. After he and his crew have robbed Sir Bounteous, he explains how they must act naturally when he resumes his part as Lord Owenmuch, and warns them

"I'll not have this jest spoiled, that's certain, though it hazard a windpipe." (II v 85-6)

Follywit's escapades are a combination of acting and masking. When Sir Bounteous comes to 'release' him in the morning he resumes his role as Sir Owenmuch and can make a fool of Sir Bounteous by telling him the truth:

"...these lie not far off, I warrant you....
some that use to your house, sir, and are familiar
with all the conveyances...
I made myself known to 'em, told 'em what I was, gave
'em my honourable word not to disclose 'em..." (II vii 50-51, 53-4, 57-9)

But Follywit is not the only character who can use acting and masking. The most splendidly funny scene of this kind of acting in the play is where the various suitors come to visit the Courtesan who is feigning sickness. The scene is set very carefully with

"Vials, gallipots, plate and an hourglass by her. The Courtesan on a bed for her counterfeit fit. To her, Master Penitent Brothel, like a doctor of physic." (III ii SD)

The Courtesan coughs her way through the scene complaining feebly of being weak, while Penitent's ironic comments on the side add to the hilarity. The first line of the scene that follows is Follywit's comment on his own escapade

"Was't not well managed, you necessary mischiefs? Did the plot want either life or art?" (III iii 1-2)

However this can also apply to the finely managed plot of the courtesan; the whole play is a series of acts.

Follywit's vitality comes from his ability to manage and produce these plots, and his satisfaction at their success is attractive. From the very beginning we see him organising his fellows:

"A French ruff, and thin beard, and a strong perfume will do't.
I can hire blue coats for you all by Westminster clock and that colour
will soonest be believed." (I i 78-80)

Moreover Follywit has not only a comic superiority over Sir Bounteous he is also morally in the right. Sir Bounteous is shown as a fool who spends his money too lavishly on entertainment, and is, at the same time, mean to his heir. Follywit's games and acting are all to get money which will eventually be his, as he explains:

"Under his lordship's leave, all must be mine
He and his will confesses; what I take, then,
Is but borrowing of so much beforehand;
I'll pay him again when he dies in so many blacks." (II ii 38-41)

The climax of Follywit's acting comes in Act V when he comes disguised as Lord Owenmuch's players to present a play for Sir Bounteous' feast. The comedy, 'The Slip' never gets its full performance but this does not really matter, since the main purpose of the player's arrival was to trick Sir Bounteous into lending them his watch and jewellery for their props. Before the play can get started, the constable arrives to arrest Follywit but Follywit saves the situation by incorporating him into the play so that the audience do not believe anything he says. Follywit realises that the truth depends on the context in which it is told. Just as under the guise of Lord Owenmuch he had been able to tell the truth and not reveal anything about himself, he makes the real constable's true statements into the 'fiction' of the play. The audience accept this fiction and when the unfortunate constable tries to tell the truth to Sir Bounteous, he is turned away with

"To me? pooh, turn to th' justice, you whoreson hobby-horse! -
This is some new player now; they put all their fools to
the constable's part still." (V ii 35-7)

When the players have escaped, Sir Bounteous asks the constable in bewilderment

"Why, art not thou the constable i' th' comedy?" (V ii 169-70)

to which the constable replies

"I' th' comedy? Why, I am the constable i' th' commonwealth, sir"
(V ii 170-71)

The commonwealth and the comedy are the same. In the world of the play the events are resolved by a series of acts and there is even a kind of justice in the fact that the end reveals Follywit's mistaken marriage to the Courtesan. Even such an arch trickster is not proof against a more cunning trick. In this world there is no more serious retribution for actor's tricks, and the final assessment is given by Sir Bounteous:

"Troth, I commend their wits! Before our faces make us asses,
while we sit still and only laugh at ourselves." (V ii 180-82)

* * * * *

When this commonwealth of disguise and trickery is transferred to the tragedies it is regarded through a much darker glass. In the comedies the most that can be gained from disguise is a little money and a lot of fun. The tragic world, however, deals with figures of some power, and their deceptions bring murder and ruin to their victims. The world of accepted deceit and pretence which provided so much amusement in the comedies turns into something much nastier in courtly surroundings; in this context the masque can provide a symbol of corruption and deceit.

Middleton portrays this darker masking world in Women Beware Women. The atmosphere in the court of Florence is not one of stifling corruption but rather a casual acceptance of sin so long as it retains its appearance of conventional behaviour. In Your Five Gallants we had laughed at the constable who could not arrest a man in satin, but in this play the conventionally acceptable appearance covers over a much less pleasant reality.

The importance of conventional morality to the court is epitomised in the reactions of Guardiano and Ward when Livia tells them that Isabella is pregnant with Hippolito's child:

"Guard. Was my judgement
And care in choice so devilishly abus'd,
So beyond shamefully? - all the world will grin at me.
Ward. Oh Sordido, Sordido, I'm damned, I'm damned!

Sor. Damned? why, Sir?:
 Ward. One of the wicked; do'st not see't? a Cuckold, a
 plain rebrobate Cuckold!" (IV ii 77-82)¹

Similarly when the Cardinal reproaches the Duke for his affair with Bianca he promises 'Never to know her as a strumpet more'. He will be able to stay within conventional rights by marrying her since he has already assured the death of her husband. Moreover his abstention before the marriage is only in the interests of pleasure for he comforts himself with

"'Tis but a while;
 Live like a hopeful bridegroom, chaste from flesh,
 And pleasure then will seem new, fair, and fresh." (IV i 277-79)

The most explicit statement of this attitude is made by Hippolito. When he learns of the affair between his sister and Leantio, he is enraged not only at the sin itself but that it has been made apparent:

"Put case one must be vicious, as I know myself
 Monstrously guilty, there's a blind time made for't
 He might use only that, 'twere conscionable:
 Art, silence, closeness, subtlety, and darkness,
 Are fit for such a business; but there's no pity
 To be bestowed on an apparent sinner,
 An impudent day-light lecher." (IV ii 5-11)

'Art, silence, closeness, subtlety and darkness' is what all the characters use and are used to. None of them come forward to expose the evil and even the eventual revenge comes in the masque in Act V.

This entertainment has more the form of a late morality, with the plot about Juno resolving the difficulties of the nymph in love with two at once. In it the deaths take place almost accidentally and they occur during the action. There cannot be any dramatic unmasking since there is no single figure in this society who knows enough to expose all the others. Guardino who is the original organiser of this entertainment actually contrives this accidental feeling. He sees the masque as

¹ Middleton, op. cit. ed. Bullen, op. cit., vol. VI, pp. 236-372.

"...an occasion offer'd, that gives anger
 Both liberty and safety to perform
 Things worth the fire it holds, without the fear
 Of danger or of law; for mischiefs acted
 Under the privilege of a marriage-triumph
 At the Duke's hasty nuptials, will be thought
 Things merely accidental." (IV ii 160-6)

The masque is a means of covering up revenge rather than unmasking evil. The deaths have no significance for the audience who are more bewildered at the deviation from the given text of the action rather than worried about the fate of the actors. When Isabella is killed by Livia the Duke says

"She falls down upon't
 What's the conceit of that" (V i 158-9)

and even when Fabricio says that she has fallen down for joy, he insists

"This swerves a little from the argument though" (V i 163)

until he finally exclaims

"I've lost myself in this quite." (V i 183)

This was comic when it was Sir Bounteous' reaction to the real constable but here the comedy has turned rather macabre. It is very important that these characters should be able to see the difference between acting and reality, and their downfall comes from the fact that, even in real life, they cannot.

None of the characters understand the force of the events which they set in motion and each of them thinks that he is in control with the truest understanding of what will happen in the masque. Act IV ii contains their mock reconciliation as they join to prepare the masque and we are reminded of the Five Gallants who joined together to prepare their masque when all their disguises had been exposed. In this scene, however, the reconciliation is bogus; the characters have been dealing with murder and incest which cannot be so easily forgiven. Isabella, who now knows that her relationship with Hippolito has been incestuous, agrees to play the part of the nymph. She will appease the goddess Juno who will be played by Livia. The real situation is the direct opposite of this; Isabella is the one who has been wronged and the incense which she will use to 'appease' Livia will be the poison which will revenge her. Livia herself is angry with Hippolito for the murder of

Leantio, her lover, and these undertones of enmity come out in the exchange

"Livia: Must I be appeased then?
 Guard: That's as you list yourself, as you see cause.
 Livia: Methinks 'twould shew the more state in her deity
 To be incess'd
 Isabella: 'Twould; but my sacrifice
 Shall take a course to appease you; or I'll fail in't
 (Aside) And teach a sinful bawd to play a Goddess." (IV ii 222-8)

Even after the masque the characters do not know who has killed them. There is no sense of the triumph of virtue but simply a more or less satisfying requital of wrongs. As Hippolito explains in his final speech

"Vengeance met vengeance,
 Like a set match, as if the plague of sin
 Had been agreed to meet here altogether." (V i 198-200)

A masque is the only possible solution to this kind of action for, ironically, it is only within the context of pretence ^{and} art that the characters may speak the truth. When Isabella is being prepared to meet the Ward for the first time, her father orders her

"on with your mask, for 'tis your part to see now
 And not be seen. Go to, make use of your time;
 See what you mean to like; nay, and I charge you,
 Like what you see." (I ii 83-6)

Even this the most conventionally acceptable marriage in the play, is conducted under cover; the 'artistry' of the more irregular meetings is even more marked.

