

**Neoplatonic Identities: literary representation and the politics
of Queen Henrietta Maria's court circle**

by

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given
where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

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My thesis investigates Queen Henrietta Maria's cultural activities at the Caroline court, paying particular attention to her connections with France and with French politics. In contrast to previous studies of her life, I am concerned not only with her position as a Catholic in a Protestant country, but with her status as a culturally and politically active woman. I discuss the significance of her importation of French cultural fashions on to the English stage (most notably the innovation of the female actor), and investigate notions of female identity put forward in her masques and pastoral plays. By tracing the influences of both neoplatonism and reformed Catholic theology in the Queen's theatrical productions, I demonstrate how courtly women came to be privileged as the arbiters of taste and judgement, and show how this led to a perception of them as properly political agents. I also demonstrate that the Queen's court masques promoted a 'counterpublic' space inside the court from which ideas independent of King Charles's own policies could be expressed. I investigate Henrietta Maria's involvement in international current affairs, illustrating how her political alignments could be manifested in her court productions. Finally, I discuss her position as an exile at the French court during the English civil war, showing how, despite her lack of funds, she managed to maintain a political, religious, and social presence in France.

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A Note on Procedures

Dating

There were two calendars in use during the seventeenth century. Continental Europe used the Gregorian, or New Style, system of dating, while England maintained the Julian, or Old Style, and was thus ten days behind the rest of Europe. I have used Old Style dating for English events, and have indicated both dates when discussing Continental affairs. I have also taken January, rather than March, to be the beginning of the calendar year. Thus, for example, the performance of *Tempe Restored* is given as February 1632, rather than 1631/2.

Editions

I have quoted Jonson from Herford and Simpson's edition of his works (1925-50), and Carew from the edition of Rhodes Dunlap (1949). I have chosen not to use Cedric C. Brown's edition of Townshend because of its lack of a line count, preferring instead to quote Townshend, along with Davenant, from Orgel and Strong's convenient *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (1973).

INTRODUCTION

Bones of Contention: Re-membering Henrietta Maria

Thus saith the Lord GOD unto these bones; Behold, I will cause
breath to enter into you, and ye shall live.

Ezekiel 37.5

Henrietta Maria no longer has a tomb. Indeed, she barely has a grave. What is left of her body is bricked up behind a wall in the crypt of Saint Denis cathedral with the muddled bones of her royal relations, torn from their sepulchres during the French Revolution of 1789. As the citizenry rose against their King, they tried to wipe out the memory of centuries of monarchical rule by razing the tombs of Louis XVI's ancestors and dismembering the bodies. The attack on the crypt at Saint Denis was a violent bid for cultural forgetting, an attempt to wipe out centuries of privilege and oppression by erasing the remains. At the same time, it was a bid to control remembering; the spectres of the Bourbon kings can only ever now return in the shadow of the Revolution that dismembered them.¹

My thesis invokes the return of a Bourbon princess by seeking to know how her scattered remains have been articulated through and across history. It is also concerned with the nature of remembrance *per se*, and poses questions about the legitimacy of historiographical representation. The image of the defiled crypt of Saint Denis illustrates at once the physical reality of my subject, and yet furnishes a metaphor for the impossibility of ever satisfactorily reconstructing her. Henrietta Maria's skeleton cannot be re-membered, neither can her history. Just as her remains were scattered around Saint Denis cathedral, so her image has been dispersed across a multitude of texts; her bones are confused with the bones of her relations and her history is a jumble of received interpretations, imaginations and suppositions. Thus, while this thesis is structured as a

¹The ransacking of Saint Denis was authorised by a decree of the Revolutionary Convention of 1st August 1793. It was part of an official attack on France's ecclesiastical, feudal and royal past, occurring alongside a policy of dechristianisation and preceding the removal of the images of kings from the front of Notre Dame cathedral in October 1793. See Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (London: Viking, 1989), p. 829; William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 260-1.

historical biography, inserting 'new' evidence into an already extant narrative that seeks to shed light upon the Queen's character and life, it also aims to unpack the strategies at work behind cultural representation to show how the production of an identity and the production of a history are closely intertwined.

The common perception of Henrietta Maria is one of a petulant, spoilt child, whose love of Catholic spectacle helped to provoke England to rise against its King. This view is not just prevalent in popular culture, it is also to be found in the work of historians whose descriptions of Henrietta Maria as a frivolous pleasure-seeker lend an air of intellectual authority to her unflattering public image: Henrietta Maria must have had a lightweight mind, because important (and usually male) historians have said that this was so. My aim here is certainly to challenge this opinion and to recast Henrietta Maria as a figure who had an impact upon history. However, I am also interested in the notion of history *per se*; in the way its narrative has traditionally been organised around great events and people in order to create a coherent, teleological notion of the past.

This type of history, with its emphasis on the retrievable interiority of a unified subject, not only progresses in a linear fashion towards the future, but allows its readers to conceive of themselves as unified subjects, held in the present through their relationship with a knowable past. Through an investigation into Henrietta Maria's neoplatonic fashion, with its emphasis on the world as a shadowy illusion, and through a consideration of the fragmented nature of women's identities in a culture which privileges an implicitly masculine form of self-presence, I want to problematise this notion, considering history as a fluid concept, as the work of memory, mourning, and ghosts. The court masque is a particularly appropriate form to study in this respect, for it remains to us only as a shadow, a textual memory of a lost performance. Modern critical readings of court productions are necessarily the always already fragmented reflections of ghosts, always already the work of mourning, always already haunted by phantoms that keep coming back.

Jerzy Limon has pointed towards a conflation made in much twentieth-century masque criticism between the theatrical performance of a court entertainment and the

entertainment's status as a literary text preserved in print or manuscript. 'On the one hand', he comments:

the literary masque directs the reader to a specific cultural event that has already taken place (or in some cases that might have taken place); on the other, it creates autonomous meanings that may be considered irrespective of the performance.²

While what remains to us is the literary masque as a written text, that text can be used by twentieth-century masque critics (in Limon's opinion, is invariably used) to point beyond itself to the masque-in-performance, resulting in a criticism concerned with the masque's 'actual performance and to its cultural and political milieu' rather than with masque texts as 'a literary genre' (Limon, p. 42). What is ironic about this, Limon observes, is that the masque-in-performance 'does not exist and can never be retrieved. We can only try to reconstruct it' (Limon, p. 23). Masques are events destined to happen only once; they become lost as they are performed. Just as Henrietta Maria's person and personality can never be re-membered, so the first, or 'original', experience of a masque can never be retrieved, it is fragmented as it occurs, becoming subject only to retelling and to recollection in memory.

The dispersed ballet fragments that remain to us from Henrietta Maria's wedding can be taken as a metaphor for the ultimate irretrievability of seventeenth-century court entertainments. The elaborate Parisian festivities for the wedding never came to fruition because the death of James I of England plunged the French court into mourning. There is thus a strange phantom at the centre of discourses about the marriage: James's spectre haunts the occasion, displacing celebrations which persist only as unfulfilled promises in various verse miscellanies and assorted texts.

Furthermore, James's was not the only ghostly presence at the celebrations; the marriage festivities were also haunted by the memory of Henri IV, Henrietta Maria's father and the late King of France. In *Les Dieux descendus en France, pour honorer la feste de l'Alliance d'Angleterre*, a ballet prepared, but probably not performed, for the

²Jerzy Limon, *The Masque of Stuart Culture* (London: Associated University Presses, 1990), p. 42.

wedding, the goddess Juno was expected to arrive on the stage accompanied by the figure of 'Henry le Grand'.³ This gives rise to two types of spectral haunting: the return out of history of the late Henri IV; and the return out of mythology of the goddess Juno. Manifesting themselves in a performance that passes in the instant it becomes present, these figures return *from* the past, and also figure the returning *of* the past. Each ballet repeats the memories and the spectres of past occasions, each ballet rethinks concepts of harmony and unity again and again. Henri returns to reassure France that he never really went away, that he is, and always has been, present in the body and actions of Marie de Médicis. Juno returns to reassure France that it is seeing a new golden age, that the court of Louis XIII is a heaven on earth, filled with gods more divine than the classical gods. The time of the court ballet is the time of the revenant, the returning spectre; it is a dislocated time, a spectral border between presence and non-presence. Like the ghost of Hamlet's father, Henri IV begins by coming back, opening up the possibility of future returns.⁴ His apparition causes the ballet audience to remember itself in relation to its historical past, and yet, paradoxically, disrupts notions of the historical progression of time.

The figure of the late King did not just manifest itself in French entertainments, it was also invoked in English texts concerned with the wedding negotiations. Indeed, Tom Cogswell has remarked how unnerving it is to 'witness Henri of Navarre [...] enter into sober diplomatic deliberations [about the marriage] over a decade after his assassination'.⁵ He asserts that Henri 'was a stock character in the Elizabethan cycle of popular history', known as a 'steadfast anti-Habsburg warrior' and a defier of Popes, and concludes that, 'for a generation brought up during the Armada war, the myth mattered as much as the reality' (Cogswell, p. 122). This process of mythologisation problematises the notion of history as a retrievable narrative, because it creates

³See *Recueil des plus beaux vers de Messieurs Malherbe etc* (Paris: Toussaint du Bray, 1627), pp. 793-5. The verses in question were by Antoine-André Mareschal.

⁴See Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (London: Routledge, 1994), espec. pp. 3-29.

⁵Tom Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1989), p. 122.

alternative pasts and projects out of itself impossible futures. The spectres it invokes have a palpable effect upon the popular consciousness, defining national identities and international relations.

In an extremely apposite chapter in his book, *The Tradition of the New*, Harold Rosenberg has written of the resurrection of classical roles at moments of revolutionary change:

The question of myth in history is the question of the hero. And the question of the hero is the question of resurrection. The hero is he who is able to come to life again after he has perished. If the dead stayed dead, and could not cause what once was to be again, there would be no heroes and no myth capable of overpowering man's sense of his time. [...] For the hero the plot of history has been written once for all, and is outside of time. To act historically means to him to enact a timeless incident which he has played before. The hero is aware only of eternal forms; duration is not accessible to him; when he says "a thousand years" it is but a figure of speech for an endless series of recurrences.⁶

Although Rosenberg's argument is deployed in the service of his discussion of Marx and revolutionary history, his description of the hero placed outside of time is pertinent to my discussion of Henrietta Maria's marriage celebrations. The spectre of Henri returns from somewhere else, from a place outside of time. Its return serves not only as an injunction to repeat past glories, but an injunction to repeat glories that exist timelessly as eternal forms. While this spectral presence recalls the past, it is a past (and a presence) that has never yet existed, an idealised past of the imagination, and thus a past that is yet to come, that opens towards the possibility of the future. By writing Henri IV and his magnificence into eternity, the wedding ballet verses struggle to overcome historical fragmentation and death by conceiving of themselves as timeless instants, containing within themselves all their pasts, presents, and futures.

⁶Harold Rosenberg, *The Tradition of the New* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959, repr. 1982), pp. 155-7.

In their scattered and imperfect remains, the masque and ballet documents bear witness to this struggle with fragmentation. Their historicity is not hidden: they display the marks of their passage through time, and are thus strangely whole. Our problem as historians is that we seek to re-member the fragments, to recreate contexts, and to search for origins. Rather than responding to the otherness of the past, we undertake the impossible task of, for example, re-articulating Henrietta Maria's scattered bones, and of reconstituting the original meaning of her texts. However, the reflection in the mirror, the image in the text, is spectral: we turn back to reflect on the past and find we are only reflecting upon ourselves, constituting ourselves as subjects in the light of our constructions of history.

Headstones: monuments to a frivolous Queen

For a long time, as Malcolm Smuts remarks, Henrietta Maria was represented by historians as 'a vivacious but irresponsible papist queen, cajoling her uxorious husband to defy his subjects'.⁷ Henrietta Maria is represented as a figure of female misrule, castigated for her foreign religion, and demonised as a manipulative wife who used sexual wiles to control her husband. This image is reminiscent of anti-royalist Civil War polemic and seventeenth-century Protestant writings which, for example, characterised the Queen as 'a Papist, a French lady of a haughty spirit [...] to whom [the King] became a most uxorious husband'.⁸ The similarities between later historians' views of Henrietta Maria and those of her Protestant contemporaries cannot simply be classed as the expression of an historical truth; they encode a particular agenda. As well as being an obvious example of gender stereotyping, such historical representations are also linked to the promulgation of a teleological and Protestant agenda which represents the

⁷As examples of this type of representation, Smuts cites the work of Conrad Russell, Quentin Bone, and Elizabeth Hamilton; see Malcolm Smuts, 'The Puritan Followers of Henrietta Maria in the 1630s', *The English Historical Review*, 93:366 (1978), 26-45, (p. 26).

⁸Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel John Hutchinson* (London: J. M. Dent, 1995), p. 67.

Caroline court as a place of decadence and luxury, brought down by the actions of a morally stronger parliament.

The prevalence of this view can most clearly be observed in Samuel R. Gardiner's massive *History of England*. Writing in the late nineteenth-century, Gardiner describes the Queen as a woman who 'had nothing of statesmanship in her', and who wanted only 'to live the life of a gay butterfly passing lightly from flower to flower'.⁹ Surrounded by Catholic intriguers, she meddled in politics to the detriment of her husband and his Protestant country, 'setting at naught the strength of the Sampson who had arisen in his might' (Gardiner, 9, p. 227). The association of Henrietta Maria with Delilah locates her as sexually wily, and also creates typological associations with other fallen Biblical women including the Whore of Babylon (traditionally used in Protestant polemic to figure the Catholic Church). It also gestures towards *Samson Agonistes*, John Milton's poem of the 1670s: Gardiner appropriates the terms of seventeenth-century Protestant literature and anti-royalist tracts in order to produce a picture of Henrietta Maria as a dangerous Catholic woman who seduced her husband, subverting his 'natural' judgement and rationality.¹⁰

However, the Queen's behaviour is ultimately excused by Gardiner, who states that 'to condemn Henrietta Maria is impossible' because her birth and education had not taught her to comprehend 'the greatness of the cause which she was opposing' (Gardiner, 9, p. 228). Not only does this statement belittle the Queen's abilities, it takes any sense of political agency from the Queen whose lack of comprehension is shown to produce reaction rather than action. It also locates Gardiner firmly in the tradition of Whig Protestantism, and promotes a sense of English superiority, dismissing Henrietta Maria as intellectually and morally deficient upon the grounds of her gender, religion and nationality. The Queen's political actions are denigrated by the use of the loaded terms

⁹Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642*, 10 vols (London: Longmans, 1883-4), 9 (1884), p. 228.

¹⁰See also *Tyrannicall-Government Anatomized*, a polemical play (occasionally attributed to Milton) which represents King Herod as a man swayed by the malignant influences of his wife and daughter; *Tyrannical-Government Anatomized: or, a discourse concerning evil-councillors* (London: John Field, 1642).

'intrigues', 'contrivance' and 'feminine allurements' (Gardiner, 9, p. 227) which combine to present her as ignorant and as incapable of acting effectively within a political realm properly governed by men. The outbreak of the Civil War was 'so incomprehensible to her,' Gardiner writes, 'that she was roused to mischievous activity by the extremity of her annoyance' (Gardiner, 9, p. 228). His representation of the Queen thus excludes her from serious politics because of her gender, marking her as a frivolous woman whose nationality, religion, and love of pleasure contributed to the downfall of the English King.¹¹

Similar representations are to be found in Henrietta Haynes's biographical study of Henrietta Maria published in 1912. Haynes, too, is involved in the production of a Whig history, plotting England's progression towards the great age of the Victorian Empire. She reads events retrospectively in the light of the Civil War, constructing a narrative which presupposes conflict. Her argument paradoxically exculpates Henrietta Maria from blame for Charles's embroilment in the war, yet apportions some of that blame to her, emphasising that, although her nature was not intrinsically bad, her limited understanding rendered her politically incompetent.¹² This type of personal history, with its emphasis on the retrievable interiority of a unified subject, organises its narrative around great events and personalities to create a coherent, teleological sense of history. History is seen to operate within a logic of identity; the past is interpreted in a way that confirms rather than disrupts the beliefs of the present. Haynes's Henrietta Maria is essentially a bourgeois Victorian, fixed in a private domestic space, yet striving for social advancement by pushing her husband to attempt tasks for which he is unfit. The Queen's private happiness is gained by humouring and nurturing her husband, and it is

¹¹This view is also to be found in Percy Bysshe Shelley's verse drama 'Charles the First' which represents Charles as virtuous but ill-counselled, and condemns the Queen as a papist in league with the 'idolatrous and adulterous' Lewis of France. Shelley's poem is also interesting for its representation of court masques. It states that 'these shows are well devised' in Paris, and then uses an English masque to symbolise courtly decadence, linking Henrietta Maria's malign influence to (an implicitly French) spectacle; *The 'Charles the First' Draft Notebook: A Facsimile of Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 17*, ed. Nora Crook (London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1991), pp. 228-98. The poem is discussed by David Norbrook in 'The Reformation of the Masque', *The Court Masque*, ed. David Lindley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 94-110 (pp. 94-5).

¹²Henrietta Haynes, *Henrietta Maria* (London: Methuen, 1912), pp. xi-xv.

with him that the blame for their fate ultimately resides: he fails as a husband by allowing Henrietta Maria to prosecute her political ambitions and by not being great enough to fulfil his wife's desires. Haynes's biography of Henrietta Maria demonstrates a belief that women are intellectually unfit for politics, consigning the Queen to domesticity and denying her any claim to a rational and articulate self-identity.

Later historical commentators also fail to recognise Henrietta Maria's potential as a politically and culturally active woman, closing off this possibility through the conflation of the terms irrationality, frivolity and femininity. Alfred Harbage, for example, describes Henrietta Maria as a 'charming lady' who dignified 'a love of festive toys and tinsel which in Anne of Denmark had seemed childish frivolity'.¹³ Although, for Harbage, it is Anne who was frivolous, the comparison he makes between the two queens also implies Henrietta Maria's own intrinsic lack of seriousness. His argument infantilises both queens through its use of the words 'toys', 'tinsel', and 'childish', and leads unsurprisingly to the critical value judgement that 'Henrietta had not a jot of literary taste' (Harbage, p. 11). Harbage's description of the Queen presents her as critically indiscriminate, unable rationally to judge or to control her reactions to cultural production. In effect, he promulgates a gendered stereotype which represents women as irrational and unfit for serious affairs. Henrietta Maria's political activity is judged as meddling or intrigue; her connections with her French family and other female friends are seen as antipathetic to serious statecraft, or are ignored entirely.

Similar stereotyping can be found throughout *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong's important work on Caroline court masques. For example, in their investigation into the staging of *Artenice*, Henrietta Maria's 1626 pastoral, they assert that 'there would have been nothing metaphysical behind the French princess's desire to present the play with scenes: that was simply the way it would have been presented in France'.¹⁴ The Queen's theatrical interests become

¹³Alfred Harbage, *Cavalier Drama: An Historical and Critical Supplement to the Study of the Elizabethan and Restoration Stage* (London: O.U.P., 1936), p. 10.

¹⁴Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) 1, p. 25.

merely derivative, devoid of understanding or thought, undertaken purely for entertainment. Henrietta Maria's productions are thus habitually interpreted by twentieth-century critics either as unchallenging manifestations of a 'facile platonism', or as representative of Charles I's own political agenda (as is the case with Stephen Orgel's reading of *The Temple of Love* which entirely overlooks the fact that it was a Queen's masque).¹⁵ This position is perhaps most neatly summed up by the opinions of the historian, Kevin Sharpe, whose work on Caroline court theatre (which predictably concentrates mainly upon Charles's productions) avows that, in comparison with the King's masques, 'the queen's masques appear to modern readers as monochrome and one-dimensional and, in consequence, as simpler statements of unquestioned truths'.¹⁶ When Sharpe does undertake readings of the Queen's masques, he interprets them as manifestations of their male authors' desire to provide criticism or compliment to the King, neglecting to remember that such events might also serve the Queen's political or religious ends.¹⁷ What therefore emerges from the mass of critical material ostensibly concerned with Henrietta Maria's drama is the conclusion that it was apolitical (unless reflecting the King's concerns), philosophically lightweight, and undertaken mainly for the Queen's pleasure.

Nonetheless, comments upon the Queen's wit and social abilities are to be found in many of the accounts written of her by her contemporaries, demonstrating that, in her own lifetime, she was not looked upon as entirely ineffectual. Admittedly, in the seventeenth century, the term, 'wit' (and its French counterpart, 'esprit'), were less indicative of intelligence than synonymous with the arts of conversation practised in polite society. However, despite the rules of courtly protocol which demanded that the Queen be spoken of with respect, enough comments remain to challenge the notion of

¹⁵Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603-42* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), p. 189; Stephen Orgel, 'Inigo Jones' Persian Entertainment', *Art and Archaeology Research Papers* (1972), 2, 59-69. The second version of this paper does mention the Queen, but still offers a reading driven by Orgel's view of Charles I's policies: see Stephen Orgel, 'Plato, the Magi, and Caroline Politics: A Reading of *The Temple of Love*', *Word and Image*, 4 (1988), 663-77.

¹⁶Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1987; repr. 1990), p. 257.

¹⁷See particularly Sharpe's discussion of Davenant, especially his reading of *The Temple of Love*; Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, pp. 244-7.

Henrietta Maria's vacuous frivolity. For example, writing to Prince Charles from France in 1624, Henry Rich observed jocularly that the young Princess's wisdom was infinitely greater than her height, adding that he had heard her converse with her mother 'with extraordinary discretion and quickness'.¹⁸ Similarly, Madame de Motteville, Henrietta Maria's friend in the 1650s, remarked often upon her 'esprit'.¹⁹ Even the parliamentary supporter Lucy Hutchinson, although representing Henrietta Maria's actions as fatal to the kingdom 'which is never in any place happy where the hands that are made only for distaffs affect the management of sceptres', nonetheless commented more than once upon her 'great wit'.²⁰ Hutchinson's comments upon the Queen's abilities have none of the dismissive qualities of later historians' work, and represent Henrietta Maria as using available resources to the best of her advantage. It is significant that this is the comment of one woman upon another, nodding to the inappropriateness of female rule, and yet recognising the Queen's capabilities and strength.

Unsurprisingly, much of the more enlightened scholarship on Henrietta Maria in recent years has been undertaken by women who have promoted more nuanced versions of the Queen's socio-cultural activities, and have redressed the gendered imbalance that presented her as frivolous and misguided. This work has gone hand in hand with a more general interest in early modern women's cultural behaviour, and with the mainstream publication of female-authored texts. It has led to a greater understanding of the social and economic conditions under which early modern women lived and worked, and has gone some way towards redressing the gendered imbalance in historical criticism.

Caroline Hibbard's historical research into Charles's court calls for a re-evaluation of Henrietta Maria's place within Caroline politics, emphasising the privileged access she had to the King.²¹ However, Hibbard, like Gardiner, represents the Queen's court as a hotbed of Catholicism, particularly after the arrival of George Conn,

¹⁸Elizabeth Hamilton, *Henrietta Maria* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1976), p. 35.

¹⁹Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires, Collection de Mémoires sur l'Histoire de France*, ed. M. M. Michaud and Poujoulat (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1838), p. 85.

²⁰Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs*, pp. 69-70.

²¹Caroline Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), p. 9.

the papal agent, in late 1636 (Hibbard, p. 16). Although, refreshingly, she concedes that the Queen had a political role to play in the years leading up to the Civil War, the language she uses to describe that role denigrates Henrietta Maria's activities, criticising her 'encouragement of a flamboyant, court Catholicism' and her 'interference in the Church of England' (Hibbard, pp. 228-9). Hibbard presents a monolithic view of the Queen's religion, and ignores her connections with English Protestants like Northumberland and Holland. Nevertheless, by considering Henrietta Maria's influence with some seriousness, her work begins to retrieve the Queen from political invisibility at the Caroline court.

The most sustained study of Henrietta Maria's activities in England is undoubtedly Erica Veevers' *Images of Love and Religion*, which considers the Queen's cultural patronage in the light of her Catholicism. Veevers makes significant claims about Henrietta Maria's sponsorship of drama, reinterpreting her socio-religious undertakings at court and demonstrating that she had an agenda independent of that of her husband.²² Nevertheless, her study still promulgates certain myths about Henrietta Maria's character and motivations, representing her as a Queen whose 'own wit seems to have been of the kind associated with vivacity and native quickness of mind, rather than with depth of understanding or with learning' (Veevers, p. 35). Although Veevers' argument founds itself upon notions of nurture, rather than nature, it still draws upon established critical ideas about Henrietta Maria's personality, representing her as a woman of limited knowledge whose behaviour was driven largely by an unconsidered desire to replicate the culture of her native France. Furthermore, like Malcolm Smuts's work, it persistently presents the Queen as swayed by the influence of stronger men.²³

In addition, Veevers makes an artificial distinction between what she sees as the Queen's neoplatonic fashion and the neoplatonism of the Parisian *salons*. Her study opens with an attempt to differentiate between these two types of neoplatonism,

²²Erica Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and Court Entertainments* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1989), *passim*.

²³See, for example, Veevers' remarks on Gregorio Panzani and George Conn; Veevers, *Images*, pp. 84-5; cf. Smuts's comment that, 'Having secured Henrietta Maria's co-operation, Chateaufort set about providing her with a faction'; Smuts, 'Puritan Followers', p. 29.

identifying the activities of Lady Carlisle, a Caroline court beauty, with the 'original' version of neoplatonic love, 'developed by the *salons*', and describing Henrietta Maria's behaviour as 'having more in common with the concept of *honnêteté* than with the exaggerated woman worship of the romances' (Veevers, p. 37). The Queen's version of the fashion, she states, 'was not acquired directly from the Hôtel de Rambouillet, but from circles at the French court dominated by her mother' and influenced by the religious enthusiasms of reformed Catholicism (Veevers, p. 2). By associating Lady Carlisle with Ben Jonson's Lady Frampul, a woman whose 'egocentricity makes a mockery of both love and religion', Veevers is able to represent the Queen's neoplatonism as inflected with morality, combining piety with pleasure in keeping with the moralistic tone of Charles's court (Veevers, pp. 38-9). Carlisle, in contrast, is seen to embody a hard, detached, and ultimately self-seeking *préciosité*. This binary distinction serves Veevers' agenda for it allows her to counter Henrietta Maria's image as a scheming Catholic and to represent her instead as the leader of a benign social fashion (Veevers, pp. 2-3).

By redeeming Henrietta Maria at the expense of Lady Carlisle, Veevers promulgates a distinction between the virgin and the whore already implicit in the terms *honnêteté* and *préciosité*. Domna Stanton's excellent work on the Parisian *salons* has pointed out that *préciosité* initially denoted a satiric category imposed in a derogatory manner upon women by men.²⁴ Her investigation into the figure of the French *précieuse* demonstrates that such a woman was represented in mid-seventeenth-century texts as an Eve whose desire to know about the logos transgressed God's law and caused Adam's Fall. In contrast, an *honnête* woman, conceived as an object of veneration, initiated a male novice into polite society through her arts of conversation (Stanton, p. 126). Veevers' use of the term *préciosité*, therefore, demonstrates that she is working within a gendered model that demonises women's active appropriation of the Word. It is no

²⁴Domna Stanton, 'The Fiction of *Préciosité* and the Fear of Women', *Yale French Studies*, 62 (1981) 107-34, *passim*.

wonder that her study proposes that Henrietta Maria's influence at the Caroline court was more social than political (Veevers, pp. 4-7).

In contrast, Sophie Tomlinson's intelligent work has put forward the thesis that Henrietta Maria's patronage of drama was a means through which she could lay claim to the rights of the subject and that, through her example, she opened the door for women's involvement in cultural, political, and scientific discourses.²⁵ Tomlinson's great strength lies in her refusal to accept the notions of frivolity and intellectual inferiority traditionally associated with the Queen. Rather than representing her as slavishly aping extant fashions, or being directed by the wills of men, she places her at the vanguard of a feminocentric culture that would culminate, eventually, in the arrival of actresses upon the public stages of Restoration England. Tomlinson's story is a history of development and progression just as much as Gardiner's, and, like Gardiner's, is a product of its time. However, in seeking to re-member the links between women that histories such as Gardiner's strive to forget, it makes a significant contribution to our understanding of early modern women's behaviour and aspirations.

Like Tomlinson, I am concerned to re-member Henrietta Maria's connections to other women, most notably to her French family and friends. I am also very interested in the notion of feminine identities and, drawing on the philosophical works of scholars such as Luce Irigaray and Judith Butler, investigate the significance of Henrietta Maria's neoplatonic fashion for the development of female cultural agency. Although, like Veevers, I concentrate upon the spiritual aspects of the Queen's fashion, showing how it was influenced by the reformed Catholicism of prelates such as Saint François de Sales, I am also interested in the connection between Henrietta Maria's drama and her politics. My study investigates her status as the daughter of Marie de Médicis, the French Queen Regent, and the sister of both the Spanish Queen and the Duchess of Savoy. It shows how politics and culture were inextricably entwined in her mother's mind, and

²⁵Sophie Tomlinson, 'She That Plays The King: Henrietta Maria and the Threat of the Actress in Caroline Culture', *The Politics of Tragicomedy*, ed. Gordon McMullen and Jonathan Hope (London: Routledge, 1992), 189-207; Sophie Tomlinson, 'Theatrical Women: The Female Actor in English Theatre and Drama 1603-1670' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1995), *passim*.

demonstrates how, in the context of Anglo-French relations, even the borrowing of a French cultural form had political implications. Although Henrietta Maria was not the only promoter of French culture in England, she sponsored a fashion that enabled her to assert an identity of her own, and which allowed her to propound opinions that differed from those of her husband.

Lilies and roses: Henrietta Maria's iconography and cultural patronage

Martin Butler has observed of King Charles's masques that they 'had very little to say about continental affairs'.²⁶ He continues:

The 1630s masques concentrate almost exclusively on domestic politics, and if Europe appears at all it is always in tropes elaborating on the contrast between shipwreck abroad and peace at home. (Butler, 'Reform', p. 128)

This is certainly true of a masque such as Ben Jonson's *Love's Triumph* (1631) in which riotous (European) turbulence is reduced to 'a decent order' by King Charles.²⁷ However, a masque such as *Chloridia* (1631), written by Jonson for the Queen, can be shown actively to engage with both European politics and cultural forms (see Chapter 4 below). The Queen's productions should not be looked upon as pale reflections of the monarch's will, but expressed opinions in their own rights. They deployed an idiom that emphasised Henrietta Maria's identity as a Queen of England and a daughter of France, synthesising English and French iconographies into an imagery that was all her own.

John Harris and Gordon Higgott have observed that Henrietta Maria's relationship with Inigo Jones was probably a special one, and that at both Somerset House and the Queen's House, Greenwich, 'a new ornamental vocabulary' was

²⁶Martin Butler, 'Reform or Reverence? The Politics of the Caroline Masque', *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts*, ed. J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1993), 118-56 (p. 128).

²⁷See Butler, 'Reform', p. 131.

developed that distinguished Jones's work from that of the preceding reign.²⁸ Nevertheless, they comment that, although there *is* concrete evidence to associate the new style with the Queen's nationality, this may have been due less to her influence than to the fact that Inigo Jones 'was searching for a more enriched and eclectic ornamental idiom' (Harris and Higgott, p. 191). Similarly, John Peacock has shown that Jones was adapting continental theatrical forms long before Henrietta Maria's arrival in England.²⁹ Peacock's work stands as a caution against attributing theatrical innovation too strongly to Henrietta Maria's influence, yet he does concede that Jones's first commission for a 'pastoral scaene' was for the Queen's 1626 production of *Artenice*.³⁰ In most cases, it is impossible to retrieve specific evidence of the Queen's cultural influence, yet a broad consideration of her activities reveals strong associations both with France and with artists patronised by her French family.

Notable connections can be established between the artists employed by Marie de Médicis and those commissioned by Henrietta Maria. For example, Orazio Gentileschi, the Tuscan painter who contributed canvases to the Luxembourg, arrived in England in 1626, possibly in the train of Bassompierre, the French ambassador extraordinary, and entered the service of Charles I. Some years later, he declared that he had been working for the King of England with the 'good grace' of the Queen Mother of France.³¹ However, although he was in the King's employment, he was closely associated with Buckingham and was given rooms at York House, the Duke's London residence (Finaldi, p. 12). After Buckingham's death, though, and despite still being paid an annuity by the King, Gentileschi was mostly active for Henrietta Maria (Finaldi, p. 24). In the 1630s, the Queen seems to have been making a concerted effort to collect his paintings, particularly those with Biblical associations. She also gave Orazio his

²⁸John Harris and Gordon Higgott, *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings* (New York: The Drawing Centre and A. Zwemmer, 1989), pp. 190-1.

²⁹See John Peacock, 'The French Element in Inigo Jones's Masque Designs', *The Court Masque*, ed. Lindley, pp. 149-68.

³⁰John Peacock, *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1995), p. 178.

³¹Gabriele Finaldi, 'Orazio Gentileschi at the Court of Charles I', *Orazio Gentileschi at the Court of Charles I*, ed. Gabriele Finaldi (London: The National Gallery, 1999), 9-37 (p. 11).

largest commission in England, engaging him to paint the ceiling of the Great Hall at her house in Greenwich. The canvases were completed by the time of his death in 1639 and figured an *Allegory of Peace and the Arts*. Gabriele Finaldi has observed that all of the twenty-six figures represented on the ceiling were female, and remarks:

This assemblage of iconographies suggests (I put it no more strongly) that the Great Hall may have been intended by the Queen as a sort of realm of womanly virtue at the heart of her 'House of Delight'. (Finaldi, p. 29)

By creating a palace full of female-centred iconography, Henrietta Maria followed a tradition evoked by her mother at the Luxembourg whose decorative themes also glorified women. For example, a series of eight sculptures of women were commissioned to adorn the Luxembourg's dome, placing representations of strong women prominently outside a royal palace. The walls and ceiling of Marie's Luxembourg bedchamber were also decorated with a profusion of female allegorical figures, celebrating her success as a monarch.³²

Aspects of the Luxembourg's design also appear in other areas of Greenwich House. The introduction of parquet flooring into England has traditionally been associated with the Queen's desire to imitate the floors of the Luxembourg, while the blue and gold colouring in the King's Presence chamber at Greenwich, of which traces can still be identified, also mirrors the Luxembourg, whose main colour scheme was blue and gold, after the fashion inaugurated in Paris by the marquise de Rambouillet.³³ Indeed, blue and gold decoration was favoured by Henrietta Maria; in 1626, she employed Inigo Jones to create a private chamber for her at Somerset House painted in blue, white, and gold; the colours, incidentally, of her mother's livery.

³²Deborah Marrow, *The Art Patronage of Maria de' Medici* (Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1978), p. 28.

³³For the blue paint in the King's Presence Chamber, see the Queen's House, Greenwich, website: <http://www.nmm.ac.uk/tm/queen.htm>. For the use of blue and gold decoration at the Luxembourg, see Claude d'Anthenaise, Michel Richard and Philippe Martial, *Palais du Luxembourg* (Paris: Publications Nuit et Jour, 1992), p. 14.

Susan Alexandra Sykes has noted that the decoration of Greenwich House emphasised the union of France with England by playing on the theme of lilies and roses. Lilies with rosettes were to be found in the ceiling of the Great Hall, and on the ceiling timbers of the cabinet room, while formalised *fleur de lis* appeared on the stair banisters and the capitals of the loggia columns.³⁴ The lily and rose motif is a predictable one that was invoked in both England and France at the time of the wedding. Jonson's *Fortunate Isles and their Union* (1624) commented upon 'the present Prophecie that goes/ Of ioyning the bright LILLIE, and the ROSE', while the symbol was invoked again in *Love's Triumph* (1631) which promised that the rose and lily would cast a propitious shade over the nation.³⁵ In addition, a coin was minted in England 'to be flung about at the marriage', depicting a Cupid holding lilies and roses with, on the other side, a picture of the King and the Queen.³⁶ In France, Claude Malleville's verses for the unperformed *Balet de la Reyne d'Angleterre* (c. 1625) included an address to Marie de Médicis by Diana who declared that an admirable woman (Henrietta Maria) was soon to unite two sceptres and 'faire un mariage/ De la rose et du lis'.³⁷ Claude Garnier, a disciple of Pierre de Ronsard, the Valois court poet, also celebrated the Anglo-French match in his long poem, the *Bouquet du Lys et de la Rose*, which praised the royal couple and hoped that their union would herald a new golden age.³⁸

Roy Strong has commented that Henrietta Maria inherited her mother's passion for gardening and that she also appeared in Caroline court masques 'in almost horticultural terms'.³⁹ Following the example of Catherine de Médicis who had been responsible for the construction of the Tuileries, Marie de Médicis built gardens; even

³⁴Susan Alexandra Sykes, 'Henrietta Maria's 'House of Delight': French Influence and Iconography in the Queen's House, Greenwich', *Apollo*, 133:351 (1991), 332-6 (p. 333).

³⁵C. H. Herford, and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, eds, *Ben Jonson*, 11 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925-52), 7, p. 725, ll. 542-3; Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, 7, p. 742, ll. 212-14.

³⁶See *The Court and Times of Charles I*, ed. Thomas Birch, 2 vols (London: Henry Colburn, 1848), 1, p. 23.

³⁷Claude Malleville, 'Vers presentez par Diane à la Reyne Mère du Roy, pour le Balet de la Reyne d'Angleterre', *Poésies du Sieur de Malleville* (Paris: Augustin Courbe, 1649), pp. 114-21.

³⁸Claude Garnier, *Le Bouquet de lys et de la Rose au nom de l'Alliance de France et d'Angleterre* (Paris, 1624), *passim*.

³⁹Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979; 1998), pp. 186-7.

during her exile at Blois she planted the grounds of her residence with orange trees and jasmine.⁴⁰ The Luxembourg Palace garden also famously contained an orangery, an expensive innovation that reminded the Queen Regent of her native Florence. In the seventeenth century, orange trees became a highly prized ornament in the gardens of kings and princes, yet they required particular attention in northern climates and were wintered in large buildings especially constructed for their shelter. Orange trees had been imported into France from Italy from the end of the fifteenth-century, but, two hundred years later, they were still a rare commodity. In 1625, Marie de Médicis ordered five hundred orange trees from merchants near Genoa, some of which were destined for the Luxembourg.⁴¹ Henrietta Maria, in her turn, imported plants from France, writing to her mother to request protection for a man whom she was sending 'to get some fruit trees and some flowers'.⁴² She also invited into England the French gardener, André Mollet, whose father had designed gardens for the palaces of Fontainebleau and Henrietta Maria's childhood home of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (Strong, p. 187). Mollet designed gardens for Henrietta Maria at St James's Palace and Wimbledon House, the latter of which included an orangery (Strong, p. 191). In 1633, Van Dyck included an orange tree in a painting of Henrietta Maria and, in 1636, an orangery was added to the gardens at Oatlands (Strong, p. 189). Although orange trees were a sign of luxury and splendour in the courts of many European princes, Henrietta Maria's cultivation of them provided a link to her mother in France, and, through her, quite literally, to her Florentine roots.

Just as Marie de Médicis liked to use designs that brought to mind her Florentine heritage, so Henrietta Maria surrounded herself with motifs from her native France. Unlike Anne of Denmark whose upbringing in the cosmopolitan court of Denmark had exposed her to a variety of cultural influences, Henrietta Maria actively sponsored art

⁴⁰Philippe Delorme, *Histoire des Reines de France: Marie de Médicis* (Paris: Pygmalion, 1998), pp. 204-5.

⁴¹*Marie de Médicis et le Jardin du Luxembourg*, Catalogue of the 'Exposition d'Automne du Jardin du Luxembourg' (Paris: Service de l'Architecture, des Bâtiments et des Jardins du Sénat, 1998), pp. 49-52.

⁴²*Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria, including her Private Correspondence with Charles the First*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Richard Bentley, 1857), pp. 19-20. The letter is undated, but must have been written before Marie de Médicis' exile from France in 1631.

which emphasised the cultural significance of her homeland. This was not just an exercise in nostalgia, but a deliberate act of cultural appropriation that distinguished the Queen's identity from that of her English husband. Henrietta Maria's evocations of her native land emphasised her status as the daughter of an important and civilised nation, demonstrating that England had much to gain from an appreciation of French design and French behaviour. In addition, her sponsorship of French design enabled her to maintain close links with her family in France, who supplied her with commodities from petticoats to fruit trees.

The exchange of artists and craftsmen between France and England was, of course, not a new phenomenon. At least seven French musicians were maintained in Anne of Denmark's household, playing at the late Queen's funeral in 1617 before being granted passes to return to France. French dancing masters were also in demand at the Jacobean court: Jacques Cordier (known as Bocan), a celebrated French dancer and violinist, was a member of Prince Henry's household in 1608 and appears to have remained in England until 1614 when his name disappears from exemption lists.⁴³ Peter Walls has noted that he was living in Paris between 1622 and 1625 when three of his children were baptised (Walls, p. 222, n. 7). What Walls does not mention is that, at precisely this time, Bocan was listed as 'maistre de dance' in the household lists of Princess Henrietta Maria.⁴⁴ In 1625, he returned to England, probably as a member of Henrietta Maria's wedding party, and received a gift of £500, procured for him by the Duke of Buckingham. He seems to have been in England periodically throughout the 1630s, receiving a payment of £60 from Henrietta Maria in 1630 and two from Charles in 1633 and 1634 respectively.⁴⁵ While his activity at the Caroline court cannot be attributed especially to the influence of the Queen, it demonstrates a receptivity to

⁴³See Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 222.

⁴⁴See Eugène Griselle, *État de la Maison du Roi Louis XIII* (Paris: Édition de documents d'histoire, 1912), p. 85.

⁴⁵Walls posits that the 1634 payment 'may indicate some involvement in *Coelum Britannicum*'. He also draws attention to entries in the Paris civic records between 1630 and 1640 relating to Bocan's family; Walls, *Music*, p. 223 and p. 222, n. 7. These entries indicate that Bocan's family home remained in Paris, despite his frequent presence at the English court.

French fashion that her presence helped to facilitate and which she was concerned to promote.

Sebastian La Pierre, another French dancing master, was also employed in England, starting his career in 1611 as the instructor of Charles, Prince of Wales, before, in 1625, transferring to the household of Henrietta Maria. A Guillaume La Pierre, possibly his son, was later employed as dancing instructor to the royal children, Charles and Mary, demonstrating the court's continued preference for French fashions in dancing.⁴⁶ The Frenchmen, Bartholomew Montagu and Nicolas Picard, were also members of Henrietta Maria's early entourage and were named in her household lists as dancers. Montagu danced in an antimasque entry in *Luminalia*, the Queen's masque of 1638, while Picard seems to have had the specific charge of training Henrietta Maria's maids of honour.⁴⁷ These French influences had a palpable effect upon the Caroline masque form which, under Henrietta Maria's patronage, saw a marked movement towards the style of French *ballet de cour*.⁴⁸

Henrietta Maria's preference for French cultural forms also extended to her taste in music. She arrived in England accompanied by about a dozen French musicians, many of whom had previously served Anne of Denmark. These men's expertise, like that of the dancing masters, was inevitably employed in the service of Caroline court masques. Louis Richard, her master of music and one of Anne's former servants, composed the music for *Britannia Triumphans* (1638) and *Salmacida Spolia* (1640), while the talents of her harpist, La Felle, were used in *The Temple of Love*.⁴⁹ In addition, 'the more to please her M[ajest]ty', four of the Queen's French musicians were invited to play in the Inns of Court masque, *The Triumph of Peace* (1634).⁵⁰ Nowhere is

⁴⁶Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 2, *sub* La Pierre, Sebastian, and La Pierre, Guillaume.

⁴⁷See SP 16/3, no. 112 where he is called 'mr. a danser des filles d'h'.

⁴⁸See Chapter 4 below. Barbara Ravelhofer has undertaken a detailed study of dancing at the Stuart court; see Barbara Ravelhofer, 'The Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Remembering' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1999), *passim*.

⁴⁹See Ashbee and Lasocki, *Biographical Dictionary*, *sub* Richard and *sub* Felle. It appears that there were two Louis Richards active in this period, one of whom served in England and one of whom remained in Paris to train boys to sing in Henrietta Maria's chapel.

⁵⁰See Walls, *Music*, p. 164.

the Queen's preference for French music made more apparent than in an anecdote recounted by Bulstrode Whitelock, one of *The Triumph of Peace's* organisers. After showing the Queen a coranto he had composed, Whitelock reported that she expressed surprise that it had been written by an Englishman 'because she said it was fuller of life and spirit than the English aiers use to be'.⁵¹ The Queen's patronage of French musicians can, therefore, be attributed to conscious choice and aesthetic preference, rather than to a bland mimicry of French fashion.

In addition, the patronage of these men was also a means through which Henrietta Maria could remain in contact with her family and friends. Indeed, she employed Bocan, her childhood dancing instructor, to carry a letter to her sister Christine in Savoy around 1641/2.⁵² Her musicians, too, carried messages and cultural fashions between the various European courts. The harpist, La Felle, passed much of the early 1650s alongside Christine in Turin because Henrietta Maria's exiled and widowed state meant that 'pour le moment elle doit se passer de musique' [for the moment she must forego music] (Ferrero, p. 94). However, the Queen later wrote to her sister requesting that La Felle might be allowed to return periodically to France 'pour qu'il puisse enseigner à sa fille à jouer de la harpe' [so that he could teach her daughter to play the harp] (Ferrero, p. 95). It becomes evident that these men were valued and trusted family servants, in demand among Henrietta Maria's French relations.⁵³

Interestingly, Henrietta Maria did not only patronise male musicians. Payments were made from 1637 onwards to a Margaret Prevost, the widow of Camille Prevost,

⁵¹Quoted in Walls, *Music*, p. 220.

⁵²See Hermann Ferrero, ed., *Lettres de Henriette-Marie de France, Reine d'Angleterre à sa soeur Christine Duchesse de Savoie* (Rome: Bocca Frères, 1881), p. 61.

⁵³This exchange of valued personnel is perhaps most evident in the figure of Madame Peronne, midwife to the French court. Dispatched by Marie de Médicis to attend Henrietta Maria's early pregnancies, she later found fame in Davenant's mock-heroic poem, 'Jeffereidos, Or the Captivities of Jeffery', which detailed how she rescued the Queen's dwarf from a hideous fate; see *Sir William Davenant: The Shorter Poems, and Songs from the Plays and Masques*, ed. A. M. Gibbs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 37-43, ll. 93-98. In December 1636, she was the subject of some urgent correspondence between a pregnant Henrietta Maria and Christine of Savoy, who had just given birth. Henrietta Maria begged her sister to dispatch Peronne to her quickly as her child was due that March; see Ferrero, *Lettres*, p. 46. The figure of Peronne constitutes a strong link between the women of Henrietta Maria's family who preferred to have their labours overseen by a familiar Frenchwoman, than to put their trust entirely in local midwives.

one of the French musicians inherited by Henrietta Maria from Anne of Denmark. It is possible that this amounted to nothing more than a widow's pension, yet, during the interregnum, a specific payment of £10 was made to 'Margaret Provoe, servant to the late Queen in the Musick', indicating that she probably had a musical function in her own right.⁵⁴ However, the Queen's most notable contribution to musical patronage must be her promotion of female singers in the court masque. Famously, it was in her production of *Tempe Restored* (1632) that Madame Coniack and Mistress Shepherd became the first named women to sing upon the English court stage.

Madame Coniack and Mistress Shepherd's identities have always been a mystery to modern criticism, and thus they bear witness to the gendered bias that renders women's histories invisible.⁵⁵ Similarly, Henrietta Maria has often been misrepresented or overlooked in literary criticism and historiography, her cultural patronage reduced to a pale reflection of her husband's will, and her associations with other women disregarded. My thesis seeks to rectify this imbalance by investigating the Queen's heritage and her cultural and political activities in England. In Chapter 1, I survey the ways French culture encouraged Henrietta Maria to imagine herself, and examine contemporary fictions about the Anglo-French marriage. Rather than proposing that Henrietta Maria mindlessly replicated the fashions of her homeland, I am interested in the ideologies at work behind early representations of the Queen. I discuss how she was represented as the 'right bride' for Charles, showing how her marriage was mythologised as a romantic love affair in a way that affected representations of the royal couple for years to come. I also consider Catholic expectations at the time of the marriage, and demonstrate that Henrietta Maria arrived in England already possessed of a complex iconography that could be exploited in her own productions.

Chapter 2 continues the investigation into the mythologisation of the royal romance, showing how *Artenice*, the Queen's first pastoral production on the Caroline

⁵⁴See Ashbee and Lasocki, *Biographical Dictionary*, sub Prevoet, Margaret.

⁵⁵See Appendix for my contribution to the debate about Madame Coniack's identity.

stage fitted her status as a new bride and also imported into England a prime example of French pastoral drama. I consider the implications of this production on the Caroline court stage, showing how, although it could be conceived as a gift from the Queen to the King, it also had religious implications, showcasing a reformed Catholic philosophy based on the ideas of Saint François de Sales. However, most importantly, the pastoral was the first occasion that a Queen took a speaking role upon the English court stage. The production invoked the spectre of the active female subject and made a bid for women's roles as producers, as well as arbiters, of culture.

Nevertheless, the figure of Henrietta Maria was deployed in many of Charles's entertainments as the pale mirror of the King's own rational identity, reflecting back to him the image of himself. In Chapter 3, I explore the ways in which early Caroline masques made meaning, locating this in the harmonious, controlling figure of the royal couple. This figure, like Hermaphroditus's absorption of Salmacis in the Ovidian myth, subsumed the Queen's identity and located her as physical matter in opposition to the King's rational mind. In contrast, as I discuss in Chapter 4, Henrietta Maria's own early masques, *Chloridia* and *Tempe Restored*, drew upon reformed Catholic theology to effect a disjunction between the Queen and matter, locating her as a vessel that led to an appreciation of the divine. In addition, they opened a space from which the Queen could begin to assert her own political opinions; opinions that were not in service to the domestic policies of the King, but which reflected upon continental current affairs.

Chapter 5 considers the Queen's 1633 pastoral, *The Shepherds' Paradise*, showing how it, like her masques, made an oblique political commentary upon the state of Europe. It continues the discussion begun in Chapter 2 about the nature of female cultural agency, considering the Queen's importance as an actress and exploring the ways in which personal identity was figured in the production. I show how the pastoral was subtended by a narrative about self-knowledge, and, by studying the pastoral's figuration of Echo, consider the problems inherent in the public expression of women's voices. *The Shepherds' Paradise* posited a form of neoplatonism that was domestic in its impulse, gesturing less towards a redemptive reunion with the divine, than with the perfection of human love on earth.

This redemptive power of love was articulated again in *The Temple of Love*, the Queen's masque of 1635, which blended Stuart iconography with intimations that it was time for the true Church to be re-established in Britain. The masque bore the traces of the French hopes that accompanied Henrietta Maria across the Channel in 1625, and which figured the marriage as the result of divine providence. However, by combining traces of both Protestant and Catholic discourses, the masque complicated the idea of the masquing present, for it projected out of itself different versions of the future. It was a polyvalent event that tried to imagine itself as a unified whole through the image it promoted of the royal couple. Nonetheless, it could not help but bear witness to a fundamental rupture in this figure, located in the differing faiths of the King and Queen.

The text of the Queen's third pastoral, *Florimène*, is not extant, although we know that the production, like *Artenice*, was performed in French. In addition, the author of the play was unknown, and its importance has rested solely upon the fact that a complete set of architectural drawings remains to illustrate how it was staged. However, in Chapter 7, with the help of a French newsbook, I establish the identity of the playwright and demonstrate the production's connections with Cardinal Richelieu and Anglo-French politics. The play might well have been a gift from the Cardinal to Henrietta Maria to solicit her help for France, and provides an indication of Henrietta Maria's significance on the international stage, gesturing towards the important part she could play in political negotiations between the Bourbon and Caroline courts. Chapter 7 also considers Stephen Orgel's contention that a set of masque verses by Aurelian Townshend should be associated with *Florimène*. By investigating other occasions for which the verses might have been composed, I demonstrate the circumstantial nature of Orgel's attribution. Henrietta Maria's own dramatic activity was prolific; she was forever dancing small entertainments with her ladies, and there were also many larger productions, the details of which remain lost. Just like the unperformed wedding ballets, Townshend's verses bear witness to the fragmented nature of the past, and carry upon themselves the marks of their own historicity.

In the final chapter, I discuss *Luminalia* and *Salmacida Spolia*, the last masques of the Caroline reign. *Luminalia* was a mature manifestation of imagery that had

accompanied Henrietta Maria from France, and drew upon neoplatonic ideas about light and shadow. However, unlike *Tempe Restored* which represented the Queen as the means through which an observer could be lifted up to an appreciation of the divine, *Luminalia* located both Henrietta Maria and Charles in their physical bodies, emphasising the passage of time and inevitable decay. It returned its audience to themselves, presenting itself, self-consciously, as a transient spectacle that would leave traces upon the memory. *Salmacida Spolia*, in its turn, bore traces of the memory of Henri IV, much like the ballets composed for Henrietta Maria's wedding. The production has habitually been read as a reflection upon civil discontent and the imminence of war. However, I argue that it should be considered in relation to Marie de Médicis' arrival in England. Conceived as an elaborate compliment to the Queen Mother, it bore the imprint of her iconography and represented her marriage as the prototype of harmonious rule. It showed that Henrietta Maria's French connections were still influencing her cultural iconography in 1640 and stressed her importance as a promoter of court theatrical.

To conclude, I consider Henrietta Maria's cultural and political behaviour during her exile in France from 1643. Sophie Tomlinson has written intelligently about the Queen's activities at the outbreak of the war, remarking that she played the lady-errant going into Holland to raise money and arms, and discussing the manner in which she established herself in her army as a 'she-majesty generalissima'.⁵⁶ However, no one has considered whether Henrietta Maria was able to assert a cultural or political presence in France once her husband was dead and her funds were curtailed. I undertake to do just that, sketching her relations with important Frenchwomen, and considering whether her convent at Chaillot served as more than just a religious retreat for an unhappy Queen.

My thesis considers the serious political implications of Henrietta Maria's drama and of female theatrical performance. It re-members the forgotten links between the Queen and other important women, redressing the gendered imbalance that has seen these links all but erased in modern criticism. It is also concerned with the issue of re-

⁵⁶Tomlinson, 'She That Plays The King', p. 202.

membering itself, and draws attention to a notion of history based upon a logic of identity that privileges coherence. While it builds up a picture of Henrietta Maria as a politically active woman whose help could be solicited by the leading politicians of Renaissance Europe, it also tries to remember that it is still a fiction among fictions, juggling a fairy story out of the bones of the past.

CHAPTER 1

A Fairy-tale Marriage: The Myth of the Caroline Romance

And she first washed her face and hands, and then went in and curtsied to him, and he reached her the golden slipper. Then she took her clumsy shoe off her left foot, and put on the golden slipper; and it fitted her as if it had been made for her. And when he drew near and looked at her face he knew her, and said, 'This is the right bride'.

Brothers Grimm¹

If seventeenth-century panegyrists and modern historians are to be believed, Charles and Henrietta Maria's marriage was supremely happy once initial discords were ironed out and the Duke of Buckingham's death had removed him from the equation. This chapter, while it does not deny that the marriage was ultimately successful, investigates early mythologisations of the Anglo-French union, and studies the French hopes that were carried across the Channel with the new English Queen. Most modern criticism glosses over the ways in which Henrietta Maria was represented in France. In contrast, and as a way of contextualising her later iconography, I want to give some attention to the imagery associated with her before her marriage. This chapter surveys a range of texts associated with Henrietta Maria in the 1620s, showing how she was embedded within a culture that glorified France and the French monarch. It demonstrates how her figure was deployed rhetorically in French and English texts to express certain religious and political agenda, and makes a preliminary investigation into the aspects of her French heritage that were exploited at the Caroline court. I am concerned to illustrate how the Queen's image was manipulated to suit various ideological positions, and also want to show that her own cultural activity at the Caroline court was not a mindless imitation of French culture, but the result of informed choice.

It is well-known that Henrietta Maria was not Charles's first choice as a bride: initially, diplomatic negotiations were undertaken to marry him to the Spanish Infanta,

¹Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, 'Ashputtel', *Grimm's Fairy Tales* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 167-74 (p. 174).

daughter of Philip III. The match had undeniable political consequences, particularly in light of Spain's 1621 defeat of the Elector Palatine, Charles's brother-in-law, and his subsequent exile from his ancestral lands. The restoration of the Palatinate became a pawn in negotiations over the Anglo-Spanish match, with Spain suspected of stringing England along to prevent her active military engagement in Germany. In 1623, apparently tired of the constant prevarications, Charles departed on a secret journey to Spain, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham. The mission did not achieve its publicly-stated ends, and Charles returned to England without his bride, but with a fetching set of undergarments provided by the Spanish Queen.² Rather than being perceived as a failure, the Prince's return was joyfully celebrated and he was hailed as a hero by the English people. Tom Cogswell reads this as a personal triumph for Charles, and one which permitted him to assert a political opinion that diverged from that of his father.³ The collapse of the Anglo-Spanish match allowed the Prince to associate himself with an active pro-Palatinate policy and led to the possibility that war might be considered with Spain. It was in this climate of renewed hope over the Palatinate that events were set in motion for a French match, not least because France would be an invaluable ally in an Anglo-Spanish war (Cogswell, p. 121). Henry Rich, the future Earl of Holland, was dispatched to Paris as wooing ambassador, closely followed by James Hay, Earl of Carlisle. On both sides of the Channel, a story developed which comfortably rewrote the history of Charles's first romance and which strengthened the claims for an Anglo-French alliance.

On their way to Spain, Charles and Buckingham had passed incognito through Paris and had attended a performance of Anne of Austria's *Grand Ballet de la Reyne representant les Festes de Junon la Nopciere* in which Henrietta Maria danced the role of Iris.⁴ This not-quite encounter between the French Princess and the English Prince

²[Queen] Isabel sent to the English prince a fine present of white underwear [...] probably guessing that in his rapid voyage he had not brought such luxuries with him'; Martin Hume, *Queens of Old Spain* (London: E. Grant Richards, 1906), pp. 325-6.

³Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*, pp. 10-12, and p. 107.

⁴Charles and Buckingham were evidently not quite as well disguised as they believed for the *Mercure François* reported their presence at the ballet: 'le Prince de Galles, traversant incogneu la France, pour aller en Espagne rechercher l'Infante Marie, seconde soeur du Roy d'Espagne, en mariage, [a vu] dançer

was seized upon by panegyrists who proceeded to construct an elaborate fiction, romanticising the all-too-prosaic matter of dynastic politics into a passionate love affair. In this romantic story, Charles was imagined to have become infatuated with Henrietta Maria at the ballet. His heart was therefore not fully committed to his suit to the Infanta, the Spanish match was broken off, and he returned home to instigate negotiations which would enable him to marry the right bride. The development of this alternative history is worth investigating in some detail for it has an enormous impact upon the imagery used of the Caroline couple throughout the 1630s, and contributes to the literary idea that Charles and Henrietta Maria shared one soul, one heart, and one mind.

Edmund Waller made substantial use of the story in two laudatory poems to the royal lovers, once in his 'Of the danger his Majesty (being Prince) escaped in the road at St. Andrews', and again in 'To the Queen, occasioned upon sight of her Majesty's picture'. Although it is difficult to date the poems, both are fascinating for their use of an imagery which encapsulates the iconographical trends of the Caroline reign, representing Charles as an heroic lover, and Henrietta Maria as an inspiring beauty. In 'Of the danger', the 'heroic Prince', on his way home from Spain, is threatened by a storm at sea.⁵ With his loins uncomfortably 'full of ungot princes' (l. 97), he becomes indignant at the waves which threaten his life and which endanger the image of Henrietta Maria he carries in his heart (ll. 109-10). The poem thus deploys an imagery similar to that of later masquing verses which praise Charles as a virile, masculine hero who confronts the disorders of the natural world and overcomes them with his stalwart self-control. Henrietta Maria, in her turn, is hailed as 'the glad morning' (l. 119) and is described as enveloping her flower-like ladies-in-waiting with her light. This image echoes the role she danced as Aurora in the 1621 *Grand Ballet de la Reyne representant*

ce Ballet' [the Prince of Wales, crossing France incognito in order to go to Spain to seek in marriage the Infanta Maria, second sister of the King of Spain, saw this ballet danced]; *Mercure François*, 9 (Paris: Jean et Estienne Richer, 1623), p. 430.

⁵*The Poems of Edmund Waller*, ed. G. Thorn Drury, 2 vols (London: A. H. Bullen, 1901), 1, pp. 1-7, ll. 106-10. All subsequent line references to these poems will be taken from this edition. David Norbrook gives an interesting reading of this poem which compares it to the Puritan diarist Sir Simonds D'Ewes's less flattering version of events; see David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1984), p. 226.

le Soleil, and also resonates with her appearance in the Caroline masques, *Chloridia* and *Luminalia*.

'To the Queen' develops the solar imagery in 'Of the danger' to draw an analogy between Henrietta Maria's light and the light of 'the bright sun' (l. 13). The poem hails her as the 'Queen of Britain, and the Queen of Love', surrounding her with an aura of brightness which hides her splendour from 'weaker eyes' (ll. 1-3). The poet declares that he can only appreciate the Queen's beauty through the medium of a painter's art, for 'Here only we have courage to behold/ This beam of glory' (ll. 5-6). Not only does this poem again associate Henrietta Maria with love and light, and Charles with nobility and heroism, it promulgates the fiction of the royal romance by describing how Charles, a 'royal youth', pursued the 'report/ Of beauty' and found it 'in the Gallic court' (ll. 43-4). The flame of the Prince's love is described as incomparable, and the poem ends with an implicit promise that it will bring piety back to the 'defiled abodes/ Of men' (ll. 60-1). Here again, comparisons may be drawn with the imagery of court masque, particularly with the reformations of disorder effected in *Coelum Britannicum*, and the restoration of chastity in *The Temple of Love*.

What is so interesting about these poems is the way they mythologise the royal romance through judicious comparison with Greek and Roman stories. Just as Shakespeare's Lucrece augmented her understanding of her own misfortunes by contemplating a tapestry of the sack of Troy, so the French beauty in 'Of the danger' finds useful comparisons with her heroic lover in 'antique tales' (l. 134). She therefore has recourse to a narrative structure which gives her the tools to interpret her own emotions and allows her to understand herself in the terms of a ready-made romance. The poem self-consciously draws attention to its Princess's complicity in the construction of a romantic fiction, locating her within a culture suffused with romantic precepts. At the same time, it romanticises its own story, and thus shows itself to be a part of that romantic culture precisely through the parallels it makes with Greek and Roman myth. Drawing upon stories of famous love affairs, the poem seeks to immortalise its lovers in the pantheon of the great and the good by giving their devotion

a status that ranks alongside that of Jason, Theseus, or Hero and Leander: Charles and Henrietta Maria are not just *like* heroic lovers, they are heroic lovers in their own rights.

Waller's poems must have been written both after Charles's accession and after the solemnisation of the royal marriage, for their titles identify Charles as 'his Majesty' and address Henrietta Maria as Queen. While it is hard to establish exactly when they were composed, it is likely that they were reasonably contemporary with the events they described; this supposition is upheld by the comment in 'Of the danger' that Charles had '*lately* pawned his heart in France' (l. 102; my italics).⁶ They appear to exist in parallel with a similar poem written in France at the time of the French match, Boisrobert's 'Ode, Présentée à la Reine d'Angleterre, par Monsieur le Comte de Carlile, de la part du Roy son Espous'.⁷ Although it is impossible to establish in which country the myth of the royal romance had its origins, I strongly suspect that the French poem predates those by Waller because it appears to have been especially commissioned by the Earl of Carlisle at the time of the marriage.

In Paris, both Rich and Hay were lodged at the Hôtel de Chevreuse where Rich struck up a strong friendship with Madame de Chevreuse that some believed developed into a love affair. Madame de Chevreuse was Anne of Austria's favourite companion, whose first husband, Charles d'Albert de Luynes had been very close to Louis XIII. Her second husband, Claude de Lorraine, duc de Chevreuse, was the great nephew of Mary Stuart and was, thus, distantly related to Charles I. Indeed, he acted as Charles's proxy when the Anglo-French marriage was celebrated in Paris. Lodged at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, the English ambassadors also came into contact with the poet, François le Metel, sieur de Boisrobert, who was one of Marie de Chevreuse's clients. Boisrobert had started his poetic career in the entourage of Marie de Médicis to whom he had probably

⁶While 'To the Queen' might have been written in response to a later portrait of Henrietta Maria (perhaps by Mytens or Van Dyck), it is also possible that it discussed a picture sent from France during the marriage negotiations. One such portrait was certainly sent; see Rosalind K. Marshall, *Henrietta Maria: The Intrepid Queen* (London: HMSO, 1990), p. 20.

⁷*Recueil des plus beaux vers* (1627), pp. 536-41. All subsequent line references to the poem will be taken from this edition.

been introduced around 1616 by the ailing Cardinal du Perron.⁸ During the Queen Mother's exile in Blois, he received a commission from her to translate Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, and also made the acquaintance of Armand du Plessis, the future Cardinal Richelieu. He later became closely associated with the Cardinal, and was to write a series of ballets for both Louis XIII and Anne of Austria. At the time of the marriage negotiations, he was also angling for patronage from Madame de Chevreuse and was eventually chosen to accompany her to England in Henrietta Maria's wedding party.

Boisrobert's talents appear to have been employed by Carlisle in the matter of wooing the French Princess. In 1627, after the poet's return from England, a collection of verse was published containing several of his poems, one of which was his, 'Ode, Présentée à la Reine d'Angleterre'. While this poem must have been written after the marriage ceremony because it addresses Henrietta Maria as Queen of England and refers to Charles as her husband, the opening stanza makes it clear that the couple have not yet met. Written in the persona of the King, the poem despairs, 'Quand viendra ce iour glorieux [...] Que vos beaux yeux m'éclaireront' [When will the day come [...] When your beautiful eyes will shine on me] (ll. 3-5). The poem must, therefore, have been composed in the weeks after the wedding, before the Queen's arrival on the shores of England. Indeed, its concluding stanzas make it clear that the sea crossing has yet to be undertaken for they enumerate how 'Le chemin de Calais à Douure [...] Vous coustera moins a passer/ Que les beaux promenoirs du Louvre' [The way from Calais to Dover [...] *Will* cost you less to traverse/ Than the beautiful walks of the Louvre (my italics)] (ll. 101-4).

The poem makes substantial use of the fiction of Charles's infatuation with Henrietta Maria at the French court, describing how, before he saw her, he had thought to ally himself with another empire, but that, having observed her dancing 'parmy les lumieres/ Et les beautez de vostre cour' (ll. 41-2), he had been struck by Love's arrows and could not resist her charms. Terming the French Princess 'la soeur du Soleil', the

⁸For the following biographical details, I have relied heavily upon Emile Magne, *Le Plaisant Abbé de Boisrobert, Fondateur de l'Académie Française 1592-1662*, 2nd edn (Paris: Mercure de France, 1909), pp. 35-85.

poetic persona of the Prince adds that he was 'inconnu dans ces lieux' at the time he was struck by her beauty, but declares that his love was easy to recognise by the fire burning in his eyes (ll. 55-8). He swears undying devotion to this 'Reine des beautez' (l. 63), and promises he will never abandon her. The poem assures its reader that Charles would prefer 'la solitude/ Des mons, des rochers, et des bois,/ A la foule qui suit les Rois' [the solitude/ Of mountains, rocks, and woods,/ To the crowd which follows Kings] (ll. 88-90), and makes it clear that he has given up his ambitions for worldly power because 'Tous honneurs me sont superflus/ Depuis que ie ne vous voy plus' [All honours are superfluous/ Since I ceased to see you] (ll. 79-80). In contrast to Waller's poems, which described Charles as brave and heroic, Boisrobert's verses present the King as the typical lover of French romance, fleeing from an engagement with worldly affairs to the solitude of a pastoral retreat in which he can lament the unattainability of his love. As I will discuss in the next section, this form of behaviour would soon find a resonance on the English court stage in Henrietta Maria's production of the seigneur de Racan's *Les Bergeries*.

Considering Boisrobert's status as a composer of French ballet verses, the poem is unsurprisingly steeped in the elaborate language of the French court and draws upon cosmological devices to present the French King as the sun and the ladies of the court as planets. In addition, it has a barely concealed anti-Spanish agenda, rejoicing politely in the fact that Charles has chosen a French princess over the Infanta Maria. Most significantly, it praises the new English Queen in terms which would be taken up and reused in all the court masques of the Caroline period: Henrietta Maria is the Queen of Beauty, the fire of whose eyes ('Ces doux Soleils') will dispel the clouds covering her lover's soul (ll. 7-8). The presentation of her here is very similar to that in Waller's poems, locating her as a source of light that is, indeed, quasi-divine. Drawing on neoplatonic ideas which emphasise the light of truth in beauty, it has a strong bearing upon later Caroline literature, and resounds particularly with the image of shadows and mists shrouding the Temple of Chaste Love in the Queen's masque of 1635.

The poem concludes with the image of Charles inviting his bride to 'Amenez dans une autre Cour/ Les Ris, les Graces, et l'Amour/ Dont vous estes accompagnée'

[Bring to another court the laughter, graces and love by which you are accompanied] (ll. 122-4). At once a stock image of royal politeness and an allusion to Henrietta Maria's French train, this figure represents Henrietta Maria as a woman closely involved with festival and culture and also anticipates such work as Gerrit van Honthorst's 'Apollo and Diana' (or, 'Buckingham presenting the Liberal Arts to Charles and Henrietta Maria'), as well as Orazio Gentileschi's 'Peace reigning over the Arts' (painted for the ceiling of the Queen's house at Greenwich). It provides a neat demonstration of how the Queen was already conceived to be maturely embedded in French culture (the poem significantly invites her to take that culture to England), and prefigures *Luminalia's* representation of the Muses' welcome into England, showing how the future iconography of the Caroline peace was already in embryo in 1625.

These poems mythologise historical events as they occur, creating harmonious fantasies which elide the harsh realities of a dynastic marriage between two parties who have never met. At the same time, they call into question the notion of an *a priori* historical reality that may be interpreted and analysed. The texts are all that remain to us; they are memories which give us a notion of the past existing *in* the past. They provide us, in the words of Maurice Blanchot, with 'the illusion that there would be a present destined to pass and to hold itself back in that past', an illusion that 'would lead one to believe that the past was filled with events'.⁹ The poems, complete in themselves, are fragments from which we may extrapolate a story. They fill the past with phantoms and grant us the right to live innocently 'in the narrative mode' (Blanchot, p. 13). Their images of the Queen build upon each other until they return her to us as a romance heroine, constructing a fiction that reads like history, and granting us the illusion of the present by offering us a story of the past. However, even this story is not without its contradictions and confusions, for the body of Henrietta Maria is fragmented by the competing discourses written across it, becoming a site of ideological struggle between two religions, two nations, and two crowns.

⁹Maurice Blanchot, *The Step Not Beyond*, trans. Lycette Nelson (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 13.

French fancies: such stuff as dreams are made on

Henrietta Maria might well have been lauded as King Charles's 'right bride' in both French and English verses, yet the two countries had very different opinions about why the union was appropriate. While they both hoped the alliance would help them to gain leverage against Spain, a constituent part of France's dream for the marriage was the strongly promoted return of England to the Catholic faith. In this context, Henrietta Maria was the 'right bride' because she was chosen by God to show her new husband the error of his Protestant ways. Entertainments and documents addressed to the new Queen in France are a fruitful source of information about the proselytising mission urged upon her at the time of her marriage. They come together to provide an iconographical vocabulary that resonates strongly with the early masques of the Caroline reign, and which is not just to be found, as Erica Veevers and Sarah Poynting suggest, in the entertainments of the later 1630s.¹⁰

A brief comparison of two public commentaries on the Anglo-French wedding ceremony (one English and one French) reveals how the question of England's return to the true faith could be at once evoked (in the French text) and utterly ignored (in the English one). In 1625, a pamphlet published in London described the splendour of the wedding ceremony at Notre Dame in mythological terms, comparing the cathedral and its profusion of candles with 'the Pallace of the Sunne, described by *Ovid* in his *Seconde Booke of the transmutations of shapes*'.¹¹ Apart from this allusion, the text reads like an inventory, listing the 'wonderfull rich Arras', the 'cloth of Tissue, cloth of Gold, and cloth of Silver' with which the church was clad (*A True Discourse*, p. 7). The text

¹⁰Erica Veevers theorises that, '*Chloridia* and *Tempe Restored* may have given no more than a suggestion of Catholic interests, but two later masques, *The Temple of Love* and *Luminalia*, seem to allude in a much more specific way to Catholic affairs at court'; Veevers, *Images*, p. 133. Poynting proposes that *The Shepherds' Paradise* (1633) is inflected more with the Protestant agenda of Walter Montagu, its poet, than with the Queen's religion; Sarah Poynting, 'A Critical Edition of Walter Montagu's *The Shepherds' Paradise*, Acts 1-3' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford University, 2000), p. 112. I am grateful to Sarah Poynting for her generosity in allowing me access to her work.

¹¹*A True Discourse of all the Royal Passages, Tryumphs and Ceremonies, observed at the Contract and Mariage of the High and Mighty CHARLES, King of Great Britaine, and the most Excellentest of Ladies, the Lady HENRIETTA MARIA of Burbon, sister to the most Christian King of FRANCE* (London: John Haviland for Hanna Barret, 1625), p. 8.

studiously avoids making any judgement upon Catholic ceremonial, limiting itself to description and mythological allusion; in other words, it represents the wedding as a glorious and virtually secular state occasion. An alternative account of the wedding published in the French newsbook, the *Mercure François*, emphasised the splendour of the occasion in similarly inventorial terms.¹² However, after proclaiming that Notre Dame was decked in 'des plus riches tapisseries royales d'or, d'argent et de soye qui se puissent voir' [the most splendid royal tapestries of gold, silver and silk that could be seen], the text specifically noted that 'dans le Choeur estoient celles des Actes des Apostres, et dans la Nef les triomphes et les victoires de Scipion sur les Carthaginians' [in the chancel were those of the Acts of the Apostles, and in the nave the victories of Scipio over the Carthaginians] (*Mercure*, p. 355). As the Apostles' task was to spread the Gospel, and as Scipio's victories over the Carthaginians could be glossed as the triumph of Rome over Carthage (and thus of faith over apostasy), the tapestries, so neatly overlooked by the English commentary, could be said to encode a specifically religious message. Furthermore, Bernard Cottret has shown how the French not only hoped that Henrietta Maria's marriage would lead to the conversion of Charles and his nation, but that this conversion would draw English Catholics into an alliance with France, to the detriment of Spain and Spanish Catholicism.¹³ Scipio was also responsible for Roman successes against Carthage in Spain, so the significance of the tapestry in the nave of Notre Dame was doubled.¹⁴ The hanging at once articulated a desire for England to be conquered by Catholicism, and implied that this victory would also be a victory over the Spanish. A comparison of the English and French commentaries thus reveals how the iconographical elements of a visual ceremony could be ignored or enhanced depending on a commentary's agenda. The two texts take as

¹²*Mercure François*, 11 (Paris: Jean et Estienne Richer, 1626), p. 355.

¹³Bernard Cottret, 'Diplomatie et éthique de l'Etat: L'ambassade d'Effiat en Angleterre et le mariage de Charles Ier d'Angleterre et d'Henriette-Marie de France', *L'Etat Baroque: regards sur la pensée politique de la France du premier XVIIe siècle*, ed. Henry Méchoulan (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1985), 221-42.

¹⁴See Livy, *The War With Hannibal*, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965; repr. 1981), pp. 86-7.

their source the same occasion, the differences between their readings revealing the fluidity of interpretations predicated upon ceremonial display.

Soon after the wedding ceremony, Henrietta Maria undertook the journey from Paris to Boulogne, from whence she was to sail for England. She was accompanied by Marie de Médicis, Anne of Austria, and their attendants, as well as by the Duke and Duchess of Chevreuse, their household, and her own entourage. The enormous procession displayed the splendour of the monarchy to the French people and was a chance for regional governors to demonstrate their fidelity to the crown by furnishing welcoming spectacles for the passing dignitaries. The town of Amiens, in which Henrietta Maria and her attendants rested for several days, provided an elaborate display that was reported in the *Mercure François*. Denis Tillinac, Marie de Chevreuse's modern biographer, has observed that the town was governed by the duc de Chaulnes, the brother of Charles de Luynes, Chevreuse's first husband, and has, therefore, surmised that Madame de Chevreuse and de Chaulnes conceived the programme of festivities together.¹⁵ As Marie's poet, it is not unreasonable to imagine that Boisrobert also had a role to play in the composition of this festival, and it is significant that the welcoming speech addressed to Henrietta Maria by François de Louvencourt, sieur de Vauchelles, picked up on ideas already developed in his wedding verses, taking as its theme the voyage that the Queen was about to undertake and informing her that the gods were preparing to make her passage across the sea peaceful.¹⁶

Entering the town, Henrietta Maria was confronted by a series of elaborate pageants, composed, the *Mercure François* reported, in seven pieces like the seven wonders of the world. The first pageant was a huge arch, at the centre of which was a picture of a woman crowned with towers and an image of the steeple of Notre Dame of Amiens. She held before her a heart containing a picture of a town upon whose gateway a Cupid held out its arms as if to invite the Queen to enter. The heart rested upon a marble cube to signify that the affection with which the town received her was founded

¹⁵Denis Tillinac, *L'Ange du désordre: Marie de Rohan, Duchesse de Chevreuse* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1985), p. 115.

¹⁶*Mercure François*, 11, p. 371. Nevertheless, Louvencourt was a poet and historian in his own right.

upon constancy. Neptune and Cybele were also depicted, in order to signify that, whether on sea or earth, the town would always remember the honour it had received that day. A scroll on top of the arch declared, 'Amiens, en amis', in a demonstration of the town's allegiance to the monarch at a time when several other provinces were rumbling with discontent (*Mercure*, pp. 373-4).

The first pageant also comprised a fifty-foot-high pyramid, crowned with a sun and surrounded with representations of autumn, spring and summer (*Mercure*, p. 375). Not only did this seasonal conceit resound with the role that Henrietta Maria had taken as Aurora upon the Bourbon stage, it also initiated a strand of solar imagery that would run throughout the series of pageants, and which would culminate in a reference to the Catholic faith. However, in this early manifestation of the image, the sun was intended to represent the Queen of England who made the whole town happy by her presence.

The second pageant (a Corinthian arc de triomphe depicting the heavens) continued the solar imagery when it presented twelve girls dressed as sybils who sang verses predicting that Henrietta Maria would one day be placed in the heavens to shine instead of the sun (*Mercure*, pp. 375-6). This sentiment was repeated again in a later pageant when Apollo and the nine Muses offered her a series of verses telling her once more that she resembled the sun (*Mercure*, p. 378). In the last of the seven pageants, the solar imagery was drawn together in verses recited by an allegorical figure representing Faith and Religion. The pageant was a representation of five French princesses who had become queens of England. They were housed in niches in an enormous arc de triomphe, and each was supposed to be the incarnation of a particular virtue. The first was Adilberge (or Bertha), wife of King Ethelbert of Kent, who had worked hard for the conversion of her husband. Representing Faith and Religion, she carried a sun in her hand, and declared to Henrietta Maria:

J'estois fille de France espouse d'un grand Roy
 A qui j'ay fait cognoistre un seul Dieu qu'on adore:
 Je n'ay que commencé faisant comme l'Aurore
 Qui vous ay attiré vray Soleil de la Foy. (*Mercure*, p. 380)

[I was a daughter of France and wife of a great King
 To whom I made known a single God who is adored:
 I only began, acting like the Dawn,
 Which has drawn you, true Sun of the Faith.]

It is significant that the first queen to speak expressed a proselytising agenda. This entry drew together all the references to the sun that had been attached to Henrietta Maria in the previous pageants, making the whole entertainment redolent of a conversionary programme that would see England being returned to the true faith through the ministrations of the new Queen. The imagery of light, so prevalent in English and French encomia to Henrietta Maria and so compatible with the tenets of neoplatonism, was given a specifically Catholic gloss that was subsequently compounded by the virtues incarnated in the other four queens.

The second figure was Judith, a Saxon queen of England. She signified Clemency and carried a heart in her hand, declaring that her gentleness had won over her English subjects, and predicting that Henrietta Maria would be able to ravish the hearts of all the men in the world. Marguerite, wife of Henry II, followed her, carrying a crown and representing Humility, and was succeeded, in her turn, by Isabeau, wife of Edward II, who represented Prudence. Catherine, wife of Henry V, finished off the display, representing Constancy and declaring that Henrietta Maria was the image of a constant queen (*Mercure*, pp. 380-1). These commendable Christian virtues were thus offered to Henrietta Maria as examples of the conduct that would draw the English nation back to Rome. The issues of faith and constancy, as I will show, would be reiterated in the Queen's masques and pastorals, providing an oblique critique of those who built their houses on the shifting sands of Protestantism.

The day before she left the town, Henrietta Maria was presented with a farewell letter from Marie de Médicis which set out an agenda of virtues very similar to that prescribed by the pageants. Many modern commentators upon this letter have asserted that it was written for the Queen Mother by Cardinal de Bérulle, an observation which appears to be based upon an unsubstantiated assumption that a woman could not possibly write anything for herself. The letter exists in two versions, one short and one long, the shorter of which might certainly have been written by Marie. It was transcribed

by Charles Cotelendi in his 1694 *Histoire de la Tres-Haute et Tres-Puissante Princesse Henriette-Marie* with the significant observation that the original was held in the convent at Chaillot founded by Henrietta Maria in 1651.¹⁷ That the letter remained in the Queen's care for more than twenty-five years emphasises the importance she placed upon it, and perhaps supports the contention that it was written to her by her mother. This version of the letter also exists, with minor variations, in two manuscript copies held in the Parisian Archives nationales under the title 'Instruction de la Reine Marie de medicis - a la Reine d'Angleterre sa fille marie-anriette de France 15 juin 1625'.¹⁸ The longer version of the letter, which may well contain the additions of Cardinal de Bérulle, exists in manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale under the title 'Instructions données par Marie de Médicis à sa fille Henriette de France, Reyne d'Angleterre'.¹⁹

The shorter version of the letter is affectionate and declares itself to be written by Marie de Médicis in her own hand 'affin qu'il vous soit plus cher' [so that it will be dearer to you].²⁰ It reminds the new Queen to be grateful for the privileges given to her by God and tells her to remember that she has been placed on earth for the sake of heaven, God, and His glory. While exhorting Henrietta Maria to be diligent in the practice of her faith and not to shirk her religious observances, it does not overtly encourage her to proselytise. However, the longer version, which opens in an exact duplication of the former, continues in a more didactic strain that mirrors the Amiens agenda of Faith, Clemency, Humility, Prudence and Constancy. Henrietta Maria is urged to remain faithful to her religion and never to suffer anyone to contradict her beliefs. She is exhorted to protect the English Catholics, and is named their Esther 'qui eut cette grace de Dieu d'estre la déffense et la délivrance de son peuple' [who had this grace from God to be the defender and deliverer of her people] (Duffo, p. 7). In addition, she is exhorted to be charitable towards people of a different religion so that, by her

¹⁷Charles Cotelendi, *Histoire de la Tres-Haute et Tres-Puissante Princesse Henriette-Marie de France, Reyne de la Grand' Bretagne* (Paris: Michel Brunet, 1694), pp. 15-19.

¹⁸Paris, Archives nationales, K1303, no 1. Instruction de la Reine Marie de medicis - a la Reine d'Angleterre sa fille marie-anriette de France 15 juin 1625;

¹⁹See *Marie de Médicis à sa fille Henriette de France Reyne d'Angleterre*, ed. Abbé F. Duffo (Lourdes: 1936).

²⁰Paris, Archives nationales, K1303, no 1.

example, she may lead them to convert and to leave behind the errors into which they have been carried by the evils of the century (Duffo, p. 8). Under a subheading, 'Envers le Roy', Henrietta Maria is then enjoined to be obedient to her husband, to love him and to honour him, but also, significantly, to love him for the sake of heaven and not for that of earth. She is told that she should pray every day for her husband to be drawn to the true faith because God has obviously nominated her as another Bertha, a Queen of England who converted her husband and his country through her prayers and by the example of her holy life. Henrietta Maria is to honour her husband in everything, but is to remain firm and constant in her religion, asserting frankly that she would rather die than relax her vigilance over anything to do with her faith. She should make herself the link and the cement between the kingdoms of England and France and do all that she can for their mutual benefit. She is to be prudent in her behaviour, banishing mockery and slander from her presence, and is to be respectful to all her subjects, offending nobody through her speech nor in the distribution of her affections. She is informed that she is the namesake of the Virgin Mary and must remember her, and worship her particularly (Duffo, pp. 8-12).

The letters and entertainments impressed upon Henrietta Maria on her way to England emphasise the importance of her conversionary mission, informing the new Queen that her marriage has been ordained by God in order to bring relief to suffering English Catholics and to save Protestant heretics by showing them the way to the true faith. They are significant for they are early manifestations of a vocabulary that can be identified throughout the Queen's entertainments of the 1630s. Henrietta Maria arrived in England already associated (in both French *and* English verses) with Beauty, Love, and Light, attributes that would be exploited in the development of her so-called neoplatonic love cult. Most importantly, the image of light was glossed in the Amiens entries as the light of faith, locating the Queen as the conveyor of religious illumination to Britain. Erica Veevers does not make this connection in her work until she discusses the Queen's 1638 production of *Luminalia* (Veevers, p. 143), yet the idea of Henrietta Maria as the divinely-ordained saviour of Catholicism is explicit in French texts from

the mid 1620s, and can even be perceived in *Artenice*, her first pastoral production on the English court stage (see Chapter 2, below).

Imperialist fictions: nature and religion in the Queen's iconography

The association of pastoral romance with the Anglo-French marriage was one that found an early and forceful expression in France, and was one that had strongly nationalistic and Catholic connotations. Henrietta Maria has been credited with the introduction of pastoral romances on to the English court stage.²¹ In the light of this, her early connection with the genre should not be ignored, for it both illustrates how she was integrated into French romantic culture, and reveals that pastoral was not a frivolous nor ideologically innocent medium.

In 1625, an anonymous tract was published in Paris, purporting to be a transcription of Henrietta Maria's heartfelt farewell to France. Entitled *L'Adieu de la Reyne d'Angleterre à la France*, it lauded Louis XIII and his court, and presented France as the most beautiful and civilised place on earth where the clemency and justice of the monarch was reflected in the blessed harmony of nature.²² Conceived entirely in the voice of the Queen, the text contains the lament:

Adieu doux riuage de Seine qui m'auez donné mille fois des diuertissemens ayables. A dieu jardins delicieux, en la beauté desquels ie faisois mourir les soucis que le temps me donnoit. Adieu Parterres agreables, qui souuent contentiez ma veüe en la diuersité de vos fleurs. Adieu superbes edifices où ie treuuois mon sejour heureux. Adieu bois où la douce voix d'un echo declaroit le secret des Amans. Fontaines, Adieu ie ne me mireray plus au cristal de vos ondes. (*Adieu*, pp. 8-10)

[Goodbye sweet banks of the Seine that have given me pleasant entertainments a thousand times. Goodbye charming gardens, in the beauty of which I killed off the worries that time gave me. Goodbye pleasant flower beds, which often contented my sight with the variety of your flowers. Goodbye marvellous buildings where I found my stay happy. Goodbye woods where the sweet voice of an echo announced the secret of Lovers.

²¹See Peacock, *Stage Designs*, p. 178.

²²Anon., *L'Adieu de la Reyne d'Angleterre à la France* (Paris: Jean Bessin, 1625), *passim*.

Fountains, goodbye, I will no longer mirror myself in the crystal of your waves.]

This text locates the Queen within a pastoral tradition strongly reminiscent of the bucolic paradise of *Artenice*, her first dramatic production upon the English court stage. Indeed, in *Artenice*, the character played by Henrietta Maria makes an *adieu* to the world in very similar terms before fleeing to the temple of the Bonne Déesse. She declares:

Adieu, rochers et bois, adieu, fleuves et plaines,
 Qui sçauiez de mon coeur les plaisirs et les peines:
 [...]
 Adieu, pauvre Berger dont la perseuerance
 Reçoit de mon amour si peu de recompence.²³

[Goodbye, rocks and woods, goodbye, rivers and plains,
 Who knew the pleasures and pains of my heart:
 [...]
 Goodbye, poor Shepherd whose perseverance
 Received so little recompense from my love.]

While the *Adieu de la Reyne d'Angleterre* presents Henrietta Maria's life as a pastoral romance, it also aligns her with the renunciations of the world uttered by prospective nuns before their entry into a convent. Just as *Artenice* bids farewell before entering the Temple of the Bonne Déesse, so Henrietta Maria is presented as saying a final goodbye to her native land before taking up her vocation as Charles I's wife.

The tract's pastoral imagery also associates it with several other very significant texts composed for the marriage, all of which link French imperialism with metaphors of nature, and which locate Henrietta Maria in a pastoral world governed, most importantly, by a female deity. The most prominent of these texts is undoubtedly Abraham Remy's *La Galatée*, a *roman-à-clef* dedicated and presented to Henrietta Maria in 1625.²⁴ While Sarah Poynting has questioned *La Galatée*'s influence over the

²³[Honorat de Bueil, sieur de Racan], *L'Artenice* (London: [E. Allde, 1626]), p. 39.

²⁴Abraham Remy, *La Galatée et les adventures du Prince Astiagés* (Paris: Pierre Rocolet, 1625). Jean Jacquot posits that the Abraham Remy in question was also the author of *Les Amours d'Endimion et de la Lune* (1624) and *L'Angelique* (1626), as well as the translator of Montemayor's *Diane* (1624). He ended

Queen's pastoral, *The Shepherds' Paradise* (1633), Erica Veevers, Barbara Lewalski, and Jean Jacquot have noticed substantial echoes of this earlier text in the Queen's dramatic productions.²⁵ Like Waller's poems, it mythologises the Caroline romance, developing the fantasy that Charles encountered Henrietta Maria on his way to Spain and fell hopelessly in love.²⁶

In *La Galatée*, the Prince first sees his Princess while both he and she are out hunting in the woods. She is carrying a bow and quiver, and wears a dress decorated with lilies and roses (*La Galatée*, p. 11). This opening image allies her with her native land, representing her as a nymph at home in a pastoral environment, while the flowers that cover her dress very obviously refer to the union of France with England. Furthermore, despite her appearance as a Diana-like huntress, we discover she is the Princess Galatée, a nymph whose name is drawn directly from Honoré d'Urfé's famous and influential romance, *L'Astrée*, the first volume of which took Parisian society by storm in 1607. In *L'Astrée*, the lovesick shepherd, Céladon, rejected by his beloved Astrée, throws himself into a river. He is rescued by Galatée, the daughter of the Queen, who subsequently falls in love with him. However, remaining loyal to Astrée, Céladon refuses Galatée's affection and departs. Remy's use of the name 'Galatée', therefore, although it has a classical heritage,²⁷ points unambiguously to *L'Astrée*, embedding Henrietta Maria within a noble pastoral society governed by polite decorum. *La Galatée* inherits d'Urfé's model, proposing a form of spiritualised love between its main characters that eventually overcomes all the obstacles placed in the way of its fulfilment. Indeed, in a way, it continues *L'Astrée*'s tale, picking up on the story of Galatée where d'Urfé's romance leaves it.

his life as 'lecteur royal' at the Collège de France; see Jean Jacquot, 'La Reine Henriette-Marie et l'influence française dans les spectacles à la Cour de Charles Ier', *9e Cahier de l'Association Internationale des Études Français* (Paris, 1957), 128-60, (p. 133, n. 12).

²⁵See Poynting, 'A Critical Edition', p. 106; Veevers, *Images*, pp. 39-40; Barbara Lewalski, 'Milton's *Comus* and the Politics of Masquing', *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1998), 296-320 (p. 318, n. 26); Jacquot, 'L'influence française', pp. 133-5 and pp. 159-60.

²⁶In the text, France is represented by the 'isle de Cypre', Spain is 'La Sirie', Charles, 'Astiagés', and Henrietta Maria, 'Galatée'.

²⁷Galatea was a water nymph who returned to the sea to escape the unwelcome attentions of an admirer.

When it first appeared, d'Urfé's romance provoked a pastoral craze in Paris, leading some young men to dress up as shepherds at home, and inspiring the nascent Rambouillet *salon* with its code of chaste love and conversation between the sexes.²⁸ This idea of chastity is foregrounded by Remy's text which presents Galatée's Diana-like appearance as a symbol of her virgin purity. Indeed, the nymph's safety has to be assured by Prince Astiagés who, in a particularly symbolic reversal of the Venus and Adonis myth, rescues her from a terrible boar. Traditionally, the boar in the Venus and Adonis story represents uncontrolled carnal lust. By saving Galatée from such a beast, Astiagés not only becomes a victorious hero, but is shown to have control over his own physical desires, and thus to be able to tame the natural world. Galatée, in her turn, is figured as inspiringly beautiful; a nymph who provokes heroic actions from a lover striving to protect her chastity.

Philippa Berry has undertaken a detailed investigation into the relationship between divine-right monarchy and figurations of nature. She observes that, 'as proof of [the] sacred character of their rule', Renaissance monarchs 'were asserted to wield an especial authority over the natural world'.²⁹ Furthermore, she remarks, 'the ruler's metamorphosis from ordinary man into a demi-god [...] was often implicitly attributed in French Renaissance literature and art to the transforming powers of a Diana-like beloved' (Berry, p. 39). This is precisely the process at work in *La Galatée* which figures Henrietta Maria as a virtuous nymph, destined from the start to be Astiagés' wife: the chaste independence and martial ardour of the goddess, Diana, is invoked in the figure of Galatée only to be given into the service of her royal lover.

Charles (as Astiagés) is himself assimilated by *La Galatée* into the world of French romantic pastoral, co-opted into a fiction which ultimately served to glorify France and the French monarch. He is portrayed as a young and questing hero, in contrast to Louis XIII whose mature presence pervades his court and maintains control

²⁸See Louis Arnould, *Racan (1589-1670). Histoire anecdotique et critique de sa vie et ses oeuvres* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1896), p. 203. I will discuss *L'Astrée's* influence in greater detail in the next chapter.

²⁹Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 38.

of his realm. It is Louis's magnanimity that permits the eventual alliance between the two crowns, not any sense of political necessity. Secure in its own power, France does England a favour; it is England that will benefit from the French match, not the other way around. While celebrating the Anglo-French betrothal, *La Galatée* is a piece of imperialistic and virulently anti-Spanish propaganda that locates France as central to the game of European politics and which shows England and her Palatine allies struggling (somewhat ineffectually) against Spain.

Jean Puget de la Serre's *Les Amours du Roy et de la Reine* (1625) is a similarly imperialistic and allegorical romance that concerns itself with Louis XIII's marriage to Anne of Austria.³⁰ At the end of this text, the God of the Fortunate Isles (Charles I) is reported to have sent ambassadors to the court of Jupiter (Louis XIII) to request the hand of his sister, 'la chaste Diane'.³¹ In celebration, Jupiter commissions a ballet in which he dances, and preparations are begun for a similar festivity under the direction of Juno (Anne of Austria). By adopting Ben Jonson's conceit of the Fortunate Isles put forward in Prince Charles's masque of February 1625, Puget de la Serre at once respectfully reflects Charles's iconography back at him, but is also able to maintain the French King's superiority by locating him as Jupiter, chief of the gods. Henrietta Maria/Diana, under the masculine control of her brother, becomes an object of exchange between men; her chastity is a guarantee of her value and she is deployed merely as a cipher to emphasise her brother's overwhelming importance in the Franco-classical heavens.

Despite the emphasis on chastity in celebrations for Henrietta Maria's wedding, the invocation of Diana in many of the celebratory texts provided a convenient icon for women with aspirations to power. The figure of the goddess encodes an ambivalence about gender, located precisely in her inaccessible sexuality. Indeed, Stephen Orgel has noted that both François I and Henri II depicted themselves as Diana, with the

³⁰Born in 1600, Jean Puget de la Serre became a prolific writer and a 'conseiller d'état'. In 1631, he was given the title of 'historiographer of France' and subsequently followed Marie de Médicis into exile. He became Gaston d'Orléans' librarian, but was with the Queen Mother when she arrived in England in 1638, writing a description of the ceremonies that were produced to welcome her.

³¹Jean Puget de la Serre, *Les Amours du Roy et de la Reine* (Paris: Nicolas Bessin, 1625), p. 329.

crossdressed image of François accompanied by the motto: 'the king is a Mars in war, a Minerva or Diana in peace'.³² Diana could become synonymous with balanced and harmonious rule, tempering the monarchs' war-like tendencies with feminine softness and with the promise of such peacetime pursuits as hunting. The power of such a figure, as Marjorie Garber has commented, inheres in her blurred gender, in the fact that she is not a man or a woman.³³ While the figure of a very feminine deity like Venus might serve to essentialise the notion of gender, taking the goddess's sex as a ground upon which to construct a binary relationship of the masculine and feminine, a goddess like Diana can often occupy an ambiguously gendered space. As such, her image can be appropriated by both men and women as a powerful enabling fantasy. In the case of François I, the figure of Diana subtends the King's image as an omnipotent god; he is a powerful being existing beyond the realm of mortal gender, combining the characteristics not only of Jove, but of the goddess as well. In the case of a female ruler, the figure of Diana or Minerva can stand for the appropriation of a non-passive identity. She can be used to figure the rule of a woman like Marie de Médicis, combining feminine softness with the strength of a virgin Amazon. This is precisely the image conveyed in Rubens' series of huge canvases for Marie's Luxembourg Palace which are populated by the figures of helmeted women, and culminate in the representation of Marie as Minerva Victrix.

Within Henrietta Maria's own iconography, the figure of Diana was consciously exploited in a manner that developed her early associations with the goddess into a complex signifying system. In 1628, Gerrit van Honthorst painted a picture in which the Duke of Buckingham, as Mercury, presented the Liberal Arts to Charles I (Apollo) and Henrietta Maria (Diana). The painting is, as Graham Parry observes, conceived 'entirely in terms of masque', and 'celebrates Buckingham's intimate relationship with the King'.³⁴ (Notably, Buckingham occupies the central third of the picture, while the King

³²Stephen Orgel, *Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1996), p. 94.

³³Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (London: Penguin Books, 1993), p. 6.

³⁴Parry, *Golden Age*, p. 226.

and Queen are seated on a cloud in the top left-hand corner.) Upon Henrietta Maria's head is Diana's crescent moon, indicating that she reflects the light of Apollo, her brother/husband. In Parry's words, the King and Queen together figure the celestial powers of light, while, individually, they represent an 'heroic lover and [his] ideally chaste beloved' (Parry, p. 227). In this painting, Henrietta Maria is undeniably presented as her husband's consort. However, in her own sponsorship of the arts, the figure of Diana, rather than acting as a support and reflection of masculine identity, takes on a subtly different aspect.

Susan Alexandra Sykes has demonstrated how Henrietta Maria adopted a Diana iconography both at Somerset House and Greenwich which drew strongly upon images from the château of Fontainebleau.³⁵ She comments that a 'Diana fountain' was commissioned for the Somerset House gardens, probably based upon the cast made by Le Sueur of Barthélemy Prieur's *Diane chasseresse* at Fontainebleau (Sykes, p. 334). This image of Diana was reused by Inigo Jones in his designs for the opening scene of *Florimène*, the Queen's 1635 pastoral, where she appears behind a portico of Ionic columns, without her attendant stag (Sykes, p. 334). Sykes concludes that the echoes of Fontainebleau make it appear that Henrietta Maria 'was perhaps wistfully recreating the ambience of her brother Louis XIII's hunting château in her own setting' (Sykes, p. 335). While the echoes of Fontainebleau are too striking to ignore, I do not think there was anything 'wistful' about the Queen's promotion of this French idiom; it was a direct manifesto of her French heritage. Furthermore, the figure of Diana, through its deployment in her pastorals, comes to stand, not only for chastity, but for a female-centred religion that has a strong connection with that of the Virgin Mary. This was an association already extant in French culture. Indeed, the third Act of the pastoral, *Les Bergeries* (1619), came to be known as the Act of the Convent because it figured its heroine's retreat among the 'filles vouées à Diane', a community of women organised under monastic rules.³⁶ When Henrietta Maria imported this pastoral into a Protestant

³⁵Sykes, 'Henrietta Maria's 'House of Delight'', p. 334.

³⁶See Honorat de Bueil, sieur de Racan, *Les Bergeries*, ed. Louis Arnould (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1937), p. 24.

court as *Artenice*, the resonances between Diana and the Virgin took on even greater force.

In two of the Queen's three pastorals, the rural communities evoked are governed by Diana. *Florimène* both opens and closes with representations of her temple, while the Bonne Déesse whose edicts govern *Artenice* is identified with the virgin huntress. As the controlling deity of these communities, Diana is very appropriate; her incarnation as a huntress suits her to a pastoral environment, while her associations with chastity make her a convenient object for female worship. Nevertheless, despite her chastity, she is not represented as antipathetic to marriage because of her incarnation as Lucina and her concomitant association with childbirth. Therefore, although the rules of her community in *Artenice* are severe and spell out the total renunciation of the world, she finally blesses *Artenice*'s union with Alcidor, her beloved. Similarly, in *Florimène*, her regime culminates in the marriage of a shepherd with his shepherdess.

As a member of the classical heavens, Diana is ultimately under the jurisdiction of Jove. However, she inspires a cult of her own in which her chastity is her power. Just as the Virgin was conceived to merit adoration because of her purity, and to be able to intercede with God on behalf of the Catholic faithful, so, in the Queen's pastorals, Diana stands, not as an idealised female beloved representative of 'the inviolable sanctity of the state' (Berry, p. 41), but as the focus of women's veneration. While in French literature associated with the Anglo-French wedding she was synonymous with the monarch's rational taming of his land, in Henrietta Maria's later productions she stands for female agency and cultural power. Nowhere is this more evident than in the production of *The Shepherds' Paradise* (1633) which, significantly, opens with Diana's voice.³⁷ Through her subsequent dialogue with Apollo, we discover that Diana has been nominated to preside over the festivities, mainly because Juno is afraid that Jove will be unfaithful if he descends to earth.³⁸ Diana receives this compliment because of her 'vertue', proving

³⁷It is notable that women's voices are not often the first heard in productions on early modern English stages.