In Act II ii where Bianca is first introduced to the Duke, the encounter between Bianca, Guardiano and the Duke is counterpointed by the conversation over the game of chess which is carried on below by Livia and Bianca's mother-in-law. The widow thinks that Livia's references to the Duke are part of the game, whereas the audience can see, by what takes place on the upper stage, that Livia is also talking about the reality. She makes remarks like

"Here's a duke
 Will strike a sure stroke for the game anon;
 Your pawn cannot come back to relieve itself." (II ii 304-6)

In the same scene Guardiano sees how to make a direct statement indirectly through art. He explains that

"to prepare her stomach by degrees
 To Cupid's feast, because I saw 'twas queasy
 I show'd her naked pictures by the way
 A bit to stay her appetite." (II ii 406-9)

After the Duke's banquet when Bianca finally leaves Leantio he regrets the earlier days of their love

"When we embraced
As if we had been statues only made for it
To show art's life." (III ii 299-302)

At the wedding banquet, the masque, by bringing in the final undeniable reality of death, also shows art's life. The action of the main masque is explained in the argument read by the Duke:

"There is a Nymph that haunts the woods and springs
In love with two at once, and they with her
Equal it runs; but to decide these things
The cause to mighty Juno they refer." (V i 74-7)

The nymph is played by Isabella who, although she is not an innocent nymph 'in love with two at once', is still quite genuinely suffering

"this passionate conflict in my breast
This tedious war 'twixt two affections" (V i 128-9)

She is married to the idiot Ward whom she despises while at the same time being pregnant with the child of her incestuous affair with Hippolito. The invocation to Juno-Pronuba also has a certain degree of truth in it for Livia is indeed

"Thou that rul'st o'er coupled bodies,
Tiest man to woman" (V i 114-15)

but instead of being the 'only powerful marriage maker' she is the bawd who procured Bianca for the Duke and arranged the relationship between Hippolito and his niece.

The plot of the masque extends this to a further level of irony in the choice of characters, who in art and emblems were used to indicate the relationship between love and marriage and death. The most significant of these references is in the poisoned arrows of the Cupids who kill Hippolito. In Alciati's emblems there is a picture of death exchanging arrows with a sleeping Cupid so that the lovers die and the old people fall in love.¹

¹ Alciati, Emblemata, (1583) p.504.

The arrows kill Hippolito because of his love for Isabella and his revenge on Leantio and the reference to this emblem is further ironically pointed by Juno (Livia) who says to the nymph (Isabella)

"He of those twain which we determine for you
Love's arrows shall wound twice; the latter wound
Betokens love in age." (V i 149-51)

In the fable of Cupid and Death, however, love in age is at the expense of love in youth and in the case of this masque, as in Francis Thynne's Emblems and Epigrammes,

"Thus contrary to kind and to their nature
Cupid doth slay and Death doth love procure"¹

Similarly Ganymede who, in the anti-masque, presents the poisoned cup to the Duke, is fulfilling his traditional function of cup-bearer to Jove. Ganymede also figures on sarcophagi thus associating him with death too.² This connection of Ganymede with death is seen, in Alciati's emblems, as an example of the unsullied soul finding joy in God.³ This kind of spiritual consolation is not apparent in the masque and even seems to be explicitly denied. The nymphs at the beginning of the masque give Juno a censer of perfume which is one of the traditional attributes of Juno given to her by Fulgentius in his Metaforalis. John Ridewall in his treatise on the Metaforalis explains the perfume as a symbol of spiritual union brought about by Juno-Pronuba, the goddess of marriage.⁴ Nevertheless it is this very perfume, symbol of spiritual life, which ends Livia's physical life. Her dying words

"O 't 'as poisoned me!
My subtlety is sped, her art has quitted me;
My own ambition pulls me down to ruin" (V i 172-4)

¹ Francis Thynne, op. cit., (1600), ed. Furnivall EETS (1876), p.7.

² Edgar Wind: Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance (1967), p.158.

³ v. Seznec: The Survival of the Pagan Gods (1940), p.103.

⁴ On these aspects of Juno in Ridewall and Fulgentius v. Seznec, op. cit., p.94.

do not suggest a movement to the more spiritual level even after death.

The harmonious vision of marriage and the reaffirmation of conventional values associated with the masque, are made to seem a parody by placing them alongside the tragic reality. Art in this play is only pretence and has no wider significance. By killing all the characters in a masque Middleton shows how limited and artificial their lives have been.

The masque in Women Beware Women is an interesting device for presenting the revenge but it has been prepared for throughout the play. All the significant moments in the play are presented within this framework of procession and show, the attributes of courtly life. In Act I as Leantio is leaving his house and Bianca, he refers to his love and their wedding night as a revel:

"Methinks I'm even as dull now at departure
As men observe great gallants the next day
After a revel." (I iii 234-7)

The next revel to which Leantio will be invited is the banquet given by the Duke in honour of Bianca and after it he will lose Bianca completely. Bianca sees the Duke first in his procession through the town and after their meeting he makes his possession of her public at the revels to which he invites Leantio.

The banquet where the Duke and Bianca are first seen together is also the scene for all the other liaisons of the play to become obvious. There is no masque but each pair of lovers comes together in a dance. None of the married couples dance together and the dance is led by Hippolito and Isabella. The dance's significance is made quite explicit in the Ward's rhyme:

"Plain men dance the Measures, the Sinquapace, the Gay:
Cockold dance the Horn-Pipe; and Farmers dance the Hay:
Your Soldiers dance the Round, and Maidens that grow big:
Your Drunkards, the Canaries; your Whore and Bawd, the Jig" (III ii 246-50)

In the final masque in Act V there is no dancing for all the characters in the entertainment are killed before it reaches that stage. There is no need for the dancing for it has already taken place in Act III and set in motion the tragic taking out of the characters. The mask of intrigue which all the characters wear in that act, is balanced by, and in a sense the cause of, the final masque of vengeance in Act V. In the world of this play none of

the joyful moments can be accepted,

"Destruction plays her triumph, and great mischiefs,
Mask in expected pleasures." (V i 212-13)

* * * * *

Despite the strong sense of a masking world which we found in these plays, Middleton also wrote more conventional comedies where disguising and the masque are used to complicate the action rather than as an indication of a world of pretence. In No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's, for example, disguise is used to create action and mistaken identity is part of the plot. In this play Mistress Low-Water is disguised as a man in order to deceive Lady Goldenfleece whom she pretends to woo in order to get back the money forced from her husband. The other plot in the play also involves mistaken identity whose complication is reflected in the dramatis personae where Grace is described as

"secretly married to Philip Twilight, passing as daughter to Sir Oliver Twilight, but really Jane, daughter to Sunset"¹

and Jane is

"Passing as daughter to Sunset, but really Grace, daughter to Sir Oliver Twilight."

The mistaken identity of the second plot leads to all sorts of plot complications when it seems to turn out that Philip Twilight is incestuously married to Grace, and these are eventually resolved in the final scene when Lady Goldenfleece reveals the story of the 'substitute child' which had taken place years before.

The disguises and mistaken identities in this plot are part of the situation. They are not themselves the action, like the protean changes of the city comedies. Consequently, the masque in Act IV is merely another episode in the play.

It is arranged by Beveril to celebrate the proposed wedding between Mistress Low-Water and Lady Goldenfleece. Beveril's plot for the masque is conventional enough

¹ Middleton, op. cit. ed. Bullen, op. cit., vol.IV, pp.279-425.

"'Tis only...the four elements
 In liveliest forms, Earth, Water, Air and Fire.
 ...that whereas all those four
 Maintain a natural opposition
 And untruc'd war the one against the other
 To shame their ancient envies, they should see
 How well in two breasts all these do agree.
 That's in the bride and bridegroom..." (III i 234-241)¹

He agrees to allow Lady Goldenfleece's rejected suitors to play the parts of the elements, but they, true to form, plan to thwart the expected celebrations of the masque and 'poison your device'.

Middleton also leads the audience to expect a further reversal of the celebrations when Philip Twilight's incest is revealed. When Sir Oliver Twilight is invited to the wedding masque he says

"There will be entertainments, sports and banquets,
 There these young lovers shall clap hands together,
 The seed of one feast shall bring forth another." (IV i 154-6)

He does not know that Grace is married to Philip and plans to marry her to Sandfield. This wrongful marriage would be bad enough but after he has left this scene, Mistress Twilight thinks that she has discovered that Grace is really her daughter and Philip is horrified to think that he has been committing incest with her. The proposed celebration has less and less chance of being happy.

In fact none of this action takes place in the masque and the revelations of the young lovers plot are left until the final scene. In the masque itself the action is the rejected suitors' attempt to undo the marriage masque and Beveril's success in overcoming them. The masque contains no taking out and is more elaborately staged than the usual inserted masque in plays. There is

"Loud Musicke a while
 A thing like a globe opens of one side of the stage and flashes out fire; then Sir G. LAIBSTONE in the character of Fire, issues from it, with yellow hair and a beard, intermingled with streaks like wild flames, a three pointed Fire in his hand; and at the same time WEATHERWISE as Air, comes down, hanging by a cloud, with a coat made like an almanac, all the twelve moon set in it, and the four

¹ cf. the plots involving the four elements in Nabbes Microcosmos and the Anonymous Masque of the Twelve Months, v. above ch. 2.

quarters, Winter, Spring, Summer and Autumn, with changes of weathers, rain, lightning, tempest &c; and from under the stage, on different sides at the farther end rise OVERDONE as Water and PEPPERON as Earth; Water with green flags upon his head, standing up instead of hair, and beard of the same, with a chain of pearl; Earth with a number of little things resembling trees, like a thick grove, upon his head and a wedge of gold in his hand, his garment of a clay colour." (V ii SD line 65)

The surprise comes when Sir C. Lambstone opens his speech, not, as Beveril prompts him, 'The flame of zeal', but

"The wicked fire of lust
Does now spread heat through water, air and dust." (V ii 64-5)

The four elements are not in disharmony; they have agreed to come together to insult the widow for marrying, as they suppose, a lusty young man. However the dramatic form of this entertainment enables Beveril to save the situation within the masque. Since the suitors are against the masque he turns them into an anti-masque, and brings in a main masque of the Four Winds.

As a spur of the moment change in the proceedings, Beveril manages to produce a very fine show for his main masque:

"Re-enter, at several corners, BEVERIL with three other persons, attired like the four Winds, with wings &c., the South Wind having a great red face, the North Wind a pale bleak one; the Western Wind one cheek red and another white, and so the Eastern Wind: they dance to the drum and fife, while the four Elements seem to give back and stand in amaze: at the end of the dance the Winds strip the Elements of their disguises, which seem to yield and almost fall off of themselves at the coming of the Winds. Excunt all the Winds except that represented by Beveril" (V ii SD line 171)

The main masque unmaskes the anti-masque and Lady Goldenfleece herself restores the harmony by pitying the suitors and sending them to drink in the buttery and the cellar.

Since this masque is only an episode it does not resolve anything finally. The plot grinds on for a further act through Beveril's involvement with Lady Goldenfleece and the revelations about the disguises and mistaken identities which have been part of the situation. The unmasking of the suitors does not have any symbolic force in the play since the other, more important, disguises remain at the end of this scene. The masque is simply a means of disposing of the suitors' part in the Lady Goldenfleece plot in as interesting a way as possible.