³⁸'The Prologue and Songs Between the Acts of Walter Montague's *The Shepherds' Paradise*', *A Little Ark Containing Sundry Pieces of Seventeenth-Century Verse*, ed. G. Thorn Drury (London: P. J. and A. E. Dobell, 1921), 4-7 (p. 4).

that, although she is female, her chastity protects her from social contamination, and that she is, therefore, appropriately chosen to preside over this cultural production. Furthermore, in the course of her conversation with Apollo, she seems to receive from him some of his attributes as a patron of the arts, joining with him to admire the Caroline court spectacle. She stands as an icon of feminised cultural power, guaranteeing the propriety of the Queen's pastoral through her own associations with patronage and chastity.

The promotion of the image of Diana in Henrietta Maria's iconography served as a direct reminder of the Queen's French heritage through its replication of aspects of Fontainebleau. In the Queen's pastorals, it could also stand as a partial representation of the worship of the Virgin. However, most importantly, Diana's was an image that could be deployed in various ways to figure powerful women. While she could be invoked as a moon goddess, palely reflecting the light of an Apollo-like monarch or presiding over the birth of a man's offspring, her chastity was also a sign of her independence from men. Furthermore, her association with the myth of Actaeon, in which she caused the dismemberment of a voyeuristic hunter, was a sign that her strange powerfulness could provoke anxieties about male emasculation and cultural impotence.³⁹ As will become apparent through my discussions of Henrietta Maria's cultural patronage, the figure of Diana, in its connections with the idealised beloved of courtly romance and in its independent sexuality, was a particularly appropriate icon for this Catholic Queen.

³⁹On the significance of the Actaeon myth for masculine fears about the power of the female beloved, see Patricia Parker, *Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property* (London: Methuen, 1987), pp. 62-3.

CHAPTER 2

'La vérité de la Religion': Pastoral Cares at the English Court

Behold, the Lord God will come with strong hand, and his arm shall rule for him: behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him. He shall feed his flock like a shepherd: he shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young.

Isaiah 40.10-11

Soon after their arrival in England, Henrietta Maria and the ladies of her household introduced an innovation into the Caroline court when they performed in a French pastoral that required them to take publicly speaking roles on the stage. For the first time, a Queen and her women acted and spoke before the English court in a manner that would be repeated at least twice more during King Charles's reign. The pastoral chosen for performance was a pure example of French literary culture and was identified in 1937 by Louis Arnould as *Les Bergeries*, a romance by Honorat de Bueil, seigneur de Racan.¹ Known at the English court by the title *Artenice*, it has received surprisingly little attention from modern drama critics despite its remarkable difference from previous royal performances. However, the production was profoundly important because it continued the strain of French imagery associated with Henrietta Maria's marriage, and also intervened in the Queen's somewhat unstable situation at the English court.

The pastoral, if it is discussed at all, is invariably dismissed by critics as a frivolous imitation of French fashion that imported 'an affected platonism' into England.² Even Erica Veevers, whose work on the Queen's later productions is

¹Racan, *Les Bergeries*, pp. v-vii.

²See Parry, *Golden Age*, p. 189. Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong also subscribe to this view; see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 1, p. 25. Although Racan's identity as author of the pastoral was established in 1937, Marion Wynne-Davies follows Alfred Harbage in assuming that Henrietta Maria wrote the play herself. However, she does not discuss *Artenice*, and makes no further comment about the Queen's perceived literary activity; see Marion Wynne-Davies, 'The Queen's Masque: Renaissance Women and the Seventeenth-Century Court Masque', *Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private, in the English Renaissance*, ed. S. P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), 79-104 (p. 81), and Alfred Harbage, *Cavalier Drama*, p. 12.

insightful and informative, has represented *Artenice* as a straightforward attempt to represent the behaviours of the Parisian *salons*, commenting:

When [Henrietta Maria] first arrived in England, in June 1626, she undoubtedly brought with her a taste for romantic ideas fostered by *L'Astrée*, and for the kind of activities that formed the pastimes of the Hôtel de Rambouillet and the French court [...] she played the leading role in Racan's *Artenice* in 1626 [...] and when in 1627 most of her French retinue was dismissed, she took refuge in the activities she knew best – dancing, singing, and play-acting – to attract to her a group who could share her tastes and interests. (Veevers, pp. 33-4)

Veevers' study cannot accommodate a discussion of Racan's pastoral because the play is seen as a symptom of Henrietta Maria's replication of the fashions of her native Paris and as a simple means of 'amusing herself with her maids' (Veevers, p. 34). Only after the dismissal of the Queen's French attendants does Veevers attribute a strategic social intention to her performances: they are to attract like-minded courtiers to her side to fill the void left by the departed French.

In contrast to Veevers, rather than considering the production of *Artenice* simply as an importation of French culture into England, I will discuss what the pastoral's performance reveals about Henrietta Maria's situation, reviewing the ways in which it might have appeared to its English audience, and considering its significance in the light of both courtly and international politics.

In July 1625, Salvetti, the Tuscan Resident at Whitehall, wrote a letter to the Grand Duke in Florence in which appears an interesting juxtaposition of observations concerning life at the English court. The priests of the new Queen's household, Salvetti remarks, 'perambulate the palace in their clerical habits', and are 'in no respect pleasing in English eyes'.³ Henrietta Maria, in contrast, 'does not show herself much to the English ladies and gentlemen of her Court, probably because she cannot converse with

³Salvetti to the Grand Duke in Florence, London, 1st/11th July 1625, *Historical Manuscripts Commission Eleventh Report*, Appendix 1, The Manuscripts of Henry Duncan Skrine, Esq.: Salvetti Correspondence, p. 25.

them except through the unpleasant intervention of an interpreter'.⁴ The letter's concern is to comment that the prevalent wish among the English is to send the French to their homes, and to report that the King has named several courtiers to consult with Effiat, the French ambassador, about the appointment of members of the Queen's household.

Salvetti's letter locates the Queen as the unavailable centre of a distinct group whose outer margins are policed by the very visible presence of priests in their clerical habits. Furthermore, the emphasis on the Queen's inaccessibility is reinforced by Salvetti's comment about her inaudibility (her speech is mediated through an interpreter), juxtaposed against the observation that her priests 'say mass daily'.⁵ The letter represents Henrietta Maria's household, viewed through the eyes of the English, as somehow impermeable, articulating a foreign and distrusted religion in an incomprehensible language, and characterised by a group of men who wear unusual clothes and are, therefore, visibly distinct. Salvetti's letter represents English courtiers' desires to see the reorganisation of Henrietta Maria's household, with the intended result that it will, in time, contain fewer French. In other words, the Queen's household will be permeated by an English presence, its distinct boundaries broken down, its character rendered less foreign, more comprehensible and, therefore, less threatening. Furthermore, it will facilitate access to the Queen and will, by implication, open up channels of patronage and preferment that are closed to English gentlemen and women by Henrietta Maria's position at the centre of a group of foreigners.⁶

The Queen's body became a site of political manoeuvring between the English and the French, making Henrietta Maria the focus of international interest in the play of power between two nations and religions. Henrietta Maria's French entourage was distrusted by the English, several foreign observers remarking that the marriage had

⁴Salvetti Correspondence, p. 25.

⁵Salvetti Correspondence, p. 25

⁶One of the first contentious issues on Henrietta Maria's arrival was the presence of Madame de Saint Georges in the Queen's coach. Charles would not allow Saint Georges to ride with the Queen, although Henrietta Maria requested it. The dispute raised issues of precedence and also signalled an anxiety that the familiarity between Henrietta Maria and some of her female attendants blocked English courtiers' access to preferment and patronage through their wives. See *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian Series, 1625-6*, p. 129 and p. 144 (hereafter *CSPV*).

caused more bad feeling between France and England than it had resolved.⁷ Most notably, a problem arose over Henrietta Maria's coronation when the Queen's Bishop demanded to crown her because the Catholic Church did not recognise the authority of the bishops of the Church of England. The Archbishop of Canterbury refused to entertain such a suggestion and, as a result, Henrietta Maria remained uncrowned.⁸ The spectacle of coronation formed part of the iconographical self-representation of the early modern monarchy, buttressing the King's power through a performance of that power before the nation.⁹ Henrietta Maria, instead of participating in such a spectacle, was separated from it, being placed as an observer of the coronation procession at a window in Sir Abraham William's house.

Interestingly, Henrietta Maria's performance of Racan's pastoral came at a time when official ceremonies (the coronation and the opening of parliament) were reaffirming the power of the English monarchy. Indeed, the pastoral was initially intended for performance on Candlemas Day, the day of Charles's coronation, but was unaccountably deferred until Shrovetide.¹⁰ Lois Potter has observed that the coronation appropriated the Catholic symbolism of Candlemas Day in order to signify the seriousness of Charles's undertaking and to figure the purity of the monarch's intentions

⁷[I]t is wonderful to see the revival of the hostility between the two nations at the time of this alliance'; Zuane Pesaro, Venetian ambassador in England, 21st/31st July 1625, *CSPV, 1625-6*, p. 129: 'Apparently discords and disputes have arisen between the two nations from the marriage instead of true friendship'; Marc Antonio Morosini, Venetian ambassador in France, 12th/22nd August 1625, *CSPV, 1625-6*, p. 144: '[T]here is every prospect of the creation of a permanent bad feeling between the two nations'; Salvetti, 5th/15th September 1625, *Salvetti Correspondence*, p. 37.

⁸See Sir John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, 19th January 1626 and Sir Benjamin Rudyerd to [Sir Francis Nethersole], 3rd February 1626, *CSPD, 1625-6*, p. 225 and p. 246.

⁹Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992; repr. 1994), pp. 8-9. On the differences that developed between Caroline monarchical spectacle and the royal displays of previous reigns, see Malcolm Smuts, 'The Political Failure of Stuart Cultural Patronage', *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), 165-87.

¹⁰Her Majesty the Queen and the Ladies of her Court are preparing for a ball to be given in London on Candlemas day'; Salvetti, 27th December/6th January 1626, *Salvetti Correspondence*, p. 41: 'Coronation holds for Candlemas Day'; Chamberlain to Carleton, 19th January 1626, *CSPD, 1625-6*, p. 225: 'The Queen's pastorall and mask deferred until Shrovetide'; Rudyerd to [Nethersole], 3rd February 1626, *CSPD, 1625-6*, p. 246.

towards his country.¹¹ Candlemas Day is a specifically Catholic festival celebrating the feast of the purification of the Virgin Mary. The year's supply of church candles are consecrated, the candles themselves being said to symbolise Christ, 'a light to lighten the Gentiles'.¹² Potter comments that Charles's choice of the day for his coronation was particularly appropriate, and notes that he wore white rather than royal purple to symbolise 'that Virgin Purity with which he came to be espoused unto his Kingdom'.¹³ Marian significations were transposed into a Protestant context which reaffirmed the new monarch's place as the head of the English Church. The original intention to perform Henrietta Maria's pastoral on 2nd February would have incorporated the production into the coronation festivities, making it a gift to the King on his official inauguration as England's monarch. However, its strong Marian undertones work against the Protestant message of the coronation, figuring the possibility that the production was intended to act as a candle to Charles to lead him (and consequently his country), as Marie de Médicis and Cardinal de Bérulle had desired, to 'la vérité de la Religion'.¹⁴

Erica Veevers, commenting upon *Luminalia*, Henrietta Maria's masque of 1638, has made similar claims about the significance of Candlemas, remarking that the Queen's entertainment, with its themes of light and devotion, was performed 'just four days after Catholics at court would have seen Candlemas celebrated, no doubt with a good deal of elaboration, in the Queen's chapel'.¹⁵ She concludes, therefore, that the masque suggested 'a celebration of the victory of Mary over her Puritan detractors, as well as the victory of light over spiritual darkness' (Veevers, pp. 143-4). The 1626

¹¹This seriousness is underlined by the Biblical text chosen for the coronation sermon: 'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life' (Revelation 2:10); see Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature 1641-1660* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1989), p. 77.

¹²E. Cobham Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (London: Cassell, 1894), *sub* Candlemas Day.

¹³Potter, *Secret Rites*, p. 77.

¹⁴*Marie de Médicis à sa fille*, ed. Duffo, p. 9.

¹⁵Veevers, *Images*, p. 143. In 1628, William Prynne condemned John Cosin's *Private Devotions* for containing Marian material, citing as evidence of Cosin's 'Popery' the fact that he had caused '280 Lights and Tapers [...] besides Torches, to bee lighted [...] on Candlemas day last past, after the Popish custome, as if the God of Light had needed Light and Tapers to behold his blind and dark Deuotions'; William Prynne, *A Briefe Survey and Censure of Mr Cozens his Couzening Devotions. Proving both the Formes and Matter ... to Be Meerly Popish* (London: [T. Cotes], 1628), p. 97.

performance of Henrietta Maria's pastoral prefigured the occasion of *Luminalia*, suggesting that Catholic significations were present in the Queen's productions from the very start of her marriage. Nonetheless, as a lavish production funded by Charles and worked upon by his servants, it was not only a gift from the Queen to the King, but also a gesture of the monarch's willingness to support his wife's cultural interests.¹⁶ Furthermore, its performance was manifestly an exercise in bridging the differences between Henrietta Maria's French household and the Stuart court, as well as potentially an attempt to calm relations between the French and English nations.

In early 1626, feelings in England were running high over France's treatment of the Huguenots. That January, the Venetian ambassador to London reported home:

The mission which the French ambassador was to have done was performed by the queen, who sent one of her gentlemen with letters in her own hand to her mother, begging her to interpose with her son for moderation towards la Rochelle, and expressing her anguish at being involved in the quarrels between her brother and husband.¹⁷

Even during the early months of her marriage, Henrietta Maria asserted a political presence, taking upon herself the duties of an ambassador and intervening in the international dispute that was dividing her loyalties between her husband and brother. Her pastoral production took place at precisely this moment, and can be seen as replicating the images of harmonious union put forward at the time of the marriage. However, because it foregrounded the female core of the Queen's household and gave Henrietta Maria and her ladies a visible and *audible* presence upon the stage at Somerset House, the pastoral also furnished an expression of national difference, locating the Queen within the performative culture of another, potentially aggressive, European monarchy.

¹⁶More than two thousand pounds were spent on the costumes alone, and the carpentry and other works amounted to more than one hundred and sixty-eight pounds'; see Jean Parrish and William A. Jackson, 'Racan's *L'Artenice*, an Addition to the English Canon', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 14 (1960), 183-90 (p. 183, n. 1).

¹⁷Zuane Pesaro to the Doge and Senate, 26th January/5th February 1626, *CSPV*, 1625-6, p. 309.

Stately translations: echoes of French culture at Somerset House

Racan's French pastoral was initially performed in 1619 on the public stage of the Hôtel de Bourgogne in Paris. Racan was a member of Henri IV's bedchamber and also attended evenings at the famous Rambouillet *salon*, to which he had been introduced at its inception by François de Malherbe, one of Marie de Médicis' favourite poets.¹⁸ The production of *Les Bergeries* was eagerly attended by members of the French court and the Rambouillet *salon*, in part because it was still a novelty to witness a play on the public stage written by a nobleman and member of the court. *Les Bergeries* was tremendously well received, and was applauded by the Rambouillet faithful for the nobility of its language. It drew its influences from Italian and Spanish romances such as Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* and Montemayor's *Diana*, as well as containing echoes of Virgil's *Eclogues*. Most of all, though, it owed a debt to Honoré d'Urfé's *L'Astrée*, the first volume of which appeared when Racan was a young page at court.

Les Bergeries is a predictably convoluted romance that tells the story of Artenice, a shepherdess, and Alcidor, her beloved, whose union is unfortunately impeded by the fact that Artenice's relations desire her to marry the wealthy Lucidas. The action draws heavily upon *L'Astrée*, whose lovers, Céladon and Astrée, were prevented from marrying because of their families' rivalry. In *Les Bergeries*, Lucidas, jealous of Artenice's affection for Alcidor, solicits the help of Polistène, a wily magician, to convince Artenice that Alcidor is courting Ydalie, her friend. Artenice, who cannot publicly admit her love for Alcidor, visits Polistène with Lucidas and, in a magic mirror, witnesses Alcidor and Ydalie indulging in amorous naughtiness in some bushes. Artenice, grief stricken, retreats to the temple of the Bonne Déesse (also known as the goddess Diane) and declares her desire to renounce the world. Meanwhile, Ydalie, who has grown up alongside Alcidor, admits her more-than-fraternal affection for him. However, like his forerunner, Céladon, he remains true to his first love and tells

¹⁸Arnould, *Racan*, p. 204 and p. 218.

her he cannot reciprocate her feelings. Ydalie, in turn, refuses to requite the love of Tisimandre, a shepherd who has loved her faithfully for five years.

As a result of the illusion created by Polistène's mirror, Ydalie is accused of unchastity and sentenced to die, while Alcidor retreats into the wilderness and, again aping Céladon, tries to drown himself. Happily, though, Tisimandre saves the day by uncovering Polistène's mendacious illusion, thus winning Ydalie's gratitude and love. Artenice and the dried-out Alcidor are reconciled and are about to be married when Artenice's mother remembers that the Bonne Déesse has prohibited Artenice from marrying a foreigner. Alcidor's origins are obscure because Ydalie's father discovered and adopted him when he was an infant. Conveniently, at this moment, Old Alcidor, Alcidor's true father, turns up, Alcidor's identity as a native to the region is established and his union with Artenice can therefore be accomplished. Lucidas is left to lament his misfortunes and to complain about the mutability of the world.

Both d'Urfé's romance and Racan's pastoral put forward spiritualised notions of social relations that echo Saint François de Sales's theology of reformed Catholicism. D'Urfé and de Sales were friends and, together with Jean-Pierre Camus and Antoine Favre, participated in gatherings that, in the winter of 1606-7, came to be known as the Académie florimontane.¹⁹ *L'Astrée* propounds a philosophy of love that privileges fidelity, discretion, marriage, and control over the passions. It offers a way of living in the world without being corrupted by worldly vanity, and thus shares in the concerns of de Sales's *Introduction à la vie dévote*, the first version of which was printed in Lyon in 1609. The *Introduction* was conceived as a handbook for those people, particularly women, who desired to live devoutly in the world, and took the form of an address to a female figure named Philothée (a name signifying 'one who loves God, or at least desires to do so').²⁰ Through the example of her spiritual conversation, a noblewoman

¹⁹See Bernard Yon, 'La conversation dans *L'Astrée*, texte littéraire et art de vivre', *Dix-septième siècle*, 179:2 (1993), 273-89 (p. 287); see also *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le XVIIe siècle*, ed. Albert Pauphilet, Louis Pichard, Robert Barroux, 2nd edn, rev. Patrick Dandrey (Paris: Fayard, 1996), *sub* Urfé.

²⁰Francis de Sales, *Introduction to the Devout Life*, trans. Michael Day (London: Burns & Oates, 1962), p. 2.

was encouraged to have an ameliorative influence on her companions, making her cultural activity indispensable to the health of good society.

Racan's play marked its debt to de Sales through the significantly named vestal, Philothée, an acolyte at the temple of the Bonne Déesse. It drew upon de Sales's theology to create a space in the world from which women could speak and from which they could begin to define themselves through language. It was also embedded in the culture of Rambouillet *salon*, and was reputed to shadow the romance between the marquis de Termes and Catherine de Chabot, his wife. Early in his career, Racan had looked upon Catherine Chabot as a muse. Together with the poet, François de Malherbe, whose own inspiration was drawn from the figure of Catherine de Vivonne, the marquise de Rambouillet, he invented several anagrams of his beloved's name. Although the name Artenice was later to become synonymous with Rambouillet herself, at its inception it designated Chabot (Arnould, pp. 175-6). Part of the pastoral's early popularity, therefore, came from the coded references it was imagined to make to figures from the Parisian *beau monde*. *Les Bergeries*' civilised noble society was a partial allegory of the play's own environment, and was, in its turn, taken up and used at the Rambouillet *salon* as a model for chaste social relations.

The play that Henrietta Maria imported into England in 1626, therefore, carried with it the traces of *salon* culture, reformed Catholicism, and the Parisian court. It came from a society that foregrounded women as the arbiters of taste and as civilising influences in society, positing a form of social relations based upon politeness and chivalry. Furthermore, it had been licensed for printing in France in 1625, and was, consequently, once again the subject of public interest.²¹ Whether or not a member of Henrietta Maria's entourage acquired a copy of the play before the Queen's departure from France is a matter only for speculation. What is certain is that Henrietta Maria was reported to be rehearsing a pastoral with her ladies in England as early as December 1625.²²

²¹The play obviously proved popular as it went through twelve editions before 1635; see Parrish and Jackson, 'Racan's *L'Artenice*', p. 185.

²²Salvetti Correspondence, p. 41.

In the 1950s, a copy of *Les Bergeries*, entitled *Artenice*, was acquired by the Houghton Library at Harvard. The literary historians, Jean Parrish and William A. Jackson, undertook an investigation into this volume and subsequently published persuasive evidence to support the contention that the play had been printed in England and had been prepared for performance at the English court. By cataloguing typographical errors consistent with those of the original French version, they demonstrated that the Harvard pastoral was printed by Edward Allde, the London printer, and showed that it was typeset from the first 1625 French edition (Parrish and Jackson, pp. 186-7). The first owner of the volume is unknown, but Parrish and Jackson surmised that it was produced for the use of the actors (Parrish and Jackson, p. 190). It is inscribed in a 'not very clear' French hand with various changes of scene and lighting and sound effects (Parrish and Jackson, p. 188), a fact that gives weight to the theory that it was a performance text, annotated by one of Henrietta Maria's fellow actresses.

Artenice is obviously a text prepared for performance; it has lost all of its dedicatory and commendatory verses, and 11% of its lines (about 135 lines of dialogue, together with the verses of the Chorus which concluded each act). However, its most significant difference from the Parisian edition is its change of title. The French title, *Les Bergeries*, signalled that the play was an example of a fashionable pastoral genre, along the same lines as other bucolic romances like *Il Pastor Fido*. By changing the play's name to *Artenice*, the English production instigated an entirely new set of significations. First, and most importantly, *Artenice* is the play's principal female character. Despite the fact that the pastoral opens with a long soliloquy performed by the shepherd, Alcidor, the change of title makes *Artenice* the central focus of the production. Instead of being a play about a pastoral community, the production becomes a play about one woman. This change of focus reflects particularly upon Henrietta Maria, the actress who played *Artenice*. Not only does she become the most important figure in the production (compatible with her status as Queen), but she becomes the focus of a female-centred cultural production that privileges women's voices and presence upon the stage. In addition, the change of title very specifically underlines the production's connections with the Rambouillet *salon*. By changing *Les Bergeries'* title to

Artenice, a direct connection was made with the pastoral's origins in a female-centred culture.

The production of *Artenice* could not help but evoke the memory of the Queen's origins, reinforcing her status as a daughter of France and providing a statement of her household's embeddedness in French culture.²³ It was performed in French, and was set, not in an obscure pastoral idyll, but at the confluence of the Seine and the Marne, near Paris. Nonetheless, although taking place in a continental location, the production's concluding scene was an image of Somerset House and the Thames that John Orrell remarks brought the philosophical pretensions of the pastoral and the sensuousness of the masque to focus on Henrietta Maria's court.²⁴ This scene not only made reference to the Queen's new London residence, it replicated the pastoral's imagery of rivers, invoking an idea of movement and travel that connected the masquing hall at Somerset House to the French location of the play. The conclusion of the performance certainly focused attention on the Queen's court, yet it was a court that had undergone a journey, moving from a representation of Paris to its present location at the feet of the English King. From its position upon the stage as a distinct group conversing in French, the Queen's court opened its boundaries in order to dance with English courtiers in a manner which harmonised French theatrical performance with English festivity. The pastoral became a symbolic exercise in bridging the differences between the two royal households: on one hand, the King funded and attended the performance; on the other, the Queen rehearsed her ladies and concluded the production by coming from the stage to dance among the English.

The decision to perform *Les Bergeries* in England was not a random one, nor did it simply imitate a fashion imported from France, despite opinions to the contrary put

²³I use the term 'French culture' with caution. John Peacock, discussing French art, points out that French culture synthesises Italian elements; Peacock, 'The French Element in Inigo Jones's Masque Designs', *The Court Masque*, ed. Lindley, pp. 149-68. Henrietta Maria's mother was Italian. Catherine de Vivonne, the marquise de Rambouillet, was also Italian, her *salon* representing 'une sorte de colonie littéraire de l'Italie'; Arnould, *Racan*, p. 220. Furthermore, after Louis XIII's marriage with Anne of Austria, everything Spanish was fashionable at the French court; Arnould, *Racan*, p. 191.

²⁴John Orrell, *The Theatres of Inigo Jones and John Webb* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1985), p. 82.

forward by Orgel and Strong, and Erica Veevers.²⁵ The production was a diplomatic gift to Charles on the occasion of his coronation, yet was also an assertion of the Queen's identity, of her position within her own household and, because of the play's origins, of her status as a daughter of France. *Artenice* raised questions pertinent to the Caroline couple's situation in 1626, foregrounding notions of chastity and fidelity. It therefore did not just provide an example of French culture on the Caroline stage, but facilitated that culture's translation into England.

In addition, the production of *Artenice* generated great interest in France, and was the subject of an anonymous poem entitled, 'Sur les figures, et changemens de Théâtre lors que la Reyne d'Angleterre jouïa la pastorelle de Mr de Racan, sous le personnage d'Artenice'.²⁶ This poem is contained in a miscellany that belonged to Julie-Lucie d'Angennes, duchesse de Montausier, and is in the hand of Valentin Conrart, the secretary of the Académie française. Julie-Lucie was the daughter of Catherine de Vivonne, and became co-hostess of her *salon*. The presence of the poem in her miscellany, therefore, sees Henrietta Maria's adaptation of Racan's play being reabsorbed into French *salon* culture.

'Sur les figures' is a nine-stanza, octosyllabic poem that represents the pastoral's changes of scene in elaborate terms, describing, for example, how:

On voioyt les fontaines
Serpenter un cours négligent,
Et le beau cristal de leurs veines
Donner un visage à nos pleines
De velours verd à fond d'argent.
(Parrish and Jackson, p. 185)

[Springs were seen, snaking a careless course, and the lovely crystal of their veins gives to our plains a complexion of green velvet in the depths of which is silver.]

²⁵Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 1, p. 25; Veevers, *Images*, pp. 33-4.

²⁶See Parrish and Jackson, 'Racan's *L'Artenice*', pp. 184-5. The poem is in a private collection and I have been unable to trace it.

The poem is conceived in the ornate language favoured by a French poet like Boisrobert. Indeed, it is feasible that 'Sur les figures' is his work. Although it is difficult to establish when he returned to France, it is possible that he remained in England until August 1626, in which case he would have been in London at the time of the pastoral.²⁷ He was closely associated with Conrart, and his work appears in numerous other miscellanies alongside contributions from poets such as Racan, Saint-Amant, and Théophile de Viau, whose verses also fill Julie-Lucie's volume. If Boisrobert did witness the production, this is significant, for it would have provided him with invaluable experience of English staging practices when he came to write his own pastoral for the Queen in 1635. Nonetheless, whether written by him or not, the poem's existence shows that, in France, the production of *Artenice* was treated as an expression of French culture for which Henrietta Maria was largely responsible.

Chaste desires: female cultural agency and reformed Catholicism

Although the Queen's pastoral was choreographed and designed in such a way as to suggest a desire for Anglo-French harmony, it was also, by its very nature as a French play, an assertion of the Queen's national and religious identity. Drawing upon the reformed Catholicism of de Sales and the feminocentric fashion of the Parisian *salons*, it invoked the fantasy of the socially visible woman. Furthermore, performed by the Queen and a group of women actors, it opened up a space upon the court stage where women could begin to imagine themselves as independent subjects, dislocated from their relationships with their husbands and fathers.

The most significant premise of François de Sales's *Introduction* was that a woman could govern her own chastity, and could thus occupy a public place in the society of men. His work effectively denigrated human laws, subordinating these to a divine grammar standing behind the mortal world. For example, discussing the subject

²⁷See Magne, *Boisrobert*, p. 89.

of reputation, de Sales remarked that 'a good name is not particularly desirable in itself, and continued:

La réputation n'est que comme une enseigne qui fait connaître où la vertu loge; la vertu doit donc être en tout et partout préférée. C'est pourquoi, si l'on dit: vous êtes un hypocrite [ou] si l'on vous tient pour homme de bas courage [...] moquez-vous de tout cela. Car, [...] tels jugements se font par des niaises et sottés gens.²⁸

[Reputation is merely a notice board on the door of virtue; it is the virtue that really matters; so if you are called a hypocrite [...] or a coward [...] it is no more than a laughing matter, for such statements are made only by foolish and empty-headed people.]²⁹

De Sales invoked a concept of socially constituted language, representing the society out of which it arose as imperfect and vain. In *Les Bergeries*, a similar distinction is made between the natural laws of the gods, and the imprisoning laws of human society. Artenice's first speech in the pastoral, which begins the third scene and parallels her lover Alcidor's opening lament, compares the restraints of human duty with the natural laws of love:

Ce fust toy [Honneur], qui premier fit glisser en nostre
ame
Ces foles visions de la honte et du blâme:
Qui premier nous apprint à taire nos desirs,
Qui premier nous apprint à cacher nos plaisirs,
Et dont la tyrannie, aux amants trop cruelle,
S'opposa la premiere à la loy naturelle.
(*Les Bergeries*, p. 47)

[It was you [Honour] who first made these mad illusions of shame and blame slip into our soul, who first taught us to silence our desires, who first taught us to hide our pleasures, and whose tyranny, too cruel to lovers, first opposed itself to the natural law.]

²⁸Saint François de Sales, *Introduction à la vie dévote*, ed. Etienne-Marie Lajeunie (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1962), p. 139.

²⁹Francis de Sales, *Introduction*, pp. 108-9.

Artenice feels herself to be shackled by the constraints of human custom and compares her situation to that of wild creatures who can sing freely about their loves (*Les Bergeries*, p. 48). In contrast, honour, the scourge of her life, will shame her if she speaks of Alcidor. This section of the play draws upon de Sales's *Introduction*, introducing a notion of language that not only has a strong Catholic significance, but which has important implications for female cultural activity.

Artenice rejects 'honour' as a cruel tyrant because it is imposed unnaturally upon the world by human convention. However, as de Sales's *Introduction* made clear, divine injunctions to maintain honour are another subject entirely. 'Chastity', de Sales remarked, 'is synonymous with honour and makes us honourable' (Day, p. 121) ['On appelle la chasteté honnêteté, et la profession d'icelle honneur' (de Sales, p. 154)]. Furthermore, we are exhorted to 'read the Scriptures for the word of God is chaste and purifies those who delight in it' (Day, p. 126) ['lisez souvent aux choses sacrées, car *la parole de Dieu est chaste* et rend ceux qui s'y plaisent chastes' (de Sales, p. 160)]. Unlike debased human language which operates through the arbitrary association of sign and referent, God's Word *is* the thing it represents. The Word, as revealed in the Scriptures, *is* chastity and honour and has a material effect upon those who contemplate it. Chastity and honour matter as spiritual essences, not as cultural conventions, and belong to a prior reality held within the mind and Word of God.

By practising chastity, a woman demonstrates, in effect, that she has a certain spiritual understanding. Like the wild birds in the woods, Artenice obeys God's law and, moreover, asserts an independence from the vagaries of human custom through her belief in a certain and permanent truth. Furthermore, by emphasising the arbitrary nature of human convention, and thus loosening the connection between the sign 'honour' and its referent in human behaviour, *Les Bergeries* momentarily destabilises the notion of man's control over language. Because it is Artenice who recognises this slippage, and because she proceeds to discover the reflection of the divine Word in nature, a space appears in the pastoral from which women may assert a claim over language. Artenice perceives the reflection of truth in the world's grammar and can thus criticise the arbitrary nature of man's laws.

This denigration of social custom has a particular significance upon the English stage for it stands almost as a declaration of the French household's adherence to alternative laws; Henrietta Maria obeys the injunctions of God, not the arbitrary laws of a corrupt human society headed by her husband. The Queen's speaking role upon the stage therefore raises the possibility of female cultural agency, permitting her and her ladies to rehearse identities independent of their relationships with husbands and fathers. Those identities, grounded in the dictates of Scripture, allow the women to divorce themselves from the vanities of society and gesture towards the formation of a new type of social organisation; a social organisation which privileges women as the arbiters of taste and delicacy, and which gives them a social role in the promotion of civility and polite behaviour. The Queen's pastoral production thus indicates that a counterpublic space might be opened up within the Stuart court from which a commentary could be made about social, religious and political affairs. Acted by women on the English stage, *Artenice* is a play which gives women the right to act.³⁰

Female cultural activity was not, of course, a new occurrence at the Stuart court: Queen Anne had performed in masques over which she had asserted an artistic opinion, requesting the device of the blackamoors in *The Masque of Blackness* and commanding Ben Jonson to write an antimasque to set off the main action in *The Masque of Queens*. However, Henrietta Maria's performance of *Artenice* was different from all previous court theatricals because the Queen took a speaking role upon the stage. Sophie Tomlinson has observed that the 'threat of the actress in performance lay in the potential for presenting femininity as a vivid and mobile force: the spectacle of the woman-actor summoning up a spectre of the female subject'.³¹ Laying claim to the Word, women threaten masculine hegemonies over language and culture, moving into positions from which they may criticise masculine constructs (such as *Artenice's* social laws). Thus, although the conventions against which *Artenice* rails are reinforced by divine sanction

³⁰Marie Laporte, the first professional French actress, had taken on the role of *Artenice* in the Valleran Lecomte troop's 1619 production of *Les Bergeries*. Racan's pastoral had also enjoyed great popularity among French amateur theatrical circles where again women played speaking roles; Arnould, *Racan*, p. 228 and p. 280.

³¹Tomlinson, 'She That Plays The King', p. 192.

at the end of the play when fate conspires to marry her honourably to the man she loves, the very fact that human law is opened up to criticism reveals the arbitrariness of its construction and provides a space within which a fantasy of change can be dreamed. This fantasy is all the more significant because it is put forward within a production that allows women to act and thus to realise the fantasy of themselves as active subjects upon the stage.

The Queen's pastoral was also radical because some of its actresses crossdressed and performed the roles of shepherds before the court. Queen Anne had been criticised in 1605 for transgressions of propriety and social rank in her *Masque of Blackness*; Dudley Carleton singled out the dancers' flimsy apparel as too 'Curtizan-like for such great ones' and scorned the blackamoor figures as 'a Troop of lean-cheek'd Moors'.³² Barbara Lewalski remarks of his vehement reaction that it might be rooted in 'the real, if perhaps unconscious, subversiveness of the Queen's governing concept' which associated the blacked-up Anne and her ladies with 'alien cultural practices and primitive energies'.³³ Nonetheless, while ultimately vesting its transformative power in the figure of King James in the audience, the masque associated its actions with female power. Similarly, Henrietta Maria's 1626 pastoral, with its strong female figures and female-centred notions of spirituality, provoked strong criticism which focused not only upon the Queen's acting, but upon the production's sartorial propriety.

While the Florentine and Venetian ambassadors' reports on *Artenice* dwell on the costumes and scenic decorations of the play, commending respectively 'the Queen [...] and her ladies' and 'the queen and her maidens' for their acting,³⁴ the language employed by the letter writers, John Chamberlain and Henry Manners, is revealing. Chamberlain, having remarked that Henrietta Maria acted a part in the play, comments, 'and *some of the rest* were disguised like men with beards'.³⁵ Manners similarly observes, 'I heare not

³²Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Ralph Winwood; *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth & James I*, ed. E. Sawyer, 3 vols (London: T. Ward, 1725), 2, p. 44.

³³Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, 'Anne of Denmark and the Subversions of Masquing', *Criticism*, 35:3 (1993), 341-55 (pp. 344-5).

³⁴Salvetti Correspondence, p. 47; *CSPV, 1625-6*, p. 345.

³⁵Chamberlain to Carleton, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure, 2 vols (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), 2, p. 630 (my italics).

much honour of the Quene's maske, for *if they were not all, soome* were in men's apparell'.³⁶ Unlike the play's foreign commentators who represented Henrietta Maria's attendants as members of a European Queen's court and therefore worthy of interest, Chamberlain and Manners dismiss the women by lumping them all together disparagingly. The Queen's ladies, for Chamberlain and Manners, are barely worth noticing and are syntactically split off from Henrietta Maria into an homologous, and alien, 'rest'. Chamberlain and Manners belittle Henrietta Maria's production, just as Carleton criticised Queen Anne's masque. By refusing to comment positively upon the pastoral, the commentators reject both it and its performers, rendering it not worthy of interest or further comment. At the same time, their denigration of the production gestures towards its potentially subversive message about the possibility of female power.

Like Ardenice's polemic against the concept of human honour which showed the arbitrariness of the construction, Henrietta Maria's pastoral production risked revealing the arbitrary nature of gender roles. Chamberlain and Manners' comments specifically single out the crossdressed nature of the Queen's actresses, revealing an anxiety about this innovation among a group of women. Seven years later, and coinciding with the Queen's next pastoral, *The Shepherds' Paradise*, William Prynne, a lawyer and radical Protestant, published his *Histriomastix*, a polemical opus in which he notoriously labelled women actors as whores. While it is not appropriate to investigate here the political circumstances surrounding Prynne's publication, his ideas about costuming and gender roles are entirely appropriate to a discussion of Henrietta Maria's first pastoral.

Prynne's fears about plays and playgoing are based on a notion of society as an organic system that asserts a woman's natural and proper place is in the home. However, his polemic, even though striving to protect the *status quo* of society, comes dangerously close to revealing that society's foundation in ideology through its investigation into theatrical costuming's disruption of 'natural' gender. He writes:

³⁶Henry Manners to Sir George Manners, *Historical Manuscripts Commission Twelfth Report*, Appendix 4, Rutland MSS, pp. 477-8 (my italics).

God ordained apparell [...] to cover nakednesse, to fence the body against cold, winde, raine, and other annoyances [...] and to distinguish one Sex, one Nation, one dignity, office, calling, profession from another. Now a mans attyring himselfe in womans array [...] perverts one principall use of garments, to difference men from women.³⁷

Clothing is both functional and denotational. Ordained by God to make bodies intelligible, it operates like a language, but is detachable and may come unfixed from the gendered body which is its ground. Crossdressing breaks down the 'natural' relationship between the signifier (clothing) and its signified (the gendered body). The clothed body no longer provides a transparent window on to an *a priori* 'natural' reality because the connection between sign and organic referent is revealed to be arbitrary. The loosening of the signifier/signified binarism does not simply and superficially disturb injunctions about proper or suitable clothing, but disrupts more profoundly by challenging the notion of the gendered body as the ground of 'natural' social relations. Crossdressing calls into question the subject/object dichotomy around which patriarchal society organises itself by privileging the masculine term over the feminine. Theatrical crossdressing, like that in Henrietta Maria's pastorals, breaks the gendered hierarchy of masculine and feminine, and reveals the ideological foundations of the traditionally 'masculine' public realm. Not only do the Queen's pastorals present women as having a public obligation to improve society, they allow women to perform as 'masculine' subjects, revealing properly political masculinity to be performative, not natural.

Nonetheless, as Donna Stanton comments, the female actor, while she may deconstruct myths of objectivity and truth, must ultimately see these relics reinscribed within the bounds of the discourse she seeks to subvert since no other exists to transmit her vision.³⁸ Within a social organisation which locates a woman in her physical body, conceiving of her either as the product of generation (a daughter), or its producer (a wife), female transgression is always already sexual transgression: a crossdressed

³⁷William Prynne, *Histriomastix: The Players Scourge or Actors Tragaedie* (London: Michael Sparke, 1633), p. 207.

³⁸Stanton, 'The Fiction of *Préciosité*', p. 107.

woman, even if silent, transgresses in the same way as an articulate woman because she has moved from her preordained place in society. As a play which permitted women to assert a speaking presence upon the stage, *Artenice* laid its actresses open to the accusation that they were conversing in public in more ways than one. It is likely that this was one of the reasons why access to the production was restricted by the King to a select, and invited, few.

Henrietta Maria's audible presence upon the stage demonstrated that her expectations about female performance and licence were significantly different from those of the English who were not used to seeing their Queen participate so actively in a play. Because the play was conducted in French, its foreignness was continuously reaffirmed before its English audience, and carried with it the knowledge that French Catholic custom sanctioned female theatrical performance. The transgressive nature of Henrietta Maria's position as a publicly speaking woman was inextricably connected to her position as a daughter of France and served to emphasise the differences in behaviour that were causing friction between her French household and the English court. While it showcased ideas of fidelity and love pertinent to the myth of the royal romance and thus acted as a bridge between the Queen's household and the Caroline court, *Artenice* nonetheless raised the spectre of women acting as subjects in their own rights, independent of the wills of their male protectors. A space was cleared upon the Caroline court stage from which Henrietta Maria could assert opinions which differed from those of her husband, and in which, perhaps, the fantasy of England's return to 'la vérité de la Religion' could be figured.

Fictional truths: love as a spiritual vocation

Racan's play negotiates the problems of infidelity and previous betrothals in a manner that is entirely appropriate to Henrietta Maria's situation in 1626. In the pastoral, *Artenice*'s parents have arranged her marriage to Lucidas because he is both wealthy and local. Exhorting his daughter to accept this match, her father declares that the only thing he desires before his death is a grandchild ['certes le seul bien à quoi ie veus pretendre,/'

Est qu'avant mon trespas vous me donniez un gendre'].³⁹ He has chosen Lucidas as Artenice's mate because 'La fortune luy rit, tout luy vient à souhait' [Fortune laughs at him, everything he desires comes to him] (*Artenice*, p. 14). Economic and dynastic necessity drive Artenice's father, in contrast to the shepherdess's own romantic desires for Alcidor. Promised by her parents to one man, Artenice has already lost her heart to another.

Although the gender roles are reversed, this is precisely the romantic fiction that was deployed to explain Charles's marriage to Henrietta Maria after his failed attempts to woo the Spanish Infanta. Performed upon the English stage, Racan's play becomes an appropriate vessel through which to showcase questions of love and fidelity, so pertinent to the fiction of the Caroline romance. This is underlined by the 1625 French text's representation of Artenice's duty to her family. After enumerating Lucidas's wealth, Silène remarks to Artenice:

Et sçay que de tous temps son inclination
Nous a donné ses vœux, et son affection.⁴⁰

[And know that his inclination has always
 Given *us* his vows and his affection.]

In subsequent French editions, these lines underwent a small alteration. Silène's words were changed to read:

Et sçay que de tous temps son inclination
Vous a donné ses vœux, et son affection.
 (*Les Bergeries*, p. 57)

[And know that his inclination has always
 Given *you* his vows and his affection.]

The original version of the play, by emphasising that Lucidas's vows were not made just to Artenice, but to her family, emphasised the constraints of family honour and avoided

³⁹[Racan], *L'Artenice*, p. 14.

⁴⁰Racan, *Les Bergeries*, p. 57, collation (my italics).

the implication that the fault of vow breaking lay with Artenice. Artenice was therefore freed from the stigma of having promised herself to someone before Alcidor. Later editions of the play, by changing 'Nous' to 'Vous', made the situation more ambiguous; it was possible in this case that Artenice was guilty at least of favourably receiving Lucidas's promises, even if she did not reciprocate them. The London copy of the text follows the 1625 original in its use of 'Nous', thus placing emphasis more on familial pressure, than on a previous personal commitment.

The parallel with the Charles and Henrietta Maria fiction is clear: Charles was imagined to have undertaken the voyage to Spain because of familial and dynastic pressure. Because he fell in love with Henrietta Maria before meeting the Infanta, he was thus emotionally committed prior to his ill-fated sojourn at the Spanish court. He broke no vows and was not engaged elsewhere before his betrothal to the French Princess. If the fiction of Charles and Henrietta Maria's romance is shadowed in the Queen's production of *Artenice*, then, in tandem with the Alcidor/Artenice story, their union is represented as the result of a single, true love.

The idea of the royal couple's true love was of particular importance to Caroline iconography, and would resonate throughout the court drama of the period. *Artenice's* representation of its lovers' romance is entirely compatible with this developing Caroline fashion, and reveals an indebtedness to Christianised neoplatonism. In the play, the turning point for Artenice comes when Alcidor is brought half-drowned to Philothée's temple. Realising the strength of her love for him, Artenice declares that she would die if Alcidor died:

Je mourrois avec vous, nos amoureuses flames,
Font dans vn mesme coeur respirer nos deux ames.
(*Artenice*, p. 63)

[I would die with you, our loving flames
Make our two souls breathe in the same heart.]

This romantic conceit of two souls existing in complete accord has obvious neoplatonic connotations and came to serve as a keystone of Caroline monarchical iconography:

Artenice's words in the pastoral resonate with the image of the 'Mary-Charles' of *Albion's Triumph*, and the 'Carlomaria' of *Coelum Britannicum*, representing the harmonious compatibility of the two lovers.⁴¹

Artenice and Alcidor's relationship demonstrates a certain sexual equality and, more importantly, permits Artenice to undergo spiritual amelioration through her love. The manner in which she declares that her own death would follow closely upon Alcidor's demonstrates a degree of love that transcends the purely physical and selfish. The lovers' relationship contains an element of spirituality that raises them above the mundane and sets them on the road to an understanding of immortal love, located in the divine. Their union becomes a spiritual vocation, providing an anchor of faith for the lovers in an uncertain and mutable world.

Henrietta Maria, too, was encouraged by her mother to cultivate this sort of spiritual relationship with her husband, loving him in a manner only exceeded by her love for God (Duffo, p. 8). The distinction made here by Marie de Médicis is important and introduces the theme of Henrietta Maria and Charles's different religious affiliations. Because Charles was a heretic in the eyes of the Roman Church, permission for Henrietta Maria's marriage had to be sought from the Pope before the union could take place. The eventual achievement of the marriage also led to the hope that the English King might be turned back to the Catholic faith, thus returning his whole country to the true Church. *Artenice's* resolution of Artenice and Alcidor's romantic problems thus has particular significance. The implicit association of Charles with the character of Alcidor (ultimately welcomed as a native into Artenice's community), together with the intention to perform the play at Candlemas, gives rise to the possibility that the pastoral figures the fantasy of the King's return to 'la vérité de la Religion'.

In an article about the imagery of the river in Racan's play, Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani has described how the limits of Racan's pastoral world were defined by the

⁴¹For an example of mutual love within the philosophy of neoplatonism, see Marsilio Ficino, *Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love*, trans. Sears Jayne, 2nd edn (Woodstock: Spring Publications, 1999), p. 56.

fields where the river Marne crossed the Seine.⁴² The main obstacle in the play, Mathieu-Castellani asserts, was the river itself, because Artenice, born by the side of it, was forbidden to marry a foreigner and was thus prevented from union with Alcidor. This description of the play has a peculiar resonance when applied to the pastoral's performance at the Caroline court and illustrates the way the play gained new significances when transplanted into England. *Les Bergeries'* eventual revelation that Alcidor is a native of Artenice's region creates a harmonious sense of community, a closed system of beliefs and customs gathered together under the edicts and goodwill of the Bonne Déesse. It unites Artenice and Alcidor under the blessing of their parents and the goddess, resolving the play's discords through an image of harmonious love. Alcidor's discovery that he is a native of the pastoral world removes the obstacles in the way of his romance; he is accepted into the pastoral space because he has always been a part of it. Alcidor is revealed to operate under the same laws as the woman he loves and, as the grateful beneficiary of the goddess's law, is accepted into the bucolic community.

In a similar way, Marie de Médicis' 1625 letter to her daughter evoked Charles and Henrietta Maria's common roots, exhorting the new Queen to pray for her husband's return to 'la vérité de la Religion en laquelle et pour laquelle même est morte sa grande mère' [the truth of the Religion within which and even for which his grandmother died] (Duffo, p. 9). Mary Stuart, Charles's grandmother, was not only a Catholic, but a Queen of France. The implication here is that Henrietta Maria and Charles (just like Artenice and Alcidor) actually have the same religious and national heritage. The additional associations the pastoral accumulates by its performance in an English setting have a proselytising impulse, suggesting that a resolution of discord and an harmonious marriage will come from a lover's recognition of, and return to, his origins; origins which are discovered to be the same as those of his beloved. Significantly, if the equation between Charles and Alcidor is maintained, the position of Henrietta Maria and the French is privileged for, like Alcidor, it is Charles who shares Henrietta Maria's

⁴²Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani, 'La poétique du fleuve dans les *Bergeries* de Racan', *Le Genre Pastoral en Europe du XVIe au XVIIe Siècle* (Saint-Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 1980), 223-32 (p. 227).

French and Catholic roots, not she who is discovered to be British. The pastoral production had a very definite French and Catholic bias. It was steeped in the ideas of reformed Catholicism and, in performance at the English court, became almost a manifesto of a devout Parisian social morality.

Within the economy of Racan's *Les Bergeries*, Artenice's retreat to the temple serves to emphasise the mutability of the physical world, and to posit the existence of a single, stable reality located in the divine, upon which it is necessary to fix the mind in order to avoid falling into error. Associated with Henrietta Maria, and enacted upon the English stage, the temple scene accumulates additional meaning, providing an image of Catholicised femininity and foregrounding a convent-like location. It was the first manifestation upon the Caroline court stage of the feminised religious space that would appear again in Henrietta Maria's other dramatic productions, *The Shepherds' Paradise* and *Florimène*. The temple scenes in *Artenice* are significant for they provide what is almost a manifesto of the Queen's religious beliefs, having a strong Marian resonance and setting up a distinction between the everyday world and the world of the spirit that is compatible with the concerns of reformed Catholicism. In addition, the discourse they invoke is strongly influenced by neoplatonism, and thus they prefigure the representations of the shadowy mortal world to be found in masques such as the Queen's *Tempe Restored*, *The Temple of Love*, and *Luminalia*.

Tricked by the magic mirror, and now despairing over what she believes to be Alcidor's infidelity, Artenice declares to Lucidas that she no longer wishes to be part of the mundane world:

Quant à moy désormais le seul bien que j'espere,
Est de passer ma vie au fond d'un Monastere,
Où sage à mes despends, ie veux à l'aduenir
Au seul amour des Dieux mes volontez vnir.
(*Artenice*, p. 38)

[As for me, from now on, the only good I wish for,
Is to pass my life at the heart of a monastery,
Where, taking care of my costs, I want in the future
To unite my wishes to the sole love of the Gods.]

Later editions of *Les Bergeries* replaced the phrases 'au fond d'un monastère' and 'des Dieux' with 'un desert austere' and 'du Ciel' respectively (*Les Bergeries*, p. 103). The text of *Artenice* follows that of the 1625 French original, and thus makes a specific equation between the fictional space of the temple and a monastery. The religious significance is obvious and is further underlined by *Artenice's* subsequent *adieu* to the world: she renounces its physical pleasures for the austere life of the cloister with the words, 'Je prends congé du monde et de ses vanitez' [I take leave of the world and of its vanities] (*Artenice*, p. 38). Drawing upon Ecclesiastes 1.2 ('vanity of vanities; all is vanity') and 1 John 2.15 ('Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world'), this passage has an obvious Christian signification.

The play's specifically Christian message is repeated at the start of the third Act and gains a Catholic gloss when *Artenice* declares her intention to join *Philothée's* female religious community. The convent scene prominently starts the central act of the play, and marks a turning point in *Artenice's* spiritual life as she recognises the follies of the world and fixes her faith on the stability of eternity. Recalling Psalm 23 ('Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death'), she evokes the mundane world as a vale of shadows and smoke:

La gloire des mortels n'est qu'ombre et que fumée,
C'est vne flame étainte aussi tost qu'allumée.
Dessillez-vous les yeux, vous dont la vanité
Prefere ceste vie à l'immortalité.
(*Artenice*, p. 48)

[Mortals' glory is only shadow and smoke,
It's a flame extinguished as soon as [it is] lit.
Clear your eyes, you whose vanity
Prefers this life to immortality.]