When Middleton uses the masque in his plays he adapts the form of the masque to suit the action which he wishes it to produce. In none of the plays I have so far discussed does he include the taking out dance since the unmasking does not require it. The only play in which there is a taking out dance is The Old Law¹. The plot here is that a law has been passed whereby all men of eighty and all women of sixty must be put to death. In the serious plot there is a contrast between Simonides who wants his father dead so that he can come into his inheritance, and Cleanthes who is upset that the law will kill his father before his time.

Alongside this there is a 'lowlife' plot in which Gnotho the clown and his friends, Creon's servants, are delighted to think that their wives are approaching sixty and they will have twenty years in which to enjoy new ones. They are celebrating this in a tavern when the Drawer enters to announce

"the music is ready to strike up; and here's a consort of mad Greeks ...They desire to enter among any merry company of gentlemen good-fellows, for a strain or two" (IV i 82-90)

Gnotho's wife Agatha enters with the wives of the other servants, they dance and then take out the gentlemen. No action comes about from this taking out dance and there is simply the momentary comedy that

"all the rest have gulled themselves, and taken their own wives, and shall know that they have done more than they can well answer." (IV i 102-4)

The masque to some extent foreshadows the final conclusion where all the men have to stay married to their wives but its main interest in the play is in providing a set back to the servants' lecherous plans.

For Middleton the masque was one of the elements of drama which provided a useful kind of theatrical shorthand and could be used when it would help the movement of his plays. When he is writing about a world of pretence and deceit he integrated the masque with the themes of the plays. However

¹ Middleton, op. cit. ed. Bullen, op. cit., vol.II pp.120-245.

pretence and disguise were not, for Middleton, specifically connected with the image of the masque and he was aware of its limitations, as well as its potential force, as a dramatic device.

In The Changeling Albius mentions that Vermandero expects him to provide a masque of madmen 'as if to close up the solemnity'.¹ Lollo instructs the counterfeit fools that each will get the chance to kill his rival after the masque. In the event, however, the masque is not performed. In this play Middleton does not want a mere theatrical unmasking for he is dealing with more subtle forms of deceit and disguising.

In the last scene, Vermandero thinks that he has found Alonzo's murderers in the disguised fools, but in the meantime Alsemero has discovered the more horrid deceit of Beatrice's affair with De Flores. In place of a sudden unmasking we have the contrasting ironies of this dialogue between Vermandero and Alsemero:

Ver: O Alsemero! I've a wonder for you
 Als: No, sir, 'tis I, I have a wonder for you.
 Ver: I have suspicion near as proof itself
 For Piracquo's murder
 Als: Sir, I have proof
 Beyond suspicion for Piracquo's murder.
 Ver: Beseech you, hear me; these two have been disguis'd
 E'er since the deed was done.
 Als: I have two other
 That were more close disguis'd than your two could be
 E'er since the deed was done." (V iii 122-130)

After this build up Beatrice and de Flores enter and explain what has happened. Instead of a sudden and forced unmasking with the unmasker denouncing their past wrongs, Beatrice and De Flores reveal themselves:

"Beneath the stars, upon yon meteor
 Ever hung my fate, 'mongst things corruptible;
 I ne'er could pluck it from him; my loathing
 Was prophet to the rest, but ne'er believ'd:
 Mine honour fell with him, and now my life.
 Alsemero, I'm stranger to your bed;
 Your bed was cozen'd on the nuptial night,
 For which your false bride died.
 ...
 and the while I coupled with your mate
 At barley-break; now we are left in hell." (V iii 157-167)

¹ Middleton, op.cit., IV iii, ed. Bullen, op.cit., vol. VI, pp.4-112

In this play the audience have not only to find out things that they did not know before, they have also to realise how things can change

"...here is beauty chang'd
To ugly whoredom; here servant obedience
To a master-sin, imperious murder; &c., &c." (V iii 200-202)

The Changeling shows how the world of masking can also bring about a permanent change in the wearers of the masque, a change which requires more than a mere unmasking to alter. Unmasking can resolve the plots of the plays but it does not change the masking world.

CHAPTER TEN

The Conventions of the Masque in Fletcher and Beaumont¹

Guarini's formula for successful tragicomedy, often applied to the plays written by Fletcher and his collaborators, prescribed that tragicomedy should present

"great persons but not great action; a plot which is versimilar but not true; passions moved but tempered; the delight not the sadness; the danger not the death...a feigned complication, a happy reversal, and above all the comic order."²

One of the effects of this kind of play is that the feigned complication and happy reversal leave the audience with the feeling that the events are all ultimately controlled, not by the characters and their interactions, but by a benevolent deity, the author. In this context a masque is a very useful theatrical device since it can change events, bring surprises and be used to manipulate the tone of a play at the dramatist's convenience.

The first play in which Fletcher used a masque was Hit at Several Weapons³ in which the masque produced the, by then conventional, resolution of the plot. The plot involves Sir Perfidious Oldcraft's niece who is in love with Cunningham. For no apparent reason she pretends not to care for him and tries to make a match between him and her Guardianess. She also feigns love to Sir Gregory Top whom her father wants her to marry. The plot moves through its various complications until Cunningham arrives in a masque, takes her out and is married to her. The conclusion of the play had been obvious from the very

¹ When referring to Fletcher's plays, I am adopting the method suggested by Philip Edwards, who writes "In general by Fletcher's art, I mean the art of Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger in association, which Fletcher took a leading part in creating and sustaining".

'The Art of John Fletcher' in Jacobean Theatre ed. B. Harris & J. Russell Brown (1966) p. 42

² Guarini, Il Compendio della poesia tragicomica trans. Waith, in The Pattern of Tragicomedy in Beaumont and Fletcher (1952), p.48

³ Fletcher op. cit., A.B. Waller, The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, vol. IX, (1910), pp.66-142. (This edition does not give line numbers).

beginning, and it seems as though Fletcher went through the comic motions of his action, filling in time until the lovers could be united in the most satisfactory way.

Similarly in Women Pleased¹ the outcome of the plot is expected and the dramatist's principal task is to contrive the action to bring about the conclusion in the most agreeable way. The play is constructed round the old tale, used by Chaucer for the Wife of Bath, of how a young man is sent into the wilderness until he can find out what women most desire. He is told by an old woman who, having saved his life, then demands that he marry her. In the last act of the play, Silvio returns to the court from which he has been banished for loving the Duchess' daughter, and answers the question with the help of the old woman who has helped and comforted him throughout the action. She insists on marrying him and V iii opens with the other characters teasing Silvio about his forthcoming marriage. A masque is presented to celebrate the marriage and this allows Fletcher to make the most of the sad situation which is soon to be turned to a happy one.

Silvio is angry at the mockery of the celebration saying,

"More of these Devils dumps?
Must I be ever haunted with these witchcrafts?" (V iii)

The presenters of the masque try to comfort him with their song

"Look up Silvio, smile, and sing,
After winter comes a Spring,
Fear not faint fool what may follow;
Eyes that now are sunk and hollow,
By her Art may quick return
To their flames again, and burn." (V iii)

The masquers 'of several shapes, and Dances' perform, and then

"enter Belvidere and disperses them" (V iii)

Silvio is delighted and Belvidere reminds him that he must love her old and ugly as well when she is 'pleasing to thine eye and sight.'

¹ Fletcher, op. cit. ed. Waller, op. cit. vol, VII (1909), pp.237-310.

The masque enables the authors to produce the expected reversal with music and dance which builds up to the climax of Belvidere's appearance. The audience cannot share Silvio's misery at his approaching marriage since the fairy tale story demands its happy ending. The ironic contrast between his sadness and the celebratory masque is not subtle but it allows Fletcher to exploit the dramatic potential of the story to the full. When Belvidere arrives she is like the main masque dispersing the anti-masque but this applies to the play as well as the inserted masque. The return to the happy ending is a sudden and as expected as the arrival of main masquers; the dramatist has merely to work out how effectively it can be done.

This ability to make the most of 'a rare situation' is what gives Fletcher's plays their theatrical impact, and they use the masque along with other musical and theatrical devices to exploit these dramatic situations to the full. In A Wife for a Month⁵, for example, a masque is produced to celebrate the marriage of Valerio and Evanthe. On this occasion the presentation can more properly be called ironic; both the audience and the couple know that they are only to be allowed to stay married for a month after which time Valerio will be killed and Evanthe will have oncemore to submit to the Duke's lustful advances.

In the masque Cupid enters with the Graces, the very figures who cannot be present at the marriage. But the Graces sing about Love's servants who are

"Fancy, Desire, Delight, Hope, Fear,
Distrust and Jealousie, be you too here;
Consuming Care, and raging Ire,
And Poverty in poor attire,
March fairly in, and last Despair." (II 1)

These are not the normal attendants of a triumphant Cupid; this makes the show an anti-masque, appropriately enough, in the circumstances. The abstractions which attend love are all the different emotions that the Lovers will have to go through before they can be finally united.

¹Fletcher, op. cit. ed. Waller, op. cit., vol. V, (1907), pp.1-73

In his analysis of the music in Fletcher, R.W. Ingram compares the music in this scene and the scene in the monastery² which follows it. He says

"The impact of this solemn scene is magnified because it follows hard upon the masque, the symbol of the corrupt court...the riot and revelry of the false king is set against the devotional music of the true king...the savage mockery of a wedding that is to end after one month in death is balanced by the proper remembrance of death."¹

In the absence of a taking out dance, it seems over emphatic to refer to 'riot and revelry' but the contrast which Ingram makes between the funeral song in III i and the masque is a telling one. The masque for Fletcher is like mood music with the additional advantage of being able to use it ironically. Sad music before the lovers go off would have set the tone of the scene but by presenting the masque of Cupid, he could also bring in the reference to Love's attendants.

Unfortunately the presentation of a masque also allowed him to dissipate its effect by the surrounding action. Before the masquers enter, there is a rowdy and comic scene between the servants and the citizens

Cam: Keep Back those Citizens, and let their wives in,
Their handsome wives.
Tony: They have crowded me to Verjuyce, I sweat like
a Butter-box.
Serv: Stand further off there.
Men: Take the women aside, and talk with 'em in private,
Give 'em that they came for
Tony: The whole court cannot do it;
Besides, the next Mask if we use 'em so,
They'll come by millions to expect our largess;
We have broke a hundred heads
.....Within: I am one of the Musick, Sir
Within: I have sweat-meats for the banquet.
Camillo: Let 'em in
Tony: They lye my Lord, they come to seek their wives,
Two broken Citizens." (II i)

This could have the effect of producing the 'riot and revelry' which Ingram suggests but it seems to be equally aimed at satirising the citizens as the king. Fletcher introduced it as a comic scene of couleur locale and it rather

¹ R.W. Ingram, 'Patterns in Fletcherean Drama' in Music in English Renaissance Drama, ed. John H. Long (1968), p.81

undermines the atmosphere of the masque scene, and the credibility of the lovers' refined passions.