Like the lies generated by *Philothée's* mirror, the mortal world is represented as a mere reflection of a greater and more glorious truth. However, *Philothée's* reply to *Artenice* makes evident an aspect of the pastoral's message that, by the end of the production, will be of great importance. Privileging the world of the cloister as the most certain way of attaining eternal peace, *Philothée* nonetheless remarks:

Ma soeur ne plaignez point ceux que le sort conuie
 A passer loing de nous la course de leur vie,
 Parny les vanitez qui ne sont point icy,
 Où le combat est grand, la gloire l'est aussi.
 (*Artenice*, p. 48)

[My sister do not pity those who fate urges
 To pass their lives far from us,
 Among the vanities which are not [present] here,
 Where the fight is great, so is the glory.]

Racan's Philothée teaches Artenice that it is possible to live virtuously in a corrupt world. De Sales's preface to his *Introduction* declared that his intention was to instruct those who lived in towns, in households, at the court, and those who, because of their condition, were obliged to live with others in the world.⁴³ Racan's Philothée expresses similar sentiments and, moreover, makes it clear that great glory is to be won by living 'where the fight is great': one can have a spiritual vocation and yet, because of unavoidable obligations, one can remain in the world.

Artenice is subsequently manoeuvred into precisely this situation and leaves the convent to be married to Alcidor. This marriage serves two strategies in the text, one secular and one religious: it mystifies the dynastic necessity which insists that, as her father's only child, Artenice must renounce the virginal life and produce an heir; and it underlines the impression that her fate is divinely ordained. The Bonne Déesse's edict, by forbidding Artenice to marry a foreigner, is nonetheless indicative of the fact that Artenice is expected to marry. The shepherdess is made aware that she belongs in the world; she is the 'right bride' for Alcidor, and her marriage to him becomes her spiritual vocation. There is a very evident parallel to be drawn between Artenice's fate and that of Henrietta Maria. As a French princess, Henrietta Maria's role was to marry a foreign prince: she could not choose a cloistered life for marriage was always her destiny and her spiritual vocation.

⁴³François de Sales, *Introduction*, p. 11.

Marie de Médicis' parting letter to her daughter made it clear that Henrietta Maria was to believe that her marriage was ordained by God:

C'est un des desseins de Dieu sur vous, qui vous veut faire en nos jours une autre Berthe, fille de France comme vous, et reyne d'Angleterre comme vous laquelle obtint par sa sainte vie et par ses prières le don de foi à sa mari et à cette Isle en laquelle vous allez entrer.⁴⁴

[It's one of God's plans for you. [He] wants to make you another Bertha in our time. [She was] a daughter of France like you, and queen of England like you, and through her holy life and her prayers, obtained the gift of faith for her husband and for this Island into which you are about to enter.]

According to the letter, Henrietta Maria was to follow the example of Bertha in attempting to convert her husband and to return his country to the Catholic faith. In a modern commentary upon the letter, Bernard Cottret underlined this fact, remarking that the letter urged Henrietta Maria to enter into the bonds of marriage in the same way that others entered into religion.⁴⁵ Henrietta Maria was encouraged to think of her marriage as a spiritual vocation whose end was to achieve the conversion of her husband and of England. Artenice's situation in *Les Bergeries* was therefore particularly resonant when performed on the English stage by the Queen and her ladies, presenting before the Caroline court the figure of a woman who turned from a cloistered life to follow her spiritual vocation in the world.

Henrietta Maria's pastoral production was not, therefore, simply a facile reproduction of *salon* culture, as so many modern critics have believed; it was a cultural manifesto that enabled her to negotiate a speaking position for herself from which she could come to terms with her situation as the new wife of Charles I. It deserves detailed investigation and should not be overlooked as the frivolous whim of a sixteen-year-old girl. The production raised the spectre of the Queen's nationality and religious

⁴⁴*Marie de Médicis à sa fille*, ed. Duffo, p. 9. Bertha was the first-century French princess who married Ethelbert, King of Kent, in the year 566. She managed to convert her husband and several of his noblemen and encouraged the King to found churches in London and Rochester.

⁴⁵Cottret, 'Diplomatie', p. 234.

allegiances and, furthermore, gave rise to anxieties about her position as a culturally active woman. It was produced at a time when diplomatic relations with France were becoming increasingly strained, and showed, through the story of *Artenice* and *Alcidor*, how the course of true love ran the risk of being destroyed by family resistance. Even if, as Martin Butler has asserted, Charles's own theatrical productions were concerned more with domestic, than with international, politics, the Queen's entertainments engaged with continental forms and made oblique political statements about her status as a daughter of France.⁴⁶ Her production of *Artenice* both located her within a French pastoral tradition and integrated her into the performative culture of the Caroline court. Sanctioned and policed by Charles himself, it acted as a bridging exercise between French and English courtiers, foregrounding issues of love and commitment that would echo throughout subsequent Caroline masques. Nevertheless, it was also an early manifestation of Henrietta Maria's own iconography and allowed her to assert an identity independent of that of her husband.

⁴⁶See Butler, 'Reform', p. 128.

CHAPTER 3

Translated to the Skies: The Generation of Meaning in Caroline Court Masques

Now the Fairy of Paradise came; her raiment shone like the sun and her face was as mild as that of a happy mother whose child has brought her joy. She was so young and fair, and attending her were the loveliest maidens, each with a shining star in her hair.

Hans Andersen¹

In the last chapter, I discussed how the production of *Artenice* drew upon French cultural forms to enable Henrietta Maria to assert her own, particular identity upon the Caroline court stage. Here, I consider the ways in which King Charles's productions co-opted the figure of the Queen in order to present an image of the couple's mutual love that served a specifically domestic politics. Unsurprisingly, modern criticism, which invariably interprets the masques as manifestations of the monarch's will, has never considered how the figure of the Queen was manipulated to serve an ideological purpose within Charles's productions. For example, Graham Parry describes all the masques of the Caroline reign as 'a vindication of royal autocracy', commenting that the royal couple's image meant that Britain was 'guided by an ideal combination of virtue and love' (Parry, p. 184). Similarly, Kevin Sharpe observes that the King and Queen were rulers who 'set an example of love to the court' (Sharpe, p. 203). In both critics' readings, the figure of the Queen is unproblematically absorbed into the domestic ideology of the Caroline court, underpinning the image of Charles as an heroic lover. There is absolutely no sense, in these interpretations, of the way she was naturalised in Charles's masques, her foreign nationality expunged in order to present a vision of Britain as a self-sufficient country, complete in itself.

In this chapter, I first investigate the ways in which the figure of the Queen was incorporated into Caroline iconography, showing how the idea of the royal couple's mutual love was developed in Ben Jonson's masque, *Love's Triumph Through Callipolis* (1631). Once Buckingham had died in 1628, the couple's relationship famously

¹Hans Andersen, 'The Garden of Paradise', *Fairy Tales* (London: Penguin Books, 1994), 78-94 (p. 88).

improved. The Queen's French household had been sent home and she was surrounded by English waiting women.² After the premature birth of a short-lived prince in the spring of 1629, an heir to the throne was born in the following May. In November 1631, the Princess Mary was born, and the values of love and dynasty began to be foregrounded in royal productions. Masques started to appear as complementary pairs; *Love's Triumph* (performed by Charles on 9th January 1631), and *Chloridia* (the Queen's masque of the following 22nd February), are the first of the Caroline masques whose texts have survived. As David Lindley has remarked, they 'indicate clearly the new direction and new thematic preoccupations of the masques of the period, with their celebration and idealization of the royal marriage'.³ Although these were the only masques that Jonson would write for the royal couple, *Love's Triumph* and *Chloridia* contained motifs that would be rearticulated by other court poets throughout the next decade.

The following year, Aurelian Townshend was employed to collaborate with Jones and together they produced *Albion's Triumph* (structurally and thematically very similar to Jonson's *Love's Triumph*), and *Tempe Restored* (which drew on the 1581 French production, the *Balet Comique de la Royne*). This chapter discusses the motif of mutual love established in the texts of *Love's Triumph* and *Albion's Triumph*, showing how an idea of circularity is posited that has a great significance for the production of meaning in Caroline masques. It also investigates the significance of neoplatonism for the King's masques, paying particular attention to representations of the Queen, and illustrating how she was deployed as a mirror which reflected the image of the King back at himself. The chapter also explores the neoplatonic dualism of spirit and matter, asking whether there were any significant differences in its use between the King and the Queen's productions.

²When the marquis de Châteauneuf arrived in England as a French ambassador to negotiate peace over La Rochelle, he reported that Henrietta Maria was so preoccupied with the King and male courtiers that she did not bother much with the women of her household; see Smuts, 'Puritan Followers', p. 28.

³*Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments 1605-1640*, ed. David Lindley (Oxford: O.U.P., 1995), p. 259.

Although it did not perhaps always succeed, the Caroline masque form strove to imagine itself as a completed whole; disorder was invoked in antimasques only so that it could be contained, and the image of royal union that concluded a masque was not only imagined to give coherence to the production, but was also thought to have a civilising influence upon the British nation. Thus, Graham Parry, reading *Albion's Triumph*, remarks upon the masque's display of the 'perfect combination of Virtue and Goodness, cemented by Love' that resulted in the concluding image of the 'Mary-Charles', while Kevin Sharpe, commenting upon the same masque, observes that it celebrated the union of love and victory over vice, represented in the King's marriage to the Queen.⁴ Caroline masques proposed a form of closure based on the harmony of the royal marriage, representing the monarchs as gods whose power could renovate the sinfulness of the fallen world. *Love's Triumph*, for example, is represented by its text as a gift from Charles to his people, conceived 'for the honour of his court' and for the love borne by the King to 'his vnmatchable Lady, and Spouse, the Queenes Maiestie'.⁵ An image of circularity is established: the King offers *Love's Triumph* to his nation, his court, and his wife; the recipients of the gift profit from the beneficial examples set forth by the production and, it is implied, return the King's benevolence to him by becoming better subjects, thus increasing the fame of the monarch's 'excellence'. The masque is a mirror, but a magic one; it reflects the nation back to itself in a manner which is transformative. By looking in the mirror, by receiving the King's gift, the nation is changed for the better, the King's renown is augmented, and the circle of reciprocal giving is completed. It is this movement that the performance of *Love's Triumph* ostensibly dramatises, evoking a series of bounded circles, and dispelling disorder beyond the masque's margins.

From the first, *Love's Triumph* puts into play the idea of the boundary. The opening argument of the production, declaimed by Euphemus, a person of good character, describes how the suburbs of Callipolis, city of beauty or goodness, have been

⁴Parry, *Golden Age*, pp. 190-1; Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, p. 225.

⁵Ben Jonson, *Love's Triumph Through Callipolis*, in Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, 7, p. 735, l. 13. All subsequent line references will be to this edition.

penetrated by depraved lovers. On one level, this textual anxiety about the permeability of the city's margins reflects an historical reality. In 1626, 1627 and 1632, Charles published proclamations exhorting the nobility to return to their estates in the country. The return of the nobility to their lands was intended to reinvigorate traditional modes of government, to reduce disorder in the city, and to spread an harmonious circle out across the nation. *Love's Triumph* bears witness to an anxiety about malign influences existing at the edges of the city but, by a clever manipulation of circular motifs, imagines itself, and, by extension, the state, to become impermeable through a process of binding and purification. The masque invokes images of civil disorder, only to contain and reform them by the example of the purity of the Caroline royal union.

Significantly, *Love's Triumph's* disorders are shown by the text to have arrived from elsewhere. The depraved lovers are represented in the masque as 'expressing their confus'd affections in the Scenicall persons, and habits, of the foure prime *European Nations*' (ll. 32-3), thus indicating that the discord afflicting Callipolis is not a domestic problem, but the result of penetration from outside.⁶ The fiction of the coherence of the city (and of the state) is maintained. To reassert order it is only necessary to police Callipolis's borders, to seal up the circle of harmonious perfection, and all will be well. Callipolis is imagined by the masque as a circle, bounded by its suburbs. The impulse of the masque is to make these suburbs impermeable, to close the city off from the influences of outside. However, just as the masque form itself imagined a circular reciprocity between the King and his people, so the European antimasque figures are essential to the integrity of the masque, providing an image of discord against which the masque's representation of harmony has to be measured. European disorderliness is a necessary adjunct to the masque's representation of Callipolis's peace. The masque's

⁶Orgel and Strong note that Jones's designs for the depraved lovers did not bear out the text's instructions and did not depict the 'habits of the four prime European nations'. Most of the costumes were Italianate and drawn from *commedia dell'arte*, although there were a few north European costumes; Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 1, p. 409. Martin Butler has commented that the 'ostensible occasion of *Love's Triumph* was the Treaty of Madrid, which put an end to five years' war with Spain'; Martin Butler, *Courtly Negotiations: The Early Stuart Masque and Political Culture* (forthcoming). I am grateful to Professor Butler for allowing me access to his work.

internal coherence paradoxically turns upon the production's penetration by foreign forces and by alien texts.

Love's Triumph's representation of disorder is significantly allied to its conception of order. The antimasque of depraved lovers dance their 'distracted *comoedy* of *Loue*' (ll. 31-2) in 'intricate turnes, and involu'd mazes' (l. 46), and 'conclude the exit, in a circle' (ll. 47-8). They are 'monsters from the labyrinth of loue' (l. 99), their whole lives 'being a continew'd *vertigo*, or rather a torture on the wheele of *Loue*, then any motion eyther of order or measure' (ll. 26-8). The masque's circular motif is reflected in its antimasque but, instead of revealing Love's harmonious reciprocity, is used to emphasise the depravity of the lovers who dance in wild circles. Governed by error, the depraved lovers wander in a realm of base sensuality and are conceived in the same physical terms that would later be used to describe the inhabitants of Circe's bower in *Tempe Restored*. They are 'No loues, but slaues to sense:/ Meere cattell, and not men' (ll. 95-6), just as Circe's half-men/half-beasts would be 'parasites and slaves to their brutish affections'.⁷ *Love's Triumph's* antimasque figures are represented in a way that allies them both to primordial chaos and to the errant mass of fallen humanity. Just as Agathon in Plato's *Symposium* represented Love as calming the discord of the gods and men, so *Love's Triumph* imagines that 'loue, emergent out of *Chaos*, brought/ The world to light' (ll. 155-6).⁸ Love dispels discord and inspires men with the desire to pursue goodness. In addition, the figure of Love in *Love's Triumph* has a strong connection with the *Timaeus's* conception of the creation of the world. In the *Timaeus*, God subjugates rebellious matter, imposing law and order from outside.⁹ In *Love's Triumph*, Love imposes order on nature ('loue [...] gently mouing on the waters, wrought/ All forme to sight!' (ll. 157-8)), and is guaranteed by the masque's controlling principle of the Caroline royal couple.

⁷Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 2, p. 483, l. 339.

⁸Plato, *Symposium*, trans. Walter Hamilton (London: Penguin Books, 1951), pp. 67-72.

⁹Plato, *Timaeus*, in *Timaeus and Critias*, trans. Desmond Lee (London: Penguin Books, 1965; repr. 1977), pp. 72-3.

The evocation of European disorder, combined with *Love's Triumph's* nationalistic desires, has a direct bearing upon the figure of Henrietta Maria, seated under the State as the principal observer of the masque, and addressed by Euphemus as 'The center of proportion' (l. 130). Henrietta Maria is imagined by the masque to be at 'the centre of the circle that is the city of Callipolis. As the 'object, of Heroique *Loue*' (l. 128) she completes a circuit that is begun in Charles for, as the Chorus asserts, '*Loue*, without his object soon is gone:/ *Loue* must haue answering loue, to looke vpon' (ll. 121-2).¹⁰ The harmony of the royal marriage is expressed in the reciprocity of Charles and Henrietta Maria's gazes which reflect each other and which unite the King and Queen in an orderly, chaste whole. This figure is profoundly neoplatonic and draws upon Marsilio Ficino's *De Amore*, or *Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love*. In the *Commentary*, Ficino describes that divine beauty generates love, 'that is, a desire for itself, in all things'.¹¹ He continues:

Since if God attracts the World to Himself, and the World is attracted, there exists a certain continuous attraction (beginning from God, emanating to the World, and returning at last to God) which returns again, as if in a kind of circle, to the same place whence it issued. (Ficino, p. 46)

Beauty, Ficino says, 'is the splendor of the divine goodness'; it is a circle that has goodness (or God) at its centre (Ficino, p. 47).¹² The figure of Henrietta Maria in *Love's Triumph* becomes a chaste icon, mirroring the 'single, indivisible, motionless' point that is the centre of Ficino's circle of beauty (Ficino, p. 47). She is representative of goodness, drawing observers to an appreciation of virtue, and thus spreading health and order out to the nation.

¹⁰This motif of amorous reciprocity is more fully expounded in Jonson's *Love's Welcome at Bolsover*, performed before the King and Queen in 1634.

¹¹Ficino, *Commentary*, p. 46.

¹²As Baldassare Castiglione put it, following Ficino, 'Beauty is born of God, and is like a circle of which goodness is the centre: and, just as no circle can exist without a centre, so no beauty can exist without goodness'; quoted in *A World History of Art*, ed. Hugh Honour and John Fleming, 5th edn (London: Calmann and King, 1999), p. 477.

By incorporating the figure of the Queen into the masque fiction in this way, *Love's Triumph* claims Henrietta Maria for itself and for Callipolis. The Queen is incontrovertibly *inside* the circle of the masque, despite her historical reality as a daughter of France. The iconography deployed by the masque renders Charles and Henrietta Maria's union whole and solid; the couple's reciprocal gaze, providing a pattern of unity for the nation, is circular and unbroken. As the European disorders are expelled beyond the boundaries of Callipolis, the alien Queen is nationalised, and the borders of the country closed up. *Love's Triumph* not only imagines the expulsion of (foreign) disorders from Callipolis, but purifies the Queen of her European heritage, locking her identity to a circle of impenetrable reciprocity with Charles.

The masque effects the expulsion of the depraved lovers in terms which really constitute a purification of those lovers' wanderings in the mazes of error.¹³ The singers of the Chorus cleanse the masquing hall with their censers, after which the masque's fifteen perfect lovers and their accompanying Cupids make their entry. The entry is orderly with seven lovers and seven Cupids arranged on each side of the heroic lover who is Charles. Addressing the Queen seated under the State, the goddess Amphitrite, Euphemus, and the Chorus deploy a series of circular images to emphasise the harmonious reciprocity of Love and Beauty. Henrietta Maria is exhorted to 'receiue all lines of loue in one./ And by reflecting of them fill this space./ Till it a circle of those glories proue/ Fit to be sought in *Beauty*, found by *Loue*' (ll. 136-40). Here again, there is a strong resonance with Ficinian neoplatonism which sees God as a fixed, central point in all the lines drawn out to the circumference of a circle (Ficino, pp. 47-8). In *Love's Triumph*, Henrietta Maria becomes a representative of the beauty that generates goodness; she is a fixed point in the masque's audience and is joined to Charles by powerful but invisible lines which, it is imagined, extend harmony and order out to the nation, reforming the space left by the depraved lovers.

¹³Martin Butler has connected this fumigation of the masquing hall with the devastating plague in London of 1631, asserting that the fumigation links 'Charles's harmonious and fruitful love with the return to health that was gradually being achieved in the city streets'; Butler, *Courtly Negotiations* (forthcoming).

The Chorus then splits in two, each complementary half singing lines which reaffirm Love's circular reciprocity, asserting that 'Where *Loue* is mutuall, still/ All things in order moue' (ll. 141-2), and 'The circle of the will/ Is the true spheare of *Loue*' (ll. 143-4). The masque concludes with the arrival of Venus, summoned by Jupiter, Juno, the Genius of Britain, and Hymen, to bless the royal union. The motif of circularity and binding is invoked again as Venus describes how into her girdle are woven all her powers to inspire perfect love. The union of Beauty and Love is then illustrated by the emergence of a palm tree 'with an imperiall crowne on the top, from the root whereof, Lillies and Roses, twining together, and imbracing the stem, flourish through the crowne' (ll. 206-8). Finally, the reciprocity of the Caroline union is celebrated again in the masque's closing lines:

Who this King, and Queene would well historify
 Need onely speake their names: Those them will glorify.
 MARY, and CHARLES, CHARLES, with his MARY
 named are,
 And all the rest of *Loues*, or *Princes* famed are.
 (ll. 218-21)

The masque sets up an image of the royal union that would echo through the masques of the next ten years. Charles and Henrietta Maria are inseparably joined together: they are the 'Mary-Charles' of *Albion's Triumph* (1632), and the 'Carlomaria' of *Coelum Britannicum* (1634). In effect, Caroline masques translate the image of the royal couple to the skies, the most striking example of this process being demonstrated in *Coelum Britannicum*, a masque which explicitly proposes the renovation of the old heavens in the image of the Caroline royal couple.

At the close of *Coelum Britannicum*, Eternity himself declares an intention to stop time:

Be fix'd, you rapid Orbes, that beare
 The changing seasons of the yeare
 On your swift wings, and see the old
 Decrepit Spheare growne darke and cold;
 Nor did *Jove* quench her fires, these bright

Flames, have eclips'd her sullen light:
 This Royall Payre, for whom Fate will
 Make Motion cease, and Time stand still;
 Since Good is here so perfect, as no Worth
 Is left for After-Ages to bring forth.¹⁴

Plato's *Timaeus* proposed that 'time came into being with the heavens in order that, having come into being together, they should also be dissolved together'.¹⁵ The image evoked by *Coelum Britannicum*'s Eternity dissolves the ancient heavens and places the royal couple beyond historical time. They exist in a state of perfect goodness, a state whose perfection is necessarily antipathetic to temporal change. The fecund cycle of the seasons is stopped, the universe stands still, perfection is no longer something to be desired, it simply *is*, eternally. In effect, Henrietta Maria and Charles are translated beyond the world and historical time; in their eternal perfection these things have no more meaning for them.

Each Caroline masque imagines itself to be guaranteed by an apotheosised royal union which lends its transformative powers to remake the state in its own image. The succession of royal masques throughout the Caroline reign thus constitutes a continual repetition of the same instant, each masquing present containing within itself all its pasts and all its futures. Every masque festival is a repetition of the same moment, carried to the nth power. A masque imagines itself to be a perfect, but repeated, whole, always absolutely new because grounded upon the perfection of its founding image, the royal couple. It is impervious to its outsides, taking its authority from a vertical relationship with the eternalised image of Charles and Henrietta Maria.

This image of the Caroline couple's perfect marriage is widely described in modern masque criticism as reminiscent of the rejoined hermaphrodite of Plato's *Symposium*, but, like that of Plato's hermaphrodite, their chaste and perfect union is dangerously sterile and threatens itself with its own erasure. *The Symposium* tells how, in order to control the disorderly threat of original humanity (conceived as a perfect

¹⁴Thomas Carew, *The Poems of Thomas Carew*, ed. Rhodes Dunlap (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), pp. 151-85, ll. 1087-96. All subsequent references to *Coelum Britannicum* will be taken from this edition.

¹⁵Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 52.

whole consisting of both male and female parts), Zeus had human beings cut in two. These divided creatures lived out their lives afflicted with a yearning for their severed other halves and, if two previously joined halves met, 'they threw their arms round one another again and embraced in their longing to grow together again, and they perished of hunger and general neglect of their concerns, because they would not do anything apart'.¹⁶ This is an entirely destructive reciprocity, manifesting the sterility of a love that is completely circular, impenetrable and closed in on itself.¹⁷ It also has an obvious connection with Ovid's myth of Narcissus, whose love of himself reflected him back to himself until, 'by love wasted', he dissolved into death.¹⁸

The Narcissus myth is foundational for critiques of court culture, and a lurking counter-myth to the idea of the masque as a moral mirror. As Joseph Loewenstein has remarked, 'the joy that royalty takes in its own ideal image is dangerously close to narcissism'.¹⁹ Public spectacles, which Jonson asserted in the prefatory note to *Love's Triumph* 'ought to be the mirrors of mans life' (l. 3), are potentially not moral specula, but mirrors of Narcissus. Loewenstein argues that Jacobean masques negotiate the problem of narcissistic spectatorship by using Queen Anne as their chief performer. King James watches the spectacle, and the productions show the King 'the many ways in which what he watches is distinct from himself' (Loewenstein, p. 115). Discussing the *Masque of Queens*, Loewenstein observes that 'what preserves the system of spectacle and spectatorship from narcissism is the simple fact of sexual difference' (Loewenstein, p. 115). Although Loewenstein's critique precedes the fertile feminist scholarship which has investigated Queen Anne's position within the economies of masquing and, instead, largely reduces the Queen to a cipher deployed between Ben Jonson and his King, his work does provoke a subtle realignment of arguments about the use of the Narcissus myth within Jacobean masque criticism.

¹⁶Plato, *Symposium*, p. 61.

¹⁷For a fascinating interpretation of the significances of Plato's hermaphrodite to early modern culture, see Jonathan Dollimore, 'Desire is Death', *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Margreta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan and Peter Stallybrass (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1996), 369-86.

¹⁸Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. A. D. Melville (Oxford: O.U.P., 1986), pp. 61-6.

¹⁹Joseph Loewenstein, *Responsive Readings: Versions of Echo in Pastoral, Epic, and the Jonsonian Masque* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 115.

However, if the dangerous implications of narcissism are to some extent leavened by King James's position as a spectator at the masque, what happens when a King takes a role upon the masquing stage? I will investigate the question of sexual difference in Caroline masques in the next section of this chapter. However, here I wish to focus upon the significance of the Narcissus motif for the emergent image of the Caroline royal *couple*. In a manner distinctly different from all that had gone before, the image of the Mary-Charles subtends the masques of the Caroline period. The couple's love is foregrounded, and their reciprocal gazes link the stage to the auditorium through the masques' proscenium arches. Their union is translated to the skies and becomes the masques' controlling principle. However, it also gives rise to anxieties about sterile self-consumption, as the lovers' gazes potentially turn upon each other forever. The self-consuming link has to be broken, and the masques do this through an appeal to the couple's posterity. Although Charles and Henrietta Maria's fertility has become legendary, the masques' praise of their ability to produce offspring is not just a response to historical fact. The appeal to generation has a wider implication that brings into play ideas about death, time and eternity.

In William Shakespeare's poem, 'The Phoenix and the Turtle', for example, the affection between two lovers is represented as so complete that 'Single nature's double name/ Neither two nor one was call'd'.²⁰ The compound nature of the Phoenix and the Turtle's union is protested at by Reason, who cries out, 'How true a twain/ Seemeth this concordant one!/ Love hath reason, reason none,/ If what parts can so remain' (ll. 45-8). The lovers' union is shown to be beyond paradox, and is conceived as a challenge to the existence of reason. However, the poem demonstrates that it is actually the two birds' existence that is put into question by their love: the Phoenix and the Turtle's absolute union is such that the birds can only truly be united by death, their bodies combined together in cinders and consigned to eternity. The poem demonstrates that inward-looking desire, like Narcissus's self-consuming love, leads only to destruction and loss.

²⁰William Shakespeare, 'The Phoenix and the Turtle', *Shakespeare: Complete Works*, ed. W. J. Craig (Oxford: O.U.P., 1905; repr. 1980), p. 1135, ll. 39-40. All subsequent line references to this poem will be taken from this edition.

In contrast, Andrew Marvell's poem, 'The Definition of Love', is the tale of an unachieved union. The poem's two lovers are constantly balked by Fate who drives 'Iron wedges' between them, keeping them as apart as 'the distant Poles'.²¹ Fate's reasons for keeping the lovers separate, however, are precisely connected with the destructive forces that such a union would unleash. This union would ruin Fate, 'And her Tyrannick pow'r depose' (l. 16). The lovers will, therefore, be kept apart, 'Unless the giddy Heaven fall,/ And Earth some new Convulsion tear;/ And, us to joyn, the World should all/ Be cramp'd into a *Planisphere*' (ll. 21-4). The union of the lovers can only be achieved by the destruction of heaven and earth, by the emergence of a new form of time and space. The time in which Fate operates only exists while the lovers' union is yet to come. Once the union is accomplished, neither Fate, nor her time, can have any more meaning, and thus Fate will be made redundant and erased. Fate's time is the horizontal time in which events unfold; the lovers' time is eternal time, the time of timeless union, the time in which temporal change no longer has any meaning. It is a recuperated paradisaical time, the time of the erasure of the self, of incorporation with the One.²²

Caroline masques, by promoting chaste love and the perfectly unified image of the royal couple, must accommodate the anxieties to which this form of circular perfection gives rise. Having eternalised their foundational principle, they are compelled to turn upon themselves forever in a sterile and narcissistic reiteration of their own perfection. To accrue meaning, to have historical value, each masque must interact with historical time. It must break the self-erasing circle of eternal perfection in order to continue to exist. To have value in the world (rather than existing as an example of eternal perfection alongside the world), it must overflow its boundaries and deposit a residue of meaning.

²¹*The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*, ed. H. M. Margoliouth, 3rd edn, rev. Pierre Legouis, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 1, pp. 39-40, l. 11 and l. 18. All subsequent line references to this poem will be taken from this edition.

²²Paul Hammond and Lynn Enterline have discussed the image of Narcissus in Marvell more generally. See Paul Hammond, 'Marvell's Sexuality', *The Seventeenth Century*, 11:1 (1996), 87-123; Lynn Enterline, *The Tears of Narcissus: Melancholia and Masculinity in Early Modern Writing* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).

Shakespeare's 'The Phoenix and the Turtle' lamented the sterility of the 'married chastity' (l. 61) that had consumed its two lovers and which had ensured that they left 'no posterity' (l. 59). In a similar vein, the self-consuming passion of Plato's hermaphrodite was shown to have been broken by the introduction of physical generation. Caroline masques, too, break themselves open through a gesture towards the fecundity of the royal couple, locating Charles and Henrietta Maria at the start of a genealogical succession that will progress into infinity. In *Love's Triumph*, the notion of infinite generation is evoked in the image of the royal palm tree which '*shall ever*' cast a propitious shade (l. 119). More explicitly, *Coelum Britannicum* asserts that 'from your fruitfull race shall flow/ *Endlesse* Succession' (ll. 1133-4), while *The Temple of Love* ends with the invocation:

May youthful blessings still increase,
And in their offspring never cease,
Till Time's too old to last an hour.
(Orgel and Strong, 2, p. 604, ll. 514-16)

The Temple of Love's conclusion proposes a sort of eschatology, imagining the monarchs' posterity progressing into a future that will end with the death of time. Horizontal time will end in apocalypse (*apo-kalupsis*, 'uncovering'), in the redemption of pure meaning and the death of metaphor. The masque not only proposes a vertical connection with a guaranteeing image of eternal perfection, it also breaks open along a line of horizontal succession that moves towards a redemptive (re)union with the One. Rather than providing a convenient motif for the fundamental narcissism of the masque form, the Narcissus-like image of the royal couple is negotiated in such a way that it becomes productive in a manner beneficial to the British nation. New historicist criticism might have a point when it uses the Narcissus motif to demonstrate the masques' ultimate irrelevance to national politics. However, within the economy of the productions themselves, sterility is overcome and peace achieved through the promise of dynastic continuation.

The importance of the productive image of the royal couple is nowhere more apparent than in an innovative portrait of the King and Queen by Anthony Van Dyck. Painted in 1634, Van Dyck's portrait shows Charles presenting Henrietta Maria with an olive branch, while the Queen, in turn, gives Charles a laurel crown. This image of reciprocal giving would be reproduced in Jonson's *Love's Welcome at Bolsover* the same year, when the royal couple were welcomed by the Earl of Newcastle to his country estate. It was also reminiscent of imagery deployed in *Love's Triumph* and *Albion's Triumph*, both in its representation of a laurel crown and in the manner in which it depicted the royal couple's gazes: in the picture, Charles's gaze rests upon Henrietta Maria, while hers spreads the couple's influence beyond the frame to those who observe the image. The portrait provides an emblem of the process of masque, demonstrating the fecund possibilities of complementary gift giving. It evokes the harmony of the royal union, and, by using the curve of the Queen's arm to emphasise Henrietta Maria's pregnant figure, shows this union to be productive, not sterile.

Van Dyck's portrait reworked and superseded a picture by Mytens that had been produced around 1630 for Somerset House.²³ A comparison of Mytens' portrait with that of Van Dyck shows the Van Dyck's increased emphasis on reciprocal gift-giving, as well as its reference to the fecundity of the royal couple. The Mytens portrait gestures to the reciprocity of gift giving only through an ambiguity. A laurel crown is passed between the royal couple, but it is difficult to work out just who is passing it to whom (figure 1). The Van Dyck image is far more specific, making it obvious that its gift-giving gesture involves an *exchange* of icons (figure 2). Furthermore, in contrast to the Mytens' blank background, a rural vista opens up behind Van Dyck's royal couple, extending the iconic exchange of gifts out to the country. The laurel crown (compatible with the masques' representation of Charles's heroic virtue) and the olive branch (expressive of the Caroline peace) spread their combined virtues both into the background countryside, and out to the picture's observers, caught in Henrietta Maria's

²³Soon after its completion, Van Dyck was asked to repaint various portions of Mytens' canvas, notably the representation of Henrietta Maria.

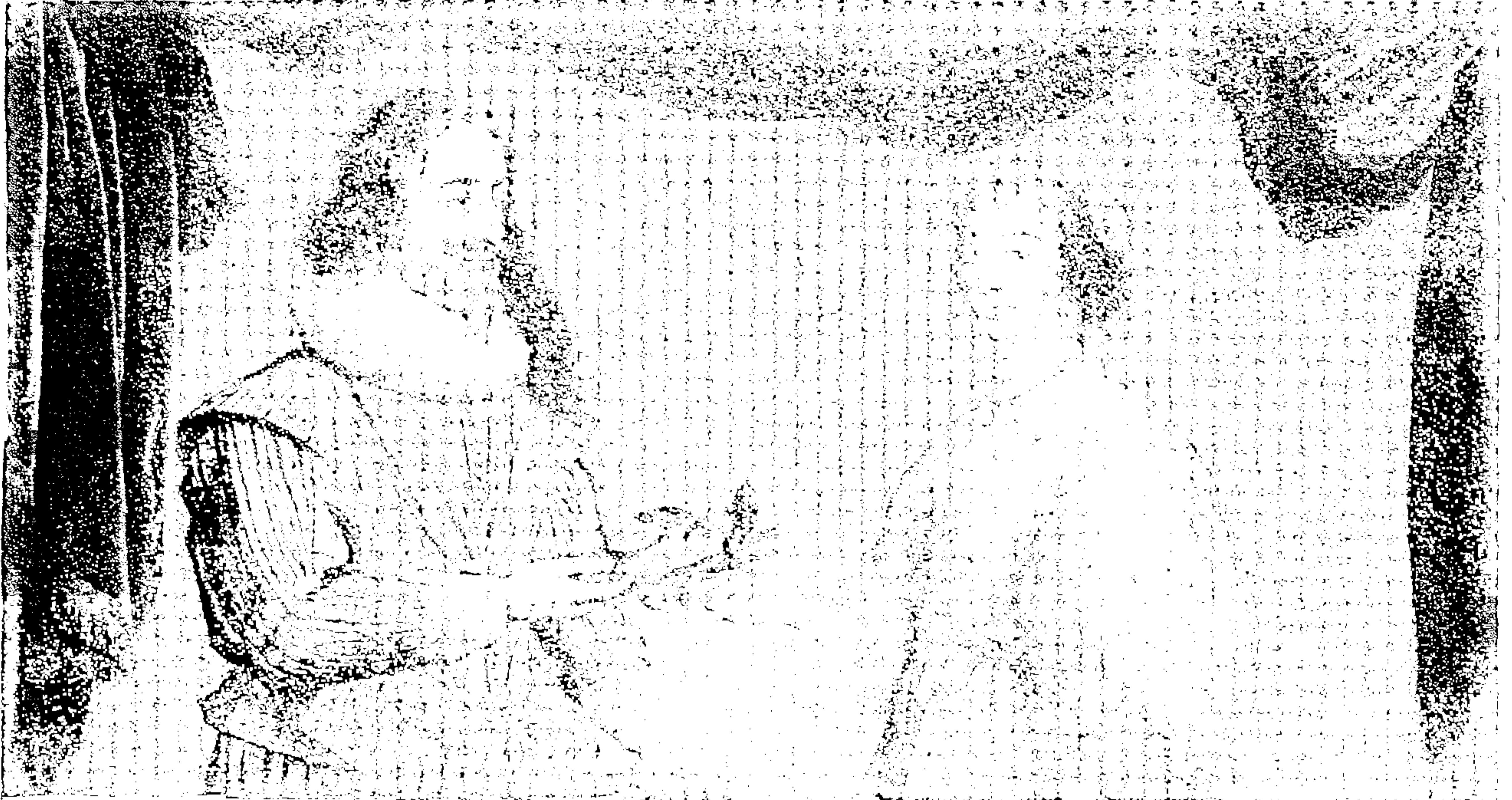


figure 1

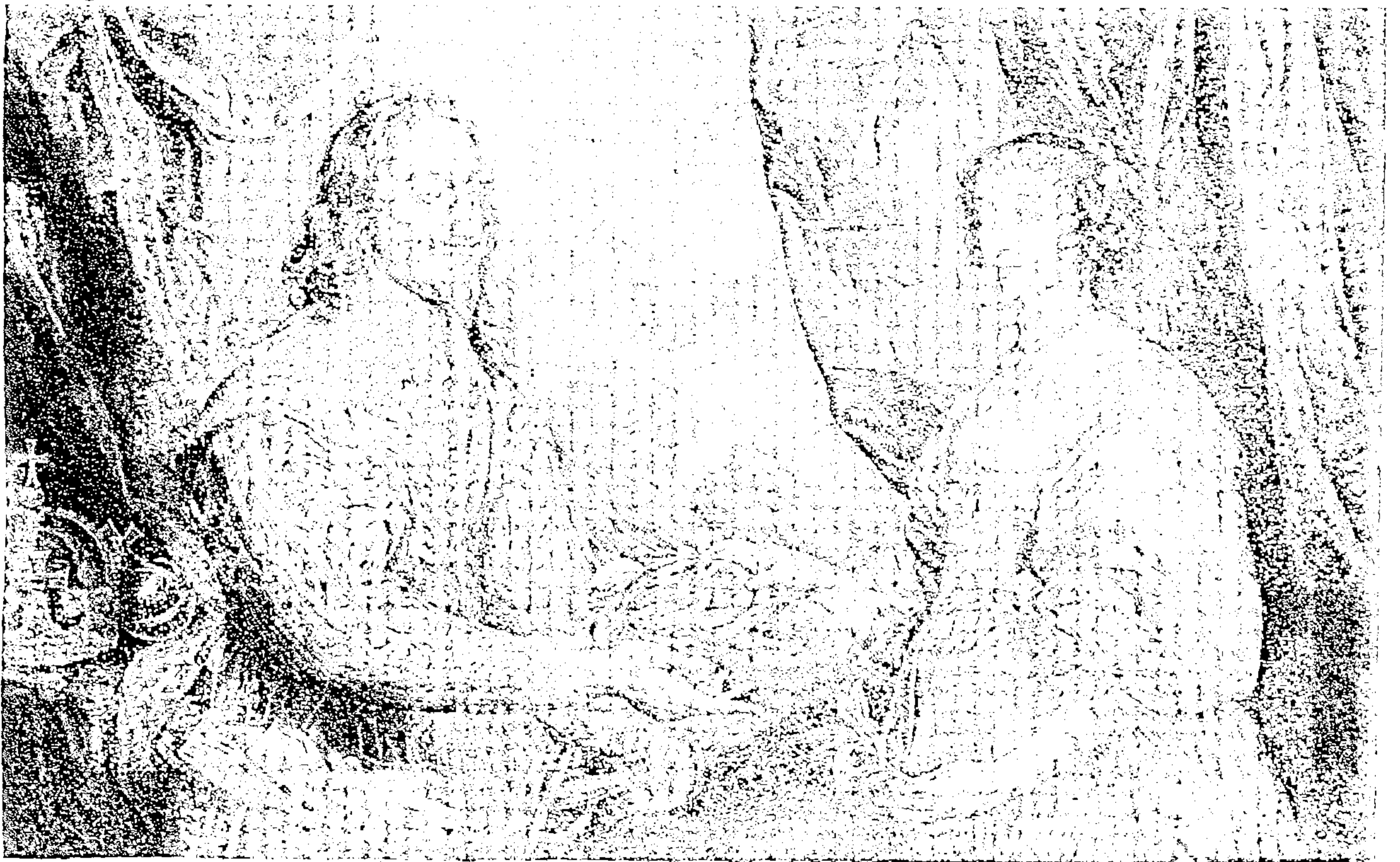


figure 2

gaze. Although the royal couple's hands at the centre of the picture complete the circle of the gift, the Queen's gaze crosses that circle. The King looks at the Queen and the Queen looks at the nation. The circularity of the royal union is demonstrated to be productive, not narcissistic. Van Dyck's portrait is an icon which shows the royal couple to spread their beneficent influence beyond themselves; through their union, Charles and Henrietta promulgate both the royal peace and the royal line.

Recognising the dangers implicit in the absolute and perfect union of lovers (the narcissistic self-erasure of the Same in the Same), Caroline masques celebrate the complementarity of the royal couple, attempting to limit the adverse potential of the idea of 'married chastity'. Nonetheless, they still attempt to constitute themselves as complete and coherent structures whose perfection mirrors the purity of the royal union. On one level, every masque is the (always new) reflection of an eternalised Ideal. On another, it is a point on a line of succession that continues into infinity, bearing the monarch's fame and predicting the fame of his progeny. Invoking subversive forces in their antimasques only to contain them, the masques assert their coherence through the absorption of the Other into the Same. They present themselves as orderly and conservative productions, conceived for the benefit of the nation. If they overflow in any way, the residue they leave is beneficial; they are imagined as a gift that spreads profit at the same time as it produces delight.

While lauding Henrietta Maria's beauty and virtue, the masques imagine her in an indissoluble pairing with the heroic lover who is her husband. In the next part of this chapter, therefore, I will focus more particularly on representations of the Queen, considering the nature of Alba in *Albion's Triumph* and investigating this figure in the light of recent feminist studies of platonism and neoplatonism. I will then move on to discuss whether this image of the Queen has any religious significance and whether it provides an opportunity for countercultural expression that could be exploited in the Queen's own masques.

The matter of Alba: body/mind dualisms in *Albion's Triumph*

Meanwhile, her shining raiment, her gleaming skin conceal the disaster within, hide all that devours and rends her body. *A female one*, thus, at least as far as the eye can see; the striking makeup, the motherly role she plays, cover up the fact that she is torn to pieces. Fragments: of women, of discourse, of silences, of blanks that are still immaculate

Luce Irigaray²⁴

The printed text of *Albion's Triumph* declares that the masque's subject is a triumph in Albipolis, the chief city of Albion.²⁵ The idea of the triumph has an obvious connection with *Love's Triumph*, continuing themes of imperial rule compatible with the King's iconography of Roman heroism. It invokes the old name of Albion, 'Albion being (as it once was) taken for England' (ll. 7-8), locating its action in a legendary past governed by the Roman gods. Charles (who as a young prince had been Duke of Albany) is represented by the figure of Albanactus, '*quasi in Albania natus*, born in Scotland' (ll. 8-9), while Henrietta Maria is shadowed in the goddess Alba.²⁶

In an opening similar to that of *Love's Triumph*, *Albion's Triumph* begins with the descent of Mercury, Jove's messenger, who informs Alba that Jove has decreed a triumph.²⁷ His opening song emphasises the virtues of vision, as each of its three stanzas begins respectively with the exhortations: 'Behold', 'Observe', and 'Admire'. Kevin Sharpe has said of *Albion's Triumph* that it depends 'upon poetry and prose rather than spectacle', yet Mercury's opening verses explicitly introduce the theme of sight.²⁸ In the ensuing antimasque, this theme is explored further as the characters of Publicus and Platonicus indulge in a debate which sets physical appearance against intellectual

²⁴Luce Irigaray, *Speculum of the Other Woman*, trans. Gillian C. Gill (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985; repr. 1992), p. 228.

²⁵All subsequent line references to this text are taken from Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 2, pp. 453-8.

²⁶As Graham Parry notes, 'The name Albanactus is taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, where he is named as the son of the founder of Britain, Brutus, and the first king of Scotland. The name, therefore, is a tribute to Charles's Scottish birth and ancestry'; Parry, *Golden Age*, p. 228, n. 7.

²⁷The figure of Mercury has neoplatonic significance. Marcilio Ficino wrote of him that 'He calls the mind back to heavenly things through the power of reason'; Marsilio Ficino, quoted in Honour and Fleming, *World History of Art*, p. 451.

²⁸Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, p. 190.

apprehension. As Sharpe comments, their exchange becomes a philosophical dialogue, much like those of Plato from whom Platonius takes his name (Sharpe, p. 225). Publicus describes the physical nature of the triumph he has just observed in the street. Platonius, too, declares that he saw the triumph, although, unlike Publicus, he states that he remained at home. He comments that, with his eyes of understanding, he witnessed the moral virtues of Albanactus Caesar in contrast to Publicus who only perceived a superficial, physical show. Graham Parry has commented that this 'engaging interlude' presented the idea that the true triumph 'was not the external display of greatness but the triumph of the moral virtues that may be apprehended only by the philosophic mind' (Parry, p. 191). However, although this is certainly part of the masque's message, a reading which unproblematically privileges Platonius's intellectual position does not do justice to the full implications of the antimasque. It is the combination of Platonius with Publicus, of mind and matter, which subtends the masque's meanings and which has a particular effect upon the character of Alba (and, therefore, upon Henrietta Maria seated under the State).

In *Albion's Triumph*, as the critic Leonard Barkan points out, the two columns of the proscenium arch, with their figures of Practica and Theorica, stand for the ideal and the real.²⁹ They also prefigure the characters of Publicus and Platonius who stand for practical interpretation and intellectual theory. As Kevin Sharpe notes, 'the resolution of the tension [between Theorica and Practica] is a result not of the rejection of practice, but the integration of practice and theory, the real with the ideal' (Sharpe, p. 194). For one to read a moral into the spectacle of the triumph, it is nonetheless imperative that the triumph exists because, within a neoplatonic economy, physical beauty is a means of raising man's apprehension towards the divine. The 'wood' and 'gilt' that Platonius disparages are the means by which the audience's spirits are raised. If the theatrical triumph stands as a metaphor for heroic virtue, then the wooden chariots are both literal and figurative vehicles; they transport the masquers' physical bodies, and they also transport the masque's more perceptive observers in an imaginative leap towards an

²⁹Leonard Barkan, 'The Imperialist Arts of Inigo Jones', *Renaissance Drama*, 7 (1976), 257-85 (p. 279).

intellectual comprehension of Albanactus's meanings. Far from being an 'engaging interlude', the Publicus/Platonicus debate foregrounds the concerns of *Albion's Triumph*. It also makes a statement about the nature of masque itself, showing how spectacle and poetry interlink to provide visual pleasure and to provoke a meaning.

After the antimasque, the triumph of Albanactus ensues, introducing the King and his fellow masquers on to the stage near a temple sacred to Jove. Cupid and Diana descend to subdue Albanactus to love and chastity, after which they present him to Alba who makes him 'co-partner of her deity' (l. 21). The masque ends with a representation of Whitehall and London, and with the appearance of Peace and her companions who, Astraea-like, herald the return of a new golden age. The closing song of the masque celebrates the hermaphroditic figure of the Mary-Charles in a manner which corresponds to, and effectively synthesises, the Platonicus/Publicus debate, praising the perfect intellectual and physical symbiosis of the monarchs, 'whose minds within/ And bodies make but Hymen's twin' (ll. 445-6).

Kevin Sharpe has commented of the early Caroline masques that, in them, 'the government of Charles and Henrietta Maria engenders virtue because it is founded in love' (Sharpe, p. 204). This statement sums up the nature of a criticism which reads the masques as statements about King Charles's policies. Henrietta Maria is irreducibly linked to her husband in a complementary pairing that subtends the ideology of Charles's method of government. Sharpe's comments upon *Albion's Triumph* demonstrate the masculinist bias both of his criticism and of the masque with which it deals. His remark that 'Peace, prosperity and government in the masques inhabit the sphere of the soul and seek to attract men to it' is notable for its emphasis on *men* (Sharpe, p. 205). His critique begs the question: Where is the feminine principle in all this? In other words, how does the masque accommodate the idea of Henrietta Maria?

Albion's Triumph has two things to say about Alba: she is the goddess of Albion, and she stands for the Queen, 'whose native beauties have a great affinity with all purity and whiteness' (ll. 10-11). Just as in *Love's Triumph*, *Albion's Triumph* naturalises Henrietta Maria, making her a native of Albion and the true partner of Albanactus. Her foreign origins are expunged and she comes to signify everything that is pure and white

as she is incorporated into the nationalistic economy of the masque. If the production's argument declares that Alba is the figure who stands in for the Queen then it is only in order to rub away Henrietta Maria's historical reality, providing a palimpsest upon which the masque's agenda can be written. In addition, the figure of Alba in *Albion's Triumph* acts to define the identity of Albanactus. Commenting upon the two figures, the argument of the masque declares that the names of Alba and Albanactus were 'not improper either for the place or for the persons' (ll. 6-7). An analogy can be made between this statement and the idea of a mystical Adamic language which expresses the essence of things: Charles *is* Albanactus, and Henrietta Maria *is* Alba. In effect, the King (whose masque this is) is associated with a discourse which magically expresses the truth, uncorrupted by the uncertainties of perception.

Later in the masque, the connection with a divinely inspired language is reinforced when an image is developed of Jove as a paternalistic God, whose laws control the universe and who is self-identical and self-constituting. Singing to Alba, Mercury, Jove's messenger, reports:

Olympian Jove to the bright Alba sends
 No vulgar god to bear his dear commands,
 And with pure eyes and a paternal hand,
 This universe having surveyed and spanned,
 In council with himself, he hath decreed,
 From fair Albipolis shall soon proceed
 A triumph. (ll. 82-8)

Jove 'commands', he has a 'paternal hand', he surveys and spans the universe, and he takes council only with himself; he is the holder of the Word, identical with himself and prime in the universe. The masque, identifying Alba and Albanactus with names that are 'not improper' to them, participates with Jove in a linguistic economy which sees the male author as law-giver and master of language, locking down Alba's meanings to beauty and purity, placing her upon a pedestal as a goddess. She is the Fairy of Paradise, young, fair, and shining like the sun. As Luce Irigaray has commented of a woman's position within male-authored discourse, she is deified, wrapped up in 'layers of

ornamental style', unable to articulate any sound beneath her 'cheap chivalric finery'.³⁰ It is perhaps no coincidence that Alba's name echoes the *alba* or dawn lament of the ballads of courtly love: she is an idealised woman, a goddess whose surface is all white, all pure, all reflecting. As the nominal figure to whom the masque is addressed, she acts as its guarantor. Her purity is necessary for the effective purification of the masque's fictions. It is upon her idealised figure that the meanings of the masque turn.

In *Love's Triumph*, the iconography deployed by the masque rendered the royal couple's union circular and unbroken. *Albion's Triumph* deploys a similar strategy when it declares to Alba that Albanactus, 'the monarch of these isles', is the 'mirror of [her] cheerful rays' (ll. 331-2). Although Albanactus is represented respectively as a suppliant or sacrifice to Alba, and as her trophy, nominally placing him in a position of subservience to her, I suggest that it is Alba who is located as a pure reflective surface, and who mirrors back to Albanactus a complimentary version of himself. The harmonious pairing of the couple operates within an economy which works to support an image of masculine selfhood, understood as rational and self-authoring. As I will show, the optical imagery deployed in the King's two masques reveals them to be mirroring an idea of (masculine) self-identity derived from neoplatonic discourses.

According to the philosopher Christine Battersby, Luce Irigaray's claim in *Speculum of the Other Woman* is that 'identity as understood in the history of western philosophy since Plato has been constructed on a model that privileges optics, straight lines, self-contained unity and solids'.³¹ Although Battersby later contests Irigaray's tendency to 'treat western metaphysics as homogeneous' (Battersby, pp. 101-2), this view of identity is profitable, particularly for a discussion of Caroline masques with their strong dependencies upon platonic and neoplatonic formulations. Irigaray is not alone, either, in seeing identity constructed upon ideas about optics and reflection. The philosopher, Rodolphe Gasché, has made preliminary moves to conceptualise the notion

³⁰See Irigaray, 'Any Theory of the "Subject" Has Always Been Appropriated by the "Masculine"', *Speculum*, 133-46 (p. 143).

³¹Christine Battersby, *The Phenomenal Woman: Feminist Metaphysics and the Patterns of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 48.

of philosophical reflection by tracing the term back to its etymological roots in the Latin verb *re-flectere*. *Re-flectere*, Gasché contends, 'means "to bend" or "to turn back" or backward, as well as "to bring back"'.³² In addition, he states, in both Greek and Latin philosophy it has optic connotations, referring to the action by mirroring surfaces of throwing back light, and in particular to a mirror's reproduction of objects in the form of images. Reflection, when designating the operation by which the mind has knowledge of itself, becomes analogous to the process of the reflection of physical light from a reflecting surface. Neoplatonists such as Plotinus, Gasché contends, 'came to understand the *nous* as a self-reflecting and self-illuminating light, which sees itself by mirroring objects' (Gasché, p. 16). His preliminary definition of reflection therefore ventures: 'reflection is the structure and the process of an operation that, in addition to designating the action of a mirror reproducing an object, implies that mirror's mirroring itself, by which process that mirror is made to see itself' (Gasché, pp. 16-17).

Gasché's work is helpful here for it enables one to posit the existence of a self-identical thinking subject that functions as a principle of identity for concepts in general. This thinking subject is responsible for a notion of history based upon a dream of full presence, and guarantees historical consistency by overseeing and grounding events after his own image. Like Jove in *Albion's Triumph*, this subject, 'in council with himself' (l. 86), surveys and spans the universe, directing events with a 'paternal hand' (l. 84). The optical allusions within *Love's Triumph* and *Albion's Triumph*, creating the illusion of the royal marriage as a unified whole, reveal the masque's dependency upon a discourse which privileges a powerful, autonomous sense of self. However, this sense of wholeness is predicated upon the figure of the Queen whose reflecting whiteness denies her the privilege of full subjective presence. Like Ovid's Hermaphroditus myth, which saw the dissolution of Salmacis into the figure of Hermaphroditus, the masque defines Albanactus through his relationship with the idealised figure of Alba, at once making Albanactus the chaste lover of a perfect object/other, and incorporating that object/other

³²Rodolphe Gasché, *The Tain of the Mirror: Derrida and the Philosophy of Reflection* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 16.

into the masque's economy of the Same.³³ Henrietta Maria's historical specificity is lost through her characterisation as Alba, while the goddess herself becomes the discursively constituted mirror which subtends the masque's meanings, reflecting Albanactus's identity back at him so he may experience himself in the mirror of himself. *Albion's Triumph* is a masque concerned with the neoplatonic dualities of real and ideal, body and mind (as expressed in the figures of Practica and Theorica, and Publicus and Platonicus); it turns upon a notion of rational order and masculine identity that requires Alba to be nothing more than a pure reflective surface.

Nonetheless, although *Albion's Triumph* constructs Alba as all that is pure and white, she also becomes associated with matter and with the maternal. As Kevin Sharpe observes, the love celebrated in *Albion's Triumph* is both 'pure *and* fertile: it procreates virtues which attract the blessings of concord, peace and justice to the king, the queen and the realm' (Sharpe, p. 226). Indeed, *Albion's Triumph's* sixth song wishes that the couple 'may perpetuate themselves by a royal posterity' (ll. 365-6) and contains the invocation:

May your virtuous minds beget
Issue that never shall decay,
And so be fruitful every way. (ll. 372-4)

Following the body/mind dualism of the masque, the song conceives of the royal couple's posterity as spiritual, as an immortal issue that will spread pleasure and peace. However, precisely *because of* the body/mind dualism, this very metaphysical posterity works in a binaristic combination with some entirely physical matters. Once again (and unsurprisingly), it is upon the figure of Alba that this imagery turns. However, Alba is invoked in a manner that appropriates her generative capabilities for Albanactus, leaving him the sole author of himself and his posterity, both physical and metaphysical.

The masque's argument describes Albanactus as '*quasi in Albania natus*' (ll. 8-9), born in Scotland, while Alba is goddess of the island of Albion. Alba is the spirit of the

³³He saw the waters of the pool,/ Where he had dived a man, had rendered him/ Half woman and his limbs now weak and soft'; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, p. 85.

isle, Albanactus's motherland; in effect, Alba *is* Albion, the matter/*mater* from which *Alba-nactus* was born. The King (described as 'seeking that happy union which was preordained by the greatest of the gods' (ll. 12-13)), therefore undertakes a journey which seeks to return him to his origins, his final union with Alba standing for his return to the place from which he was derived. It is a redemptive return to paradisaal unity where he may exist 'breast to breast' with his lost (m)other/wife. The notion of matter is displaced on to the feminine half of the Alba/Albanactus dualism, leaving Albanactus free to inhabit the realms of rationality and self-identity.

Commenting upon *Speculum*, Judith Butler has remarked that Irigaray's intervention in the history of the form/matter distinction underscored 'matter' as the site at which the feminine was excluded from philosophical binaries. 'Inasmuch as certain phantasmatic notions of the feminine are traditionally associated with materiality,' she observes in her characteristically dense prose, 'these are specular effects which confirm a phallogocentric project of autogenesis'.³⁴ In other words, when masculinist discourse equates femininity with materiality, it denies the feminine principle any access to voice or presence. For Irigaray, according to Butler, when those specular (and spectral) feminine figures are taken to be the feminine, the feminine is fully erased by its very representation (Butler, p. 36). *Albion's Triumph* appropriates the female body, making it both a sign of chastity and fecundity; Alba stands for the feminine, the generative principle from whom Albanactus receives his identity. Made 'co-partner' of her deity, he ascends to full presence and rationality, generating virtues and offspring that are the image of himself and which represent his posterity. Although the masque ends with the apparently equal image of the Mary-Charles, maintaining the mind/body dualism in perfect and productive balance, it is Alba who has been absorbed into the hermaphroditic economy of the self-identical masculine Same. She is a pure inscriptional space whose role parallels the ultimate female task, that of bearing the son of God. Acting as the (m)other against whom and from whom Albanactus derives his

³⁴Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 35-6. For a profitable critique of Butler's reading of Irigaray, see Battersby, *Phenomenal Woman*, pp. 103-24.

identity, she gives rise to a 'royal posterity' that will secure Albion's identity and its peace.

The subject of Alba's chastity is, nonetheless, one which raises questions about Henrietta Maria's cultural autonomy. Philippa Berry has commented of Queen Elizabeth I's chastity that it 'was not in fact an empty space upon which might be inscribed the fruits of a search for the powers of masculine resemblance, but the sign instead of her own mysterious powerfulness, of a body and an identity which had somehow eluded successful appropriation by the masculine' (Berry, p. 7). A similar assertion can be made about the deployment of chastity in Henrietta Maria's court productions. In my discussion of the Queen's masques below, I will, therefore, consider how an image of chastity emerges which enables Henrietta Maria to assert a cultural identity independent of that of her husband.

CHAPTER 4

Eternity and Maternity: The Possibility of Difference in the Queen's Masques

Maybe it's a good plan to let the women come on the stage now, after the men have played their part.

Plato, *Republic*, V 451b-c

I argued above that, in the Caroline masques written for and performed by the King, the figure of Henrietta Maria complemented, and indeed, subtended, Charles's identity as an heroic lover and monarch. I would like now to compare and contrast this deployment with representations of Henrietta Maria in her own masques, *Chloridia* and *Tempe Restored*, investigating whether the figure of the Queen ever becomes differentiated from that of her husband.

The printed text of *Chloridia* establishes that the masque is to be coupled with *Love's Triumph*, through the assertion:

The King and Queenes Maiesty, hauing giuen their command for the Inuention of a new argument [...] wherein her Maiesty, with the like number of her Ladies, purposed a presentation to the King. It was agreed, it should be the celebration of some Rites, done to the Goddess *Chloris*, who in a generall counsell of the Gods, was proclaim'd Goddess of the flowers [...] And was to be stellified on Earth, by an absolut decree from *Iupiter*, who would haue the Earth to be adorn'd with starres, as well as the Heauen.¹

The number of lady masquers in *Chloridia* will mirror the number of masquers who danced in the King's production, structurally reinforcing the idea that *Chloridia* is the second half of a pair. Moreover, just as Charles ordered *Love's Triumph* to be produced for his 'vnmatchable Lady, and Spouse', so *Chloridia* will operate as a compliment to Charles.² However, unsurprisingly, while the Queen was simply the recipient of the

¹Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones, *Chloridia*, in Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, 7, p. 756, ll. 1-12. All subsequent line references will be to this edition.

²Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones, *Love's Triumph Through Callipolis*, in Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, 7, p. 736, l. 13.

earlier masque, the King is shown to take an active role in commanding 'the Invention of [the] new argument' (l. 2); it is the King *and* the Queen who have decided upon the new production, not the Queen alone. Such a sense of paternalistic control is reinforced within the structure of the masque itself when Jupiter is invoked as the prime mover of the plot: it is he who has issued the 'absolut decree' (l. 10) which leads to the transformation of Chloris into Flora; the figure of Chloris is under his control.

Criticism of this masque quite rightly connects it to *Love's Triumph*. Orgel and Strong emphasise that '*Chloridia* opens where *Love's Triumph* had ended, in a garden',³ while the figure of Chloris, dressed in white, is proleptic of *Albion's Triumph's* vision of the pure Alba. Henrietta Maria's masque participates in and contributes to the iconographical vocabulary of the Caroline reign, locating the Queen as a divine beauty and the King as the incarnation of heroic virtue. Indeed, as Erica Veevers has perceptively commented, *Chloridia* is 'built on a structure of complementary opposites personifying the masculine and feminine principles of the universe' (Veevers, p. 176). Within these opposites (of Heaven and Earth, Zephyr and Spring, King and Queen), the masculine is 'the dominant and commanding power', but, as Veevers observes, 'the feminine brings to it the beauty and variety which belong to the universal order, as ineluctably as the beauty and variety of the seasons and elements belong to the natural order' (Veevers, p. 176). In other words, within *Chloridia*, just as in the King's masques, the masculine principle is to be associated with Law, with an 'absolut decree' (l. 10), with *mind*, while the feminine principle chastely inhabits the realm of nature and generation.

The opening scene of *Chloridia* emphasises this conceit of chaste fecundity when the figure of Zephyr descends to tell Spring that Chloris is to be stelled on earth as the goddess Flora. The masque immediately effects a purification of its source tale in Ovid's *Fasti* which had characterised Zephyr as the violator and then husband of Chloris.⁴ In *Chloridia*, Zephyr is described as a 'plumpe Boy' (ll. 30-1); his potentially

³Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 1, p. 56.

⁴Ovid, *Fasti*, trans. James George Frazer (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931; repr. 1996), p. 275.

violent sexuality is erased, and his youth is appropriate to the masque's conceit of spring. Indeed, *Chloridia* is full of the images of children. The production's proscenium arch is 'enterwouen with all sorts of flowers; and naked children, playing, and climbing among the branches' (ll. 15-17), while the main plot involves the disobedience of 'the Boy' (l. 110), Cupid. The masque surrounds the figure of Chloris/Henrietta Maria with images of fecundity in a manner that befits her status as a young wife and mother. It operates in a close pairing with the King's *Love's Triumph*, and also deploys imagery that would be picked up again in *Tempe Restored*, the Queen's masque of the following year. Indeed, Erica Veevers remarks that '*Tempe Restored* (1632) begins in a sense where *Chloridia* left off', opening with a garden, 'in which the Naiades and Dryads, the good powers of nature, are the companions of Circe, as before they were of Chloris' (Veevers, p. 130).

The mythological and horticultural imagery used in *Chloridia* adopts the Queen for England by drawing upon ideas that had already found expression in Elizabethan and Jacobean entertainments. The idea of Cupid-the-runaway appeared in the third book of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* to explain how Venus came to adopt Britomart's twin, Belphoebe.⁵ Jonson's *Haddington Masque* (1608), composed for the marriage of Viscount Haddington and Lady Elizabeth Ratcliffe, was a dramatisation of a poem by Moschus known to the Renaissance as *Amor Fugitivus*, and also figured Venus asking for help in finding her runaway son.⁶ As in the case of the *Haddington Masque*, images of floral abundance, and the associations of spring, love and birth, were often also used as motifs to celebrate marriages. The image of Zephyr and Flora cropped up in the *Lord Hay's Masque* of 1607 in celebration of the marriage of James Hay, James I's favourite,

⁵Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Thomas P. Roche (London: Penguin Books, 1978; repr. 1987), pp. 464-68.

⁶See D. J. Gordon, 'Ben Jonson's *Haddington Masque*: The Story and the Fable (1947)', *The Renaissance Imagination: Essays and Lectures by D. J. Gordon*, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 185-93 (pp. 185-6). Erica Veevers identifies a 1628 Médicis entertainment as a likely source for *Chloridia*. The conceit is, indeed, very similar to Jonson's: Jupiter announces his decision to strew the earth with flowers just as heaven is strewn with stars; Cupid becomes discontented and descends to the underworld; Chloris is changed into Flora after being reunited with Zephyr. See Veevers, *Images*, p. 176. As I will show, *Chloridia's* association with a Médicis entertainment is entirely appropriate given the masque's probable political implications.

while the gentlemen of Gray's Inn produced an elaborate *Masque of Flowers* in 1614 for the marriage of Robert Carr and Lady Frances Howard. The conceit of *Chloridia* is, therefore, appropriate for a masque which celebrates the Caroline couple, particularly after the recent birth of their first son.

Moreover, the display of pastoral imagery is also compatible with nationalistic projects which invoked the idea of a Stuart dynasty. *Love's Triumph* ended with an image of generation that spread harmony out to the nation. Similarly, pastoral motifs were deployed in Elizabethan and Jacobean productions for decidedly political ends. Referring to the Elizabethan Elvetham entertainment of 1591, Philippa Berry comments that 'representations of [Queen Elizabeth] as the centre and source of an evergreen pastoral world were used to affirm the existence of a 'natural' order in which the new hierarchy of the absolutist state [...] was implied to be divinely ordained'.⁷ Leah Marcus, in her turn, observes that 'both James and Charles I attempted in various ways to 'repastoralise' England by advocating a return to rural merriment [...] Stuart pastoral was designed to reduce the distance between the urban and the rural'.⁸ Pastoral motifs in court entertainments had political implications and were a means through which images of harmony, unity, and prosperity could be extended out to the nation.

Jonson's masque for the Queen therefore seems to replicate the ideas put forward in *Love's Triumph*, linking her to the King in a nationalistic manner that propounds an agenda of royal fecundity and rural bliss. Nonetheless, the production also draws upon French sources, and thus promotes an image of Henrietta Maria that is compatible with her identity as a French princess as well as a queen of England. It has long been established that the source of *Tempe Restored* was the 1581 Valois entertainment, the *Balet Comique de la Royne*. *Chloridia*, too, contains significant echoes of two French ballets. Prior to her marriage, Henrietta Maria danced in the 1621 *Grand Ballet de la*

⁷Berry, *Of Chastity and Power*, p. 84.

⁸Leah S. Marcus, 'Politics and Pastoral: Writing the Court on the Countryside', *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 139-59 (pp. 139-40). Thomas Campion's *Caversham Entertainment*, presented to Queen Anne at Caversham House near Reading in 1613, precisely reflects the idea of harmonious rural merriment; see *Court Masques*, ed. Lindley, pp. 92-101.

Reyne representant le Soleil, and the 1623 *Grand Ballet de la Reyne representant les Festes de Junon la Nopciere*. In the earlier ballet, she took the role of Aurora, and in the later, the role of Iris. It is the 1621 ballet whose imagery is most compatible with that of *Chloridia*, and which deserves to be investigated in some detail.

Like *Chloridia*, Anne of Austria's *Soleil* operates as a counterpart to a ballet performed by her husband. The ballet's printed text declares that, in the King's production, Louis XIII appeared as Apollo, while in the Queen's ballet, he is to be understood as the Sun. Similarly, like *Chloridia* (whose women masquers equalled the number of noble dancers in *Love's Triumph*), there is an expressed intention in *Soleil* to create a structural parallel between the two French productions. In Louis's ballet 'les quatre professions firent les quatre scenes' [the four professions made up the four scenes], while in *Soleil* 'les quatre saisons en seroient autant, si l'Hyuer n'estoit chassé de la derniere' [the four seasons would have done as much, if Winter hadn't been chased from the last].⁹ The productions complement each other, and each one serves as an elaborate compliment to the King.

Soleil opens with an image of Dawn chasing dreams and chimeras from the world in a manner that would later find an echo in Henrietta Maria's *Luminalia* (1638). The first scene of the ballet is dedicated to Spring, and shows ice being transformed into fountains, the earth being overspread with flowers, and Zephyr and Flora falling in love. It has an obvious resonance with the conceit of *Chloridia* and was significantly the scene with which Henrietta Maria, as Aurora, was the most involved. The imagery of rivers and fountains reappears in Jonson's masque, which also draws upon the figures of Zephyr, Spring, and floral abundance. Later in *Soleil*, a dance representing a storm is followed by the appearance of a rainbow, and Winter is chased from the stage by the Sun (Anne of Austria) and her attendant Hours. In *Chloridia*, great emphasis is placed upon the tempest that Cupid raises from Hell, which is calmed by Chloris, seated in a bower before the image of a rainbow (l. 201), before she descends to the stage

⁹René Bordier, *Grand Ballet de la Reyne representant le Soleil, dancé en la Salle du petit Bourbon, en l'annee mil six cens vingt & un* (Paris: René Giffart, 1621), p. 3.

welcomed by a song which lauds the preservative capabilities of the Hours, of Juno, and of Iris (ll. 215-28). Significantly, the tempest is danced like a French *ballet à entrées*, and is comprised of masquers who appear in themed groups and who move in a manner appropriate to their theme. It differs markedly from the antimasque of *Love's Triumph* which figured one large dance, and alerts one to the production's indebtedness to French ballet. Indeed, Marie-Claude Canova-Green has commented that this was the first time that the word 'entries' was applied to an English antimasque.¹⁰ She is not entirely correct in this; the word was used by Thomas Campion in *The Lords' Masque* (1613), and was employed for the first time by Ben Jonson in *Lovers Made Men* (1617).¹¹ Nevertheless, its use in *Chloridia* designates a typically French succession of comic dances, and indicates the importation of a new dramatic structure on to the English stage. Although its classical images were stock-in-trade for European entertainments, *Chloridia* is filled with the echoes of French productions, particularly Anne of Austria's *Soleil*. The Narcissus mirror in which the French monarch saw himself was translated into a distant echo on the English court stage.

At the same time, the mirror in which the English King saw himself was made of French glass, reflecting back an image that politely declined to deny the Queen a stake in her national heritage. While effecting a synthesis of French and English culture upon the masquing stage, the Queen's productions provided a strong reminder of her individuality and status as a daughter of France. They also articulated a form of neoplatonism infused with religious ideals that was promoted by devout Catholics at the Bourbon court. Erica Veevers has identified a strain of Catholic imagery in *Chloridia* and *Tempe Restored* located in the masques' horticultural motifs. In Catholic literature, she observes, an implicit contrast was made between 'gardens of worldly pleasure and

¹⁰The word was later used in descriptions of *Britannia Triumphans*, *Luminalia*, and *Salmacida Spolia*; Marie-Claude Canova-Green, *La Politique-spectacle au grand siècle: les rapports franco-anglais* (Paris: Biblio 17, 1993), p. 223.

¹¹See Thomas Campion, *The Lords' Masque*, ll. 1-2 in *Campion's Works*, ed. Percival Vivian (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), pp. 89-100; Jonson, *Lovers Made Men*, l. 154 in Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, 7, pp. 449-60. Jonson also uses the term in *Pan's Anniversary* (1620), l. 190, *The Masque of Augurs* (1622), ll. 364-5, *Time Vindicated* (1623), ll. 332-3, *Neptune's Triumph* (1624), l. 453, and *The Fortunate Isles* (1625), l. 567.

Mary's garden of heavenly beauty and love'. She therefore reads *Chloridia* and *Tempe Restored* as coded expressions of the Queen's religion with, for example, *Tempe Restored* making a contrast 'between the false beauty of Circe and the 'Divine Beauty' of the Queen' (Veevers, p. 131). As such, the masques open up a space upon the English court stage from which Henrietta Maria could assert an identity that differed from that of her husband, and which disrupted the notion that masques were the mirrors of princes. The image that the Queen reflects back to Charles blurs the notion of the Caroline couple's reciprocal gaze for, although he is maintained as the head of his family, he cannot recognise himself as the head of his wife's Church. The figure of the Queen becomes detached from that of her husband, for it posits a community whose aims do not serve the nationalistic agenda put forward in the King's masques. It is this that the next section of the chapter will explore.

'All emulation cease, and jars': political possibilities in the Queen's entertainments

Unlike Anne of Denmark's productions, Henrietta Maria's entertainments were filled with resonances of her native land, drawing upon former Parisian festivals and upon French conventions like the *ballet à entrées*. Neither did they stop at the level of structural or iconographical repetition; they can be shown to have reflected obliquely upon continental current affairs, opening up a space on the stage from which the Queen could express her own political concerns. This section will explore how one of the Queen's masques can be read as a coded expression of a political position. However, rather than being a prescriptive interpretation that locks the production down to one single meaning, it stands simply as an example of how Henrietta Maria's masques are amenable to many different readings, some of which might take into consideration questions of international, rather than just domestic, politics.

Orgel and Strong have remarked of *Chloridia* that 'the masque is, curiously, more directly political than [*Love's Triumph*]' (Orgel and Strong, 1, p. 56), yet they do not make any real attempt to define the nature of the masque's politics, other than offering up Juno as a vision of 'divine and providential power' (Orgel and Strong, 1, p.

57). Erica Veevers' interpretation of the masque's politics is a little more adventurous. She reads the production as 'a delicate compliment from the Queen to the King on their reconciliation after the early years of marriage, which were disturbed by Jealousy and Disdain' (Veevers, p. 127). This is an appropriate interpretation, as far as it goes, but, like most contemporary masque criticism, it falls into the trap of only reading the production as a commentary upon British domestic affairs. However, if one considers *Chloridia* in the light of Anglo-French relations and internal French politics, one reaches some very different conclusions about the masque's significations.

The performance of *Chloridia* came shortly after England had signed a treaty of peace with France at Susa, thus ending the war that had begun with Buckingham's support of the La Rochelle Huguenots in 1627.¹² If the masque can be interpreted as a compliment from the Queen to the King after the turbulent early years of their marriage, it can also be read as a statement of reconciliation on a wider scale. *Chloridia's* conceit, which establishes concord between the rival powers of heaven and earth through the medium of the nymph, Chloris, has a strong resonance with contemporary political events which saw Henrietta Maria caught in a war between her brother and her husband. Zephyr's opening song is particularly relevant in this context. Descending to the stage, he sings:

It is decreed, by all the Gods,
The Heau'n, of Earth shall haue no oddes,
But one shall loue another:

Their glories they shall mutuall make,
Earth looke on Heauen, for Heauens sake;
Their honours shall bee euen:
All æmulation cease, and iarres;
Ioue will haue Earth to haue her starres,

¹²In 1621, the French crown became involved in a war with the Huguenot princes, Henri, duc de Rohan, and Benjamin, prince de Soubise. An initial peace was signed in 1622, but the war flared up again in 1625. The Huguenot navy was defeated that September, and a peace treaty was signed in February 1626. Nonetheless, the conflict began again, and Richelieu besieged La Rochelle in the summer of 1627, while the duc de Condé fought Rohan in Languedoc. The duc de Soubise sought refuge in England and was one of the men who sailed to the aid of the French Protestants in the fleet led by the Duke of Buckingham. On the 28th October 1628, La Rochelle capitulated. In April 1629, the treaty of Susa was signed. That July, Rohan retired to Venice and the town of Montauban was defeated by Richelieu, thus ending the war. In November 1629, Richelieu was made Louis XIII's *principal ministre*.

And lights, no lesse then Heauen. (ll. 44-55)

Veevers is right in identifying a reconciliatory tone in this ballet. However, the image of two large powers (earth and heaven) coming to an harmonious agreement is more compatible with the Anglo-French peace accord, than with the resolution of marital conflict. In fact, Zephyr's song calls to mind the imagery of some of Henrietta Maria's wedding entertainments, notably that of the *Balet de la Reyne d'Angleterre* which declared of Henrietta Maria:

C'est elle qui doit sans remise
Rendre les bords de la Tamise
Des tresors de l'Inde embellis,
Qui deux Sceptres unit, et comme en son visage
Va faire un mariage
De la rose et du lis.¹³

[It is she who must without delay
Give to the banks of the Thames
The embellished treasures of India,
Who unites two sceptres, and, as in her face,
Is going to make a marriage
Of the rose and the lily.]

The wedding ballet positioned Henrietta Maria as a peacemaker between England and France; her union with Charles was represented as joining the two countries together in harmonious accord. Coming after the conflict over the Ile de Rhé, *Chloridia's* imagery draws again on the idea of harmonious union, positing a reconciliation between earth and heaven, symbolised by the deification of Chloris/Henrietta Maria. *Chloridia*, echoing the imagery of Henrietta Maria's wedding ballet, promotes the figure of the Queen as a vehicle through which conflict is resolved; she is positioned as a mediating symbol between two significant European powers. The masque posits a resolution of conflict that looks back, not only to the Caroline couple's previous domestic difficulties, but to the recent international troubles between England and France.

¹³Malleville, 'Vers presentez par Diane à la Reyne Mere du Roy, pour le Balet de la Reyne d'Angleterre', *Poésies du Sieur de Malleville*, p. 119.

However, while it may be seen to celebrate the peace of 1629, the masque took place at a time when Anglo-French relations were again troubled. Its opening song, therefore, is not only concerned with celebrating an achieved peace, it is concerned with maintaining it. In the light of this, the song's future tenses (for example, 'Ioue *will* haue Earth to haue her starres' (l. 54); my italics), and the fact that the masque opens *before* the gods' decree has been effected, are very significant. They show that the peace between heaven and earth is not yet perfect, and open up a space of danger within which the desired harmony can be disturbed. In good masquing tradition, this lack of closure permits the arrival on stage of a series of antimasque dancers who figure forth disruption before being subdued by the appearance of Chloris and her attendants. If the masque is to be regarded as a partial commentary upon international affairs, then these antimasque dancers must be looked at more closely for they have a significant role to play in the masque's message of peace and reconciliation.

In 1631, the status of Henrietta Maria's relationship with her French relations was complicated by a dispute that arose between Marie de Médicis and Cardinal Richelieu, the Queen Mother's former protégé. Louis XIII had given Richelieu a seat on his council in 1623 to show that an unfortunate quarrel between himself and his mother was at an end. In a letter to Marie, he declared: 'J'ai choisi un de vos serviteurs [...] pour montrer que notre réconciliation est réele et définitive'.¹⁴ Richelieu soon managed to gain the King's confidence and, by 1624, was exercising the powers of French Secretary of State. In 1627, he accompanied Louis to the war at La Rochelle and there consolidated his influence over the King. However, his ambition and his ascendancy brought him into conflict with Marie de Médicis. She stripped him of his position as *surintendant* of her household, and an animosity developed between the two which reached a head in November 1630.

In 1630, Madame de Fargis, one of Anne of Austria's waiting women, was sent from court, apparently for scandalous behaviour. However, it soon became known that

¹⁴[I chose one of your servants [...] to show that our reconciliation is real and final], Louis XIII to Marie de Médicis, April 1624; in Delorme, *Marie de Médicis*, p. 236.

she had revealed to the Queen Mother and Anne of Austria that Richelieu had been stirring up trouble between them. The two Queens resolved their differences and Marie set out to destabilise Richelieu's position with the King.¹⁵ By the autumn of 1630, she had succeeded in obtaining from Louis the vague promise that he would expel Richelieu from his council. On the 10th November, afterwards known as the Day of Dupes, Louis XIII agreed to a meeting with the Queen Mother in the Louvre.¹⁶ Richelieu was alerted to the conference and burst in upon it, unannounced. This made Marie furious and for a while it looked as though the Cardinal's humiliation at her hands would cause him to leave Paris. However, that night he sought out the King at Versailles and persuaded him to take his part in the dispute. From that moment on, Marie de Médicis and the Cardinal became locked in the struggle that would eventually result in the Queen Mother's permanent exile from France.

Henrietta Maria's masque, *Chloridia*, was composed in the months that followed the Day of Dupes and, unsurprisingly, contains resonances of the events of November 1630. For example, in the masque's second song, the figure of Spring approaches the King and sings verses which explain the production's argument. Spring declares:

Cupid hath ta'ne offence of late
At all the Gods, that of the State,
And in their Councill, he was so deserted,
Not to be call'd into their Guild,
But slightly pass'd by, as a child. (ll. 94-8)

This verse has a strong resonance with events in France, and can be associated with the Richelieu/Queen Mother conflict. Marie and Anne's conspiracy against the Cardinal had turned many people against him and was precisely eroding his power in the King's council. In *Chloridia*, echoes of Richelieu's position may be felt in the actions of Cupid who is shown to have taken offence because his authority is not recognised in the

¹⁵See Pierre de La Porte, *Mémoires de M. De La Porte, premier valet de chambre de Louis XIV* (Paris: Volland, Librairie, 1791), pp. 34-5.

¹⁶Under the English dating system, the Day of Dupes occurred on 31st October 1630. In French history, the 10th November 1630 is infamous. In this instance, I have, therefore, preferred to keep the French date.

council of the gods. Furthermore, the association of Cupid with Richelieu gains credence from the fact that Richelieu was Marie de Médicis' former protégé, a position of dependence that can be equated with the masque's emphasis on Cupid as a child.

If Cupid's mother is to be partially identified with Marie de Médicis, then Spring's second stanza again has a strong resonance with French current affairs. Spring's verse continues with the lines:

And though his Mother seek to season,
And rectifie his rage with reason,
By shewing he liues yet vnder her command,
Rebellious he, doth disobey,
And she hath forc'd his armes away. (ll. 102-6)

In *Chloridia*, Cupid's mother tries to re-establish her authority over her son, but Cupid rebels, and she is forced to drive him away. Similarly, in the autumn of 1630, Marie de Médicis tried to regain ascendancy over her servant, Richelieu. However, he resisted her attempts, which led to his humiliation and his flight from court on the Day of Dupes. Interestingly, in *Chloridia*, the balance of good opinion lies with Cupid's mother, who is shown to be acting reasonably, while Cupid is portrayed as a petulant child. As subsequent events would prove, Henrietta Maria's sympathies in the Marie de Médicis/Richelieu conflict lay firmly on the side of her mother. If an equation is to be made between French politics and *Chloridia*, then the representation of Cupid's mother as fair and reasonable leaves no doubt about the masque's bias.

The concluding stanza of Spring's song also contains echoes of internal French conflict as it describes how Cupid has gone to hell, 'There to excite, and stirre up Iealousy,/ To make a party 'gainst the Gods,/ And set Heauen, Earth and Hell at odds' (ll. 112-14). This movement echoes the departure from court of Richelieu on the Day of Dupes, and carries resonances of the trouble that he subsequently stirred up at Versailles for Marie de Médicis and her associates. Furthermore, in the masque, Cupid later returns from hell and dances an antimasque entry accompanied by the figures of Jealousy, Disdain, Fear, and Dissimulation. As I remarked above, Veevers interprets Jealousy and Disdain as the vices which disturbed the early years of the Caroline marriage (Veevers,

p. 127). However, this reading cannot accommodate the ideas of Fear and Dissimulation which are too radical to be applied to a recently resolved marital conflict. Jealousy, Disdain, Fear, and Dissimulation were, though, all attributes of the struggle that saw Richelieu turning a simulated departure from court into a political triumph. If *Chloridia* is to be read allegorically, it is necessary to locate the production within the context of Europe and European politics, rather than interpreting it simply as a commentary upon English domestic affairs.

Interestingly, both for a reading concerned with the masque's internal dynamics and for one which considers its political implications, Spring's song to the King in *Chloridia* does not ever specifically name Cupid's mother as Venus. Indeed, in the masque as a whole, Venus's name is never once mentioned. The real repository of power in *Chloridia*, as Suzanne Gossett observes, is Juno, who has the ability to stop the havoc caused by Cupid.¹⁷ This peculiarity is significant for it means that Cupid, as the god of erotic love, and Juno, as the goddess of marriage, are in direct competition with each other for sovereignty over the realm of the affections.¹⁸ The harmonious influence exerted by Juno at the end of the production is, therefore, compatible with the masque's conceit of purity and chaste love in that it purges Cupid's intemperate disorders. However, the effacement of Venus in the masque is also particularly relevant for a reading which locates *Chloridia* in the context of France. In French *ballet de cour*, the favoured identification for Marie de Médicis was with Juno. Thus, if *Chloridia* is to be read as a partial allusion to French politics, Juno is the figure who provides the strongest iconographical echo of the Queen Mother.

¹⁷Suzanne Gossett, "'Man-maid, begone!' Women in Masques", *Women in the Renaissance*, ed. Kirby Farrell, Elizabeth H. Hageman and Arthur F. Kinney (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990), pp. 118-35 (p. 127).

¹⁸*Chloridia's* register of the extent of Cupid's power is nowhere more evident than in the masque's association of Cupid with Pluto and Proserpine in Hell. It is to be remembered that it was the effect of Cupid's arrow that caused the King of Hell to abduct Ceres' daughter. Cupid is, thus, indirectly responsible for the advent of the seasons which came about because Proserpine had to spend half the year in the Underworld. As such, he has an integral connection with *Chloridia's* controlling conceit of spring and flowers. His descent into Hell in *Chloridia* replicates his original (indirect) responsibility for the advent of winter as he is described as returning from Hell with Tempests, Rain, and Snow.

Suzanne Gossett comments that *Chloridia's* figure of Chloris is essentially decorative, and observes that, by attributing power to Juno, the goddess of marriage, the masque emphasises that Henrietta Maria acquired her significance from her marriage to Charles.¹⁹ *Chloridia's* closing song, as Gossett remarks, does evoke Henrietta Maria/Chloris's relationship with Charles. However, the masque's attribution of power to Juno also follows in the tradition of ballets danced at the French court where a performance's internal dynamic was invariably ruptured by a gesture beyond itself to the Queen Mother. For example, in the *Grand Ballet de la Reyne representant les Festes de Junon la Nopciere* (1623), in which Anne of Austria and Henrietta Maria danced Juno and Iris respectively, both Juno and Iris were given lines which deferred their power to the power of Marie de Médicis. Juno, in particular, stated to the Queen Mother that 'c'est de vos mains que je tiens mon espoux' [it's from your hands that I take my husband].²⁰ Furthermore, in a manner which resounds particularly with *Chloridia*, she gave up her name to Marie de Médicis with the words, 'Vous m'ostez ma gloire et mon nom,/ Grande et favorable Junon,/ Qui presidez au mariage' [Great and kindly Juno who presides over marriage, you take from me my glory and my name] (Lacroix, 2, p. 354). Authority in Queen Anne's *ballet* ultimately resides with Marie de Médicis, just as Juno is the real repository of power in *Chloridia*. Moreover, the French production's representation of Marie emphasised her role as a marriage broker in a manner compatible with *Chloridia's* conceit of Chloris and the fecund spring. Juno's arrival in the Caroline masque presages a song which lauds Chloris as the 'top of Par-amours' (l. 338), emphasising the nymph's relationship with the King and thus figuring forth Henrietta Maria's union with Charles. The figure of Juno presides over the royal union in *Chloridia* in a manner compatible with representations of Marie de Médicis in Anne of Austria's *ballet* and in Henrietta Maria's French wedding celebrations.

¹⁹Gossett, 'Man-maid', p. 127. During the previous reign, compliments to Anne of Austria were also characterised by their emphasis upon her status as the wife of the King. For example, Jonson's contribution to 'The King's Entertainment in passing to his Coronation' (1604), referred to her as 'You daughter, sister, wife of seuerall kings'; Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, 7, p. 94.

²⁰François le Metel, sieur de Boisrobert, 'Le Grand Ballet de la Reyne representant les Festes de Junon la Nopciere', *Ballets et mascarades de Cour sous Henri IV et Louis XIII (de 1581 à 1652)*, ed. M. Paul Lacroix, 6 vols (Genève: J. Gay et fils, 1868-70), 2 (1868), 347-54 (p. 354).

However, *Chloridia's* representation of Juno's power is ambivalent. Juno and Iris's combined forces are described by the song of the Fountains to have quenched Love's rebellious war, yet the dialogue which ensues between Juno and Iris is inconclusive on the subject of an accommodation with Cupid. Iris's remark that 'Cupid sues' (l. 263) is interrupted by Juno's presumptive question, 'For pardon. Do's hee?' (l. 265), which leaves open the possibility that Cupid's intention is not to ask for forgiveness. Juno's subsequent benevolent assertion that 'Offences, made against the Deities/ Are soone forgot' (ll. 271-2), is qualified by Iris's codicil, '*If* who offends, be wise' (l. 274; my italics). The resolution of Cupid's trespass (and its allegorical connection with Richelieu's disgrace and recuperation) renders *Chloridia's* fantasy about the re-establishment of harmony uncomfortable by opening a space in which Cupid may reject a reconciliation. Indeed, this sense of discomfiture has an historical echo. An appearance of rapprochement between Marie and Richelieu occurred on Christmas Day 1630, when the Queen Mother was persuaded by her bishops that 'une princesse chrétienne se doit de pardonner les offenses' [a Christian princess must forgive transgressions]. Richelieu, confronted with this attempt at reconciliation, reputedly replied, 'Votre Majesté a bien dit qu'elle ou moi sortirions de la cour' [Your Majesty definitely said that she or I would leave the court].²¹ While the masque locates the figure of Chloris as the vehicle through which peace is to be established, effectively setting her up as a mediator between Juno and Cupid, the closure proposed by the masque's final visions of peace and fame is disturbed by the inconclusive nature of the gods' reconciliation.

The uncertainties at the end of *Chloridia* were mirrored on the continent by contemporary historical events. In February 1631, the month in which *Chloridia* was to be performed, Marie de Médicis was exiled from Paris by Louis XIII and Richelieu. Interestingly, attempts were made in England to withhold this news from Henrietta Maria until after the performance of her masque. Salvetti, the Florentine agent, commented in a dispatch to Vienna:

²¹Delorme, *Marie de Médicis*, p. 271.

The news that came from France the Sunday before this masque touching the troubles of the Queen Mother, the Duc d'Orleans and other great people of the realm, would greatly have disturbed the happiness of the queen had not the king given strict command that no-one should say a word about it to her until she had finished her masque.²²

If one takes this information at face value, the suppression of the news must simply be acknowledged as an expression of the King's concern for his wife's well-being, tempered perhaps by concerns about wasted expense should the masque have to be cancelled. However, given *Chloridia's* motifs of reconciliation and its possible echo of the Day of Dupes, Marie de Médicis' exile might also be said seriously to destabilise the masque's conciliatory agenda. If *Chloridia* was intended, in part, as a commentary upon French current affairs, offering up an image of harmonious resolution brought about by the mediating figure of Chloris/Henrietta Maria, then the Queen Mother's exile represents the failure of this project and, therefore, negates the masque's purpose.

In a letter of English court news addressed to Elizabeth of Bohemia, Sir John Ashburnham also commented upon Marie de Médicis' exile and Henrietta Maria's masque, writing:

[Mr Maxfill] and my lord Treasurers sonnes came then to court full of the tourmoyles in France, which yett would not by the queen be beleaved, till her Maske was solemnis'd, bycause she had no particular advertisements of them.²³

Here again, although Ashburnham's letter contradicts Salvetti's opinion that the Queen was not alerted to her mother's disgrace, the news of Marie de Médicis' exile is suppressed in order to facilitate the performance of the masque. There is a sense in both these reports that the masque and events in France are connected by more than their

²²Salvetti to Sacchetti, 25th February/7th March 1631, in John Orrell, 'Amerigo Salvetti and the London Court Theatre, 1616-1640', *Theatre Survey*, 20:1 (1979), 1-26 (pp. 15-16).

²³London, Public Record Office, SP 16/185. Sir John Ashburnham to Elizabeth of Bohemia, 26th February 1631, fols 74-75v (fol. 75). I am grateful to Dr Katharine Craik for this reference.

immediate impact upon the English Queen; in other words, the performance of *Chloridia* is somehow linked to France and French politics and cannot accommodate the Queen Mother's exile. This view can be supported by a consideration of Henrietta Maria's relationship with the French ambassador, François de Val, marquis de Fontenay-Mareuil, whose association with the Queen usefully illuminates her attitude towards France in the early months of 1631.

Following a precedent set with *Love's Triumph*, none of the foreign ambassadors in London were invited to the performance of the Queen's masque. However, as Salvetti reports, the French ambassador went privately to the production 'as a servant of the queen and not as an ambassador' (Orrell, p. 15). Salvetti had previously commented upon the French ambassador's close relations with Henrietta Maria, remarking that he could have attended *Love's Triumph* 'very easily, by reason of the daily and very familiar access he has to the Court through the queen' (Orrell, p. 14). If *Chloridia* has a message of reconciliation to offer to France, then Fontenay-Mareuil's presence at the production is of particular importance. Furthermore, the close ties between the Queen and the ambassador, and the daily access he had to her court, show that she was in a position to assert an opinion about French affairs and could intervene as a mediator between her relatives in France.²⁴

However, after her mother's disgrace, Henrietta Maria's relationship with the French ambassador rapidly soured and, by June 1631, she was actively taking sides against him. Fontenay-Mareuil became involved in a dispute with the exiled chevalier de Jars, who was supported in his complaints by the Queen. Bypassing Henrietta Maria, the French ambassador took his case to Charles who resolved events in his favour. Commenting upon the affair, John Finet, the Caroline master of ceremonies, observed that for 'a year and more after', the Queen 'never assented him a gracious look' although

²⁴John Orrell notes that there was an intention to restage *Chloridia* after Easter (which, in 1631, fell at the beginning of April), and identifies a payment on the 2nd May in the Revels Accounts for 'ye practice of ye Masque'; Orrell, 'Amerigo Salvetti', p. 16. However, this payment is more an indication of a rehearsal than of a repeat performance and does not provide sufficient evidence that the masque was ever restaged. If *Chloridia* shadowed forth a reconciliation between Richelieu and Marie, by April 1631 this possibility was no longer viable and the masque's meanings were therefore redundant. Marie de Médicis fled from France to the Spanish Netherlands in July 1631, and was never to return.

'shee fayled not to remember the kyng her brothers honor, in bestowing those respects, which she knew dewe in publick to his ambassador'.²⁵ While Finet puts all of Henrietta Maria's animosity down to Fontenay-Mareuil's dispute with de Jars, her support of the chevalier is indicative of a larger discontent with France. While she behaves with appropriate decorum towards her brother's representatives in public, this is simply diplomatic politeness. Henrietta Maria's attitude towards her native land had changed, and in 1632, she would famously be involved in a plot to topple Richelieu from power.

Chloridia took place at a moment which marked a change in the Queen's relationship with France and her French relations. While the production draws upon imagery that was prevalent in English courtly entertainments of the previous two reigns, and while it operates in a pair with the King's *Love's Triumph*, it nonetheless contains echoes of continental politics. It demonstrates that a space could be opened up upon the Caroline court stage from which Henrietta Maria could articulate her own concerns, inhabiting a position which differed from that of the King. In the next section, I will explore in more detail the ways in which the Queen's dramatic productions permitted her to assert an independent cultural identity. The Queen's cult of love, influenced by French neoplatonism and reformed Catholicism, proposed a new social grouping that detached women from their relationships with their husbands and fathers. Neoplatonism privileged a woman's inner virtue, allowing her to police her own chastity. She could therefore operate in a social context and indulge in conversations with men, without her virtue being called into question. This innovation permitted the Queen and her women to explore new versions of themselves on the stage. They were involved in a constant interrogation and renovation of their identities, becoming aware of new subject positions from which to grasp themselves and their context.

²⁵*Ceremonies of Charles I: The Notebooks of John Finet, 1628-1641*, ed. Albert J. Loomie (New York: Fordham University Press, 1987), p. 106.

'And feign me pleasures, since I find none true': metaphor and myth in *Tempe Restored*

Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward, and the spirit of the
beast that goeth downward to the earth?

Ecclesiastes 3.21

Tempe Restored seeks to prescribe its meanings by providing an allegorical gloss on its printed text. It explains itself as a neoplatonic allegory, representing King Charles as a prototype monarch who can triumph over all base passions. Indeed, this prescriptive interpretation has spawned a series of critical readings which represent the masque solely as an expression of the King's iconography. Thus, for Graham Parry, '*Tempe Restored* depicts the realm purged of all lustful appetite', while for Kevin Sharpe, 'Townshend's masque for the queen [...] is the triumph of love over desire'.²⁶ Readings of the masque, based on the text's explanation of its own allegory, are reduced to closed circuits and can only consume the images the masque narcissistically provides of, and in, itself: the King is Heroic Virtue, the Queen is Divine Beauty; together they reform and purify the disorders of the world represented by the figure of Circe. Henrietta Maria's productions are too often read as expressions of the 'pre-eminent virtue of the King', rather than of the Queen's involvement in culture and politics.²⁷ However, a close investigation of the neoplatonic resonances in *Tempe Restored* reveals that the philosophy deployed in the masque was, in fact, closely allied to aspects of Henrietta Maria's counter-Reformation theology.

The allegorical gloss on *Tempe Restored* is informed by Ficino's *De Amore*, or *Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love*. It is indeed profoundly neoplatonic and explores themes that were also foregrounded in Jonson and Townshend's productions for the King. For example, in *Tempe Restored*, Divine Beauty and her troop of stars symbolise:

²⁶Parry, *Golden Age*, p. 191; Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, p. 170.

²⁷Parry, *Golden Age*, p. 192.

A divine beam coming from above, with a good inclination, and a perfect habit of virtue made by the harmony of the irascible and concupiscible parts obedient to the rational and highest part of the soul, making man only a mind using the body and affections as instruments, which being his true perfection, brings him to all the happiness which can be enjoyed here below.²⁸

Divine Beauty echoes the figure of Alba in *Albion's Triumph* as the locus from which a man derives the image of himself as a rational mind; the Queen's 'corporeal beauty' (l. 361) 'may draw us to the contemplation of the beauty of the soul' (ll. 363-4), raising a (male) observer to new spiritual heights, yet it leaves the Queen largely dependent upon her beautiful, but physical, body. *Tempe Restored's* allegory draws upon a theory in Ficino's *Commentary* which is attributed to the philosopher Guido Cavalcanti, and which introduces a nuanced distinction between body and mind that is exploited in literature associated with Henrietta Maria.²⁹ Ficino explains that, just as a mirror, struck by a ray of the sun, can shine upon and illuminate a piece of wool placed next to it, so the soul, 'struck by a certain image (like a ray) of beauty', can form another image within itself, 'by which the force of desire (like the wool) is kindled and loves' (Ficino, p. 154). This interiorised impression of beauty is not like the beauty of the perceived object, for it is 'without matter'. However, it is still the image of a particular person placed in space and time.

Immediately upon receiving this impression of beauty, Ficino continues, the intellect generates another species of image, 'which no longer seems to be a likeness of one particular human body', but a 'definition of the whole human race equally' (Ficino, p. 154). In other words, there is a progression from the particular to the general, from the sensual appreciation of one body to the intellectual apprehension of 'the universal beauty of the whole human race' (Ficino, p. 154). Ficino explains that these two impressions of love (one particular, one general) oppose each other in man, the former driving him down 'to the bestial or voluptuous life' and the latter raising him up 'to the

²⁸Aurelian Townshend, *Tempe Restored*, in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 2, pp. 479-503, ll. 348-55. All subsequent line references to *Tempe Restored* will be taken from this edition.

²⁹Ficino, *Commentary*, pp. 154-5. Sears Jayne, Ficino's modern editor, notes that this material actually comes from a commentary on Cavalcanti's verses by Egidio Colonna; Ficino, *Commentary*, p. 174, n. 7.

angelic or contemplative life' (Ficino, p. 154). It is precisely this opposition that is dramatised in *Tempe Restored* and which is resolved in the masque's explanation that the Queen's beauty generates a 'perfect habit of virtue' which makes 'man only a mind using the body and affections as instruments' (ll. 349-53).

What is important here is the idea of beauty as immaterial, as a ray or essence that can exist independently of the physical body. While the masque, and the Ficinian text upon which it draws, privilege man as mind, nonetheless a space is opened up in the masque which begins to divorce the Queen from her role as a mother and wife, and which gives her a certain spiritual authority. This, it might be argued, is not really a departure from the role assigned to her in the King's masques: as I have shown above, *Love's Triumph*, *Albion's Triumph*, and, indeed, *Chloridia*, praise Henrietta Maria's beauty as spiritually uplifting and yet also manage to celebrate the fecundity of the royal couple. However, *Tempe Restored* produces the Queen as Divine Beauty in a manner that privileges vision over the other senses, emphasising the immateriality of light rays and the mystical impression of beauty on the human soul. This manifestation of the Queen divorces her from her physical body more completely than before, exploiting a fissure in neoplatonic discourses that allows the same feminised figure to stand for both physical and spiritual love.

Pausanias's contribution to the discussion of love in the *Symposium* proposed that Love did not have a single nature. Asserting that Aphrodite was inseparably linked to love, Pausanias asserted that there were two Aphrodites and therefore two Loves. The elder Aphrodite was the daughter of Uranus; springing from the male only, she was heavenly and pure. Her counterpart, the younger Aphrodite, was the daughter of Zeus and Diotima; as the offspring of both male and female, she was to be termed the common Aphrodite, her end being the satisfaction of desires.³⁰ Commenting upon Ficino's translation and exegesis of this passage, in which the name of Venus was substituted for that of Aphrodite, Philippa Berry remarks:

³⁰Plato, *Symposium*, pp. 45-7.

Although there is an obvious attempt to separate the higher, contemplative love from the domain of the feminine, in the assertion that this Venus was 'born of no mother', the problem remains that both loves are personified by the same female deity, who is accordingly invested with an ambiguously double aspect. (Berry, p. 35)

This double aspect is exploited in *Tempe Restored* in a way which sees the antimasque Circe incarnating all that is physical and 'common', leaving Henrietta Maria/Divine Beauty to figure forth 'that intelligence which we have located in the Angelic Mind' (Ficino, pp. 53-4). The main masque and the antimasque of *Tempe Restored* are intricately connected in a manner which specifically seeks to purge Divine Beauty of all physical matter. While this is compatible with the impulses of previous Caroline masques, it also opens a space within which the masque may begin to develop ideas about perception, contemplation, and allegory in ways that may be associated not only with neoplatonism, but with the Queen's religion. *Tempe Restored* presents an image of the Queen that differs very subtly from her representation in the King's productions.