The lusty Duke who tries to thwart the marriage of true lovers appears again in The Custom of the Country,¹ and again a masque is presented to give theatrical impact to the action. The custom of the country is that the Duke has droit de seigneur over all newly married girls. The masque is Zenocia's attempt to avoid her fate worse than death. The scene of the wedding night shows 'Charino, and the servants in blacks', and the formula of the 'inverted masque' is patly invoked to create the irony. Charino, Zenocia's father tells his servants

"Strew all your withered flowers, your Autumn sweets
By the hot Sun ravisht of bud and beauty,
Thus round about her Bride-bed, hand those blacks there
The emblems of her honour lost; all joy
That leads a Virgin to receive her lover,
Keep from this place, all fellow maids that bless her,
And blushing do unloose her Zone, keep from her:
No merry noise, nor lusty songs be heard here,
Not full cups crown'd with wine make the rooms giddy;
This is no masque of mirth, but murdered honour.
Sing mournfully that sad Epithalamion
I gave thee now: and prethee, let thy lute weep." (I i)

Charino is being used to set the scene but it is entirely for the benefit of the audience. There is no-one in the action whom this is to affect, and after the boy's song, Rutilio, a friend of the groom's, enters so that Charino can explain the symbolism to him.

The masque in fact takes place later in the scene. Clodio has entered and seemed to be quite unaffected by the funereal scene which confronts him, when the masque presents Zenocio as Diana. Clodio accepts the show as a

"...pretty fancy to provoke me high?
The beauteous Huntress, fairer far, and sweeter;
Diana shows an Ethiop to this beauty
Protected by two Virgin Knights." (I i)

Arnoldo and Rutilio then threaten the Duke with death if he cries out and while Rutilio guards him, Arnoldo and Zenocia escape.

¹ Fletcher and Massinger, op. cit. ed. A. Glover, The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher (1905), vol.I, pp.302-388.

The masque is here simply an episode in the action. It gives Zenocia and Arnoldo an exciting send off on their adventures but it is not necessary to the plot. There is a parallel between Zenocia and Diana but this provides no more than a localised aptness to the masque which is remarked upon in the Duke's speech. The masque fulfills its theatrical function quite effectively and there its significance ends. It is only the first of a number of exciting scenes which add to the variety produced for the audience's pleasure.

In this play Fletcher does not use the form of the masque for he has cut down his theatrical shorthand to the minimum. He does not need to build up the audience's expectations of revelry in order to make his ironic point dramatic and theatrical and so there is no public occasion, no dancing and no taking out. He requires a device whereby Arnoldo and Rutilio can enter the duke's chamber uninvited; putting them in disguise is as appropriate as any. All the 'irony' in the scene is contained in the Duke's welcome for them when he says

"What Masque is this?

What pretty fancy to provoke me high?" (I i)

The surprise at the way the masque turns out is only the Duke's.

The audience often know how the masque will turn out. However in most cases, the scene of revelling, the torches and the music, dramatise the revels for the audience and make them share the characters' surprise at the sudden unexpected outcome. In this play, Fletcher does not need to dramatise the image of the masque for his audience, since the play does not allow for any consideration of the disparity between the glory of the revels and the action which takes place as a result of them. Fletcher did not use the masque for this kind of action as a means of making his audience more aware of the paradox of the masque, where glory combines with potential danger; it was simply to bring a certain dramatic appropriateness to the scene.

In The Maid in the Mill¹ we again see the searching for theatrical

¹ Fletcher and Rowley op. cit. ed. Waller, op. cit., vol.VII, (1909) pp.1-77.

appropriateness when action which could be part of a masque is put in the context of a play-within-the-play. In II ii 'sports' are introduced in which various characters from the play present the trial of Paris introduced by Cupid. As the action ends and Paris gives the apple to Venus, Gerasto enters as Mars. He speaks some 'improvised' lines telling Venus to

"leave this lower Orb,
And mount with Mars, up to his glorious Sphere" (II ii)

and abducts Florimel, who is playing the part of Venus.

This fulfills the plot function of taking Florimel off, but it also allows Fletcher to include some rather inappropriate comedy from Bustopha, Florimel's brother. He has been charged to look after Florimel but has taken her to the play in which they are both to perform. He is bewildered by the turn of events, but his worry is not allowed to be taken seriously since he continues the language of the play when talking about it. He at first thinks that it is an unrehearsed part of the action, and there is a silly exchange about Mars and Venus which gives Gerasto time to escape with Florimel. The play within the play, like the masques within the plays, is included for its theatrical potential, not only to bring about action but to bring it about in a way which will allow the dramatist some extra comedy or irony, which can easily be produced according to the requirements of the drama.

When talking about the 'conventional' use of the masque, what I am trying to describe is the way in which certain of the associations of the masque become automatic. The idea that the masque could bring danger or be a cover for lust is accepted rather than being a paradox whose conflicts and contradictions need to be dramatised. The dangerous aspects of the masque, and the fact that the revels of masking could all too easily be reversed, become part of a commonplace frame of reference in the characters' language.

For example, in The Double Marriage¹ Ronvere, the king's double agent,

¹ Fletcher and Massinger, op. cit. ed. Waller, op. cit., vol VI, (1908), pp. 321-407.

is trying to persuade the conspirators he is one of them. He says how he has planned a masque but it is the simple game masque in which people come from outside to dance before the king, since this is the kind of masque which more easily brings danger. Ronvere says to the conspirators

"...when you know, with what charge I have further'd
Your noble undertaking, you will swear me
Another man; The guards I have corrupted;
And of the choice of all our noblest youths,
Attir'd like Virgins...
...prepared a Maske.
As done for the King's pleasure
...
We as Torchbearers,
Will wait on these, but with such art and cunning;
I have convey'd sharp poniards in the Wax
That we may pass, though search't, through all his guards
Without suspicion, and in all his glory
Oppress him, and with safety." (I i)

This masque is, in fact, never performed in the play but Ronvere's plan shows how easy this use of the masque has become. There is no need to worry about the contrasts between the true function of the masque and the evil use to which it will be put. It is accepted that 'a visor and a mask are whispering rooms that were ne'er built for goodness'.

Similarly in Rule a Wife and Have a Wife,¹ the masques are seen by Leon as quite simply associated with excess and pleasure. Margarita has reduced Leon to the level of her servant and has set up her house for pleasure. Leon comes in and asks sarcastically

"Are all the chambers
Deck'd and adorn'd thus for my Ladies pleasure?
New hangings ev'ry hour for entertainment,
And new plate bought, new Jewels to give lustre?
...Is it so? 'tis excellent.
It is her will too, to have feasts and banquets
Revels, and masques?" (III i)

In The Elder Brother,² the masque is again used as a source of imagery but the two aspects of the masque are used separately according to the effect

¹ Fletcher op. cit. ed. Waller, op. cit., vol III (1906), pp.170-235.

² Fletcher op. cit. ed. Glover and Waller, op. cit., vol.II, (1906), pp. 1-59.

which Fletcher wished to produce. In II iv Charles opens the scene with a soliloquy in which he expresses his contempt of the world in favour of study.

He says

"The Stars and glorious Planets have no Tailors, yet ever new they are, and shine like Courtiers. The Seasons of the year find no Parents, yet some are arm'd in silver Ice that glisters, and some in gaudy Green come in like Masquers..." (II iv)

His simile here comes from the fact that masquing costumes are beautiful and masquers occasionally represented stars. It is localised comparison and does not suggest that the dramatist was evoking the masque in any literal way. 'Beautiful as a masque costume' had become a commonplace enough comparison for it to be used in isolation from any particular reference to the masque.

In Act II of this play the characters do prepare a masque to celebrate the proposed marriage of Eustace and Angellina. The preparations show the silliness of Eustace's friends Egremont and Cowsey, and allow for a funny line:

Egre: 'Tis not half an hour's work, a Cupid and a Fiddle, and the thing's done, but lets be handsome, shall's be Gods or Nymphs?
 Eust: What, Nymphs with beards?
 Cow: That's true, we will be Knights then; some wandering Knights, that light here on a sudden." (II ii)

The masque is, in fact, never performed. Charles, the Elder Brother, realises that Eustace's marriage will disinherit him and refuses to allow it. However the fact that Eustace and his friends are in masking dress is used to give point to Brisac's comments to them. When he realises that his plan has been foiled he rounds on Eustace and his friends and says

"Ne'er talk to me, you are no men but Masquers; shapes, shadows, and the signs of men, Court bubbles, that every breath or breaks or blows away." (IV i)

The attitude to masquers behind his comparison is different from Charles'. Seeing Eustace and his friends dressed up, Brisac seizes on the conventional attitude to masquers in order to insult them. Their presence in masking dress gives more point to his remark but there is no active contrast between the joy and harmony which a masque should bring and the inadequacy of Eustace and his friends.

This automatic association of the masque with its reversed image is used

again in Philaster.¹ In the last act of the play, the king is calling for Philaster's head when

"Enter Phil, Are, and Bell, in a Robe and Garland

These figures have not come in a masque; the king has asked if the Princess is ready to being out her prisoner and she arrives with Philaster. However the king's response is

"How now, what Mask is this?"

and Bellario presents the lovers':

"Right Royal Sir, I should
Sing you an Epithalamium of these lovers,
But having lost my best ayres with my fortunes,
And wanting a celestial Harp to strike
This blessed union on; thus in glad story
I give you all." (V i)

He tells the story of Philaster and Arethusa's love and Arethusa backs this up, again picking up the image of the masque:

"Sir, if you love it in plain truth,
For there is no masking in't; this Gentleman
The prisoner that you gave me is become
My keeper." (V i)

The king is enraged by this information and his angry reply to Arethusa takes all its force from reversing all the images of joy and harmony including the masque which they had evoked:

"Your dear Husband! Call in
The Captain of the Citadel; There you shall keep
Your Wedding. I'll provide a mask shall make
Your Hymen turn his Saffron into a sullen Coat,
And sing sad Requiems to your departing souls;
Blood shall put out your Torches, and instead
Of gaudy flowers about your wanton necks,
An Ax shall hang like a prodigious Meteor,
Ready to crop your Loves sweets." (V i)

This imagery, although backed up by the previous references is isolated rhetoric, as indeed is the whole scene. The plot is eventually resolved by a citizen uprising in favour of Philaster and the reversed masque in which Philaster appears before the king is simply a lull before the activity of the remaining

¹ Fletcher and Beaumont, op. cit. ed. Glover, op. cit., vol.I, (1905), pp.75-148.

scenes. Fletcher did not use the masque to resolve his action. It is again simply another episode in which the theatrical and verbal images taken from the masque could temporarily vary the action and the language of the play.

When the expectations of action in the masque and a reversal of its associations have become commonplace, the dramatist could gain considerable theatrical impact from presenting a masque straight, in a context where an audience might expect the revels to be disrupted. This is what happens in The Maid's Tragedy, the only play containing an inserted masque where Fletcher collaborated with Beaumont.

The Masque in The Maid's Tragedy could be described as another 'episode' in the play where the elaborate presentation with its songs and dances by Night, Neptune and Cynthia would please the spectators with spectacle. However more than with any other play in the Beaumont and Fletcher canon, the masque in this play seems to raise interesting questions in the action and direct the audience's attention more skilfully and to better purpose. This masque has been discussed by other commentators, notably Inga Stina Ewbank and Michael Neill.¹ Both of these writers agree that, in the words of Mrs. Ewbank, the masque 'has a peculiar, strongly ironical, bearing on the action of the play'.² They both point out the contrast between the conventional view of marriage expressed in the masque and the 'corrupt reality' of the events at the court. It is certainly possible to make this kind of contrast between the masque where Boreas, the only dissident force, is kept well under control, and the court, where the king himself has corrupted the bride and arranged the marriage for his own convenience.

¹ Inga-Stina Ewbank, "These Pretty Devices". A Study of Masques in Plays" in CBM, pp.415-418.
Michael Neill, "The Simetry, Which Gives a Poem Grace": Masque, Imagery, and the Fancy of The Maid's Tragedy", Renaissance Drama N.S. III (1970), pp.111-135.

² Inga-Stina Ewbank, op. cit., p.416.

However, this masque is different from all the other masques in plots which involve a lustful duke who destroys the marriage of young lovers. The gloomy presence of the mourning Aspatia may make the audience expect some action, but when the masque is performed the audience know nothing of the irregularities of Evadne and Amintor's marriage. The effect of the masque itself cannot be said to be ironic. In the opening lines of the play Strato had said that masques

"must commend their King, and speak in praise of the Assembly, bless the bride and Bridegroom, in person of some God; th'are tyed to rules of flattery." (I i)¹

The masque in the following scene fulfill/s this function perfectly. The masquers present the traditional fiction that they have come to see this worthy company. Night says that the court appears

"like to those Eastern streaks
That warn us hence before the morning breaks" (I i)

and when Neptune asks why Cynthia has brought him to the court she says

"Does this majestick show
Give thee no knowledge yet?" (I i)

There can be no irony in this masque since Strato has prepared us to accept it as something which works within certain limitations, and the view of the court which it presents is not in any way undermined by the court as we have seen it. There is no taking out dance for it is unnecessary for the worlds of the masque and the court to combine. The masque is the statutory flattery required on such an occasion and can be left at that.

Where the masque does impinge on the action of the play is in the characters who are not so urbane as Strato in their assessment of courtly behaviour. All of the characters in the play use the courtly language of the masque but the distinction is made between those who believe it and those who test its reality. Lysippus welcomes Melantius to the court in Act I saying

¹ Fletcher and Beaumont, op. cit. ed. Glover, op. cit., vol.I, pp.1-74.

"The breath of Kings is like the breath of Gods;
My brother wisht thee here, and thou art here" (I i)

Spoken by Lysippus this is something of a joke, but we see in Amintor a character who tries to act on ideals which have no place outside the fiction of the masque.

In the scene on Amintor and Evadne's wedding night we see the ideals of the masque being tested against a more harsh reality. Amintor greets Evadne with lines which could have come straight from the masque

"To bed my Love; Hymen will punish us
For being slack performers of his rites." (II ii)

However as the scene progresses he is forced to realise that the consummation of his marriage will not be as automatic as the masque had suggested. He continues to regard her refusal as part of the coyness which is expected of virgin brides until he is brought up sharp with the brutal

"A Maidenhead, Amintor, at my years?" (II ii)

The irony here is not simply that the masque has presented a false view of the situation; Amintor's own acceptance of that situation is also made to seem foolish. His adherence to the values on which the king's power for evil depends is seen to be weak, however much we may sympathise with his dilemma. He promises, again in elevated language, to kill Evadne's seducer but when Evadne tells him that it was the king, he can only reply

"Oh! thou hast nam'd a word that wipes away
All thoughts revengeful: in that sacred name,
The King, there lies a terror: what frail man
Dares lift his hand against it?" (II ii)

Just as the masque was tied to the rules of flattery, Amintor is tied by the rules of a spurious honour that renders him impotent.

The force of this scene is that it produces a shock not only to Amintor but also to the audience. They too have temporarily accepted the values of the masque. They have no reason to regard it ironically since in Act I the king had appeared a good and generous man in his warm welcome to Melantius and his attempts to reconcile him and Calianax. The audience does not have its usual advantage of seeing more than the characters in the play, and by carefully and, apparently unironically, setting up the picture of a glorious

court, the dramatists are able to force the audience itself to take the question of the power of kingship seriously. Strato's dismissal of the masque as merely flattery is true in one sense but at the same time the audience is made to see that however fictional and idealised the world of the masque is, it is preferable to the base reality of Evadne and the king's affair.

Consequently, however irritated we may be with Amintor and Aspatia's inaction, they gain a certain sympathy through their different attempts to create and live in a world of absolutes. Aspatia does this by her completely passive acceptance of her situation which she expresses in very moving, very contrived, poetry. She creates a fictional world for herself in which she can compare herself with the forsaken ladies of antiquity:

"Mark, Antiphila

Just such another was the Nymph Oenone,
 When Paris brought home Helen: Now a tear,
 And then thou art a piece expressing fully
 The Carthage Queen, when from a cold Sea Rock,
 Full with her sorrow, she tyed fast her eyes
 To the fair Trojan ships;.....
 What would this Wench do if she were Aspatia?
 Here she would stand, till some more pitying God
 Turn'd her to Marble...
 Thus, thus, Antiphila strive to make me look
 Like sorrows monument; And the trees about me,
 Let them be dry and leaveless; let the Rocks
 Groan with continual surges, and behind me
 Make all a desolation" (II ii)

This is immensely self indulgent and I cannot believe that Beaumont and Fletcher did not realise its potential effect.

Aspatia too has, unfortunately, to come to terms with a reality which is not ideal and cannot be immortalised in tapestry. In the last act she comes to Amintor disguised as a man and tries to make him kill her. She pretends that she is her brother coming to seek retribution for her rejection. Amintor refuses to fight and Aspatia has to strike him and kick him before he will draw his sword against her. The bathos and comedy of this scene must have been apparent to the dramatists, and they use it to show the emptiness of Aspatia's desire to die appropriately killed by her lover. After the indignities of the fight and Amintor's cruel rejection of Evadne who returns from killing the king, the lovers are united in death. However, this death

is not presented with the heroics of Amintor and Aspatia's earlier speeches but with the more delicate touch of Aspatia searching for Amintor's hand.

This play seems in some ways an unsatisfactory tragedy in that the conventional heroic attitudes are continually undermined by the action. However this undermining seems to me to be deliberate and, in some way, an attack on the audience's sensibilities. Beaumont could attack false heroism with carefully controlled bathos in The Knight of the Burning Pestle and the audience stayed with him because they were placed in a superior position to the citizen audience on the stage. However this play is not a comedy and so the audience cannot just laugh at the heroics; they are made to believe in the world of the court and its values by the way that they are presented theatrically in the masque. The beliefs about marriage and kingship, which the masque upholds, are then questioned throughout the action of the play. The play perhaps seems unsatisfactory tragedy because it could so easily have become tragicomedy, but by making the 'feigned complication' a real one, and refusing ~~to~~^o carry out the happy reversal, Beaumont and Fletcher show the audience how precarious the happy reversal is - as precarious as the baseless harmony of the masque.

Fletcher used the masque to manipulate the atmosphere and the events of his play very skilfully but it is only in collaboration with Beaumont that he uses the masque to surprise the audience as well as the characters in his play. This may have been a result of Beaumont's own experience with masque writing, producing, as he did, a masque for the celebrations of the Princess Elizabeth's marriage to the Elector Palatine in 1613.

Beaumont's skill in masque writing was to produce an effect of novelty within the conventions of the masque. It was based on a dramatic fiction that

"Jupiter and Juno, willing to do honour to the marriage of the two famous rivers Thamesis and Rhene, employ their messengers severally, Mercury and Iris for that purpose. They meet and contend....
Then Mercury and Iris, after vying one upon another, seem to leave their contentions: and Mercury, by the consent of Iris, brings down the Olympian Knights, intimating that Jupiter, having after a long discontinuance revived the Olympian games,

and summoned thereunto from all parts the liveliest and activest persons that were, had enjoined them, before they fell to their games, to do honour to these nuptials. The Olympian games portend to the match celebrity, victory and felicity." (45-77)¹

By using this overall fiction, Beaumont was able to produce four anti-masque dances without any irrelevance.

Mercury and Iris re-enact Juno and Jove's ancient quarrels and this makes them vie with one another to produce more suitable anti-masque dances. Mercury calls on the Naiads to dance and when Iris scorns 'a lifeless dance, which of one sex consists', he adds to this, first a dance of Cupid's and then a dance of Statues 'supposed to be before descended from Jove's altar'. Iris replies with her dance of 'all the rural company/which deck the May games with their country sports' and they agree to end their rivalry. Mercury then presents the main masque of Olympians who descend to dance with the ladies. After the knights and the ladies have danced there is the traditional lament that Time is passing, but even this is not allowed to disrupt the couple's golden world. The last song, while blessing the happy couple, says

"If we should stay we should do worse
And turn our blessing to a curse
By keeping you asunder". (369-371)

Beaumont's device in this masque was evidently successful for the various comments on it stressed its novelty and splendour. Chamberlain recounts how

"because the former (Chapman's Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn) came on horse back and in open chariots, they made choice to come by water from Winchester place in Southwark which suited well their device, which was the marriage of the river Thames to the Rhine; and their show by water was very gallant, by reason of infinite store of lights, very curiously set and placed, and many boats and barges, with devices of lights and lamps, with three peals of ordnance, one at their taking water, another in the Temple garden and the last at their landing."²

¹ Beaumont, The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn, ed. Philip Edwards in CBM pp.132-142.