Writing of the divine beauty that shines through physical bodies and attracts lovers, Ficino observed that 'lovers do not know what they desire or seek, for they do not know God Himself, whose secret flavor infuses a certain sweet perfume of Himself into His works' (Ficino, p. 52). For Ficino, the neoplatonic lover, seized by the appreciation of a beauty he does not know is divine, exercises his faculties of rational perception and contemplation in order to move towards a greater understanding of the World Soul. In effect, he reads *through* the physical body of his beloved to a greater truth beyond. This process of reading can be compared to the literary use of metaphor which asks one to read through a veiled character to a more profound meaning. Indeed, as Ficino comments, 'it was the custom of the ancient theologians to conceal their holy and pure mysteries in the shadows of metaphors, lest they be defiled by the profane and impure' (Ficino, p. 72). The use of metaphor therefore invites a process of interpretation that is analogous to the ameliorative processes desired by neoplatonism. It gestures to a system of pure meanings and essences that stands beyond the human realm of language and which can only be reached by those who know how to read it. Just as physical

bodies partly conceal divine beauty, so metaphor, like a veil, 'hides the divine mysteries' (Ficino, p. 72). This conception of the world and of language is of profound significance for a reading of *Tempe Restored*, and deserves careful consideration.

Brian Vickers has proposed that magic works by a process of identity that annuls the distinction between sign and referent. He has argued that in the 'occult' tradition (as opposed to the 'scientific' tradition) 'words are treated as if they are equivalent to things and can be substituted for them'. Thus, the manipulation of one element of the word/thing pairing leads to a manipulation of the other. Instead of being descriptive tools, analogies 'become the only way in which one can think or experience the world', and words 'actually shape and control reality'.³¹ In *Tempe Restored*, this magic association between language and reality is, to a certain extent, the source of Circe's power, for Circe circulates in a world of resemblances where everything is ultimately analogous. Her magic consists only in making literal what is already figuratively apparent. In effect, she makes manifest a metaphoric substitution: the men she transforms into beasts and imprisons in her garden *were already* beasts, corrupted by their sensual desires. Circe's transformations occur only on the plane of matter, and her bower's sensuous fruitfulness binds the soul to the earth. The sorceress's world works in a narcissistically closed circuit of physical gratifications; there is no possibility of spiritual amelioration and pleasures must necessarily be feigned because truth cannot reside in such a materialistic realm.

Circe, herself, indicates that she is aware of the imperfect nature of her pleasures when she laments the escape of her Favourite. Calling to her attendant nymphs in verses which prepare the way for the entry of a succession of grotesque antimasques, Circe commands:

Then take my keys! and show me all my wealth!
Lead me abroad! Let me my subjects view!
Bring me some physic! though that bring no health;
And feign me pleasures, since I find none true. (ll. 120-3)

³¹Brian Vickers, 'Analogy versus Identity: The Rejection of Occult Symbolism, 1580-1680', *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1984), 95-163 (pp. 95-6).

The eclectic procession of barbarians, hogs, apes and asses that ensues reinforces the notion that Circe and her companions circulate and recirculate in a realm of base matter. The sensuous pleasures that Circe provides are shown to be no pleasures; her medicines cannot heal, and her worldly riches have no true value. Everything adds up to indicate that a form of truth exists beyond Circe's realm, beyond the eternal and futile substitution of one thing for another thing (when all material things are ultimately the same). Through Circe's lament, *Tempe Restored* invokes a strongly neoplatonic conception of the world. This is compatible with the work of Marsilio Ficino, who wrote:

The true man and the Idea of a man are the same. For this reason as long as we are in this life, separated from God, none of us is a true man, for we are separated from our own Idea or Form. To it, divine love and piety will lead us. Even though we may be dismembered and mutilated here. (Ficino, p. 145)

Circe's physic will 'bring no health' because 'true' health is spiritual not physical. Similarly, her pleasures must be 'feigned' because 'true' pleasures do not exist in the material world. The materialism of Circe's bower enables the masque to gesture towards a neoplatonic dualism which makes a distinction between body and spirit. While Circe is locked into an endless metamorphosis of one (dismembered and mutilated) thing/word to another, the impulse of the masque itself, by contrast, is one of refinement and spiritual amelioration.

By extending the metaphoric substitutions that occur in Circe's bower (under which beastly men are revealed as beasts), *Tempe Restored* asserts an identity between the historical figures of the Stuart couple and the theatrical roles they play: Henrietta Maria *is* Divine Beauty; Charles *is* Heroic Virtue. A comparison is invited between the materialism of the Circean antimasques whose magic is sterile and whose pleasures are feigned, and the representations of Divine Beauty and Heroic Virtue whose magic transcends the dramatic fiction and has a positive and spiritual effect. Margaret McGowan has indicated that a magical and transformative process is operative in court theatre which, 'by the discovery of a different part of reality', obtains the power to

transmute the lived reality.³² By effecting a transformation upon the stage in their theatrical personae, the royal couple are imagined to effect a transformation upon the 'real' world because the world and its theatrical representation are magically connected.

It is at this point that a digressive comparison between Henrietta Maria's masques and the philosophy of the Catholic prelate, Cardinal Pierre de Bérulle, must be introduced to clarify an otherwise confusing distinction between worldly metaphor and world as metaphor. Bérulle, like Richelieu, was patronised by Marie de Médicis, and in 1625 accompanied Henrietta Maria to England as her confessor. He was expelled with the majority of the Queen's French household in the summer of 1626, returning to France where he was made Cardinal. In 1627, he published a devotional work, the *Élévation sur sainte Madeleine*, which he dedicated to Henrietta Maria, explaining that he had written the text at her instigation. The *Élévation* is, therefore, a particular example of Henrietta Maria's literary patronage, and one that is intimately connected both to the religion she practised and to the neoplatonic philosophy she sponsored at the Caroline court.

Bérulle was evidently appalled by the state of religion in England and disgusted by the treatment that he and his compatriots received at the hands of the English. In the dedication to the *Élévation*, in a passage that draws particularly upon Ecclesiastes 1.2 ('vanity of vanities; all is vanity'), he warns:

Souvenez-vous, Madame, que les beautés que vous voyez sont périssables et que ce ne sont que des ombres de la beauté suprême et éternelle, et que tout ce qui frappe vos yeux, en cette Cour où vous êtes, est mort et infect devant Dieu.³³

[Remember, Madam, that the beauties you see are perishable and are nothing but the shadows of supreme and eternal beauty, and that all that meets your eyes in this court where you are, is dead and loathsome before God.]

³²Balthazar de Beaujoyeux: *Le Balet Comique, 1581*, ed. Margaret M. McGowan (Binghamton, New York: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), p. 33.

³³Pierre de Bérulle, *Élévation sur sainte Madeleine*, ed. Joseph Beaudé (Grenoble: Éditions Jérôme Millon, 1998), p. 30.

Everything (metaphorically) below Bérulle's God is a shadow and perishable. In a manner compatible with Ficinian neoplatonism which describes the beauty of the body as 'shadowy' (Ficino, p. 125), the material world becomes a reflection of, indeed a metaphor for, a prior, eternal, transcendent reality. Everything below Heaven is not Heaven, and is therefore analogous. Metaphor circulates in this realm as a connective force, yet it is also something representative of the world's imperfect state. Vickers' conception of mystical metaphor saw a union of word and thing. However, the identity of word and thing can only be perfect in Adamic language. In the fallen world, one thing must stand for another thing must stand for yet another thing because a debased language is incapable of perfect representation.³⁴ Thus, a masque is a fluid form of repetitions which folds out from the stage into the real world because both the theatrical production, and lived reality, are bound by the same fragmented language that cannot truly name, and that can only represent shadows of the truth. *Tempe Restored* is a theatrical pleasure that is as feigned and artificial as the Circean pleasures it invokes only to deny. To reiterate Bérulle's words, all the beauties of the world are perishable and nothing but shadows of supreme and eternal beauty.

However, the allegorical interpretation of *Tempe Restored* (the need for which itself is an expression of the inability of language to reach unmediatedly to the essence of things) gives the masque a spiritual impulse by playing on the mystical possibilities of metaphor, and by rendering into pure metaphor the figure of the Queen. 'Metaphor' itself is a metaphorical term which means, literally, 'a carrying over'. *Tempe Restored's* explanation of its allegory notes:

Corporeal beauty, consisting in symmetry, colour, and certain unexpressable graces, shining in the Queen's majesty, may draw us to the contemplation of the beauty of the soul, unto which it hath analogy. (ll. 361-4)

³⁴This imprecision can be found in the litotic construction 'not improper' used to describe the use of Alba and Albanactus as names for Henrietta Maria and Charles in *Albion's Triumph*. 'Not improper' is more imprecise than the word 'proper', establishing a semantic gap indicative of the fallibility of post-lapsarian language.

Here again, a metaphoric connection is posited which at once reveals the inability of the physical world to represent the spiritual world of the soul, but which plays upon the mystical nature of metaphor, showing it to enable an observer to make a conceptual movement between, in this case, a material and a spiritual realm. In this way, contemplation of the Queen/Divine Beauty carries an observer over into a contemplation of the soul. Importantly, *Tempe Restored's* explanation of its allegory represents the figure of the Queen as emptied of language; Divine Beauty contains 'unexpressable' graces. Maintaining a tie of natural affinity with the 'real' body of the Queen, the masque's Queen is nevertheless emptied of a language that provides an eternal reminder of the error of the fall. The visual image is imagined to break free of linguistic metaphor to carry its observer up to a comprehension of beauty inexpressible in words.

Most modern masque commentators have noticed the prevalence of visual effects in *Tempe Restored*. Kevin Sharpe remarks that the spectacle is so powerful that the text and the poetry are overshadowed, while Orgel and Strong comment that 'we are reminded that it is impossible to separate the moral from the visual experiences in these productions'.³⁵ Orgel and Strong assert, moreover, that the Caroline masque is not primarily about love, but about 'sight and knowledge, or about the relation of the mind to the external world' (Orgel and Strong, 1, pp. 62-3). This is a perceptive observation that, for once, does not dismiss courtly neoplatonism as 'facile'. However, it neglects to take into account the ways in which the philosophy of neoplatonism is intimately connected to religious faith, and how, in a text like Bérulle's *Élévation*, the relation of the mind to the external world is precisely conditioned by love. In other words, the neoplatonism expressed in the Queen's masques is informed by her Catholicism, and draws upon ideas of love which seek to elevate the significance of women.

Bérulle's construction of Mary Madeleine in the *Élévation* emphasises the overwhelming importance of the saint and holds her up as an example to women everywhere. The Cardinal ranks her alongside the Apostles; in fact, he terms her an

³⁵Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, p. 228; Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 1, p. 62.

Apostle to the Apostles, stating that she carried the news of Christ's resurrection to his friends, because it pleased Christ to increase the honour and love of her soul (Bérulle, p. 103). In addition, he emphasises the love that binds Madeleine to her Lord, describing her position at the foot of the Cross in terms which are profoundly neoplatonic, and which have a great significance for readings of *Tempe Restored*. Discussing Madeleine's fidelity and constancy by the Cross, he observes:

Jésus donc voit Madeleine à ses pieds et Madeleine contemple Jésus en sa croix. Ces regards sont mutuels et réciproque, et ces deux coeurs sont des miroirs qui, étant proches, se rapportent et se représentent l'un à l'autre. Qui verrait le coeur de Jésus, y verrait Madeleine empreinte. Qui verrait le coeur de Madeleine, y verrait Jésus, et Jésus souffrant, vivement imprimé. Que cette âme et l'amour de cette ame, et sa force et constance en amour, nous ravisse et nous étonne. (Bérulle, p. 77)

[Jesus therefore sees Madeleine at his feet and Madeleine contemplates Jesus on his cross. These gazes are mutual and reciprocal, and these two hearts are mirrors which, being close, relate and recall one to the other. Who would see the heart of Jesus, would see Madeleine stamped there. Who would see the heart of Madeleine, would see Jesus, and Jesus suffering, deeply imprinted there. How this soul and the love of this soul, and its strength and constancy in love, enraptures and astonishes us.]

Madeleine forms a complementary pairing with Jesus whose image is imprinted in her heart. Bérulle's Catholic text recalls Ficino's *Commentary* which represented the divine countenance shining in the human heart (Ficino, p. 90). It also has an obvious association with the neoplatonised imagery of circles and reflections discussed above in relation to *Love's Triumph*. On one level, therefore, the imagery in the *Élévation* is paralleled by the imagery in Caroline masques which sees Henrietta Maria and Charles exchanging mutual gazes: the masques raise the royal couple to the status of gods and their love is fittingly represented in profoundly spiritual terms. However, on another level, the figure of Henrietta Maria in the Queen's masques takes on a further, Catholicised, significance.

Bérulle's Madeleine was specifically conceived to appeal to courtly women and to give them a role model whose importance in the Christian story could be shown to be significant. She was, Bérulle says, favoured above the Apostles and, thus, she

demonstrates that women can be socially and spiritually revered. Furthermore, at the end of his text, the Cardinal adds an essay entitled, 'Observations sur le texte de saint Luc en faveur de la Madeleine', in which he attempts to exculpate Madeleine from accusations that she was a reformed prostitute. Interestingly, he describes her as, by birth and breeding, one of the most distinguished women of her province who was visited and honoured by the great men of Jerusalem (Bérulle, p. 153). In other words, she was a woman who had to lead a public life, not a woman who was public. She stands as an example of good conduct for noblewomen and, in effect, she validates women's positions as public figures in the courtly world.

In addition, Bérulle's *Élévation* represents Madeleine as a vehicle, or rather, a vessel, expressing the love of the divine. For example, Bérulle, addressing Christ, observes that 'you had to have a living tomb and a tomb of love, and now you choose the heart of Madeleine' (Bérulle, p. 13). Madeleine's spiritual union with Christ abolishes the mediation of language and renders Madeleine at once ignorant of herself and of the fact that she loves. She is invaded by the spirit of Christ, and her love, being stripped of intelligence, is filled with power.³⁶ All traces of self-love are erased; she is emptied out of herself, becoming an ecstatic figure, the contemplation of which can lead an observer into new states of spiritual understanding.³⁷ Bérulle's dedication to the *Élévation*, therefore, advises Henrietta Maria that the contemplation of Madeleine's life will light a flame in her spirit, inspiring the Queen's sacred devotions with heavenly fire.³⁸

Tempe Restored's construction of Divine Beauty participates in this idea of contemplation leading to ecstasy in a manner which replicates the anti-intellectual impulse of Bérulle's discourse. After Divine Beauty has danced her entry, verses are sung to emphasise her specular power; a power which leads observers into a state of

³⁶Bérulle, *Élévation*, p. 13.

³⁷On the erasure of Madeleine's self, see Bérulle's comments: 'Elle sort hors de son palais et plus encore d'elle-même'; and '[son] esprit fait une entière effusion de soi-même aux pieds de Jésus'; Bérulle, *Élévation*, p. 46 and pp. 146-7.

³⁸'Et comme la solitude de cette âme était l'occupation de votre solitude, aussi l'obscurité de sa grotte était à votre esprit une lumière claire et brillante qui allumait en vous un feu céleste dans vos saints exercices'; Bérulle, *Élévation*, p. 31.

ecstatic amazement. The members of the audience are temporarily unaware of themselves because the beautiful spectacle sends their senses 'all one way' (l. 229). By contemplating Divine Beauty, they are carried over to a more elevated idea of the divine because of the powerful, metaphoric connection inherent in the symbol. This movement, while profoundly neoplatonic, accrues a specific proselytising impulse in the context of the Queen's Catholicism. While the observation of Charles and Henrietta Maria's harmonious union is imagined in the masques to project harmony out on to the world, the vision of Henrietta Maria, particularly in her incarnation as Divine Beauty, draws observers to an ecstatic state compatible with the spiritual elevation desired by Bérulle.

This conception of spectacle has an obvious connection to the objections against court masque raised by Ben Jonson after his split with Inigo Jones in 1631. *Tempe Restored's* presentation of itself and of the masque form as 'nothing else but pictures with light and motion' is undoubtedly, as David Lindley notes, 'Jones's triumphant answer to Jonson's attack on him'.³⁹ However, it also draws attention to a major difference between the cultural philosophies put forward by Jonson in a text such as *Discoveries*, and the impulse behind Bérullean theology as expressed in Henrietta Maria's masques. In *Discoveries*, Jonson articulates a view of painting compatible with the specular neoplatonism of the Queen's productions:

Picture is the invention of Heaven: the most ancient, and most akin to Nature. It is itself a silent work [...] Yet it does so enter, and penetrate the inmost affection [...] as sometimes it overcomes the power of speech, and oratory.⁴⁰

However, in a comparison between painting and poetry, Jonson finds poetry more noble because the pen can 'speak to the understanding; the other, but to the sense' (*Jonson*, p. 610). While admitting the metaphorical nature of poetry and painting which are 'both busy about imitation' (*Jonson*, p. 609), and while indicating the fallen nature of language by noting that a poet 'writes things *like* the Truth' (*Jonson*, p. 635; my italics),

³⁹*Court Masques*, ed. Lindley, p. 261, n. 43.

⁴⁰Ben Jonson, *Explorata: or, Discoveries*, in Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, 8, p. 610.

Jonson's conception of art leans heavily on the intellectual application of reason, and on the socially ameliorative power of an active 'understanding', as opposed to a passive absorption of things by 'sense'.

A connection can be made here with *Tempe Restored* which reveals an internal and irresolvable contradiction in the masque form. In a manner which shadows Jonson's intellectual objections to Inigo Jones's productions, and which shows Townshend's verses and Jones's artistic intentions to be pulling against each other, the Fugitive Favourite, escaping from Circe's bower, states that he covets to be a man again, 'Governed by reason, and not ruled by sense' (l. 78). However, while King Charles (in his union with Henrietta Maria) is shown by the masque to be the repository of that (masculine) reason, *Tempe Restored's* emphasis on ecstatic transportation through spectacle contradicts this impulse. Indeed, as Stephen Orgel noted, 'the work makes its moral point far more significantly through Jones's engineering than through the action of Circe and her erstwhile lover'.⁴¹

By stating itself to be a show with light and motion, the masque sets out its ecstatic agenda from the very start, and reinforces this impulse by invoking and eschewing base matter, represented by Circe's bower. However, there is a danger that the evocation of Circe's bower may be taken as a self-reflexive gesture to the masque form as a whole. The internal economy of the production attempts to prevent this by positing a difference between matter and spirit, and by juxtaposing Circe's illusions against the royal couple's imagined access to a higher truth. Yet the masque's desire to conflate theatrical fiction with lived reality by positing a magical metaphorical connection between, for example, the Queen and her status as Divine Beauty, is always in danger of collapse. It is this fissure that is exploited in Jonson's 'An Expostulation with Inigo Jones' which punctures the metaphysical pretensions of the masque and reimposes matter upon the courtly fictions by emphasising the painted cloth and deal-board construction of stage goddesses, and by sneering that 'Painting and Carpentry are

⁴¹Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 1, p. 61.

the Soul of Masque'.⁴² With typical perspicacity, Jonson reveals the metaphysical impulse of masquing to be the result of prosaic matter and theatrical illusion.

At the same time, *Tempe Restored's* association with Bérullean Catholicism means that the masque's manifestation of physical beauty (however much it is the result of theatrical illusion) presents observers with a choice. Circe, interpreted allegorically by the masque, 'signifies desire in general, the which hath power on all living creatures, and being mixed of the divine and sensible, hath divers effects, leading some to virtue and others to vice' (ll. 316-19). In the context of reformed Catholicism, to be governed by 'reason' is not at all the same thing as being able to rationalise: 'reason' is an attribute that makes man distinct from beasts, it is an effect of his status as a creature endowed with free will, a free will that enables him to make the choice to empty himself of self-love and pride, to make himself into a vessel motivated by a desire for (re)union with the One.

Tempe Restored, as an echo among echoes of other court productions, manipulates a series of mythological fragments in a way that emphasises the fallen and repetitive nature of narrative, while at the same time aspiring to effect closure through the evocation of a figure of harmonious unity. In an analogous process, Pierre de Bérulle's construction of Madeleine represents the saint as an extreme form of anti-Narcissus where Narcissus stands for sterile, self-interested circularity. Her self-erasing incorporation with, or return home to, the One, stands in opposition to Circe's aimless wandering within metaphor, and to the continual metamorphosis of the sorceress's surroundings along a chain of material forms. Bérulle's theology shows self-awareness to be a result of separation from, of non-identity with, the divine. Madeleine loses her sense of self when she is reunited with her origin, becoming a vessel filled with the love

⁴²Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, 8, pp. 402-6. While Jonson's quarrel was with Jones, and was driven by rivalry and dissatisfaction, it is interesting to note that the poet's view of masque was fundamentally different from that expressed in productions written for Henrietta Maria. In the light of this, the 'Expostulation' makes an interesting omission. Stating that Jones is now competent enough to 'swim without cork', the poet exclaims that he thanks 'the good Queen Anne' that he is 'too fat to envy him'. The name 'Anne' carries the rhyme in these lines, gesturing back towards a different Queen, and to a different conception of masque. The implication is that it is not just Henrietta Maria's unrhymable name that it is difficult to reconcile with Jonson's poetry.

of God. Similarly, in Henrietta Maria's masques, the audience, emptied out of themselves, find themselves in process towards a higher state of being, to a reunion with the divine (or, rather, with Catholicism).

Love's Triumph translated its foundational principle to the skies, but broke open into historical time through the promise of the royal couple's posterity and fame. *Tempe Restored*, while echoing this process, nonetheless encodes a strong sense of a fallen, imperfect, mortal world that may be transcended through the contemplation of Divine Beauty. Although the figures of the Queen in the King's masques may be said to serve precisely this same purpose, they remain locked into a binaristic relation which locates them as feminised matter to the King's masculine mind. By deploying Circe's world of sensual physicality in its antimasque, *Tempe Restored* succeeds in increasing the fissure between Divine Beauty and matter, locating her as a vessel infused with divine light that may lead observers upwards in a spiritual journey. In a Catholic context, she could also be a spiritual mother, leading observers towards a divine community governed by the will of God. The distinction between the deployment of this figure in the Queen's masques and that in the King's masques is not a great one. However, it is significant, for it participates in a cultural trend, like that manifested in Bérulle's *Élévation*, which accords noblewomen a quasi-autonomous social and spiritual role. Henrietta Maria's masques and plays, therefore, deserve considering not only for the potentially subversive religious messages they might contain, but for the ways in which they exploit the neoplatonic binarism of spirit and matter to open a space of possibility on the stage for women and their voices.

CHAPTER 5

Royal Subjects: Intriguing Voices in *The Shepherds' Paradise*

The rejection, the exclusion of a female imaginary certainly puts woman in the position of experiencing herself only fragmentarily [...], as waste, or excess, what is left of a mirror invested by the (masculine) "subject" to reflect himself.

Luce Irigaray¹

In the last chapter, I discussed how the Queen's early masques both gestured towards her faith and provided a space upon the court stage from which she could begin to assert a specifically crafted identity of her own. Nevertheless, the figures of Chloris and Divine Beauty, rather than being whole in themselves, are devoid of self-knowledge. They are incapable of self-reflection, and, in their pure virginity, reflect back, if not the image of the King, then an image of a self-identical masculine god. In this chapter, I wish to explore the development of both masculine and feminine identities in *The Shepherds' Paradise*, Henrietta Maria's second pastoral play. This pastoral, like *Artenice* before it, was significant because it accorded the Queen an audible presence upon the court stage, allowing her to explore a version of herself as a speaking subject and as an actress. Unlike *Artenice*, it was written by an Englishman and was performed in English. It therefore demonstrated the extent to which the Queen's French pastoral fashion had become integrated into Caroline court culture.

Nevertheless, modern criticism has persistently ridiculed the play, condemning it as a verbose and overly complicated anatomy of neoplatonic love.² Despite its status as a significant court event, authorised and attended by the King, *The Shepherds' Paradise* has been typically sidelined as the product of the household of a frivolous woman. This chapter contests that view, considering the question of the Queen's religious and political affiliations in the early 1630s, and situating the play within the context of her domestic and European affairs.

¹Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One*, trans. Catherine Porter (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), p. 30.

²See, for example, Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 1, p. 63.

Written by the courtier Walter Montagu and performed twice in the Christmas season of 1632/3, *The Shepherds' Paradise* has been termed 'a pattern for the kind of conduct acceptable amongst [the Queen's] group at court', and an entertainment which set the tone for subsequent *précieux* and neoplatonic drama in the 1630s (Veevers, p. 39). It was certainly a significant court production that had an inordinately long rehearsal time and required some complicated preparations. The Queen, 'some of her ladies, and all her maids of honour', had been practising the play from September 1632, with the intention of presenting it to the King on 19th November, his birthday.³ In the event, the performance was delayed for three weeks, reputedly because the actresses and the scenery were not ready.⁴ Joseph Taylor, an actor with the King's Men, was employed to help the ladies perfect their parts, a quite necessary piece of assistance in the light of John Pory's comment that the lady Marquess's part was as long as an ordinary play.⁵ In addition, as Sarah Poynting notes, a brief period of mourning for the Elector Palatine, who died in November 1632, also delayed the performance of the pastoral, which finally took place on the 9th January.⁶ On the 10th January, Mr Beaulieu wrote to inform Sir Thomas Puckering that, '[t]his night, our queen hath acted her costly pastoral in Somerset House, which hath lasted seven or eight hours'.⁷ On the 13th January, Sir Robert Phelips was informed that the pastoral was 'again to be performed on Candlemas night next', a piece of information supported by the Revels accounts which show that dramatic performances took place at Somerset House on the 9th January and the 3rd February.⁸

³See John Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, 20th September 1632, in Birch, *Court and Times*, 2, p. 176; John Pory, in J. P. Feil, 'Dramatic References from the Scudamore Papers', *Shakespeare Survey* (1958), p. 109.

⁴See Amerigo Salvetti, 9th/19th November 1632, in Orrell, 'Amerigo Salvetti', pp. 17-18.

⁵Gerald Eades Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941-1968), 4, p. 917.

⁶Walter Montagu, *The Shepherds' Paradise*, ed. Sarah Poynting (Oxford: O.U.P. for the Malone Society, 1997), p. xii.

⁷Beaulieu to Puckering, 10th January 1633, in Birch, *Court and Times*, 2, p. 216. As Bentley noted, this letter was evidently written and dated after midnight; Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 4, p. 918.

⁸See *Hombre fiel* to Sir Robert Phelips, 13th January 1633, in Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 4, p. 918; John Orrell, 'The Paved Court Theatre at Somerset House', *British Library Journal*, 3:1 (1977), 13-19, (p. 19, n. 7).

The Shepherds' Paradise was a major court event that involved a high level of professionalism. It was also, significantly, not a masque, but a play, and thus, like the production of *Artenice* before it, differed strongly from the English tradition of royal theatrical performance. As a dramatic event, not a danced spectacle, it marked the Queen's court as a site of innovation, at once within, and yet distinct from, established Stuart forms of monarchical self-display. Furthermore, despite the criticism levelled at *Artenice* which bewailed the fact that several of the actresses were crossdressed as shepherds, *The Shepherds' Paradise* again featured female crossdressing. Indeed, Sophie Tomlinson has observed that, out of a total of fourteen roles in the play, ten were for masculine characters.⁹ In addition, the virtuous character of Fidamira, played by Sophia Carew, spends much of the play blacked up as Gemella, a Moor, and thus echoes the racially crossdressed figures that drew disapprobation down upon Queen Anne and her ladies in the 1605 *Masque of Blackness*.¹⁰ *The Shepherds' Paradise* pushed at the boundaries of female theatrical performance, positioning the Queen and her ladies as culturally active agents upon the court stage. Although supported by the King, the pastoral could nonetheless be perceived as transgressing certain feminine proprieties and was, therefore, carefully monitored by the Caroline administrative machine.

Entry to *The Shepherds' Paradise* was strictly regulated by the King's Lord Chamberlain. Writing to Sir Thomas Puckering before the production, John Pory facetiously remarked:

On Wednesday next, the queen's pastoral is to be acted in the lower court of Denmark House, and my lord chamberlain saith that no chambermaid shall enter, unless she will sit cross-legged on the top of a bulk. No great lady shall be kept out, though she have but mean apparel, and a worse face, and no inferior lady or

⁹Sophie Tomlinson, 'Theatrical vibrancy on the female court stage?: *Tempe Restored* and *The Shepherd's Paradise*' (unpublished conference paper given at 'The Queen's Court: Elite female cultural production and the cultures of the early Stuarts (1603-42), Centre for the Study of the Renaissance, University of Warwick, 18-19 April 1998).

¹⁰Sophie Tomlinson has observed that the fashion for neoplatonism started in Queen Anne's court, and was especially present in productions like Jonson's *Masque of Blackness*; see Tomlinson, 'Theatrical Women', p. 45. The figure of Gemella in *The Shepherds' Paradise* is, in some ways, a continuation of, or a response to, the ideas put forward in the *Masque of Blackness*; she stands as a sign of spiritual virtue which shines through a woman's physical body and makes it appear beautiful whatever its colour.

woman shall be let in, but such as have extreme brave apparel and better faces.¹¹

The theatre at Somerset House was substantially smaller than the Whitehall rooms used for dramatic performances.¹² The number of people who could attend the performance was, therefore, physically limited, thus ensuring the pastoral's status as an event accessible only to a select few. Unsurprisingly, precedence for entry was to be based on rank, supplemented (at least in Pory's satirical representation) by physical beauty. Attendance at the production was also predicted to be a predominantly female affair with the auditorium full of women jostling for position. In effect, the performance was presented by Pory as a domestic diversion; unlike a court masque, it would not provide an opportunity for demonstrations of monarchical favour nor for struggles over ambassadorial precedence.¹³ The expected predominance of women locates Henrietta Maria as a leader of fashion whose activities are followed by ladies of both the 'great' and 'inferior' sorts. It also ensures the production's propriety; the Queen's vocal presence upon the stage is less threatening in a quasi-private performance among women than it would be in a performance before male courtiers. In addition, the letter conveys a covert understanding that pastoral romance is a diversion best fitted to women, and of little appeal to men.

Discussing the question of the 'femininity' of romance, Helen Hackett has observed that, in the seventeenth century, romances were imagined to be read mainly by women, but were written by men. She also observes that there may have been a certain amount of voyeurism involved, with the 'narrative foregrounding of a female audience' being not so much about women reading, 'as about male readers deriving pleasure from

¹¹Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 4, p. 918.

¹²It is described in the works accounts as 76 feet long, by 36 feet wide, and 25 feet high; Malone Society, *Collections*, 10: *Dramatic Records in the Declared Accounts of the Office of Works 1560-1640* (Oxford: O.U.P. for the Malone Society, 1975 (1977)), p. xviii.

¹³Charles I had, for a long time, been controlling the rights of entry to royal entertainments. For example, in 1627, John Finet received instructions from the King's Lord Chamberlain that foreign ambassadors were to be welcomed to the Queen's new masque, but that 'his Majesty was resolved never more to admit any Ambassadors resident to sit next his person under the State'; see John Finet, *Finetti Philoxenis: some choice observations of Sr John Finett Knight, and Master of the Ceremonies to the two last Kings* (London: H. Twyford & G. Bedell, 1656), p. 198. Later entertainments saw the introduction of turnstiles and the encouragement of ambassadors to attend in a private, not a public, capacity.

imagining that they are watching women reading'.¹⁴ Male readers could enjoy romance, but could also derive pleasure from a sense of intellectual superiority over women. Romance became a realm of female pleasure into which 'the male reader was titillatingly invited to gaze unobserved' (Hackett, pp. 40-1). This is precisely the situation established in Pory's letter which represents a female audience scrambling to watch a pastoral play. Most significantly, this is a pastoral play performed by women, setting up a sense of a private female community that may be penetrated by a male observer. Situations of a similar nature are to be found in early modern male-authored romances where masculine characters participate in women's private rituals either in disguise, or as hidden spectators. For example, in *Il Pastor Fido*, Mirtillo, the hero (dressed as a woman), participates in a kissing contest among a group of maidens and, in a supreme expression of male fantasy, wins it, proving that men are best fitted to the satisfaction of women's desires.¹⁵ The production of *The Shepherds' Paradise*, figuring a group of women performing together in the costumes of both shepherds and shepherdesses, could be seen as a highly suggestive event in which the Queen and her ladies set themselves up before a speculative male gaze.

Nevertheless, the women's articulate (and voluntary) presence upon the stage complicates this notion and lays down a challenge to the passive feminine identities invoked in male-authored romance. As long as romance occupies a private, imaginative space among women, it is non-threatening and can be regarded benevolently by men. However, performed in a quasi-public manner by women upon a stage, it raises the spectre of the active female subject who defines and articulates her own identity. Despite the fact that *The Shepherds' Paradise* was penned by a man, it nevertheless accorded its female participants the means of investigating alternative ways of expressing themselves, not least because they were members of a female acting troop whose interaction upon the stage produced a specific cultural artefact. Rather than

¹⁴Helen Hackett, 'Yet Tell Me Some Such Fiction: Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania* and the 'Femininity' of Romance', *Women, Texts and Histories 1575-1760*, ed. Clare Brand and Diane Purkiss (London: Routledge, 1992), 39-68 (pp. 40-1).

¹⁵See Giovanni Battista Guarini, *Il Pastor Fido*, trans. [John Dymoke] (London: A. Matth[ewes], 1633), sig. C4v-C5v.

simply patronising the works of masculine genius, the women collaborated with court artists to create a dramatic event for themselves.

As I discussed in Chapter 2, the phenomenon of the actress did not pass without comment in Caroline society. Shortly after the production of the Queen's pastoral, William Prynne's polemical *Histriomastix* was published, famously terming 'Women-Actors' as 'notorious whores'.¹⁶ Nevertheless, *The Shepherds' Paradise* provoked surprisingly few other adverse comments. Indeed, several court dramatists went to lengths to distance themselves from Prynne's accusations and to validate female theatrical production. The dedication to the 1633 edition of James Shirley's play, *The Bird in a Cage*, satirically addressed Prynne, asserting that the original production's music and an interlude 'personated by Ladies', would have pleased him 'infinitely in the Presentment'.¹⁷ Similarly, the printer's dedication to the 1633 collected works of John Marston addressed Lady Elizabeth Cary, herself a playwright and close friend of the Queen, and exempted Marston's *oeuvre* from the 'Many opprobies and aspersions [that] have not long since been cast upon Playes in generall'.¹⁸ These dedications are at once a defence of the dramatists' craft, yet they also demonstrate the Queen's perceived importance as a patron of theatre, presenting women's interest in dramatic production as a welcome phenomenon. They raise the question of the noblewoman's power of patronage, complicating the assumption that, in the seventeenth century, men had a privileged access to a culture that excluded women.

Nonetheless, *The Shepherds' Paradise* has been castigated by modern critics in a manner that dismisses it as the turgidly moral product of a woman's household. Alfred Harbage terms it 'one of the worst [plays] in the language' and locates it as an entertainment that 'helped widen the gap between the English people and the King'.¹⁹ Orgel and Strong, in their turn, assert that 'Beside Montagu's pastoral, *Parsifal* is a

¹⁶Prynne, *Histriomastix*, index.

¹⁷James Shirley, *The Bird in a Cage* (London: William Cooke, 1633), sig. A2r-A2v.

¹⁸John Marston, *The Workes of Mr. Iohn Marston, Being Tragedies and Comedies, Collected into One Volume* (London: William Sheares, 1633), sig. A3r-A4v. Shirley's verses before Ford's *Love's Sacrifice* also alluded to Prynne, while Thomas Heywood castigated him on three occasions. The prologue to William Cartwright's *The Royal Slave* also mentioned the dispute.

¹⁹Alfred Harbage, *Cavalier Drama*, p. 14.

romp', describing the play as an 'anatomy of neo-Platonic love' which 'should be enough to convince even the most severe critic that there was nothing flighty about Caroline neo-Platonism'.²⁰ Indeed, it is the play's engagement with neoplatonism that has led to its reputation as a profoundly undramatic piece of theatre that was, at once, both horribly didactic and philosophically trivial. Criticism of the play constantly recirculates the Whiggish opinions of historians like Harbage who locate it, and the neoplatonic fashion by which it was informed, as directly contributing to the English Civil War. However, refreshingly, Sarah Poynting's recent study has questioned *The Shepherds' Paradise's* devotion to neoplatonism, showing that it was not a uniformly serious articulation of the philosophy and was even risqué in parts.²¹ Her detailed and humorous critique also points out that the figure of Montagu is perennially missing from modern considerations of the pastoral, observing that only by reconciling his political activities with the play's content and historical moment can one arrive at a comprehensive understanding of its meanings (Poynting, p. 111). Turning away from Henrietta Maria as a patron and actress to the figure of Montagu as a playwright, she introduces a much-needed balance into critical discussions of the pastoral. Nevertheless, her study concludes with the revealing statement that the Queen's reliance on Montagu in the later 1630s, and his encouragement of her increasingly militant Catholicism, 'were not conducive to the good of the state' (Poynting, p. 163). Here again, the figure of Henrietta Maria, manipulated by the men by whom she was surrounded, implicitly bears the weight of blame for the Civil War.

The Shepherds' Paradise does evince a very qualified form of neoplatonism. Indeed, it would be fair to say that it presents its audience with several different neoplatonisms, rather than with an homologous, single vision. Instead of being a didactic expression of the Queen's will (Orgel and Strong, 1, p. 63), it is a complex debate that raises questions about constancy, marriage, and government, and which dramatises the relationships between nobles and their servants. However, for my

²⁰Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 1, p. 63.

²¹Poynting, 'A Critical Edition', pp. 109-10.

immediate purposes, it is its evocation of personal identity that is most significant, coupled with the manner in which it explores the phenomenon of women's self-expression.

'It is my voyce': the fashioning of a self in *The Shepherds' Paradise*

When the pastoral opens, Prince Basilino has just made the decision to leave the Castilian court in order to expiate his sins of neglect towards Saphira, Princess of Navarre, the woman his father wishes him to marry. The play is at pains to make clear that he owes the King two duties; one as a son, and one as his subject and heir. Even at this early stage, these duties are conflicting because, although the King understands his son's compulsion, he takes a great deal of convincing before he will allow Basilino to relinquish his duties at court.²² However, he is eventually persuaded, and Basilino departs in disguise, accompanied only by Agenor, his faithful friend. Before leaving, he recommends Fidamira, the woman he loves, into his father's protection and the King commands that she is to be lodged at court. Fidamira, though, fearing courtly corruption, begs to be allowed to remain at home, arguing that it would be 'a retreat out of [her] selfe to be any where but in [her] ffathers house' (I. vii. 625-6).

The play initially sets up a notion of the duty owed by a child to its parent, adding to this the notion of the supreme authority of the King. Nevertheless, we are aware that the King's rule is not absolute for his court is distrusted by Fidamira, and his son has disobeyed his command to get married. While the younger characters' identities are conditioned by their relationships with their parents, they are also affected by the positions of resistance they adopt. Indeed, Fidamira manages to resist the King's will by invoking the convention of filial obedience by which it is subtended: she presents herself as a modest daughter in order to delay having to obey as a subject. The play is, in part, an investigation into the deployment and development of personal identities, with

²²See Montagu, *The Shepherds' Paradise*, ed. Sarah Poynting, I. iv. Unless otherwise stated, all subsequent references to *The Shepherds' Paradise* will be drawn from this edition.

Basilino's journey from the court becoming a personal odyssey of self-discovery. It is also a debate about personal responsibility and self-interest in which Basilino and Agenor are represented both as intimate friends and as rivals in love.

At the beginning of the play, Basilino's relationship with Fidamira is conceived by him in the hyperbolic language of neoplatonic love; he terms her an angel and describes how, in pursuit of her virtue, his thoughts were carried up to heaven (I. ii. 101-9). She gently deflects his compliments, and later we discover that she and Agenor have a prior amorous understanding. When she bids farewell to Agenor before he departs on his journey, her parting words have no less a basis in neoplatonic thought than Basilino's, yet they introduce a distinction between the Prince's impulsive ideals and her own. In a manner which parallels her modest desire to retire into her father's house, she tells Agenor that her eyes 'shall turn inward, all their light vpon my thoughts, wch shalbe soe pollisht, as they shall still answer to one another, wth the reflex of my Agenor's Image' (I. v. 458-60). This is a profoundly neoplatonic moment, but is one that places an emphasis on personal control and self-reflection, rather than on the more extreme pursuit of a transcendental goal. It finds a parallel in the writings of Plotinus who advised his reader to 'Retire into yourself, and look'.²³ A similar motto, 'Do not look for yourself outside yourself' was included in a Van Dyck painting of Sir John Suckling, providing evidence of the sentiment's currency in royalist circles.²⁴ However, most interestingly, Charles I is reputed to have commented in his last hours that 'we have learnt to own ourself by retiring into ourself'.²⁵ The sentiment is proto-Cartesian in its impulse, advocating a rejection of material forms and a search for inner certainties. Within the narrative economy of *The Shepherds' Paradise*, it allows Fidamira responsibility for her own chastity, juxtaposing her own self-control against her companions' youthful excesses.²⁶

²³*Ennead* I. 6. 8-9; see John Gregory, *The Neoplatonists: A Reader*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 112.

²⁴See Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry*, p. 39. Loxley observes that the motto is drawn from the stoic writings of Persius.

²⁵See Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 190.

²⁶A parallel can be drawn here with the opening moments of *Romeo and Juliet* which show Romeo self-consciously adopting the role of the Petrarchan lover in his wooing of Rosaline.

Masquerading under the names of Moramante and Genorio, Basilino and Agenor decide to interrupt their journey with a visit to the Shepherds' Paradise, a community of disaffected lovers governed by an annually elected queen. The companions are immediately struck by the beauty of Bellessa, the new Queen, and Moramante decides to gain admittance to the society, ordering Genorio to complete his mission to Saphira. He represents his assumption of the name 'Moramante' as a movement away from his identity as Basilino, and, at the end of the play, rather than reassuming his natal identity, sues to his father for the right to 'keepe this happy name, *Morom:*' (V. ii. 3819). The image here is one of bounded self-construction; Basilino has re-figured himself in the guise of Moramante, yet this re-figuring needs to be validated by the law of his father. In contrast, Agenor's movement towards self-knowledge is completed by the revelation of his genealogy.

In the 1659 printed text of *The Shepherds' Paradise* (although it is missing from the Tixall manuscript edited by Sarah Poynting), the revelation of Agenor's identity gives rise to an explanation of his unusual name. The opening Act of the pastoral informs us that, as a child, Agenor had been saved from slaughter by Prince Basilino. Now we are told that a jewel worn by Agenor identifies him as Palante, son of the King of Navarre. Addressing Agenor, Basilino/Moramante observes:

If this jewel be a certain mark of your birth, I can assure you that you were brought to me with it, and then I call'd you Agenor, a name fitted to the not-knowing who you were.²⁷

In other words, the name Agenor is derived from *a-genus*, meaning 'without family'.²⁸ While this explanation is omitted from the Tixall manuscript, that text, too, makes a great deal out of the revelation that Agenor is the recovered son of 'the now blessed

²⁷Walter Montagu, *The Shepheard's Paradise: A Comedy Privately Acted before the Late King Charls by the Queen's Majesty, and Ladies of Honour* (London: Thomas Dring, 1659), sig. M2v.

²⁸The name has a classical precedent. Agenor was the father of Europa and of Cadmus, founder of Thebes; see Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, trans. Melville, p. 469, *sub* Cadmus. After its appearance in *The Shepherds' Paradise*, the name was recycled by Lodowick Carlell, one of Henrietta Maria's servants, appearing in *The Passionate Lovers* (produced in 1638 and published in 1655) and in *The Fool Would Be A Favourite* (published in 1657).

King of Navarr' (V. ii. 3680-1). With his heritage revealed, Agenor is encouraged to 'put off that vnhappy name Genorio,/ & call [him] selfe Prince Pallante' (V. ii. 3679-80). Similarly, Fidamira, revealed as Agenor's sister, is given the knowledge that she is Princess Miranda of Navarre. The pastoral negotiates successfully between a manner of conceiving identity as something arising from within, imagining its characters in a development towards healthy self-knowledge, and as something that shows the social importance of kinship ties. The philosophy articulated by the pastoral is not profoundly metaphysical, but is tempered by an emphasis on blood relationships and human affection.

The tempered nature of the pastoral's neoplatonism is nowhere more evident than in the way it constructs the character of Bellessa. The conclusion of the play reveals that Bellessa is really Saphira, Princess of Navarre, who has fled from her father's court rather than suffer the indignity of being betrothed to a man who does not love her. Constructing an alternative identity for herself, she has become Queen of the Shepherds' Paradise through the merits of her beauty, and finally decides, like Moramante, to retain the name of Bellessa all her life (V. ii. 3821). By naming herself, Bellessa implicitly challenges the patronymic operation which, in Judith Butler's terms, 'secures its inflexibility and perpetuity precisely by requiring that women, in their roles as wives and daughters, relinquish their name and secure perpetuity and rigidity for some other patronym',²⁹ Her time in the Shepherds' Paradise is a space of fantasy within which she can explore herself as an independent subject, cut off from the demands of her father and country.

Bellessa's self-naming is not only of interest within the pastoral, but is paradigmatic of the adoption of pastoral identities upon the stage by Henrietta Maria and her ladies. As Domna Stanton has suggested, the power to name, given to Adam by God, is inextricably bound up with the divine and natural law of his mastery. This scheme is undermined when a woman (remembering that Adam named Eve)

²⁹Butler, *Bodies that Matter*, p. 216.

appropriates the power of the logos and presumes to name herself.³⁰ Diane Purkiss has proposed similarly that a woman's fashioning of a stage self was an implicit resistance of the power of male protectors to shape her, and that women's control of aspects of cultural production led to fears that men would be blocked from achieving their desires, or realising their fantasies.³¹ The articulate presence of Henrietta Maria and her ladies on the stage presented an image of female agency that threatened the masculine monopoly on cultural meaning. While ultimately sanctioned by the monarch, the play nevertheless opened up a fantasy space within which the women could explore alternative modes of identity.

However, by concluding with the promise of marriages, *The Shepherds' Paradise* diffuses the subversive potential of Bellessa's (and Moramante's) self-naming. Bellessa and Moramante contract a love match and name themselves, and yet their marriage is discovered to be the solution to international disharmony proposed by the King of Castile at the start of the play. Bellessa and Moramante might discard their identities as Saphira and Basilino in a fantasy of self-actualisation, but they leave the *Shepherds' Paradise* to resume their places in the world of dynastic kinship relations. Nevertheless, although the pastoral's plot concludes with the reinscription of a patriarchal norm, this cannot completely efface the space of possibility opened up on the court stage in which women's voices were given public expression. Furthermore, the text itself debates the question of the propriety of female speech, as well as evincing strong concerns about the vulnerability of the court poet whose text may be condemned for its impropriety.

The turning (or fashioning) of speech, and the problem of its reception by another who might then return it, operates in the pastoral in several interconnected ways, and is intimately connected to the construction of personal identity. Its obvious paradigm is the myth of Narcissus and Echo which foregrounds the problems of female

³⁰Stanton, 'The Fiction of *Préciosité*', p. 127.

³¹Diane Purkiss, 'Gender, Power and the Body: Some Figurations of Femininity in Milton and Seventeenth-Century Women's Writing' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1991), p. 366 and p. 372.

vocality and reveals the disaster which may befall one if one's interlocutor is vainly self-regarding and does not hear. *The Shepherds' Paradise* explicitly invokes the myth of Narcissus and Echo, but does so in a complex way which prohibits the construction of a straight analogy between the pastoral's characters and the speaking positions offered by the myth. When Bellessa enters the wood, Love's Cabinet, to muse upon the subject of love, she declares her virgin innocence and states that she will give voice to her thoughts because the plants will not be able to reiterate them (V. i. 3299-308). Within the narrative economy of *The Shepherds' Paradise*, as Sophie Tomlinson has noted, this episode perhaps foregrounds the problem that the Queen cannot proprietously declare her love for Moramante aloud and in public.³² Indeed, the wood's designation as 'Love's Cabinet' signals a moment in the pastoral's performance where a nominally private space is revealed to the audience's gaze in a manner which allows the members of that audience to derive pleasure from imagining that they are privy to the secrets of a woman's mind. In the 'private' space of Love's Cabinet, Bellessa explores the notion of love, concerning herself with the notion of Moramante's constancy.

Her monologue becomes a dialogue when she is answered by Echo, in a moment which sees *The Shepherds' Paradise* itself echoing a recognisable romance trope and entering into a discourse with previous pastoral texts. Furthermore, Echo's answer returns Bellessa's voice to herself; by fashioning speech, and having it returned to herself as if from another, Bellessa is led into a process of self-reflection which allows her to begin to conceive of herself as a speaking subject. At the same time, however, Echo's answer is involuntary. Condemned only to be able to answer, her position is one of dependence upon another's speech. She cannot accede to full presence, and has no identity proper to herself.³³ She becomes a metaphor for women's fragmented speech: reduced to dry bones in the Ovidian myth, she becomes her own tomb, echoing back

³²Tomlinson states that the pastoral presents an ambiguous view of Bellessa's agency, 'ascribing to her a 'liberty' and 'civility' that reside in the right of reply, rather than in voluntary self-expression'; Tomlinson, 'Theatrical Women', p. 93.

³³See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Echo', *New Literary History*, 24 (1993), 17-43 (pp. 27-30).

another's discourse and standing for the violence that prevents women from achieving knowledge of themselves.

On one level, the mythological figure of Echo, who cannot speak her love, is analogous to the character of Bellessa who must manipulate Moramante's speech in order to express her own desires. At a further remove from the narrative, it might be suggested that Echo's position in the text parallels that of the speaking courtly woman upon the stage, for she, like Echo, is condemned to ventriloquy, echoing back the words of the pastoral's male author. However, as Clare Nouvet has explored in relation to Ovid's story of Echo, Echo does not simply ventriloquize a prior discourse, for, in order to transform 'the repetition of "sounds" into "answers"', the Ovidian text grants her the privilege of imposing meaning on the words she echoes back, thus restoring Echo as 'a self, a speaking consciousness'.³⁴ In order to establish herself as a speaking subject, the Queen is reliant upon the complicity of the King and of the poet whose words she speaks. However, by inhabiting the positions within the discourse written for her by a man, the courtly woman may transform his discourse by reading it against the grain, thus establishing a position from which she may speak for herself.

This active appropriation of another's discourse is significant when Henrietta Maria's position as the patron of the pastoral's author is considered, because it is not primarily the story of Echo as a pitiable and disembodied voice speaking unrequited love which concerns the pastoral's text, but the story of Echo punished by Juno for facilitating Jove's inconstancies. In the Ovidian narrative, garrulous Echo delayed the goddess with speech, while Jove entertained himself with amorous nymphs. When Juno discovered Echo's deception she cursed the nymph with the ability only to reiterate what another had spoken. *The Shepherds' Paradise* allies the character of Bellessa more with the punishing Juno than with the punished nymph in a process which complicates the myth's gender binarism with notions of status.