² Quoted in Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, vol.III, (1923), p.234.

Similarly in the Argument of the Masque we are told that there was a varied anti-masque from Mercury

"not of one kind or livery (because that had been so much in use heretofore) but as it were in consort like to broken music." (48-50)

The device obviously had the desired effect, for we are told that during the second anti-masque

"the perpetual laughter and applause was above the music.It pleased his Majesty to call for it again at the end, as he did likewise for the first anti-masque, but one of the Statues by that time was undressed." (241-248)

The King and court's response to Beaumont's masque is an important reminder of how easy it is to underestimate the force of performance from a reading. Beaumont's masque is 'conventional' enough, as are the masques in Fletcher's plays. However, the sheer physical impact of the music, dancing and light of some of the masques can renew the force of the scenes and situations in which they occur. The ironies and resolutions produced by Fletcher's inserted masques are conventional, they do depend upon and reinforce the dramatic tradition. However when he pays attention to the physical detail and the impact which it can create, the convention comes alive again in each performance.

APPENDIX I

Terminology

Throughout this thesis I have used the term 'masque' to refer to entertainments in which figures come from outside, either actually or fictionally, to entertain an audience at a banquet or other social occasion. These figures are usually masked or disguised and dance before the audience; a second dance in which they 'take out' people from the audience is usually a feature of the masque but this 'taking out dance' is sometimes omitted in plays. The crucial distinction between the masque and other forms of dancing entertainment is that in a masque the dancers are the audience's guests and this relationship between the masquers and the audience is very important for the masque.

In contemporary accounts, the word 'masque' or 'maske' is used in a variety of ways and I should like just to list some uses of the word which the reader will encounter in contemporary accounts.

1. The term 'maske' can be used to refer to a face mask which is also called a 'visor' or 'visard' or 'hedpece'.
 - a. v. Feuillerat Elizabeth p. 102 where there is a record of a payment for "makinge cleane folding and lainge up of the Maskes garmentes vestures and other stuffe store and Implementes of the Office".
 - b. v. Feuillerat, Edward and Mary p. 66; a list of "Paynters working upon the apparell of the Lorde of Mysrule and garnishing of the Maskes."
 - cf. Ibid. p.173; a payment to "Taylours and others attiring and garnishing of hedpeces and visars for maskers"
2. In the revels accounts the term 'maske' also refers to the costumes required for a group of dancers.
 - a. v. Feuillerat, Elizabeth p. 119
a letter from Benger, Knight Master of the Revelles writing to the Treasurer about a debt of £634 9s 5d
"ymployed upon theis playes Tragides and Maskes following"

part of the bill is

"for the altering and newe makinge of sixe Maskes out of ould stuffe with Torche beareres thereunto wherof iij hathe byne shewene, before us, and two remayne unshewen..."

b. v. Ibid. p. 140

"Lent the new mask of black & whytt which was shewyd befor the quene In the crystmas holydayes the same mask was lent to the temple In the crystmas tyme."

This refers to the costumes for the masque described, in the Calendar of State Papers (Spanish) 1558-1567, London (1892) p. 368, in a letter from the Spanish Ambassador

"The comedy ended and then there was a masque of certain gentlemen who entered dressed in black and white which the Queen told me were her colours, and after dancing awhile one of them approached and handed the Queen a sonnet in English praising her. She told me what it said, and I expressed my pleasure at it."

c. v. Ibid p. 409

A Complaint of Thomas Gylles against the Yeoman of the Revells

"...wheras the yeman of the quenes Magestyes revelles dothe vsuallye lett to hyer her sayde hyghnes maskes to the grett hurt spoylle & dyscredyt of the same to all sort of parsons that wyll hyer the same by reson of wyche comen vsage the glosse & bewtye of the same garmentes ys lost & canott sowell serve to be often allterye & to be shewyde before hyr hyghnes as otherwyes yt myght..."

3. The term is also used for a group of dancers in a masque.

a. Feuillerat, Edward and Mary p. 116

"one other maske of pollenders with a mask of soldiours to their torchberers"

b. Feuillerat, Elizabeth p. 94 contains a list of requirements for a play involving Cupid, 'The Marshall and his bande', 'Ydelnes', 'Dalyance', Venus and Mars. It is incidentally mentioned that

"Venus to come in with a Maske of Ladies to reskue Cupid from the Marshall"

c. The term 'maske' is used for a group of dancers even when each group is part of a larger entertainment.

v. Stowe, Annales (1631) p. 1006 describing Beaumont's

Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn

"This night's entertainment consisted of three severall masks viz. An Antick maske of a strange and different fashion from others both in habit and manners very delectable: a rurall or country maske, consisting of many persons, men and women being all in sundry habits, being likewise as strange, variable and delightfull. The third, which they called the maine maske, was a maske of knights, attired in arming doublets of carnation sattin richly imbroydred with stars of silver plate, beset with smaller starres, spangles and silver lace."

Hall sometimes uses the term 'maskery' to refer to a group of dancers who are part of a larger 'maske'. In the description of the 'Mask' at Guisnes in 1520, Hall writes of three different groups of 10 dancers entering for the masque. Each group is called a 'maskery' as in

"Then there was another compaignie of x lordes in which maskery the king was himselfe..."

Hall, p. 615

4. Finally, the term is used to describe the whole entertainment.
 - a. v. Nichols, Elizabeth, vol. II, p. 355 describing the 'Ceremonial of the Baptism of Henry, Prince of Scotland' 1594

"It was thought good that the number of that maske should consist of nine actors, nine pages and nine lackies, which coming from sundry parts, and at divers times, together with the diversitie of their apparell, should bring some noveltie to the beholders."

- b. Machyn: Diary, ed. J.G. Nichols, (1847-8) p. 247

"the xxij day of January was mared in sant Pancras parryche Wylliam Belleffe vyntoner unto Master Malore doughtere... and ther was dyver althermen at the vedyng in skarlett; and they gayff a C. payre of glovys; and after a grett dener, and at nyght soper, and after a maske and numeres"

- c. Nichols, James vol.I p. 471; letter from Dudley Carleton to Winwood.

"...For in Mr. Chamberlain's absence I am come in Quarter and have waited diligently at Court this Christmas, that I have matter enough, if the report of Masks and Mummings can please you."

II

Some of the references to masques in the Jacobean material show the kind of entertainment which was expected of a masque and the relationship between masques and what was known of earlier entertainments.

- a. Letter from Carleton to Winwood, quoted in Orgel, The Jonsonian Masque (1965) p. 114

Carleton did not seem to know what to make of The Masque of Blackness which was more dramatic than the masques which had been seen at court before it. (v. above chapter two, pp.29-30)

"At night we had the Queen's Maske in the Banqueting House, or rather her Pageant..."

b. describing The Mountebank's Masque, Chamberlain writes

"On Thursday night the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn came to court with their show, for I cannot call it a Masque, seeing they were not disguised nor had vizards..."

Nichols, James, vol. III p. 468.

c. Nichols, James vol. I p. 184.

The entertainment for Queen Anne at Althorpe in 1603. The queen stayed

"...on Monday till after dinner; where there was a speech suddenly thought on, to induce a morris of the clowns thereabout who most officiously presented themselves..."

The entertainment opens with a speech from a clown who says

"...we are the huisher to a morris
A kind of masque, whereof good store is
In the country hereabout..."

d. Jonson, Masque of Augurs, ed. Orgel p. 383

In the first anti-masque Notch explains to the groom of the Revels

"...Disguise was the old English word for a masque, sir, before you were an implement belonging to the revels
Groom, There is no such word in office now, I assure you sir.
I have served here, man and boy, a prenticeship or
twain and I should know..."

APPENDIX II

A List of Late Moralities

This list of Late Moralities is not intended to be comprehensive. I hope to be able to do some more work on these entertainments in the future but I realised that to follow up the Late Moralities would lead me into areas which were not directly relevant to this thesis. All the works in this list use the techniques described in chapter two and are related in structure both to the masque and to the morality plays. The entertainments were presented in the Universities, at Court, on the professional stage and in private houses and schools.

- Anon., Juno in Arcadia 1643
The Masque at Cole Overton 1618
- Daniel, Hymen's Triumph 1615
The Queen's Arcadia 1605
- Dekker, The Sun's Darling 1624
- Fane, Raguaillo D'Oceano 1640
Time's Trick upon the Cards 1641
- Heywood, Love's Maistress or The Queen's Masque 1636
- Jordan, Cupid his Coronation 1654
- Middleton, The World Tost at Tennis 1620
- Milton, Comus 16³~~34~~
- Habbes, Microcosmos 1635
The Spring's Glory 1638
- Randolph, The Muses' Looking Glass 1630
- Sackville, The King and Queen's Entertainment at Richmond 1636
- Salisbury, The Masque at Knowsley 1641
- Shirley, Cupid and Death, 1653
The Contention for Honour and Riches 1625-32
The Triumph of Peace 1634

- Strode, The Floating Island 1636
- Tomkis, Lingua, Or the combat of the five senses for superiority 1607
- Pathomachia, or the battel of Affections. Shadowed by a
fained seidge of the Citie Pathopolis. 1617
- White, Cupid's Banishment 1617

Appendix III

Plays Containing Inserted Masques

This list of plays containing inserted masques is largely based on the lists in Reyher, pp 497-498 and Forsythe, The Relations of Shirley's Plays to the Elizabethan Drama (1914) pp 79-80. Forsythe's list is more comprehensive than ^{Rehyer's} but it contains a number of plays where the inserted set piece cannot really be called a masque. (v. above chapter 4) I have excluded those items in which the inserted entertainment cannot really be called a masque but I have included the inserted Late Moralities with a note that the form of the entertainment is not strictly speaking a masque. I have asterisked those plays which I discuss in the main body of the thesis.

Examining the list, I find that it is not possible to talk about any 'development' of the form and function of the masque in plays in any chronological sense. The masque is used to further the action of the play from the very earliest plays in which it is included and although the more elaborate late morality form is more frequently used in later plays, a fully dramatic masque is found as early as 1610 in Beaumont and Fletcher's The Maid's Tragedy.

As regards the scenic requirements of masques in plays, none of the masques needs any scenic effects which could not be provided by the resources of both public and private theatres. Masques are more frequently found in plays produced at the private theatres than in the public theatres but I think that this is more because of the nature of the plays produced at the private theatres than because of their scenic resources. The use of lights in staging a masque may have been more theatrically effective in the darker enclosed private theatres but this did not deter Shakespeare from bringing on torches in the masque in Romeo and Juliet. In The Malcontent,

a play which was transferred from a private theatre to the Globe, where is a reference to 'the not received custom of music' on the public stage, but this did not prevent the masque, on which the resolution of the plot depends, from being performed.

Masques in plays seem to have been thought of as a different form of entertainment from the court masque. They often had a similar dramatic form and action but they were never equipped with the same degree of scenic elaboration which came to play such an important part in the court masque. In Cartwright's The Royal Slave (1636) produced at Oxford and again at Hampton Court, an elaborate masque is produced to celebrate the return of Arsannes, the King and Cratandes, the Royal Slave. The scenery and the costumes for this play were designed by Inigo Jones and the music was by Henry Lawes and one might have thought that this would be an ideal opportunity to present a full court masque in a play, complete with moving scenery. However, despite the fact that there are eight different sets for the scenes and such elaborations as 'The sun eclipsed and a showre of raine dashing out the fire' (V, vi, 1574), the masque itself contains no scene changes at all and the figures in the masque simply enter on the level of the stage. The masques usually required no more than music for the dances and a door from which to enter, both of which were available in all the theatres used for Elizabethan and Jacobean drama.

In the following table I have used a number of abbreviations. They are:

- R. Revived
- T.O. The masque includes a dance in which the masquers dance with the people in the audience.
- NTO No taking out dance.

(t.p.) Title page, usually used to indicate that I have taken the information about the place of performance from the title page of the first edition of the play.

All information about the dates of the plays and the company who performed them is taken from Schoenbaum, Annals of English Drama 975-1700 (1964).

1590 - 1600

PLAYS CONTAINING INSERTED MASQUES

AUTHOR	TITLE	COMPANY	THEATRE	TYPE OF MASQUE	TYPE OF PLAY	FUNCTION OF THE MASQUE
1590 Green	<u>The Scottish History of James IV</u>	Queens (f)	'publicly played' (t.p.)	Dancing entry	History	Wedding celebration*
1592 Anon	<u>Woodstock</u>	Unknown, R. Chamberlain's		Speech from Cynthia. Masked dancers.	History	Uninvited Access. Auction of Woodstock*
1594 Anon	<u>Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany (III, V, 2)</u>	Unknown (R. Kings)		Dancers dressed as clowns: NTC	Tragedy	Wedding celebration* 'Disrupted revels'
1595 Shakespeare	<u>Love's Labour's Lost (V, 2)</u>	Unknown, R. Chamberlain's	Court	Disguised dancers (Russians) speech and T.O.	Comedy	To woo ladies*
Shakespeare	<u>Romeo and Juliet (I, 4 and 5)</u>	Chamberlain's	'publicly played' Q1 t.p.	Masked Dancers (T.O.)	Tragedy	Meeting of lovers; uninvited* access
1597	<u>An Humorous Day's Mirth (Sc. 14.)</u>	Admiral's	'publicly acted' t.p.	Enter masked figures with torches and Queen Fortune, Speech and pre- sent gifts.	Comedy	Not strictly masque form: messages in posies delivered by Fortune, final 'unmasking'

AUTHOR	TITLE	COMPANY	THEATRE	TYPE OF MASQUE	TYPE OF PLAY	FUNCTION OF THE MASQUE
1598 Chettle and Munday	<u>The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon.</u> (II, 2)	Admiral's		Masked Dancers T.O.	History	Uninvited access to press suit to Matilda*
Shakespeare	<u>Much Ado About Nothing</u> (II, 1)	Chamberlain's	Court	Masked dancers and T.O.	Comedy	Dance with ladies, plot complication*
1599 Marston	<u>Histrionastix</u> (III, 1)	Paul's	Inns of Court?	Simple entry 'blunt without devise' T.O?	Comedy	In place of a play. No action
Marston	<u>Antonio and Mellida</u> (V,1)	Paul's		Masked dancers present shields, T.O.	Tragicomedy	'celebration' of Mellida's betrothal - build up for final entry of Antonio*
1600 Marston	<u>Antonio's Revenge</u> Paul's (V, 1)	Paul's		Masked Dancers NTO	Revenge	Uninvited access of revengers*

1601 - 1605

AUTHOR	TITLE	COMPANY	THEATRE	TYPE OF MASQUE	TYPE OF PLAY	FUNCTION OF THE MASQUE
1601 Dekker	<u>Satiromastix</u>	Chamberlain's and Paul's	'presented publicly ... and privately' (t.p.)	Masked dancers with lights NTO	Comedy	Reversed revels, bring in Gaeles- tine 'dead' - unmasking and king admits guilt
Jonson	<u>Cynthia's Revels</u> (V, 1)	Chapel	Blackfriars	Two entries of disguised dancers, dance together	Comedy	In praise of Cynthia;* unmasking of courtiers
Anon (Middleton)	<u>Blurt, Master Constable</u> (II, 2)	Paul's		Masked dancers, T.O.	Comedy	Visit to the Courtesan
1602 Chapman	<u>May-Day</u> (V, 1)	Chapel	Blackfriars (t.p.)	Masked dancers T.O.	Disguise Comedy	Comic build up* final unmasking
1604 Marston	<u>The Dutch Courtesan</u> (IV 1)	Queen's Revels	Blackfriars (t.p.)	Entry of dancers NTO	Comedy	Bethrothal celebration;* disrupted revels
Marston (add. by Webster)	<u>The Malcontent</u> (V, 3)	Queen's Revels and King's	Blackfriars and Globe	Masked dancers T.O.	Tragicomedy	Uninvited access*

AUTHOR	TITLE	COMPANY	THEATRE	TYPE OF MASQUE	TYPE OF PLAY	FUNCTION OF THE MASQUE
1605 Chapman	<u>The Widow's Tears</u> (III, 2)	Queen's Revels?	Blackfriars and Whitefriars (t.p.)	Speech from Hymen, Silvans with torches, dance and T.O.	Comedy	Wedding celebra- tion*
Middleton	<u>Your Five Gallants</u> (V, 2)	Pauls? Queen's Revels in 1608		Masked dancers, deliver shields	Disguise Comedy	Uninvited access to husband choosing ceremony build up to comic unmasking*
1606 Anon, Tourneur (?) Middleton (?)	<u>The Revenger's Tragedy</u> (V, 3)	King's	Globe	Double entry of masked dancers NTO	Revenge	Uninvited access of Revengers*
1607 Machin	<u>Every Woman in her Humour</u> (V, 1)	King's Revels		Entry of masked figures, speech from Host and T.O.	Comedy	Celebrate the wedding of Lentulus and Tully
Shakespeare	<u>Timon of Athens</u> (I, 2)	Unacted?		Entry of Amazons speech from Cupid. NTO	Tragedy	Celebration of a banquet to show Timon's glory*

AUTHOR	TITLE	COMPANY	THEATRE	TYPE OF MASQUE	TYPE OF PLAY	FUNCTION OF THE MASQUE
1608 Chapman	<u>The Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron</u> (II, 1)	Queen's Revels	Blackfriars	Ladies dancers. Introduced by Cupid	Tragedy	Celebration for reconciliation of King's mistress and wife. To show glory of the King*
1609 Fletcher (and Middleton? Rowley?)	<u>Wit at Several Weapons</u> (V, 2)	Unknown		Masked dancers, T.O.	Comedy/Love	Elopement of lovers to resolve plot*
Field	<u>A Woman is a Weathercock</u> (V, 2)	Queen's Revels	Whitefriars	Masked dancers, T.O.	Comedy/Love	Elopement of lovers to resolve plot*
1610 Beaumont and Fletcher	<u>The Maid's Tragedy</u> (I, 1)	King's	Blackfriars	Dramatic dialogue Night, Cynthia and c. Songs and dances. NTO	Tragedy	Wedding celebration*
Marston and Barkstead	<u>The Insatiate Countess</u> (II, 1)	Queen's Revels	Whitefriars (t.p.)	Masked dancers deliver shields T.O.	Love Tragedy	Meeting and falling in love of Countess and Massino. Adulterous soliciting by Rogero and Claudiana

AUTHOR	TITLE	COMPANY	THEATRE	TYPE OF MASQUE	TYPE OF PLAY	FUNCTION OF THE MASQUE
1611 Shakespeare	<u>The Tempest</u> (IV, 1)	King's	Court	Dramatic Dialogue Juno and Ceres. Dance of Reapers and c.	Comedy	Betrothal celebration, disrupted revels*
1613 Middleton	<u>No Wit, No Help</u> <u>Like a Woman's,</u> (IV, 2)	Lady Elizabeth's		Dialogue of Four Elements - enter from a Globe - unmasked by Four Winds	Comedy	Betrothal celebration Disrupted revels turned into an anti- masque*
Shakespeare (and Fletcher)	<u>Henry VIII</u> (1, 4)	King's	Globe	Masked dancers enter. T.O.	History	Meeting and falling in love of Henry and Anne*
1614 Smith	<u>The Hector of</u> <u>Germany</u> (V, 5)	Young Men of this City (Tradesmen)	Bull and Curtain	Dance of Masked Lords. Unmask. NTO	Pseudo-history	Uninvited Access*
Anon (SR. Beaumont and Fletcher)	<u>The Faithful</u> <u>Friends</u> (IV, 3)	Unknown		Dancers disguised as Furies. T.O.	Tragi-comedy	Exposed lustful King, Tullus overhears King solicit his wife. Uninvited access.