³⁴Clare Nouvet, 'An Impossible Response: The Disaster of Narcissus', *Yale French Studies*, 79 (1991), 103-34 (p. 105). Nouvet's text proceeds to locate Echo not as a body, but as the embodiment of language which has ceased to be Narcissus's own.

When asked by Bellessa if Echo dare promise Moramante's constancy, the answer that echoes back is the word 'constancy'. Bellessa, showing an awareness of the duplicitous nature of language and thus of Echo's duplicitous potential, swears she will be revenged on Echo if Moramante should prove inconstant:

And for you Eccho. I will wth my reproaches force you to answer somuch, as it shall hoarce that litle voyce is left you; Nay I will search all the Earths concavities, & fill them vp soe to choake you quite, There shalbe nothing left you hollow to reside in, but Moromante's Heart that I will leave you for a greater punishment, then death. (V. i. 3337-43)³⁵

By threatening to stop Echo's voice altogether, Bellessa will complete the punishment that Juno inaugurated in revenge for the infidelities of Jove. The parallel between Bellessa and Juno in the punishing of Echo offers a paradigm of the relationship between a noble patron and a patronised poet: Queen Henrietta Maria's patronage of Montagu's text allows Montagu a voice, but it is a voice that it is in the Queen's power to deny or transform, and for which Montagu may also be punished.³⁶

The Shepherds' Paradise explicitly dramatises the relationship between a poet and his mistress when the overly neoplatonic Martiro presents a poem to Bellessa. His representation of the Queen conceives of her as an inexpressible 'impossibility', too refined and elevated from the world for worldly things to comprehend. Not surprisingly, the Queen fails to understand the poem and does not recognise herself within it. 'Sure Martiro', she observes, 'they that could vnderstand your verses, might knowe your love, th' impossibilityes to me seeme equall' (IV iv. 2782-4). Martiro's love is represented as a neoplatonic abstraction that has no foundation either in the material world or in the body of Bellessa. He explains to Moramante that his love is 'Angellicall, at first created infinite, without neede of propagation' (IV. iv. 2801-2). The Queen is to him an impossible ideal, a goddess figure like the Alba of *Albion's Triumph*. Her own desires

³⁵Poynting observes that this passage is an adaptation of Juliet's speech after the balcony scene in *Romeo and Juliet*; Poynting, 'A Critical Edition', p. 105.

³⁶This connection may be extended further by reference to William Prynne who was violently punished by the power structure which patronised and guaranteed Henrietta Maria's performance.

and fantasies are elided as she becomes the vessel through which he constructs himself as a neoplatonic philosopher and poet. Her identity is fragmented into meaningless echoes by the poem in a manner that mocks the pretensions of neoplatonism and foregrounds the way in which the philosophy idealises its women objects, denying them their own particularity. Furthermore, the poem demonstrates that, to be comprehensible, words and ideas must circulate within a community that shares certain linguistic understandings. To function correctly, they must be received and interpreted in the manner in which they were intended.

In Love's Cabinet, Echo only gains presence by returning Bellessa's voice, but is also the mediator between Bellessa's desires and Moramante. If Moramante doesn't hear Echo (that is, if he takes up Narcissus's position as vainly self-regarding, or if he is inconstant) then Bellessa, like Martiro, speaks in a closed circuit: Echo returns her words only to herself. The reciprocal nature of the identities proposed within *The Shepherds' Paradise* is made evident in the text at this moment: self-knowledge is only to be gained through conversation and an awareness of one's effects upon other people. In addition, the mediating presence of the voice of Echo between Bellessa's mind and the ears of Moramante underlines a disjunction in speech which occurs at the point where language becomes disconnected from the speaking body and which offers an opportunity for misreadings that endanger the position of the speaker/writer whose intentions may be misconstrued and punished.

The disjunction between the speaking body and the words that are spoken is exploited in the pastoral to investigate the production of, and constraints upon, women's speech. In response to Moramante, who has asked her whether she is in love, Bellessa positions her voice alongside that of the disembodied Echo with the words:

It is my voyce Moromante & I have lett it loose from mee: that it might not have somuch as modesty to hold it back, beleive it, for if you put me to take it into me againe, I have a virgin cold that will not let it speake soe cleere. (V. i. 3373-7)

By saying she has sent her voice out from her, Bellessa makes a parallel between her speaking position and that of Echo (whose body became cold stone). This disconnection between her voice and her gendered body opens up a split between the notions of body and mind, freeing the Queen's voice from sexual impediments. Bellessa's words in *The Shepherds' Paradise* gesture towards the possibility that a woman could speak with clarity if that clarity were not denied her by the masculinist construction of discourse which always reduces her to her biology and circumscribes her speech with notions of propriety. Although the pastoral mocks the excesses of neoplatonism which deny a woman her physicality, it makes evident a gendered prejudice within society which denies a woman the right to express her love. This moment finds an obvious parallel in the debate upon socially constructed honour put forward *Artenice*, the Queen's previous pastoral. It problematises the notion of social convention, opening a space in which a different (proto-feminist) possibility may be dreamed.

The Shepherds' Paradise provides an innovative intervention upon the Caroline court stage into the subject of female identity and female speech. In its text, it proposes a form of self-actualising identity for both its male and female characters that divorces them from their relationships with their fathers and permits a certain resistance to authority. While ultimately seeing itself validated by and reinscribed within a patriarchal norm, it proposes a new type of relationship based upon social interaction and self-reflection which opens up a space within which social conventions and monarchical laws may be subjected to a critique. Similarly, in its production, *The Shepherds' Paradise* made possible a series of new identities for its women actors. They could conceive of themselves as the producers of culture, at the same time as they laid claim to the Word by taking on alternative names and by speaking out loud. Although their acting was sanctioned by the Stuart administrative machine, the space of the stage offered a place of resistance to traditional authority, and to a discourse which represented them as mute goddesses. It created a place from which the Queen could articulate a position of both cultural and political difference. It is this that I will explore in the next section.

Dangerous liaisons: plotting marriage in the 1630s

Reciprocal love brings security by dispelling dangers, peace by removing dissention, and happiness by avoiding misery. For where there is reciprocal charity, there are no plots. There all things are common. There lawsuits, robberies, murders, and battles cease.

Marsilio Ficino³⁷

Despite its romantic and pastoral tone, as several critics have pointed out, aspects of the Queen's production, most notably the style of costume designed for the character of Fidamira, hint that the entertainment has an allegorical subtext.³⁸ Orgel and Strong note that the drawing of Fidamira is a copy of a portrait of an unknown Spanish Infanta and that it is the only known instance of Inigo Jones copying a portrait for a costume (Orgel and Strong, 2, p. 522). Taking this supposition further, Erica Veevers has argued that the pastoral might be concerned allegorically with King Charles's two courtships, and has suggested that Fidamira's costume would have been picked out by the play's audience as a visual reference to the Spanish court and its Infanta (Veevers, p. 42). She associates Montagu's pastoral with the kind of romance being written at the time of the Anglo-French marriage, and draws a particular comparison with Abraham Remy's *La Galatée* (Veevers, pp. 39-40). Sarah Poynting, on the other hand, states that the play 'bears no resemblance at all' to *La Galatée*, although she does agree that its similarities with Charles's journey to Spain are 'blatant' (Poynting, p. 106 and p. 135). In addition, she remarks that 'there was more than one Spanish princess with whom Fidamira might be identified', and concludes that her Spanish dress 'might simply have been intended to represent her as an aristocratic Spanish lady' (Poynting, pp. 135-6).

In contrast to Poynting, I am convinced that *La Galatée* made a contribution to *The Shepherds' Paradise*, and also believe that, on one level at least, the character of Fidamira shadowed the Spanish Infanta, invoking the already romanticised events that

³⁷Ficino, *Commentary*, p. 98.

³⁸See Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, pp. 39-44; Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 2, p. 522; Veevers, *Images*, pp. 42-3.

surrounded the Anglo-French marriage.³⁹ However, I do not believe that Montagu's play should be read as a straight allegory of the affairs of 1623-5, and share Poynting's opinion that it is improbable that we are supposed to identify one character with one historical figure throughout the play (Poynting, p. 136). Nevertheless, the play *is*, in part, a *roman-à-clef*, and also follows in the tradition of Buckingham's 1627 masque which figured a representation of Marie de Médicis waving together the monarchs of Europe. The play intervenes in the dynastic disharmonies of Europe, proposing a form of peace based upon reciprocal love very similar to that pursued by the Queen Mother during her Regency. Representations of this policy were prevalent in French celebrations at the time of the Anglo-French wedding, and were evinced again in *Salmacida Spolia* (1640), a Caroline masque performed before Marie. Although Poynting is correct to interpret the pastoral in the light of Walter Montagu's position and politics, imagery peculiar to the Queen and her family should certainly not be overlooked.

In this respect, the text of *La Galatée* bears a second investigation. It is prefaced by a printer's note which declares: 'Voicy comme ie me persuade les noms des principaux personnages qui sont representez' [Here is how I interpret the names of the main characters who are represented].⁴⁰ The printer then identifies a selection of figures from the tale, naming Astiagés as 'Le Prince de Galles', Galatée as 'Madame Soeur du Roy', and, interestingly, Elpisas as *both* 'le Duc de Boucquingan' and 'le Comte de Carly'. Most significantly, the figure of 'Le Comte Agenoris' is recorded as being the allegorical shadow of 'Le comte Palatin Roy de Boheme'. If a comparison is to be made between *La Galatée* and *The Shepherds' Paradise*, then surely the similarity between the names of Comte Agenoris and Agenor, Basilino's faithful companion, must be taken into account. *La Galatée's* association of Agenoris with the figure of the Elector Palatine, coupled with the revelation in *The Shepherds' Paradise* that Agenor is actually

³⁹Through correspondence with The National Trust, I have established that the Knowle House portrait copied by Jones was, indeed, a picture of the Infanta Maria.

⁴⁰Remy, *La Galatée*, sig. A4v.

a prince with the resonant name of Palante, make it virtually impossible not to read Montagu's pastoral as somehow a commentary upon European political affairs.

The Shepherds' Paradise is a production which resonates particularly with its time of composition and which needs to be situated within the specific context of the early 1630s. It was written and performed in the aftermath of Marie de Médicis' exile, and in the context of Gaston d'Orléans' military mobilisation against Louis XIII. Set in a European frame, it makes reference to the kingdoms of Navarre, Castile, France, and Albion, engaging with its political moment in complex ways. In a manner compatible with the Queen's neoplatonic fashion, it offers a romantic solution to international discord, and yet it also foregrounds her household as a closely knit group with a particular investment in Europe. The pastoral was performed at a time when Henrietta Maria's involvement in international politics had just been revealed, and, as a product of her household, can be seen as a vehicle for her own political concerns, as well as for the concerns of its author.

In the early 1630s, Henrietta Maria's allegiances swung away from Louis XIII's administration, and she became more politically aligned than ever with Cardinal Richelieu's opponents. Interestingly, this increased her connections with many of the late Duke of Buckingham's English followers, and implicated her in an international network with interests in Brussels, Lorraine, Savoy, France, and Spain. Malcolm Smuts has investigated the Queen's associations with Protestants at the English court and has shown how her interests coincided with the largely anti-Spanish, colonialist politics of nobles such as the earls of Holland and Essex.⁴¹ However, what he neglected to explore was the Queen's family loyalties, and the associations that she and her friends established with English noblemen and members of the French court both before and after her arrival in England. At the risk of gross generalisation, what manifested itself in the 1620s and 1630s was an anti-Richelieu cabal, comprising, among others, Anne of Austria, Marie de Chevreuse, and Henrietta Maria's servants, the Earl of Holland, Walter Montagu, and William Crofts.

⁴¹Smuts, 'Puritan Followers', *passim*.

In 1631-2, Marie de Chevreuse, together with the Earl of Holland and the chevalier de Jars, began to plot against Richelieu once again, and to strive to get Marie de Médicis invited to England. Châteauneuf passed confidential council information to Queen Anne and Chevreuse who subsequently transmitted it to their allies in London, Madrid, Brussels, and Nancy.⁴² At the same time, Marie de Chevreuse kept up a very public friendship with Henrietta Maria, sending her a present of a silver cabinet in April 1632 that was so significant it was reported in the *Gazette de France*.⁴³ On her side, the English Queen supported the anti-Richelieu cause, and was also antagonistic to Weston, Charles's Lord Treasurer. Weston's programme of peace and non-parliamentary government did not serve the purposes of her associates, Holland and Northumberland, who were more inclined to an aggressive foreign policy, and Weston had also irritated her personally by attempting to trim expenditure in her household. Now he aligned himself with Fontenay-Mareuil, the French ambassador, who was known to be a *créature* of Richelieu.⁴⁴

By the end of the year, and despite a severe illness which threatened his life, Richelieu had been made aware of the cabal against him. In February 1633, he struck against his enemies, exiling Châteauneuf to Angoulême and imprisoning de Jars in the Bastille. The French had intercepted enough letters to prove that Henrietta Maria was complicit in the intrigues and to link her manoeuvres against Weston to the activities of a Protestant faction in England that included the Earls of Warwick, Bedford and Holland. The international plot collapsed, shattering Henrietta Maria's party and leaving her political credit badly damaged.⁴⁵

As one of Buckingham's clients, Walter Montagu had been employed in diplomatic missions across Europe and was known to all the major players in the conspiracy. In the mid 1630s, he was still carrying letters between Henrietta Maria, her sister, Christine, Duchess of Savoy, Anne of Austria, and Marie de Chevreuse. His name

⁴²Tillinac, *L'Ange*, p. 153.

⁴³Paris, 13th/23rd April 1632; *Recueil des Gazettes nouvelles 1632* (Paris: Bureau d'Adresse, 1633).

⁴⁴See Smuts, 'Puritan Followers', p. 29.

⁴⁵See Smuts, 'Puritan Followers', pp. 33-4.

occurs frequently in Henrietta Maria's correspondence with her sister, as does that of William Crofts, a page at court whose cousin, Cecilia, acted in *The Shepherds' Paradise*.⁴⁶ Moreover, in 1633, when Marie de Chevreuse had once again been expelled from France by Richelieu, both Montagu and Crofts carried letters to her from Queen Anne in Paris.⁴⁷ Montagu's identity as the author of Henrietta Maria's 1633 pastoral shows his close connection with her court at the time of the Châteauneuf plot, and makes it entirely possible that the entertainment commented obliquely on international affairs.

Sarah Poynting has investigated the possible allegorical meanings of the pastoral's evocations of Navarre, France, and Castile, drawing attention to Navarre's historical status as a territory contested by both France and Spain, and observing that although 'the equation between Princess Saphira of Navarre and Henrietta Maria might be a simple one', it is 'difficult to see any work involving relations between Spain, France and Navarre in the early 1630s in quite such an innocent light' (Poynting, p. 138). No straight analogies can be drawn between the dynastic alignments dramatised in the pastoral and the factional politics of the European stage, yet the resolutions of conflict proposed in *The Shepherds' Paradise* have a strong connection with Marie de Médicis' pacific agenda and can also be shown to comment obliquely upon the restoration of the Palatinate, an event desired strongly in England, particularly by many of Henrietta Maria's associates. Poynting has suggested that Montagu might have used Navarre's territorially contested position as a way of alluding to the dangers posed by Spain and France to the independent dukedoms of Savoy and Lorraine (Poynting, p. 141). As Montagu was closely allied with the rulers of these dukedoms, this observation is extremely pertinent. Nevertheless, Poynting's model might be extended to include a consideration of the Palatinate, annexed by Spain at the expense of its Prince, Charles I's brother-in-law.

⁴⁶See Ferrero, *Lettres*, especially pp. 39-45.

⁴⁷See Tillinac, *L'Ange*, pp. 161-2.

In the virulently anti-Spanish *La Galatée*, Comte Agenoris, whose kingdom has been seized by the Syrians (Spain), is rescued from pirates by Elpisas, and eventually taken home to 'Cilicie' (England) by Prince Astiagés. In *The Shepherds' Paradise*, Agenor, whose very name suggests his dispossession, is saved from slaughter by Basilino and is subsequently looked after by him as a brother. Agenor is later discovered to be Prince Palante and leaves the Shepherds' Paradise to be restored to his rightful place as heir of Navarre. This aspect of the pastoral resonates strongly with desires among the Queen's adherents for a policy of active assistance towards the Palatinate, dramatising the fantasy that the support of a dispossessed prince would lead to his restoration. In the light of this, *The Shepherds' Paradise* can be seen as a forerunner of the later productions patronised by Henrietta Maria and performed for the entertainment of the visiting Palatine Princes in 1635-6.

Furthermore, through its representation of the realm of Albion, the pastoral also obliquely criticises the Caroline regime's non-interventionist foreign policy. Malcolm Smuts has argued that the pacific nature of the cult of the Caroline royal couple served to justify the Crown's withdrawal from continental affairs through lack of finance.⁴⁸ *The Shepherds' Paradise* gestures to England's non-interventionist stance, modifying the official Caroline iconography of conjugal union in a manner which accords Henrietta Maria/Bellessa a role in international affairs. In the pastoral, Genorio, sent out of the Shepherds' Paradise by Moramante to discover the whereabouts of Saphira, Princess of Navarre, returns with a story of her marriage and death:

[Sir,] she dyed married to the king of Albion, whome her beauty (wch was only vndisguiz'd in her retreat into his Countrey, wch she chose for solitude) tooke, & rays'd her to the Publicke Eminence of Queene, without the helpe of any other quality; All wch vntill her death, they kept conceal'd. (III. vii. 2133-8)

⁴⁸Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of the Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), p. 251.

Genorio's tale is discovered to be a fantasy, conceived to permit him to return quickly to the Shepherds' Paradise and pursue his devotion to Bellessa. Eventually, Bellessa is revealed to be a very-much-alive Saphira in disguise. The difference between the devotion Saphira's beauty inspires in the Shepherds' Paradise, and that which she is conceived to have inspired in Genorio's fantasy, is one of action. Albion (whose association with Caroline England had recently been underlined by Charles's *Albion's Triumph*) is understood to have been chosen by Saphira for solitude, implicitly because of its lack of connection with the worlds of Castile and Navarre. She is imagined to have lived there in relative obscurity, effectively dead to the world beyond its borders, until the news of her physical demise found its way to Genorio's ears. Albion effaces Saphira's natal identity (just as *Albion's Triumph* incorporated the figure of Alba into its nationalistic economy). It is an internationally apolitical realm, abstracted from the conflicts of its neighbours, encouraging a peaceful philosophy of beauty which ultimately, and disturbingly, leads to its Princess's complete effacement in death. In contrast to the 'real' Saphira/Bellessa's active leadership and participation on the world stage, this Saphira's life has been sterile and her potential unrealised.

The Shepherds' Paradise, therefore, obliquely criticises both the idealised neoplatonism propounded in masques like *Albion's Triumph* and the non-interventionist politics of the Caroline regime. While the solutions to discord it puts forward are based upon marriage and dynastic alliance, rather than the military intervention pushed for by Henrietta Maria and her adherents, it nevertheless proposes that women might have a role to play in the international arena. If it does nothing else, through its figuration of Bellessa as a Queen, it dramatises female authority while, at the same time, invoking a ideal of feminine behaviour similar to the chaste, but public, spirituality proposed by de Sales.

Academic pursuits: chasing faith in the Queen's pastoral

While the Queen's politics in 1633 were, if not entirely anti-French, then certainly anti-Richelieu, her pastoral, like *Artenice* before it, still drew on French cultural and religious forms in order to maintain her specific iconography. *The Shepherds' Paradise* presented a vision of female agency compatible with the spiritualised neoplatonism popular in devout circles in Paris, and drew upon religious imagery to underline Henrietta Maria's status as the Catholic daughter of France. Erica Veevers has commented that the rules which govern the community of the Shepherds' Paradise 'are those of a tightly organized group, not unlike those of a religious order', and that the activities of the society, 'with its vows, ceremonies, priests, altar, temple, and prayers', are carried out 'with a religious solemnity' (Veevers, pp. 43-4). Responding to Veevers' theories, Sarah Poynting has countered that 'the representation of a religious order as consisting of both men and women whose central concern is love owes as much to a hostile Protestant stereotype as to a Catholic model'. She observes that for Veevers to read *The Shepherds' Paradise* as consistent with Montagu's later spiritual essays constitutes a failure 'to recognise how much [he] changed in the intervening decade', and proposes that the pastoral's world is largely secular (Poynting, pp. 156-7). While her arguments are persuasive, they are focused entirely upon the figure of Montagu as playwright, and do not take into consideration the pastoral's status as a production paid for and enacted by the Queen. My own opinion is that the sanctuary of the Shepherds' Paradise does bear deliberate comparison with the institution of the convent, and that it also has connections with the neoplatonic academies popular in Renaissance Italy and France. The pastoral's religious vision is certainly not consistent, but neither is its political allegory nor its philosophical position. Rather, it represents faith in an allusive way, compatible with that presented in *Artenice*, demonstrating that it is conducive to an harmonious social existence, but is not necessarily something that must dominate it. In addition, and again like *Artenice*, the pastoral's allusions to religious institutions provide a convenient framework through which to limit the subversive nature of female rule,

circumscribing the bucolic community with gender-prescriptive laws that are seen as natural because they are apparently ordained by heaven.

The location of the Shepherds' Paradise was chosen, we are told, because it was 'secur'd by natures impregnablenes, as if it was meant for Chastity only to make a plantation here' (II. i. 847-9). Chastity is naturalised by nature's provision of a space for its protection, creating the impression that the society is organised as a reflection of preordained, fixed, natural laws. The Shepherds' Paradise is as chaste as the human bodies it encloses for, 'at one passage only the Rockes seeme to open themselves, wch is mainteyn'd by a Garrison of the kings' (II. i. 849-51). The chastity of the location is guarded by soldiers, just as the chastity of a nun is guarded by the Church, or the chastity of a wife by her husband. Nonetheless, the natural impregnability of the rocks diffuses the implication of the soldiers' presence by constructing chastity as something provided for by nature, mystifying its benefits to society through the insistence that it is incontrovertibly 'natural'.

Similarly, the laws which govern the Shepherds' Paradise, strongly reminiscent of the rules set out for convents, operate within a conservative, heterosexual framework, even when they appear to be praising women's rational autonomy. Although the sanctuary of the Shepherds' Paradise is maintained for both men and women, it is governed by a Queen annually elected by the female members of the group alone. The election is represented in the text through the eyes of Agenor and Basilino, disguised as Genorio and Moramante, who ask Votorio, the sanctuary's priest, to explain why the Queen is chosen by an exclusively female electorate. Votorio replies that men are excluded because to include them would be to make them judges in their own causes:

Since there is noe man but hath a particuler interest that doth p^rpossesse his choyce; whereas all women are rather Inquisitors, then Admirators one of another, & being voyd of passion noe freindshipp, can incline them to yeild priority in beauty: & so 'twas thought most probable, & where most of them agreed to yeild, the advantage must be vnquestionable. (II. i. 874-9)

Votorio asserts that men were believed by the sanctuary's foundress to have a vested interest in the subject of female beauty. Masculine judgement is represented as polluted by desire, and thus as subjective and flawed. However, the standard against which female beauty is measured remains uncontested in the pastoral, and is undoubtedly conceived along heterosexual and patrilineal lines. The sanctuary's laws state that the Queen must be aged less than thirty and that her beauty must be most considered in her election. Within the economy of neoplatonism, physical beauty is the manifestation of inner virtue; through this extremely convenient conflation, the Shepherds' Paradise's Queen is effectively chosen for her suitability as a chaste wife and mother. In addition, the reasons given for an exclusively female electorate represent women as intrinsically competitive, dividing them one from another in their vanity and their implicit competition over men. Although providing a very qualified image of masculine judgement and thus enabling women to assert themselves as the arbiters of aesthetic choice, the pastoral does not, in effect, escape from its grounding in a discourse of heterosexuality that equates femininity with chaste beauty and which maintains division between women.

However, the election of a woman by women does conjure up the fantasy of the Catholic convent, foregrounding a feminocentric organisation within which women govern themselves (albeit through laws decreed by men). Certain of the Paradise's laws deliberately evoke monastic vows, even down to the vocabulary they deploy. For example, the rules of the Visitandine nuns patronised by Henrietta Maria in the 1650s stated that a mother superior would be elected by the other sisters for a fixed term of three years, following 'la pluralité des voix'.⁴⁹ In *The Shepherds' Paradise*, the Queen is elected for the fixed term of a year 'by the plurality of the sisters voyces' (II. i. 731-3). Similarly, in a Visitandine convent, all goods are to be common, just as 'there is noe propriety of any thing among the Society' (II. i. 750). Nevertheless, the Shepherds'

⁴⁹Saint François de Sales, *Regles de Saint Augustin et Constitutions pour les Soeurs Religieuses de la Visitation sainte Marie* (Lyon: Vincent de Coeursillys, 1645), p. 242 and p. 312. De Sales's text is based on Saint Augustine's rules for the Carmelite sisters. The Order of the Visitation was conceived in 1607, and de Sales died in 1622.

Paradise's mixed-sex ethos and philosophy of love is not entirely consistent with Catholic ideals and, as Poynting has observed, does resemble hostile Protestant stereotypes, as much as it does a Catholic model (Poynting, p. 157). This does not necessarily mean, though, that *The Shepherds' Paradise* is an entirely secular pastoral whose Catholic allusions are used in a way that 'undermines [their] religious connotations' (Poynting, p. 157). The allusions to faith provide a spiritual framework within which women's social conversation with men can be enacted. This certainly makes the Shepherds' Paradise more like a Parisian *salon* than a Catholic convent, but it does not negate the importance of faith as a way of conserving chastity within the secular sphere.

In its geography, its isolation, and its binding rules, the Shepherds' Paradise bears a passing resemblance to the community established by the King of Navarre in *Love's Labours Lost*. This youthful idyll (itself reminiscent of the Fontainebleau academy patronised by François I) is subjected to gentle mockery in Shakespeare's play when the noblemen's vows of chastity are broken by the problematic arrival of the Princess of France. What ensues is a series of linguistically playful courtships and the exposure of the pose of the languishing Petrarchan lover. *The Shepherds' Paradise*, too, punctures the pretensions of extreme neoplatonism, and presents its rural retreat as a place of interaction between the sexes. The Paradise is a place where people talk and learn about love, much in the manner of the academies and *salons* of Florence and Paris. Indeed, this connection is underlined by the costume of Votorio, the Paradise's priest, which was copied by Inigo Jones from the figure of Plato in Raphael's 'School of Athens' (Orgel and Strong, 2, p. 522). Poynting has described Votorio as acting 'more as a combination of vice-chamberlain and tour guide than as a priest' (Poynting, p. 156). However, the image he presented in the pastoral's *production* was one that alluded to platonism, to an academy, and, because the fresco was painted for the Vatican, to the fact that they were sanctioned inside Catholicism.

The text of *The Shepherds' Paradise* might, on occasion, satirise Catholic ritual by deploying it in the service of love, yet this does not mean that the play necessarily had a secular impulse. While the figure of a convent-like retreat imbued with *salon*

qualities was certainly satirised in Protestant texts,⁵⁰ it also found expression in one particular French humanist work whose influence was profoundly felt upon the Caroline court stage. Rabelais's *Gargantua* figures the mixed-sex retreat of the abbaye de Thélème, a community of *religieux* and *religieuses* whose lives are governed by the injunction 'FAIS CE QUE VOUDRAS' [do what you will]. This injunction is in place because:

les gens libres, bien nés, bien instruits, conversant en honnêtes compagnies, ont, par nature, un instinct et un stimulant qui les pousse toujours à accomplir de vertueuses actions et à s'éloigner du vice.⁵¹

[free people, well born, well educated, conversing in honest companies, have, by nature, an instinct and incentive which always pushes them to virtuous action and makes them distance themselves from vice.]

Thélème's noble and devout young people spend all their days in luxury, hawking, courting and swilling large quantities of wine in a manner that makes an obvious mockery of the convent ideal. Their activities are, of course, represented as profoundly virtuous because they abide by a *salon*-inspired code of honour. Rabelais's text, therefore, satirises the institutions of both the convent and the *salon* at the same time as it appears to approve of the ethos of the abbaye de Thélème. Most significantly, and in a way that is important for an understanding of *The Shepherds' Paradise*, it was a popular hit in France: French society knew how to laugh at itself.

One of Thélème's very interesting conventions is its stance on marriage. The community's statutes decree that, if a young gallant decides to leave the abbaye, he can

⁵⁰Written in the 1650s, Andrew Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House' is a good example of the conflation of *salon* culture with the space of the convent. The 'Suttle Nunns' of Nun Appleton tempt the virgin Thwaites to join their community of 'Virgin- Amazons', offering a vision of female power within which each woman is 'a Spouse, and each a Queen'. Demanding honourable service from Fairfax as her 'Devoto', not her 'Love', Thwaites's beauty makes her the most fit person to draw the other nuns 'to perfection', and it is this, she is told, that will establish her as abbess. 'Upon Appleton House' demonises the pre-Reformation nuns in terms which, whether consciously or unconsciously, also demonise the court culture associated with Henrietta Maria. See Marvell, ed. Margoliouth, 1, pp. 62-86.

⁵¹François Rabelais, *Gargantua – Pantagruel: les cinq livres. Version intégrale en français moderne*, 2 vols (Paris: SACELP, 1988), 1, p. 189.

take with him one of the ladies, to whom he must then get married (Rabelais, 1, p. 190).

This injunction prefigures the Paradise's law that:

every yeare at the Election of the Queene, what brother or sister shall desire to retire out of the Order, vpon designe of marriage, shall then (vpon their demaund) be lycenc'd. (II. i. 739-41)

Echoes of Rabelais's text fill *The Shepherds' Paradise*, demonstrating that the pastoral did not just have to draw upon a serious French Catholic model like d'Urfé's *L'Astrée*, but that an alternative, and humourous precedent was also available.

Sarah Poynting has identified several moments of somewhat coarse humour within Montagu's play, remarking that these 'may have been slipped in by Montagu to amuse himself or his friends' (Poynting, p. 133). When she later remarks that a sexual pun uttered by the crossdressed actress playing Moramante 'was presumably productive of amusement or pleasure (of a different kind) for some spectators', we realise that the 'friends' she intends are implicitly masculine (Poynting, p. 133). The play's humour is attributed to masculine genius, conceived for the amusement of a male audience. Henrietta Maria's participation in this playfulness is, if not denied, then certainly not explicitly included. However, as I will discuss in the next chapter, a production like *The Temple of Love* could contain sly allusions both to the Queen's household and to its sexual misconduct. (Interestingly, *The Temple of Love* also included a character named Thelema, or Free Will.) Henrietta Maria cannot be considered to have been either entirely innocent, or devoid of humour, and had already taken part in at least one production that invoked Rabelaisian burlesque. In November 1626, she danced in a masque in which Buckingham contentiously played a fencing master to Gargantua, 'son and heir to Pantagruel'.⁵² In addition, as Anne Lake Prescott has demonstrated, many of the designs for Caroline antimasque costumes were drawn from a book attributed to

⁵²Letter to the Rev. Joseph Mead, 3rd December 1626; Birch, *Court and Times*, 1, p. 180. The letter states that Gargantua was son and heir to Pantagruel, when, in Rabelais's text, it was Pantagruel who was Gargantua's son. Whether this was the error of Mead's correspondent, or of the masque poet, we will probably never know. Rabelaisian humour was also popular within French court ballet and was the subject of a whole production sponsored by Gaston d'Orléans, Henrietta Maria's brother, in 1627.

Rabelais, introducing aspects of French popular culture into the Vitruvian and neoplatonic visions of the masques.⁵³

The production of *The Shepherds' Paradise* was a collaborative effort that involved both the King's administrators and the Queen's household. Written by Montagu, it intervened in international politics as well as commenting obliquely upon the problematic relationship between a poet and his patron. Performed by Henrietta Maria, it opened a space on the stage from which the Queen could assert her own identity and could explore the phenomenon of women's public speech. The sort of neoplatonism it presented was not the supremely metaphysical ideal of the Florentine academies, but a tempered philosophy informed by thinkers such as Saint François de Sales. It evoked the spectre of the convent in a playful and humourous manner that called to mind the mixed-sex groupings of the *salons*, and did not shirk from gently mocking its own pretensions. It is at once sadly ironic and inevitable that, historically, it has suffered the same fate as the poem of 'impossibility' penned by the hyperbolic Martiro. Condemned by its critics as impossible to understand, it has, until recently, been almost universally ignored. Although written by a man, by showcasing the feminocentric fashion of the Queen's household, and by permitting women to perform themselves on the stage, it ran the risk of rendering itself incomprehensible within a culture that privileged masculine linguistic exchange. *The Shepherds' Paradise* has been dismissed as an expression of facile neoplatonism, as the frivolous plaything of a Queen whose unthinking and militant Catholicism led to the outbreak of Civil War. Its virtual invisibility within modern criticism demonstrates the difficulty of re-membering women's histories and of capturing the echoes of their voices.

⁵³See Anne Lake Prescott, 'The Stuart Masque and Pantagruel's Dreams', *English Literary History*, 51:3 (1984), 407-30, *passim*.

CHAPTER 6

A Means to an End : Divine Providence and *The Temple of Love*

And I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king to them all: and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all.

Ezekiel 37.22

Henrietta Maria's next big dramatic production was William Davenant's masque, *The Temple of Love*, performed at least three times during the second week of February (on the 10th, 11th, 12th, and possibly the 14th of the month) as part of the court's 1635 Shrovetide celebrations. Martin Butler has suggested that this number of repetitions indicates that the Queen had a particular message to convey to the court, and attributes to the masque a certain political agenda.¹ Erica Veevers, in her turn, links the masque to the arrival in England of Gregorio Panzani, the papal agent, and to the recent completion of a Catholic chapel for the Queen at Somerset House, thus attributing to the masque a specific proselytising impulse (Veevers, pp. 135-6).

The Temple of Love can certainly be read as dramatising the restoration of the true Church in England thanks to the divinely ordained marriage of the Caroline royal couple. However, while, on one level, it retells the story of Henrietta Maria's arrival on England's shores, reinvoking the Catholic hopes bound up with the marriage, it also deploys motifs prevalent in Caroline iconography that celebrate the unity of the royal couple, effecting a synthesis between Charles's British heroism and the Queen's cult of love. The masque is not an unqualified advertisement for Catholicism. Furthermore, like *The Shepherds' Paradise* before it, it is also somewhat ambivalent on the subject of neoplatonism.

Gerald Eades Bentley has remarked that Davenant's 'dutiful handling of the queen's favourite subject of Platonic love' may have promoted his court career.² However, neoplatonism is not dutifully evoked in *The Temple of Love*, but is subjected

¹See Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis 1632-1642* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1984; repr. 1987), p. 29.

²Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 3, p. 218.

to a playful critique, a fact that Kevin Sharpe attributes to the poet's own scepticism about the fashion.³ Sharpe's reading of the masque, like Poynting's interpretation of *The Shepherds' Paradise*, effectively cuts Henrietta Maria out of the circuit of wits who recognise and understand the poet's satire. This promulgates an image of the Queen's ignorance and sets her apart from a more intellectual (and implicitly masculine) court audience. Nevertheless, I find it impossible to accept that Henrietta Maria could have sponsored two major theatrical productions by two separate authors in such relatively quick succession without being aware of their irreverent stance towards neoplatonism. The common denominator between these productions is not masculine scepticism, but the Queen herself, giving rise to an image of Henrietta Maria as a critic of her own fashion, and not as a woman who unthinkingly replicated the culture of France.

The masque's printed argument explains that Divine Poesy (the secretary of Nature) has been sent by Fate to Indamora, Queen of Narsinga (represented by Queen Henrietta Maria) to inform her that the Temple of Chaste Love is soon to be re-established on her island. The Temple has been hidden in mists by Divine Poesy to protect it from the intemperate designs of certain magicians, enemies to chaste love. Frustrated in their plans to appropriate the Temple of Chaste Love, the magicians have sought to hinder anyone else from reaching it, and have misled many knights and ladies. Hearing of the fame of the Temple, a company of noble Persian youths have embarked on a quest to discover it, and have managed to escape the magicians' seductions because a part of the true Temple has been revealed to them by Divine Poesy. Divine Poesy then sends Orpheus, her chief priest, assisted by the Brahmin guardians of the Temple, to calm the sea so that Indamora can arrive safely on the island. Indamora arrives, Sunesis (Understanding) and Thelema (Free Will) sing together, the true Temple appears, and Amianteros (Chaste Love) descends 'to invoke the last and living hero, Indamora's royal lover, that he [might] help and witness the consecration of it'.⁴

³Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, pp. 244-7.

⁴William Davenant, *The Temple of Love*, in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 2, p. 600, ll. 40-1. All subsequent line references to *The Temple of Love* will be to this edition.

The Temple of Love does have a strong basis in neoplatonism, a fact that can be illustrated by a comparison between its conceit and two passages extracted from Ficino's *Commentary*. Speech VI of the *Commentary* is an exegesis upon Diotima's discourse in Plato's *Symposium* and discusses the 'cruel lot of lovers'. A lover's life is described as 'more wretched than any death':

unless perhaps [the] soul, snatched out of its own body by this violence of love, will also neglect the image of the beloved and betake itself to the temple of the divine splendor, where at last it will find rest, where it will be satisfied. (Ficino, pp. 123-4)

Bypassing the image of the beloved, the soul of a desperate lover finds solace in contemplation of 'the temple of the divine splendor' in a manner compatible with the masque's spiritualised conceit of the Temple of Chaste Love. In addition, Ficino's exegesis explains that:

lovers, blinded by the clouds of love, often accept false things for true, while they think that their beloveds are more beautiful, more intelligent, or better than they are. They contradict themselves on account of the vehemence of love, for reason considers one thing, and concupiscence pursues another. (Ficino, p. 126)

This sentiment resounds with the conceit of mists and clouds raised in the masque by Divine Poesy to protect the Temple of Chaste Love. It also has a bearing upon the false enchantments conjured up by the antimasque magicians in order to mislead questing lovers. *The Temple of Love* has an agenda similar to that of *Tempe Restored*. Its antimasque figures exist in a world of error, wandering from material thing to material thing; they are the prisoners of their senses and, at best, are only able to perceive the shadow of the truth behind the concealing mists of worldly metaphor. The masque's re-establishment of the Temple of Chaste Love both reveals the illusions of the antimasque and uncovers the existence of an immortal truth behind the fallen world.

Because of this, it might be argued that *The Temple of Love* is related to Catholic desires for the re-establishment of the Roman Church in Britain, and that it

demonstrates the wished-for emergence of the true faith from behind the mists of English religious error. Erica Veevers has discussed the masque in precisely these terms, relating it to Panzani's arrival in England, and to the building of the Queen's chapel. Her argument is perceptive but, nonetheless, seeks to lock *The Temple of Love* to a single interpretative reading based largely upon the history of Panzani's mission. For Veevers, the 'Indian' side of the masque, ruled over by Indamora, represents England, and the 'Persian' side, those who arrive on the English shore. The magicians are 'perhaps a reference to Jesuit priests who were suspected of harming Panzani's mission', while 'the arrival of 'Orpheus' would have been appropriate as a reference to Panzani, who was a priest of the Oratory, an order noted for its music' (Veevers, pp. 135-42). Veevers' interpretation denies the masque its fluidity by locking it down to a specific allegory. She interprets it as a more-or-less direct reflection upon historical events and, in keeping with this reading, proposes that it 'may have been an opportunity to make a semi-public presentation of Panzani's embassy to the King' (Veevers, p. 135). While allowing that Catholics and non-Catholics would have different opinions of the masque's significations, Veevers nonetheless imagines that the production's message was the same for both parties. In 'Catholic eyes' Charles's approval of the masque, and, more importantly, of the Somerset House chapel, was a 'crowning triumph', while 'non-Catholics' might have cause to fear that the conversions to chaste love staged in the masque would be mirrored in the world by conversions to the Queen's religion (Veevers, pp. 141-2).

The Temple of Love should not simply be reduced to a direct historical allegory grounded upon the arrival in England of Panzani. Panzani's embassy certainly focused English attention upon the Queen's religion, provoking a spate of conversions to Rome, and permitting Henrietta Maria to take a more active role in negotiations between the Pope and her husband. Nonetheless, the masque, while it undoubtedly contains strong allusions to Catholicism, is embedded within Stuart masquing tradition and incorporates into itself the imagery of the King's British heroism. Significantly, it involves the participation of two distinct groups of masquers: the ladies who danced with the Queen, and a group of noblemen who danced the roles of the Persian youths. It is, therefore,

quite unlike Henrietta Maria's earlier masques in that its main action involves a group of men who would ordinarily have danced with the King. In 1635, there was no King's production, so *The Temple of Love*, like *Salmacida Spolia* after it, has the air of a double masque, involving members of both the royal households. Furthermore, *The Temple of Love*'s structural conceit connects it overtly with marriage masques like Jonson's *Hymenaei*, written in 1606 to celebrate the marriage of the Earl of Essex and Lady Frances Howard, which also made use of two groups of male and female masquers.⁵ The Queen's production dramatises a coming together of the Stuart courts and has a vested interest in the idea of marriage. Like *The Shepherds' Paradise* before it, it stages a representation of two nations and proposes that discord and deceit can be dispelled by the influence of chaste love. It strives to maintain the fiction of the harmonious royal union, putting into play neoplatonic strategies which stress the purity of the royal couple's mutual affection.

The Temple of Love demonstrates clearly how Charles's British heroism was easily compatible with Henrietta Maria's neoplatonic fashion. The masque's plot was drawn from an Italian equestrian festival, *Il Tempio d'Amore*, presented in 1565 at the marriage of Duke Alphonse II and Barbara d'Autriche.⁶ *Il Tempio d'Amore* staged a combat between *chevaliers* corrupted by female magicians and *chevaliers* dedicated to the worship of Diana.⁷ Both troops of *chevaliers* strove to attain the temple of love, from which they could then ascend to the temple of virtue and then to the temple of honour. Eventually, Diana's *chevaliers* were proved to be triumphant, the magicians were revealed in their true repulsive aspects, their palace of illusion disappeared, and the way was left clear to the temple of love. A printed allegorical gloss accompanying the text of the combat revealed the theme of the production to have been inspired by platonic ideas for the glorification of the love of the ducal couple.⁸

⁵See Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, 7, pp. 203-41.

⁶See Veevers, *Images*, p. 221, n. 30. Here again, the Queen's masque had a close connection with a previous history of marriage, gathering to itself images associated with another nuptial event.

⁷In this respect, *Il Tempio d'Amore* is similar to Campion's *The Lord Hay's Masque*, performed at the marriage of James Hay and Honora Denny in 1607.

⁸For a description of this festival, see Irène Mamczarz, 'Une fête équestre à Ferrare: *Il Tempio d'Amore* (1565)', *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance III*, ed. Jean Jacquot and Elie Konigson (Paris: Editions du Centre

The main neoplatonic message of the Italian combat was carried in the decorations conceived for its temple of love, which included statues of Appetite (expressing the desire to go into action), Reason, Deliberation, and Resolution. Latin devices completed the symbolism and it was understood that, by penetrating into the temple, one penetrated love's secrets and experienced grace (Mamczarz, pp. 357-8). What becomes evident from a comparison of the text of *Il Tempio d'Amore* with *The Temple of Love* is the way the Queen's masque not only replicates the Italian combat's neoplatonic conceit, but also makes use of its Roman triumphal imagery in a manner compatible with Charles's iconography. The year before *The Temple of Love*, Charles had danced in *Coelum Britannicum*, a masque which dramatised the renovation of the ancient heavens after the model of the Caroline union. The King's production, with its message of chaste renovation, was part of a wider programme of reform at the Caroline court which sought to eliminate impiety and all forms of excess. Indeed, as Elias Ashmole, the historian of the Order of the Garter, observed: 'King Charles I designed and endeavoured the most complete and absolute reformation of any of his predecessors'.⁹

An investigation into the Order of the Garter itself provides some valuable information about the King's spiritualised iconography. Roy Strong has noted that, under Charles, the Garter Festival on each St George's Day became less a public spectacle and more a pattern 'of the High Church Ceremonial so loathed by the Puritans'.¹⁰ Furthermore, he observes that Charles changed the Garter badge to enhance its religious imagery by adding 'a huge aureola of silver rays [...] in emulation of the

National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975), pp. 349-372. It is interesting to speculate how the Stuart court acquired a copy of this entertainment. Mamczarz notes that *Il Tempio d'Amore* exists in two editions, one (dated 1566) in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (and in the Folger Library, Washington), the other (dated 1567) in the Vatican library, Rome. Panzani's *Memoirs* note that Walter Montagu, visiting Rome in the 1630s, returned home (via Paris) laden with gifts from Cardinal Barberini. At a similar time, Barberini was corresponding with the future Cardinal Mazarin in Paris about suitable presents with which to woo Charles and Henrietta Maria to the Catholic cause; see *The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, ed. Joseph Berington (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson and R. Falder, 1793), pp. 191-3. It is therefore possible that *Il Tempio d'Amore* reached England as a gift connected with Panzani's mission.

⁹Elias Ashmole, *The History of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London: A. Bell, 1715), p. 148.

¹⁰Roy Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback* (London: Allen Lane, 1972), pp. 59-60.

French order of the holy spirit' (Strong, *Van Dyck*, p. 60). This adaptation demonstrates the manner in which French religious imagery could be recycled in a Protestant context, and has a pertinent connection with *The Temple of Love* for it shows that spiritualised imagery upon the court stage does not necessarily have to have Catholic connotations.

John Adamson has described how the chivalric iconography preferred by Charles broke with Elizabethan and Jacobean precedents, distancing itself from the spectacle of the tournament in favour of 'supposedly purer and more ancient traditions'.¹¹ He remarks that *Coelum Britannicum* operated as an allegory of the King's repudiation of old-fashioned knighthood, replacing this with 'a new, purified, order of [...] men distinguished by moral virtues' (Adamson, pp. 171-2). Indeed, in a song by its Chorus to the Queen, *Coelum Britannicum* privileged Love and Beauty as the goals of a virtuous journey, explaining how, 'thus the darlings of the Gods/ From Honours Temple, to the Shrine/ Of Beauty and these sweet abodes/ Of Loue we guide' (ll. 1024-7). This image is entirely compatible with the appearance of the Temple of Chaste Love in the Queen's masque and demonstrates how love and virtue were accorded precedence within the Caroline couple's iconography. Rather than being an unqualified reference to the Queen's religion, *The Temple of Love* replicates both the iconography of *Coelum Britannicum* and that subtending the Order of the Garter, participating in the impulse of moral reform prevalent at the Caroline court and privileging the royal couple's harmonious union.

Nonetheless, despite its strong thematic interest in the ideal of chaste love, Kevin Sharpe has proposed that the masque demonstrates an ambivalence about the philosophy of neoplatonism through the images of sterility that it uses to evoke the chastity of Indamora's followers.¹² Similarly, Kathleen McLuskie has commented that the production's antimasque magicians provide 'an all too coherent attack on the affectation of platonic lovers who "practise generation not/ Of Bodies but of Soules"'.¹³

¹¹J. S. A. Adamson, 'Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England', *Culture and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 161-97 (p. 177).

¹²Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, pp. 244-7.

¹³Kathleen McLuskie, 'The Plays and the Playwrights: 1613-42', *The Revels History of Drama in English IV, 1613-1660*, ed. Philip Edwards (London: Routledge, 1981; repr. 1996), pp. 129-258 (p. 146).

Read in the context of Charles's domestic reforms, though, *The Temple of Love* is a festive occasion which, through the use of mild satire, softens the severity of the monarch's moralistic policies and unifies the court. In *The Shepherds' Paradise*, gentle fun was poked at the excessively neoplatonic lover, Martiro. In *The Temple of Love*, the excesses of neoplatonism are mocked in a manner which then permits the masque to showcase a standard of moderate behaviour more acceptable to its courtly audience.

Describing the chaste innovations brought to the world by Indamora, one of *The Temple of Love's* magicians explains:

Certain young lords at first disliked the philosophy,
As most uncomfortable, sad, and new,
But soon inclined to a superior vote,
And are grown as good Platonical lovers
As are to be found in an hermitage. (ll. 223-7)

This reference to the disaffected young lords folds out from the masque into the historical reality of Charles's court. For example, in 1627, Jacques Gaultier, one of the Queen's French musicians, was arrested and tried for allegedly assaulting the daughter of the Earl of Carlisle. In 1632, assisted by the Earl of Holland, Lord Doncaster, Carlisle's son, married Lady Margaret Russell, daughter of the Earl of Bedford, without his father's knowledge and against his consent. In 1633, the Earl of Holland was placed under house arrest for challenging Lord Weston's son, Jerome, to a duel, and, at the end of the same year, Eleanor Villiers, one of Henrietta Maria's ladies in waiting, gave birth to the illegitimate child of Henry Jermyn.¹⁴ The case of Jermyn is particularly apposite in the context of *The Temple of Love* for it is closely associated with ideas of chastity and marriage. Furthermore, William Davenant, the masque's poet, dedicated his 1636 satirical play, *The Platonic Lovers*, to Jermyn, associating the courtier with a tongue-in-cheek production compatible with the masque's mockery of neoplatonic love.

¹⁴To these misdemeanours can be added the 1632 prosecution of the laird of Lusse for incest, the rape trial of the Earl of Castlehaven, the imprisonment of the Earl of Arundel for complicity in his son's ill-advised marriage, and the disapproval directed at the Marquis of Hamilton for his refusal to cohabit with his wife.

Having been committed to the Tower and threatened with banishment from court, Jermyn steadfastly refused to wed Eleanor, and eventually appeared back at court, unmarried, his credit with the Queen apparently intact. *The Temple of Love's* representation of the young lords' youthful misdemeanours occurs, therefore, at the expense of Jermyn and others like him. However, it also implies their complicity in the joke, and therefore their presence at the masque. Indeed, both Doncaster, Carlisle's son, and Thomas, the brother of Jerome Weston, were members of the group of male actors who danced as noble Persian youths in the masque. By satirising the excesses of neoplatonism, *The Temple of Love* softens the seriousness of the young lords' previous misdemeanours. In addition, establishing a thematic parallel between its fiction and historical reality, the masque constructs a boundary and invokes a spirit of community in its audience. Jermyn's banishment to the Tower and the threat of his perpetual exclusion from the court served precisely to define the parameters of that court. For a time, Jermyn existed in a liminal state beyond a court circumscribed by its standards of chastity and marriage. In making him the butt of a joke, *The Temple of Love*, as a product of the court, not only recuperates Jermyn, giving him back his privileged position *inside* the court's boundaries, but also generates a sense of community among the members of the audience who understand the joke. The masque's assertion that the young lords have fallen in line with neoplatonic chastity not only demonstrates the unified nature of Indamora's train, but, through a humorous moment of festive satire which extends the masque fiction out to the audience, demonstrates the boundaries of, and the unity within, Charles's establishment.

If the young lords' misdemeanours are partly an allusion to the disgraces of Jermyn and Doncaster, it is also significant that they are invoked in a Queen's masque. Jermyn was one of Henrietta Maria's favourites, while Doncaster's marriage was facilitated by Holland, her close associate. If one adds to this the rape trial of Jacques Gaultier, one of her musicians, then the masque serves as an apology for incontinent behaviour within Henrietta Maria's own household and as a promise that it won't be repeated. In effect, it connects the Queen's household with the standards of moral chastity promoted and policed by the King. In this way, the masque becomes a clear

demonstration of the manner in which Henrietta Maria's neoplatonic fashion and Charles's British heroism were combined in Caroline iconography both to emphasise unity and to assert a moral imperative. The Queen's masque and the King's monarchical policies have the same unified goal.