AUTHOR	TITLE	COMPANY	THEATRE	TYPE OF MASQUE	TYPE OF PLAY	FUNCTION OF THE MASQUE
1616 Fletcher	<u>The Nice Valour</u> (II, 1)	Unknown		Entry of Cupid and six women maskers song and dance. NTO	Comedy	Showing the folly of the passionate lord who is shot with Cupid's arrow
1617 Fletcher	<u>The Mad Lover</u> (IV, 1)	King's		Action with song from Orpheus and Charon with 'A Mask of Beasts' NTO	Tragicomedy	L.M. entertainment, to show 'the plagues of love'
1618 Goffe	<u>Amurath I, the Courageous Turk</u> (I, 4)	Christ Church Oxford	University	Procession of Gods and Goddesses. NTO	Tragedy: Love and War	Celebration of Wedding Reversed Masque*
Middleton	<u>The Old Law</u> (IV, 1)	Unknown		Masked Dancers, T.O.	Comedy	Unexpected union in taking out dance*
1620 Fletcher	<u>Women Pleased</u> (V, 1)	King's		Dance of 'shapes' introduced by song. NTO	Tragicomedy	Unexpected entry - unmasking resolves plot*

AUTHOR	TITLE	COMPANY	THEATRE	TYPE OF MASQUE	TYPE OF PLAY	FUNCTION OF THE MASQUE
1620 Fletcher and Massinger	<u>The Custom of the Country</u> (I, 1)	King's		Entry of Diana and two knights	Comedy	Uninvited access - to capture Duke - using technique from masque but not the form*
Anon	<u>The Costly Whore</u> (II, 2)	Red Bull Company (Revels?)	Red Bull	Mumming	Pseudo-history	initiates plot; uninvited access
1621 Middleton	<u>Woman Beware Women</u> (V, 1)	King's		Dramatic Show of Nymph Juno and Cupid	Tragedy	Resolves plot. Characters kill one another* Planned as uninvited access.
1622 Anon (Carlell?)	<u>Osmond, The Great Turk</u> c.f. 1637 Play of same name. Same play?	King's			Tragedy(?)	
1624 Davenport	<u>The City Night- cap</u> (IV, 2)	Lady Elizabeth's	Phoenix	Presented by clown, masquers horned beasts. Dance NTO	Comedy	To refer to Lodovico's cuckolding c.f. Masque in <u>The English Moor</u> (1, 3)

AUTHOR	TITLE	COMPANY	THEATRE	TYPE OF MASQUE	TYPE OF PLAY	FUNCTION OF THE MASQUE
1624 Fletcher	<u>A Wife for a Month</u> (II, 4)	King's		Speech from Cupid, dance of three Graces. NTO	Tragicomedy	Wedding 'celebration' reverse masque
1625 Shirley	<u>Love's Tricks</u> (V, 3)	Lady Elizabeth's	Phoenix	'Masque of Satyrs' followed by a separate entry. TO	Comedy	Pastoral festivities, not really a masque, second dancers disguised but not just for the masque. Union of lovers
1626 Shirley	<u>The Maid's Revenge</u> (IV, 3)	Queen Henrietta's	Cockpit	A dance of soldiers NTO	Tragedy	Entertainment Interrupted Revels
1628 Ford and c.	<u>The Lover's Melancholy</u> (III, 3)	King's	Blackfriars and Globe	Dance and song from different kinds of Melancholy. NTO	Comedy	To show Prince folly of love. More L.N. than masque - no connection with audience. But danced by other characters in the play.

AUTHOR	TITLE	COMPANY	THEATRE	TYPE OF MASQUE	TYPE OF PLAY	FUNCTION OF THE MASQUE
1629 Brome	<u>The Northern Lass</u> (II, 4)	King's	Globe and Blackfriars (t.p.)	Song and Dance. Four men and four women in willow garlands	Comedy	Wedding entertain- ment. Reverse masque. One of masquers in love with groom.
1630 Massinger	<u>The Picture</u> (II, 2)	King's	Globe and Blackfriars	Song and Dance. Song in praise of the victorious soldiers sung by Pallas. NTO	Tragicomedy	Entertainment for victorious soldiers. Not a full masque.
1631 Dekker	<u>The Wonder of a Kingdom</u> (IV, 1)	Queen Henrietta's		'women in strange habits' Dance	Comedy	Purely show. Part of Torrenti's self advertise- ment*
1632 Brome	<u>The Court Beggar</u> (V, 2)	King's	Cockpit	Dance of Gods' agents broken off by Projector's Mendicant stripped of patents in another dance NTO	Comedy	L.M. action. Mendicant stripped of Patents - cured of obsession. Projectors rejected at the end. - First part a masque but not second.

AUTHOR	TITLE	COMPANY	THEATRE	TYPE OF MASQUE	TYPE OF PLAY	FUNCTION OF THE MASQUE
1632 Ford	<u>'Tis Pity She's a Whore (IV, 1)</u>	Queen Henrietta's	Phoenix (t.p.)	Masked Dancers NTO	Tragedy	Uninvited access, planned murder foiled.
Ford	<u>Love's Sacrifice (III, 4)</u>	Queen Henrietta's	Phoenix	Masked women enter to dancing men. NTO	Tragedy	Uninvited access, murder of Ferentes.
Shirley	<u>The Ball (V, 1)</u>	Queen Henrietta's		Contention between Venus and Cupid and Diana followed by anti-masque of satyrs	Comedy	Unmasking of Barker
Shirley	<u>Love in a Maze (V, 5)</u>	'King's Revels' (Prince Charles?)	Salisbury Court (t.p.)	Procession of maskers, dance and unmask	Love Comedy	Secret marriage revealed in unmasking
1633 Cockaine	<u>Trappolin supposed a Prince (II, 2)</u>	Unknown		Speeches from Hymen and Mars, two dances and a song. NTO	Comedy	Set piece wedding enter- tainment*
Ford	<u>Perkin Warbeck (III, 2)</u>	Queen Henrietta's	Phoenix	Dance by 'Scotch Antics' and 'wild Irish'. NTO	History	Marriage enter- tainment. No action but irony behind revels noted in previous dialogue.

AUTHOR	TITLE	COMPANY	THEATRE	TYPE OF MASQUE	TYPE OF PLAY	FUNCTION OF THE MASQUE
1635 Glapthorne	<u>The Lady Mother</u> (V, 2)	King's Revels	Salisbury Court (Bullen).	Dramatic: Death and Furies banished by Hymen and Lovers. Unmask. NTO	Tragicomedy	Unexpected arrival of lovers* Resolve plot
Nabbes	<u>Hannibal and Scipio</u> (II, 5)	Queen Henrietta's	Phoenix	Masked ladies in white. Dance and unmask. NTO	Tragedy	Presentation of Sophonisba to Syphax
Richards	<u>Messalina</u> (V, 1)	King's Revels		Anti-masque of Bacchanals, appearance of Messalina and Silius in glory NTO	Tragedy	Show glory of Messalina*
Shirley	<u>The Coronation</u> (IV, 3)	Queen Henrietta's	Phoenix	L.M. type 'Masque of Fortune! Dia- logue, Honour takes love away from Fortune.	Tragedy	Principally for 'atmosphere'. A mourning masque presented by Polidora to show Demetrius the dishonour of his conduct.

AUTHOR	TITLE	COMPANY	THEATRE	TYPE OF MASQUE	TYPE OF PLAY	FUNCTION OF THE MASQUE
1635 Ford	<u>The Fancies</u> <u>Chaste and</u> <u>Noble</u> (V, 3)			Dance by 'type' figures	Comedy	Similar to L.M; to show folly of love, sums up action cf. <u>The</u> <u>Antipodes</u>
1636 Cartwright	<u>The Royal Slave</u> (V, 5)	Christ Church (King's Revels?)	University (Hampton Court?)	Anti-masque of four slaves and two whores. Main masque of ladies in warlike habits, Dance NTO	Tragicomedy	Entertainment in honour of victor- ious of Arsannes and Cratander.
1637 Brome	<u>The English Moor</u> (1, 3) (IV, 5)	Queen's		1. Dance of disguised figures. Debate speech from Mercury. 2. Fortune telling Dance of Moors T.O.	Comedy	1. Reversed Revels - insult Quick- sands. 2. To insult gallants - reversed by them*

AUTHOR	TITLE	COMPANY	THEATRE	TYPE OF MASQUE	TYPE OF PLAY	FUNCTION OF THE MASQUE
1637 Carlell	<u>Osmond, the Great Turk</u> (II)	Queen's	Salisbury Court (Nicoll ed.)	SD Masque - no further indication. NTO	Tragicomedy	Entertainment for Melcoshus and Despina. Prepared by Italy who condemns their love but no action.
Glapthorne	<u>The Ladies Priviledge</u> (V,1)	Beeston's Boys	Cockpit and Whitehall (t.p.)	Dance of Virgins NTO	Tragicomedy	Reverse masque to 'celebrate' a misalliance
1638 Brome	<u>The Antipodes</u> (V, 2)	Queen's	Salisbury Court	Dramatic. Song and dance of Discord banished by Harmony and Gods	Comedy	Wedding entertainment: Sums up action of the play. L.M.
Cartwright	<u>The Siege</u> (V, 8)	Unacted?		Statues of Heroes and Amorous Ladies come alive and dance. NTO	Tragicomedy	Wedding celebration; Entertainment
Shirley	<u>The Constant Maid</u> (IV, 3)	Ogilby's Men Dublin?	Dublin?	Dramatic Action of Arraignment of Paris	Comedy	Union of Playfair and Niece, Cupid as Venus' attendant presents Niece to Playfair - Masque type action in play-within-a-play c.f. <u>The Maid in the Mill</u>

AUTHOR	TITLE	COMPANY	THEATRE	TYPE OF MASQUE	TYPE OF PLAY	FUNCTION OF THE MASQUE
1639 Cockaine	<u>The Obstinate Lady</u> (IV, 3)	Unknown		Clownish Maskers with presenter NTO	Comedy	Set piece, entertainment.
Freeman	<u>Imperiate</u> (IV, 4)	(Closet?)		Speech by nuptial Genius - Romans 'dance a warlike dance' T.Of		Unexpected arrival: reunion of lovers, followed by reversed revels
1640 Brome	<u>The Court Beggar</u> (V, 2)	Beeston's Boys		Speech from Cupid Dramatic action NTO	Comedy	Resolve plot. Begins with reversed revels, planned marriage unhappy but true lovers reunited (c.f. <u>Woman is a Weathercock</u>)
1641 Shirley	<u>The Cardinal</u> (III, 1)	King's	Blackfriars	Double entry of Columbo and five maskers with torchbearers. NTO	Tragedy	Abduction and death of Alvarez. Death revealed in unmasking.

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