The Temple of Love's promotion of the royal couple's mutual compatibility is mirrored in, and reinforced by, other mid-1630s cultural productions, locating the masque firmly inside the parameters of Stuart iconography. The Queen's masque concludes with the descent of Amianteros from the heavens bearing 'two garlands of laurel in one hand, and crowned with another of the same' (ll. 491-2). As Sunesis and Thelema are described as already wearing wreaths, Amianteros's garlands are likely to be destined for Charles and Henrietta Maria under the State. The gift of such garlands evokes the Van Dyck image of the royal couple that was painted for Somerset House between 1632 and 1634 and which illustrates the fruitful reciprocity of their union. Notably, Van Dyck's painting was engraved by Robert van Voerst in 1634, thus making the image of royal union available to a wider public and underlining the significance attached to this particular monarchical emblem.

Jonson's entertainment for the Earl of Newcastle, welcoming the monarchs to Bolsover in 1634, plays upon the same idea of amorous reciprocity, taking the motifs of Eros and Anteros to demonstrate the harmonious circularity of love. Like Jonson's *Love's Triumph* in 1631, *Love's Welcome at Bolsover* draws upon neoplatonic ideas and demonstrates love's circularity through its use of vocal harmonies which are imagined to reflect the natural movements of the world. The entertainment's two Cupids quarrel over a palm frond which is then symbolically divided, the palm's emblematic association with peace being glossed by Anteros: 'And by this sweet Contention for the *Palme*,/ Unite our appetites, and make them calme'.¹⁵ Charles and Henrietta Maria are lauded as the offspring of James I (a peaceful monarch who endows his son with strength), and Henri IV (representing strength out of which comes sweetness), the entertainment concluding with the prayer:

¹⁵Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, 7, p. 812, ll. 131-2.

So in you, joyn'd by holy marriage in the flower and ripenesse of yeares, live the promise of a numerous Succession to your Sceptres, and a strength to secure your owne Ilands, with their owne Ocean, but more your owne Palme-branches, the Types of perpetuall Victorie. To which, two words be added, a zealous *Amen*, and ever rounded, with a Crowne of *Welcome*.¹⁶

Love's Welcome locates the potential for peace in the image of the Caroline union, and shows Newcastle's fidelity to his monarchs to be part of the strength that protects the country. The welcome extended by Newcastle to Charles and Henrietta Maria participates in the circle of mutual love which gives identity and force to the nation. Just as Amianteros offers garlands to the royal couple, and as Van Dyck's painting represented the monarchs offering gifts to each other, so Newcastle's entertainment is 'a crown of welcome', playing upon the motifs of mutual reciprocity established by the cultural image of the royal couple's union. The image of the divided palm demonstrates the peace won by Charles's imagined victories over discord, and links back to the conclusion of *Love's Triumph* which invoked a palm tree, topped with an imperial crown and entwined with lilies and roses.

As Stephen Orgel has noted, the image of the palm is taken up in *The Temple of Love* and becomes a constituent part of the masque's exotic oriental conceit. Orgel reads the palms of the masque's Indian shore as emblems of peace which take their meaning from an association with Christ's entry into the holy city. He also remarks that the production (performed at Shrovetide) reflected the rhetoric of Caroline policy which presented 'Britain as the new holy land [and] Charles's court as the new Jerusalem'.¹⁷ His reading of the masque denies the production's status as a Queen's masque and reduces all its meanings to the service of the King. Set alongside Erica Veevers' interpretation of the masque as a Catholicised allegory, his work provides an interesting demonstration of how *The Temple of Love* still has to struggle to contain diametrically opposed forces. What becomes obvious from a comparison of the two readings is the manner in which the masque, and the oriental territory it invokes, are the sites of

¹⁶Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, 7, p. 814, ll. 182-9.

¹⁷Orgel, 'Inigo Jones' Persian Entertainment', p. 63.

ideological conflict. The masque is inevitably crossed by different religious interests, fracturing the imagined unity of the King and Queen's perfect accord and making it impossible to perceive one sole religious agenda behind the production.

Orgel's reading of *The Temple of Love* locates the production within a Protestant context and gives the masque a colonialist agenda through the assertion that the masque's oriental setting contained the 'obvious political allusion' to the eastward direction in which Charles's imperial ambitions were moving in the 1630s.¹⁸ He supports this assertion with the observation that William Feilding, the Earl of Denbigh and brother-in-law of the late Duke of Buckingham, had spent the years 1631-3 on an embassy to Persia and India. However, here again, his reading falls foul of its single perspective. The Caroline court's greatest interests in colonisation and privateering were focused around courtiers such as the Earls of Warwick and Holland, both of whom were members of the Queen's circle. *The Temple of Love* was, after all, a Queen's masque, and the Earl of Denbigh, although one of the King's ambassadors, was the husband of the influential Susan Feilding, mistress of the Queen's Wardrobe. Thus, while it is quite possible that the eastern theme of the masque was inspired by Denbigh's trip to the Orient, the use of Oriental motifs in *The Temple of Love* provides not only an indication of Charles's foreign policy but also a means through which the preoccupations of the Queen and her associates may be explored.¹⁹ Promoting an iconography of chaste love compatible with Charles's British heroism, *The Temple of Love* is connected, paradoxically, both to the Protestant privateering of Henrietta Maria's associates, and yet also to proselytising Catholicism.

Courtiers such as Warwick and Holland supported the desire for a vigorous foreign policy, combining a concern for the restoration of the Palatinate with aggression against Spain.²⁰ Rather than get involved in war in Europe, England fought out her battles on foreign seas, the Americas and the Indies becoming conceptual spaces upon

¹⁸Orgel, 'Plato, the Magi, and Caroline Politics', p. 663.

¹⁹Denbigh returned from his trip with examples of 'Mesopotamia cloth' and an old Pagan coat, curiosities which may well have inspired the designs for the masque.

²⁰Smuts, 'Puritan Followers', p. 33.

English stages within which triumph over Spain could safely be imagined. In 1635, moreover, the interests of the Queen's circle, the hopes of European Catholicism, and the King's foreign policy were juxtaposed in the negotiations surrounding Panzani's embassy to England. Secretary Windebank, representing Charles, and Panzani, the representative of papal interests, negotiated from positions which attempted to trade help for the Palatinate against an officially recognised Catholic presence in England.

Henrietta Maria's court party, far from being militantly Catholic, fervently supported the Palatine cause, as Martin Butler's investigation into the drama of 1635-7 has shown.²¹ Indeed, in 1636, a plan was hatched to send the Palatine Prince, Rupert, on a voyage to conquer Madagascar that was later memorialised in a poem by Davenant.²² Although the plan to take anti-Spanish aggression to the West Indies postdates Davenant's masque, *The Temple of Love's* exotic theme nonetheless participates in the colonialist impulse of the court, connecting the masque to foreign territories where imperialistic conflicts could safely be acted out. On one hand, *The Temple of Love* is connected to the concerns of the Queen's Protestant servants. On the other, it evokes a Catholic desire to see the Roman Church re-established in Britain. Indeed, this impression is compounded by Gregorio Panzani's comment to Cardinal Barberini that the majority of English Catholics 'saw no reason why the Indies should be favoured with bishops, and only England neglected'.²³

Therefore, although *The Temple of Love* establishes the royal union as the foundation stone of its iconography, that union is a particularly unstable ground for it is traversed by various competing desires, always and already inscribed with the different histories of itself. Charles I reputedly maintained that the only point on which his heart was not entirely united with Henrietta Maria's was that of religion.²⁴ Consequently, the perfection of the royal union was always overshadowed by a divided, and potentially

²¹Martin Butler, 'Entertaining the Palatine Prince: Plays on Foreign Affairs, 1635-1637', *English Literary Renaissance*, 13 (1983), 319-44 (p. 341).

²²See *Sir William Davenant*, ed. Gibbs, pp. 10-21.

²³*The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, ed. Berington, p. 183.

²⁴See Jacques Bossuet, *Oraison funèbre de Henriette-Marie de France* (Paris: Delalain Frères, 1905), p. 5.

divisive, faith. While the Queen's neoplatonism could be assimilated to Charles's British iconography, it was also highly compatible with her own Catholicism. What now follows is, therefore, a reading of *The Temple of Love* which takes into account Catholic theology, and which engages with the Catholic hopes that travelled across the Channel with Henrietta Maria in 1625. Instead of replicating Veevers' arguments and suggesting a direct correspondence between the masque's text and historical 'reality', I propose rather to show how the masque is traversed by texts which were themselves idealised renderings of the Caroline couple's union.

Contemporary French descriptions of Henrietta Maria's voyage to England provide a fruitful context within which to read Indamora's entry on to *The Temple of Love's* stage. In the masque, Divine Poesy sends Orpheus, her chief priest, to calm the seas with his harp in order to prepare the way 'That Indamora's voyage may/ Be more delightful and secure' (ll. 401-2). While Veevers suggests that the figure of Orpheus could be a reference to Panzani, the masque's image of a pacified sea recalls French representations of Henrietta Maria's journey across the Channel, and deserves closer attention for it makes a conceptual connection between the masque's re-establishment of the Temple of Chaste Love, and the way Henrietta Maria's marriage was conceived by French Catholics as a divinely ordained proselytising mission.

After her wedding, as I discussed in Chapter 1, Henrietta Maria undertook the journey from Paris to Boulogne, from whence she was to sail for England. In Amiens, a speech was addressed to her by François de Louvencourt, sieur de Vauchelles, which played upon the voyage that she was about to undertake, informing her that gentle zephyrs were preparing to make her passage across the sea peaceful, that the fury of the waves was already abating, and that the gods of the sea were waiting with all respect and good-will to provide her with an escort.²⁵ A week later, the Queen sailed for England. The French newsheet, the *Mercure François*, reported that, before her embarkation, the Channel had been plagued with storms, but that the winds had abated to ease her voyage. An anonymous sonnet entitled 'L'embarquement de la Royne à

²⁵*Mercure François*, 11, p. 371.

Boulogne' corroborated this phenomenon, describing how, overcome by Henrietta Maria's charms, the god Neptune had traversed the sea in his chariot to calm the waves for her passage. Strangely, an hour after her arrival on the English shore, the storms were reported to have begun again with renewed vigour, as though the ocean had only wanted to be calm for the Queen's journey (*Mercure*, 11, p. 395).

Although this meteorological trope is an established one in courtly panegyric, and was invoked, for example, by Edmund Waller in his poem on Prince Charles's journey from Spain, it nevertheless resounds particularly with Indamora's arrival on to the masquing stage.²⁶ Like the Neptune of the anonymous French sonnet, Orpheus calms the waves and Indamora's passage is rendered peaceful and secure. A straightforward interpretation of the masque in the light of historical 'reality' might, therefore, propose that *The Temple of Love* dramatises Henrietta Maria's first arrival in England. However, like Veevers' interpretation of Orpheus as Panzani, such a reading would reduce the masque's meanings to a simple reflection of historical fact, eliding the ideological processes at work both in the masque text and in the French texts by which it is traversed. The French representations of Henrietta Maria's voyage suggest that her marriage has been ordained by God in order to return England to the true faith. A similar divine grammar may be perceived behind *The Temple of Love* which significantly identifies Henrietta Maria/Indamora as 'the delight of destiny' (l. 186), and which declares to Charles, seated under the State, that 'Fate hath made thy reign her choice' (l. 122). The Argument of the masque also declares that it is Fate who has engaged Divine Poesy in the cause of the Temple of Chaste Love (l. 2), and it is Fate's divinely sanctioned intervention that is shown to be the cause of 'Love's blessings' (l. 123). These blessings, from a purely material point of view, are usually translated by masque critics as the princely offspring of the royal union and, indeed, *The Temple of Love* concludes with the prayer that Charles and Henrietta Maria's 'youthful blessings'

²⁶In contrast to the calming of the waves during Henrietta Maria's voyage, Waller's poem describes the rising of a storm and Prince Charles's steadfastness in the face of it; see Edmund Waller, 'Of the danger His Majesty (being Prince) escaped in the road at St. Andrews', *The Poems of Edmund Waller*, ed. G. Thorn Drury, 1, pp. 1-7.

may 'still increase,/ And in their offspring never cease' (ll. 514-15). However, the masque also links Love's blessings irrevocably to the restoration of the true Temple of Chaste Love. While the blessings given to the royal Caroline couple by heaven might well, ultimately, be figured as those of generation, it is a generation informed by the spiritual blessings of chastity, constancy and moderation.

The masque emphasises the importance it gives to spiritual blessings through the characters of Sunesis and Thelema whose entry in the production's closing scenes illustrates the marriage of Understanding and Will. The result of their union is Amianteros, or Chaste Love, who descends from the heavens and declares that the 'undiscerned increase' (l. 504) he brings will not improve the barren earth, but will 'fructify each barren heart/ And give eternal growth to love' (ll. 509-10). Amianteros's benefits are spiritual, not material. They arise from Sunesis and Thelema's union, the pattern of which, as Amianteros asserts, is that of Charles and Henrietta Maria's marriage. While all of this is compatible with the ideology of chaste spirituality promoted, for example, by Charles's Order of the Garter, the masque's motif of a true Temple, restored through the workings of Fate, nonetheless introduces a certain tension into the Queen's production.

Orgel and Strong have noted that Inigo Jones's initial sketches for the figure of Thelema were originally inscribed 'Gnôme', or Divine Will. 'Thelema', in an important contrast, signifies Free Will or *Voluntas* (Orgel and Strong, 2, p. 320). Playing on the theme of Free Will in a manner that permits it to invoke and forgive the misdemeanours of its young lords, *The Temple of Love* effects a renovation of the abbaye de Thélème's motto 'do what you will'. As Erica Veevers has observed, Thelema and Sunesis have a theological significance and were used by St François de Sales throughout his *Traité de l'amour de Dieu* to argue that Amianteros, or Chaste Love, was the result of Free Will and Understanding (Veevers, p. 200). Veevers concludes that the language of the Queen's masque, and its 'temple' setting, lend the production the 'overtones of religion' (Veevers, p. 202). Read from a Catholic perspective, however, the figures of Sunesis and Thelema are structurally important to the entire masque: they do not simply impart

a religious flavour to *The Temple of Love*, but are integral to the production of Catholicised meaning in the masque as a whole.

Apparently disparate elements of *The Temple of Love* gain coherence when read in the context of a text like Jacques Bossuet's *Traité de la Concupiscence*. The *Traité*, written around 1694, and published posthumously in 1732, while evidently not an influence upon *The Temple of Love*, follows in the tradition of reformed Catholic thought practised by de Sales and St Vincent de Paul and, because Bossuet was steeped in the reformed Catholic traditions associated with Henrietta Maria, can be used as an tool to elucidate the masque's meanings. Bossuet was the famous late seventeenth-century orator who pronounced sermons before the French court of Louis XIV. Born in 1627, he, like de Sales before him, attended the Jesuit college of Navarre in Paris and was introduced at an early age to the life of the Parisian *salons*. In the early 1640s, he became a disciple of the ageing Vincent de Paul whose influence changed both his life and work. Both de Paul and de Sales were associated with the Order of the Visitation, patronised by Henrietta Maria during her exile in France at the time of the English Civil War. Bossuet, following in his masters' footsteps, preached the sort of reformed Catholicism practised by Anne of Austria and Henrietta Maria in France during the 1650s, and was to deliver the funeral orations of both Queens, and of Henrietta Maria's daughter, Henriette-Anne, Duchess of Orléans. His 1671 text, *Exposition de la doctrine de l'Eglise catholique sur les matières de controverse*, was translated into English by Walter Montagu, demonstrating his continuing appeal to Henrietta Maria's Catholic adherents.²⁷

Bossuet's *Traité* is an exegesis upon the passage from St John, 'N'aimez pas le monde, ni ce qui est dans le monde', and develops the ideas of free will and understanding in the context of a fallen world and an unknowable God. It has an obvious similarity with aspects of de Sales's *Traité de l'amour de Dieu*, and, through its appeal to St John, also echoes Pierre de Bérulle's dedication to the *Élévation sur Sainte*

²⁷See James Benignus Bossuet, *An Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholique Church*, trans. W. M. (Paris, 1672). It was Sarah Poynting who first connected Montagu to this translation; see Poynting, 'A Critical Edition', p. 50.

Madeleine which urged Henrietta Maria to distrust the vanities of the world.²⁸ Explaining that the fall of the angels and of man were both the results of overweening pride, the *Traité* proposes that man's 'âme raisonnable' exists suspended between 'le bien suprême', God, and 'les biens inférieurs', material objects by which the soul can be affected. By her free will, the reasonable soul can raise herself up towards God, or descend towards the material. In her descent to the material, the soul must fall firstly back to herself, and grows to be of the opinion that she (rather than God) is a marvellous thing. From this mistake, comes ambition, pride, jealousy and injustice. Falling lower, the soul's desires disperse among sensible objects. Man is held captive by exterior things and is constrained to beg physical gratification from the objects which present themselves to his senses.²⁹

The *Traité* has a direct bearing upon *The Temple of Love's* opening conceit of ancient Greek poets, linking poetic discourse and the search for renown to the self-pride of the reasonable soul turned back upon itself. *The Temple of Love's* ancient poets have been 'punished with ill-gotten fame' (l. 111), and were consigned to hell because of the 'false love' (l. 97) promoted in their 'loose verse' (l. 112). Bossuet's *Traité* describes poetic production as the result of pride, representing it as not only useless, but also dangerous, because it fills the universe with the madneses of the poets' corrupt youth. Such poetry is the product of the fallen soul, existing in a world that is not a truth, not a thing, nor a body, but only an empty image, inconstant and carried on the wind, a shadow dispersing itself (Bossuet, p. 96). Like Circe in *Tempe Restored*, *The Temple of Love's* ancient poets exist in a world of material resemblances that contains no truth. 'Real' truth is only to be found in God. To be healthy, men must follow the will of God: 'celui qui fait la volonté du Seigneur demeure éternellement; rien ne passe plus, tout est fixe, tout est immuable' [those who follow the will of the Lord live eternally, nothing passes any longer, everything is fixed, everything is immutable] (Bossuet, p. 98). It is

²⁸See Bérulle, *Élévation*, p. 30.

²⁹J. B. Bossuet, 'Traite de la Concupiscence', in J. B. Bossuet, *Discours sur la vie cachée en Dieu. Traité de la Concupiscence. Opuscules. Maximes et réflexions sur la Comédie* (Paris: Librairie Monarchique de N. Picard, 1821), 26-110 (pp. 62-4).

through his free will that the reasonable creature consents to accept God's grace. However, although man does not realise it, all the operations of his free will are 'prévenus, préparés, dirigés, excités, conservés par une opération propre et spéciale de Dieu' (Bossuet, p. 81). Bossuet's *Traité* invokes a transcendental grammar similar to that which stands behind *The Temple of Love*. This grammar cannot ever be entirely understood; it must simply be accepted. The reasonable soul must empty itself of all pride and self-love and, becoming simply a vessel, must submit itself voluntarily to the sovereign reason of God.

This complete submission to God's will has a close association with Salesian thought, and is also influenced by de Sales's personal solution to the profoundly disturbing Calvinist theories of predestination. As a young theologian coming into contact with Calvinist beliefs, de Sales was overcome with despair at the thought that he might not be of God's Elect and would, therefore, despite the purity of his actions on earth, be damned for all eternity. Eventually, he resolved his crisis of faith by placing himself entirely in the care of God's providence, declaring that he would dedicate himself to loving God on earth, whatever God might have envisaged for him in the eternal life.³⁰ Interestingly, in this context, *The Temple of Love's* antimasque makes a gesture towards Calvinism, showing the idea of predestination to be a fallacy of the corrupt and fallen world.

Invoking a dance of elemental spirits in an attempt, significantly, to 'try/ If we have powers to hinder destiny' (ll. 258-9), *The Temple of Love's* disruptive magicians call upon 'a sect of modern devils [...] that claim/ Chambers and tenements in heaven as they/ Had purchased there' (ll. 273-7). Located in the antimasque and surrounded by elemental spirits, the magicians' 'modern devils' (l. 273) are shown as a disruptive force, existing in a chaos unenlightened by truth. The dance of the elemental spirits has a strong connection with Plato's description of chaos in the *Timaeus* and demonstrates that the magicians' influences on Indamora's island have been so perverting that the land has

³⁰See François Angelier, *St. François de Sales* (Paris, Éditions Pygmalion, 1997), pp. 70-5.

reverted to a primordial chaos, unshaped by God.³¹ Moreover, the devils' pride, which has led them to think that they can read God's will in the universe, is shown to be misplaced. The divine grammar standing behind the world cannot be read and the 'modern devils' are not of the Elect. Only a fallen soul, whose pride has turned it back upon itself, can ever imagine that it knows God's will. A soul filled with chaste love submits to the fate ordained by God without seeking to comprehend or to struggle against it.

The Temple of Love dramatises the purification of the world through the influence of chaste love, manifested in the pattern of the royal marriage. Bossuet's *Traité* asserted that chaste marriage, established by God as a remedy for the sins of the flesh, was a symbol of the indissoluble union of Jesus Christ and his Church and an expression of God's judgement (Bossuet, p. 35). *The Temple of Love's* evocation of the royal Stuart union thus connects the couple's perfect unity to the unity of one Church, one religion, and one divine law. In this, it echoes the sentiments of an anonymous French commentary upon the building of Henrietta Maria's chapel at Somerset House which expressed the hope that the chapel would draw Charles and his people back to the Catholic faith, joining England to France in a league that would subject the whole world to one single religion and one single law.³² Similar sentiments were also being expressed at the same time by Cardinal Barberini, who was in charge of Panzani's mission to England. Writing to Mazarin in October 1635, he commented that 'It is well known that his holiness has an uncommon affection for that prince [Charles I]; and his conversion is the only thing he aims at'.³³ Two months later, in a letter to Panzani himself, he again remarked, 'St. Urban desired nothing more of St. Cecily than the

³¹'Before that time they were all without proportion or measure; fire, water, earth and air bore some traces of their proper nature, but were in the disorganized state to be expected of anything god has not touched, and his first step when he set about reducing them to order was to give them a definite pattern of shape and number. We must thus assume [...] that god brought them to a state of the greatest possible perfection, in which they were not before'; Plato, *Timaeus*, pp. 72-3.

³²See *Les Royales Ceremonies faites en l'edification d'une Chapelle de Capucins à Londres en Angleterre, dans le Palais de la Roine* (Paris: Jean Brunet, 1632), *passim*.

³³Barberini to Mazarin, 10th/20th October 1635; *The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, ed. Berington, p. 195.

conversion of Valerian her husband. This is all the present pope expects from her Britannic majesty'.³⁴

Barberini's letter to Panzani locates Henrietta Maria as the force which will lead Charles and his nation back to the true faith, replicating the sentiments that travelled with her across the Channel on the occasion of her marriage. In the light of this, the Queen's choice of colour for her masquing costume gains in significance. She and her ladies descended to the stage in habits of Isabella colour. This colour is the yellow of soiled calico and derives its name from a tale attached to both Isabel of Austria and Isabel of Castile. Isabel of Austria, daughter of Philip II, vowed not to change her linen at the siege of Ostend until the place was taken, while Isabel of Castile made a similar vow to the Virgin not to change her linen until Granada fell into her hands.³⁵ Both Isabels, therefore, demonstrated a somewhat bizarre level of constancy and faith in their own causes. Henrietta Maria's choice of colour may have been meant to reflect her constancy in the Catholic faith and her desire to see it properly re-established in England. Significantly, the colour yellow in Christian symbolism is emblematic of faith, and is the colour in which St Peter is generally depicted. In blazonry, yellow (together with gold) represents love, constancy, and wisdom.³⁶ The Queen's appearance on the masquing stage, in a scallop-shell chariot which Erica Veevers has related to emblematic settings for the Virgin (Veevers, p. 122), was, therefore, a visual declaration of her constancy and faith, and connects neatly to the idea of the restoration of a true Church in England.

The Temple of Love is a masque which asserts a form of unity based on the harmony of the Caroline royal marriage. Gesturing to a divine grammar behind the material world, it validates both Charles's philosophy of divine right and also installs the royal marriage as a grounding emblem established by Fate to promote harmony throughout the realm. However, it is traversed by potentially mutually destructive forces

³⁴Barberini to Panzani, 30th November/10th December 1635; *The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, ed. Berington, p. 203.

³⁵See Brewer, *Dictionary*, sub Isabelle.

³⁶Brewer, *Dictionary*, sub Yellow.

as it reflects both Protestant and Catholic interests, and replicates the King's own iconography. Charles and Henrietta Maria's religious affiliations were not the same. Each of their ideologies make appeals to one Church, one law and one God, and thus the masque, in its attempt to synthesise all positions and to indicate one transcendental grammar behind the world, is inevitably caught in a paradox. Promoting itself as a unified whole, and constructing a ground for itself in the image of the perfect royal couple, *The Temple of Love* attempts to contain the irresolvable religious differences demonstrated by the stalemate of Panzani's mission. While the masque is a Queen's masque, and while it might dramatise an opinion similar to that of Henrietta Maria's confessor, who stated that 'it was directly opposite to the whole design of the gospel, that there should be more churches than one',³⁷ *The Temple of Love* is nonetheless traversed by both Protestant and Catholic discourses: it is fractured in the very moment that it seeks to present itself as the emblem of a previously established royal unity; a royal unity that it constructs as the image of an indivisible divine One.

³⁷*The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, ed. Berington, p. 165.

CHAPTER 7

Making Connections: Fleshing Out the Plot of 1635

If I am not mistaken, Marx also says that History is the process by which man gives birth to himself.

Luce Irigaray¹

The urge for unity and coherence does not only subtend the court masque, but is reflected in modern historical critiques of Caroline drama. Nowhere is this more evident than in critical discussions of *Florimène* (1635), Henrietta Maria's second pastoral. The text of the play has been lost, leaving us only with Henry Herbert's English summary of what was a French-language production. Significantly, neither this summary, nor contemporary comments upon the pastoral, have provided an indication of the play's author, yet *Florimène* has always excited the interest of theatre historians, primarily because a complete set of Inigo Jones's drawings has survived to illustrate the manner in which the production was staged. Attention has thus focused on *Florimène*'s contribution to understandings of seventeenth-century theatrical practicalities, while the cultural and political significances of the pastoral have been overlooked.²

This significant imbalance in critical discussions of *Florimène* must be attributed to two factors. Firstly, Henrietta Maria's theatrical productions and the neoplatonic sentiments they express have historically been viewed as apolitical, intellectually facile, and, therefore, frivolous and ephemeral: under this interpretation, the play is simply yet another manifestation of the Queen's taste for interminable romances. Secondly, it is not a coincidence that modern discussions of *Florimène* approach the play through the figure of Inigo Jones, attempting to contextualise the production by recourse to external biographical details and an existing corpus of architectural work. Even Erica Veevers' cultural study, *Images of Love and Religion*, uses *Florimène* to expound a theory about Catholicised stage design, and does not really engage with its significance as a theatrical

¹Irigaray, *This Sex*, p. 126.

²See Allardyce Nicoll, *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage* (London: George G. Harrap, 1937), p. 34, pp. 79-80, pp. 112-13; Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1975; repr. 1991), pp. 27-36.

event.³ In the absence of an authorial figure to give coherence to the pastoral's meanings, Veevers categorises the text by referring it to another critic's authority, stating that *Florimène* 'seems to conform to the [pastoral] type described by H. C. Lancaster [...] in which shepherds and shepherdesses pursue each other offering unrequited love' (Veevers, p.49). There is a profound reluctance to deal with the pastoral's internal dynamic without recourse to some form of external guarantee. Indeed, such was Alfred Harbage's need to give the pastoral coherence by attributing to it an author, that he went so far as to suggest that Henrietta Maria herself wrote the play (Harbage, p. 18).

This need for an author is symptomatic of a type of historiography that organises itself around significant figures and events to produce a linear narrative. For Kevin Sharpe, in particular, seventeenth-century poets have easily retrievable inner lives and opinions, and create cultural artefacts whose satirical stances can only be understood by an intelligent (and implicitly masculine) audience. His work on Caroline drama relies heavily on the retrieval of authorial intent, and neglects to deal with *Florimène* at all, concerning itself instead with a series of antimasques attributed to Aurelian Townshend and linked to this pastoral by Stephen Orgel.⁴ Grounding his readings in the surrogate God of the poet, Sharpe unwittingly mirrors his own role as an historian who brings light into chaos and controls the Word, creating an identity for himself through the narratives he imposes on the past. Rather than embracing the *Florimène* fragment as complete in itself, he chooses to ignore it, concentrating instead on making a coherent story out of Townshend's historical position.

To redress the critical imbalance surrounding *Florimène*, this chapter begins by discussing some of the more significant cultural aspects of the production. It then proposes a political reading of *Florimène* based upon my recent discovery of its author's identity, showing that, even with this new information, the pastoral's meanings cannot be locked down to a single interpretation. The chapter then concludes with a discussion

³Veevers, *Images*, p. 111 and p. 162.

⁴Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, p. 157 and p. 230.

of the Townshend antimasques, demonstrating that their connection with *Florimène* is far from secure, and thus disturbing the neat historical coherence of the theory.

In 1635, Henry Herbert, the Master of the Revels, preserved a summary of *Florimène* which represented the play's basic plot as follows. Filène, a shepherd of Arcadia, goes to visit his friend Damon's native Delos and there falls in love with Florimène, a shepherdess. Florelle, Damon's sister, disguises Filène as a woman and introduces him to Florimène, calling him by the feigned name of Dorine. Aristée, Florimène's brother, falls in love with Dorine, and eventually dresses up in Florimène's clothes in order to 'sound the thoughts of Dorine'.⁵ Meanwhile, Lycoris, a shepherdess from Arcadia, arrives in the disguise of a man, searching for Filène whom she loves. Much confusion reigns until the goddess Diana descends to tell Lycoris that Filène is her brother, and to sort out the love tangles of the other protagonists.

This plot, in its interweaving of multiple assumed identities and its concluding revelation of genealogical origins, is very similar in type to that of *L'Astrée* and *Artenice*. It also shares certain thematic elements with *The Shepherds' Paradise*. However, its most innovative aspect, in the context of its performance on the English stage, is the fact that it dramatises cross-gendered disguise. Both *Artenice* and *The Shepherds' Paradise* were performed by ladies who crossdressed as shepherds, yet, within the economies of the productions, masculine disguises were only adopted by masculine characters, and feminine by feminine: for example, Basilino became Moramente; Fidamira became Gemella. In *Florimène*, for the first time in one of Henrietta Maria's productions, a crossdressed actress assumed a cross-gendered identity. This is a daring innovation and gives rise to several moments of quite dubious propriety in which a woman playing a shepherd disguised as a shepherdess is wooed by a shepherd acted by another woman. These multiple disguises and gender confusions are obviously intended to be amusing, both within the context of the play, and, more

⁵Henry Herbert, *The Argument of the Pastoral of Florimène* (London: Thomas Walkley, 1635), p. 10. All subsequent references to the pastoral will be to this edition.

importantly, in the context of a female-only theatrical production. As with *The Shepherds' Paradise*, they demonstrate that the Queen's pastorals were not didactically serious, but were intended to entertain.

Herbert's summary makes evident a neoplatonic framework behind *Florimène*, particularly in its report of a discussion about love that occurs between Florimène and the disguised Filène. Like Bellessa before her, Florimène is innocent about the ways of love and has never spoken upon the subject. Nevertheless, she astonishes Damon and Filène/Dorine one day by broaching the subject. Damon marvels to hear her speak of love, and she answers that she hates it because it is 'a trouble to the thoughts, and a depriving of liberty' (*Florimène*, pp. 8-9). Filène/Dorine answers, in true neoplatonic style, that all things created have 'their being, and their contentments from love' (*Florimène*, p. 9). This conversation reflects Bellessa and Moramante's discussions on the same subject in *The Shepherds' Paradise* and locates Filène, like Moramante, as his beloved's teacher. However, the situation is made all the more ambiguous in the French pastoral because Filène is wearing the clothes of a woman.

The pastoral's audience is placed in the position of having to decipher all the different possibilities inherent in the scene, savouring the dramatic irony of Florimène unwittingly discussing love with a suitor, and recognising the titillating possibility of two women wooing each other. In addition, by allowing Filène to speak of love while dressed as Dorine, the pastoral dramatises the possibility of a woman speaking about her emotions. In *The Shepherds' Paradise*, Bellessa hinted that she would give voice to her feelings if she were not constrained by the gendered proprieties attached to her body. In *Florimène*, this possibility is raised again, challenging the social convention that forbids forthright speech to women. It raises the question of the active female subject who has the ability to choose her lover, rather than be chosen by him, and transforms the female body from a mirror of masculine desire into a speaking presence. In addition, again like *The Shepherds' Paradise* whose character Camena represented marriage as a burden for women, *Florimène* gives voice to proto-feminist sentiments which represent married life as curtailing women's liberties.

This pastoral, more than any other, allows its actresses to experiment and play with their gendered identities, and also raises the question of how women look at other women. Suzanne Trill has commented that the pleasure of looking for a woman comes from an interplay between identification and desire, and not from a purely erotic or objectifying stance.⁶ Henrietta Maria herself took a seat in the audience of *Florimène* because of her advanced state of pregnancy, occupying a position from which she could both identify with, and desire to be, one of the actresses. In this context, to be on stage as the object of the gaze is empowering; it gives the actress the right to act herself, to explore her own subjectivity.

Facilitated by their disguises which allow them to adopt different subject positions, *Florimène's* characters are led towards greater self-awareness. For example, Aristée, discovering Dorine to be a man, repents of the way he had previously treated Lucinde, his own admirer, 'and goes away with a resolution to seeke her out' (*Florimène*, p. 11). However, while opening up the possibility of a new form of social relations based upon responsibility towards others, the pastoral, like *The Shepherds' Paradise*, concludes with a series of revelations about its characters' paternal origins. Lycoris is revealed to be Filène's sister, with Henry Herbert's summary of the narrative conserving a relation of the whole of her genealogy:

Diana [...] tels Lycoris, that Filène is her owne brother, and that Montan is not her father, as she hath ever beleevd, but that he tooke her from Orcan, which had saved her from the cruelty of a Satyre, which stole her from her Father Tityre in Arcadia. (*Florimène*, p. 17)

The forms of identity posited at the conclusions of *The Shepherds' Paradise* and *Florimène* are grounded in a notion of patrilinearity which insists upon knowledge of one's father. Lycoris gains understanding and self-awareness through the revelation of

⁶Suzanne Trill, 'The Glass that Mends the Looker's Eyes': The Mirror, the Text and the Gaze in *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, (unpublished conference paper given at 'The Queen's Court: Elite female cultural production and the cultures of the early Stuarts (1603-42), Centre for the Study of the Renaissance, University of Warwick, 18-19 April 1998).

her origin, and this revelation contributes meaning and closure to the pastoral's narrative. Gender roles are reaffirmed by Diana as she pairs off the characters, thus stamping heterosexual marriage with the authority of a divine injunction.

The pastoral's use of the discourse of love permits its characters and its actresses to explore alternative notions of identity, yet the production concludes by locking its meanings down to conservative heterosexual formulations, and ultimately by having recourse to the law of the father. The fact that this law is revealed by Diana just underlines the pastoral's gendered stereotypes, putting authority in the hands of a female deity only to see that authority subtending masculinist conceptions of society. Furthermore, the philosophical impulses of the pastoral, which bear witness to a need to know about one's origins, operate within an economy similar to that evinced by modern critiques of *Florimène*. Just as Lycoris's life is improved by the revelation of her true parentage, so critical readings of the pastoral have shown a need to attribute to it a fatherly figure. Up until now, the pastoral's status as an orphan has excluded it from serious critical discussion because it has been unable to tell historians and critics anything about themselves. However, I am now in a position to be able to give *Florimène* back its father, and consequently its place in literary history.

***Florimène*: the author and the occasion**

Florimène was performed at Whitehall on St Thomas's Day (St Thomas fittingly being the patron saint of architects), before King Charles, Prince Charles, the visiting Prince Palatine and the Caroline court, and was mentioned briefly in the dispatches of Amerigo Salvetti, the Tuscan ambassador, and Anzolo Correr, the Venetian ambassador. Salvetti remarked before the event that the King and Prince Palatine were to attend 'a French comedy with scenery which the queen intends to present [...] by the French court ladies', while Correr reported after the performance that the queen had presented 'a most beautiful pastoral to her maids in French'.⁷ However, the production was also remarked

⁷Orrell, 'Amerigo Salvetti', p. 499.

upon outside England in a source that has been overlooked and which not only provides important information about the pastoral, but casts light upon the play's political implications. Under the heading 'De Londres, le 9 Janvier 1636', the *Gazette de France* observed:

Le dernier du passé, les filles d'honneur de la Reine d'Angleterre représenterent à Withal la Florimene, pastorele Françoisse du sieur de Boisrobert devant leurs Majestez Britanniques: où l'elegance des vers fit un agreable parallele avec la gentillesse des actrices: entre lesquelles les Damoiselles de Ventelet, Cataut et la Difficile, firent voir que ce n'est pas sans sujet qu'elles ont merité les faveurs de leur Maistresse. Le Prince Palatin y estoit et toutes les Dames de la Cour avantageusement parées: le theatre paroissant changé a chacun acte: à la fin desquels il y eut balet.⁸

[At Whitehall, on the last day of last month, the Queen of England's ladies of honour presented Florimène, a French pastoral by Boisrobert, before their Britannie Majesties: where the elegance of the verses made a pleasant parallel with the sweetness of the actresses: among whom the ladies Ventelet, Cataut and la Difficile, showed that it was not without reason that they merited the favours of their Mistress. The Prince Palatine was there and all the ladies of the Court flatteringly adorned: the stage appearing changed at each act: at the end of which there was a ballet.]

This report not only provides us with the name of *Florimène's* author but with the names of three of the actresses. Mademoiselle Ventelet was the daughter of one of Henrietta Maria's French bedchamber women and of her French Gentleman Usher, both of whom had accompanied the young Queen from France in 1625. Madame Ventelet and her daughter remained close to the Queen, and eventually followed her back into France as exiles from the English Civil War. Both women are mentioned in documents associated with Henrietta Maria's convent at Chaillot, founded outside Paris in 1651, and were thus among the very privileged few who attended the Queen in her religious retreats.⁹ Unfortunately, the identities of the other two named actresses in *Florimène* remain a mystery.

⁸*Gazette de France*, ed. Théophraste Renaudot (Lyon: Bureau d'Adresse, 1636), p. 59.

⁹Paris, Archives du monastère de la Visitation, G-2. Soeur Marie-Henriette Revellois, *Mémoires*, 9 vols, c. 1673-97, 1, p. 21.

However, the most interesting aspect of the *Gazette's* report is its indication of the pastoral's author, which contributes an illusion of coherence to the production, and provides a means of interpreting an otherwise rootless text. François le Metel, sieur de Boisrobert, was born in Rouen in 1592, and entered the service of Marie de Médicis, the French Queen Regent, around 1616.¹⁰ He accompanied Marie in her exile to Blois in 1617 and there made the acquaintance of Armand du Plessis (the future Cardinal Richelieu) from whom he was eventually to receive patronage. Returning to Paris with the Queen Mother after an exile of three years, he started to establish a poetic reputation and, in 1623, was asked by Louis XIII to compose a ballet, the *Ballet des Bacchantes*, in collaboration with Théophile de Viau, Du Vivier, Charles Sorel, and Antoine Girard, sieur de Saint-Amant. In the same year, he joined with René Bordier to compose the *Grand Ballet de la Reyne representant les Festes de Junon la Nopciere*, which was danced in the Louvre on 5th March. Anne of Austria took the role of Juno, while the then-Princess Henrietta Maria danced in the guise of Iris. Two years later, the poet composed lyrics for Henrietta Maria's own wedding ballet, but it is difficult to establish whether the production was intended for performance in France or England. He also cultivated a connection with the Duchess of Chevreuse and secured a place in her entourage when she and her husband accompanied Henrietta Maria to London in the summer of 1625.

During the Anglo-French marriage negotiations in Paris, Boisrobert had made the acquaintance of the English ambassadors, Carlisle and Holland. Once in England, Madame de Chevreuse delighted in stirring up animosity between Boisrobert and Holland, showing Holland a controversial elegy the poet had written about England's barbarous climate over which he and Boisrobert quarrelled fiercely. The poet fell ill at Windsor, and later wrote a letter to the Earl of Carlisle in which he thanked him for lodging and caring for him during his sickness. Of particular interest in this letter is Boisrobert's comment that Carlisle had wanted to make the poet known to the English King ('vous avez voulu que j'eusse l'honneur d'estre cogneu de vostre Roy' [You wanted

¹⁰For the following biographical details I have relied heavily upon Magne, *Boisrobert, passim*.

me to have the honour of being known by your King]).¹¹ Indeed, during his stay in England, Boisrobert received a cash payment from Charles I. He also wrote a sonnet in which he thanked Henrietta Maria for her favour, although, as Jean Jacquot warns in his essay on French influences at the Caroline court, this might be reference to a gratification for verses the poet contributed to the marriage celebrations held in Paris.¹² This problem aside, it can be asserted that, by the start of 1626, Boisrobert was not only a major contributor to French court entertainments, but had also been introduced to the English court and its King.

However, although he had the appropriate experience and connections to be the author of *Florimène*, the fact that Boisrobert composed this work for the Queen in 1635 implicates it in the vexed political relationships between England and France. After his return to Paris in August 1626, the poet strengthened his connection with Richelieu, becoming the Cardinal's literary secretary. At first, he maintained his links with Henrietta Maria's female relatives at the French court, undertaking a paraphrase of *Les Sept Pseames de la Penitance de David* for the Queen Mother in 1627, and writing the verses of Anne of Austria's ballet, *Les Nymphes Bocagères de la Foret Sacrée*, danced in the Louvre the same year. Nonetheless, in November 1630, Marie de Médicis and Richelieu became involved in the power struggle that would result in the Queen Mother's permanent exile from France. Thus, from July 1631 when she fled to the Spanish Netherlands, Boisrobert's connection with Marie de Médicis was severed.

The circumstances leading to her mother's exile swung Henrietta Maria's loyalties firmly away from Cardinal Richelieu and his adherents. Despite Boisrobert's early connection with the English Queen, it does, therefore, seem strange that, in the mid 1630s, she should have sponsored a pastoral by a poet whose master she seriously disliked, particularly considering that this pastoral was prominently staged at Whitehall. However, the significance of *Florimène's* production in 1635 can be clarified by reference to the change in Henrietta Maria's political position that year, and also by

¹¹*Recueil de lettres nouvelles*, ed. Nicolas Faret, 2 vols (Paris: Toussaint Quinetau, 1634), 1, pp. 270-3.

¹²*Recueil des plus beaux vers*, p. 447; Jacquot, 'L'influence française', p. 156.

casting a glance at cultural developments occurring in Paris around the figure of Richelieu.

After her mother's exile in 1631, Henrietta Maria was known to be discontented with Richelieu and, in 1633, was implicated in the Châteauneuf conspiracy which sought to overthrow the chief ministers of both England and France. However, in 1635, Richelieu began to seek to repair his quarrel with the English Queen in the hope of enlisting English aid in his recently declared war with Spain. A new French ambassador, Henri de Senneterre, was dispatched to London, arriving in March 1635. Malcolm Smuts has commented upon Senneterre's arrival and on Henrietta Maria's reaction to it that, 'always susceptible to gallantry and the influence of people she liked, the queen was soon 'showing all affection for France' and beginning once more to meddle in politics'.¹³ Smuts's evidence for the change in Henrietta Maria's position is convincing, and is borne out by Kevin Sharpe's more detailed investigation into the summer of 1635.¹⁴ However, instead of being an irrational about-turn manipulated by the French ambassador, the Queen's change of position in 1635 can be shown to be consistent with Henrietta Maria's previous political, or rather familial, associations.

In a letter to her sister Christine, Duchess of Savoy, written in October or November 1635, Henrietta Maria showed her awareness of Senneterre's agenda:

Osytost que l'ambassadeur de France a estte arive ysy, je vous eu ay voulu donner avis pour [...] vous faire entendre que il me recherche extrememant de la part du cardinal de Richelieu. Mais croyes que se que l'aycouteray [*sic*] sera seulemant pour vostre consideration pour tacher par sela a vous randre quelque servise.¹⁵

[As soon as the French ambassador had arrived here, I wanted to let you know so I could make you understand that he is soliciting me heavily on the part of Cardinal Richelieu. But believe that that to which I will listen will be only in consideration of you, to seek by that to render you some service.]

¹³Smuts, 'Puritan Followers', p. 35.

¹⁴Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, pp. 510-17.

¹⁵Ferrero, *Lettres*, p. 43.

In 1634, Savoy had dispatched an ambassador extraordinary to England to seek English recognition of the Duke of Savoy's claims to the throne of Cyprus, recognition already refused by France and Spain.¹⁶ This ambassador, Gianfrancesco San Martino, marquis of San Germano, received particular expressions of friendship from Henrietta Maria who was reported by John Finet to be casting her favours upon the Savoyard 'for the sake of her syster the Duchess'.¹⁷ In June 1635, Benedetto de Cize, count of Pezze, arrived in London as the Savoy agent, again to ask for English validation of the 'royal' title, and to seek supplies for protection against the French. Henrietta Maria's letters to her sister at this time are full of promises that the Queen will assist Christine, this assistance, as the letter above reveals, involving negotiation on Savoy's behalf with the newly arrived French ambassador. In addition, Charles I was on the point of sending an ambassador extraordinary to Paris, in part to negotiate Marie de Médicis' return to France. The Venetian ambassador, trying to divine the agenda behind the embassy, commented that 'this opinion [about negotiations on behalf of the French Queen Mother] fits in very well, because the queen here is very desirous of seeing her [mother] settled'.¹⁸

Thus, while Smuts has shown how *rapprochement* with France suited Henrietta Maria's anti-Spanish courtiers and was compatible with the cause of the visiting Palatine Prince, an English-French alliance could also be offered to Henrietta Maria as a means of aiding her sister and ameliorating the position of her mother: Senneterre could solicit the Queen's support by addressing the situation that had caused Henrietta Maria's split with Richelieu in the first place.¹⁹ It was to the Queen's advantage to listen to the French ambassador's overtures, and it would appear from Finet's comments upon Senneterre's

¹⁶On this embassy see Loomie, *Ceremonies of Charles I*, pp. 163-7 and p. 182.

¹⁷Loomie, *Ceremonies of Charles I*, p. 167.

¹⁸Correr to the Doge and Senate, 2nd/12th October 1635, *CSPV*, 1632-6, p. 464.

¹⁹It should be noted that, while Marie de Médicis had recently sent a representative to Charles I, her activities in the Spanish Netherlands were far from creating the impression that she was at all pro-French or pro a reconciliation with Richelieu.

arrival that Henrietta Maria was readily disposed to entertain the ambassador from the moment he appeared in London.²⁰

In this political context, *Florimène*, rather than being regarded as an expression of Henrietta Maria's love of elaborate spectacle, must be treated with the same critical attention as the other theatrical events sponsored by the Queen in 1635-6, notably Davenant's *Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour* and Prince Charles's *Triumph at Richmond*.²¹ The production of the pastoral might be construed as an expression of the Queen's willingness to be wooed by Richelieu and as a demonstration before the English court of her swing towards a more pro-French policy. Written by a *créature* of the Cardinal, and reported in the *Gazette de France* (a paper authorised and supported by Richelieu and recognised to be part of his personal propaganda machine), *Florimène* might well have been a gift from the Cardinal to Henrietta Maria for political purposes. The pastoral does not appear in any twentieth-century lists of Boisrobert's plays, nor have I been able to trace any of the French songs whose first lines were conserved in Henry Herbert's English summary of the production. Had this pastoral been performed in France, one would expect to find some other contemporary comment upon it, beyond that already cited. This leads me to believe that the pastoral was especially commissioned from Boisrobert by Richelieu and sent to Henrietta Maria at the English court.

The Cardinal's attitude towards theatre at this time deserves consideration for it has a direct bearing upon the Queen's production of *Florimène* and shows the pastoral to be compatible with Richelieu's cultural programme. In the mid 1630s, Richelieu discovered the political value of culture and began to surround himself with poets and playwrights. His connection with Boisrobert was well established and he had started to

²⁰Finet commented with a certain amount of reserve that, the day after Senneterre's arrival, the King being at Theobalds, the Queen had a three-hour private conference with the ambassador. He added, 'whether this were done with communication of [the Queen's] intention to the King before his departure out of town, or her own motion for satisfaction of her desire (impatient perhaps to attend the knowledge how matters stood in France till the uncertain time of his audience) appeared not to me'; Loomie, *Ceremonies of Charles I*, p. 174.

²¹See Butler, 'Entertaining the Palatine Prince', pp. 319-44.

regard theatre as a political tool for the glorification of the state.²² The Cardinal's active interest in the arts has been precisely dated to the year 1635, notably by Georges Couton who stated that, prior to 1634, only a few traces of Richelieu's interest in theatre are discernible, while, at the end of 1634 and in 1635 'tout change: les événements se précipitent et il apparaît clairement que le Cardinal s'est décidé à avoir une politique culturelle et spécifiquement une politique théâtrale' [everything changes: events rushed forward and it clearly appeared that the Cardinal had decided to espouse a cultural politics and specifically a theatrical politics].²³ Richelieu's sponsorship of the arts in 1635 involved the financial patronage of the two Parisian theatre troupes (the Hôtel de Bourgogne and the théâtre du Marais), the defence of theatre as a legitimate pursuit (as opposed to an invitation to lasciviousness and disorder),²⁴ and his association with the emergent Académie française.

In the context of *Florimène*, it is Richelieu's involvement in the birth of the Académie française which is of particular significance. In 1634, Boisrobert was instrumental in attracting Richelieu's interest and patronage to the group of sçavants who met at Valentin Conrart's house in the rue Saint-Martin. In March of that year, having received the Cardinal's approbation for their activities, the nascent Académie composed its statutes and prefaced these with a 'Projet de l'Académie', written by Nicolas Faret. This 'Projet' laid out the sçavants' designs, significantly stating that, under Richelieu's protection, the French language was to be retrieved from amongst other barbarous tongues, and was to succeed Latin, as Latin had succeeded Greek. In a disquieting moment of cultural imperialism, the 'Projet' asserted that the French

²²In 1634-5, at the conception of the Académie française, Boisrobert was considered to be 'en sa plus haute faveur auprès du Cardinal de Richelieu' [in his greatest favour with Cardinal Richelieu]: Paul Pellisson-Fontanier, *Relation contenant l'histoire de l'Académie françoise* (Paris: Louis Billaine, 1672), p. 9.

²³Georges Couton, *Richelieu et le théâtre* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1986), p. 7. Couton also makes the important observation that, after Richelieu's death, Louis XIII cancelled the gratuities to men of letters with the words, 'nous n'avons plus affaire de cela'; Couton, *Richelieu*, p. 7.

²⁴[L]a Comédie, depuis qu'on a banni des théâtres tout ce qui pouvait souiller les oreilles les plus délicates, est l'un des plus innocents divertissements et le plus agréable à [la] bonne ville de Paris' [The Comedy, since all that could soil the most delicate ears has been banished from the theatres, is one of the most innocent diversions, and the most pleasant in the good town of Paris]; *Gazette de France*, 6 janvier, 1635.

language would be that which 'tous nos voisins parleroient bien-tost, si nos conquestes continuoient comme elles avoient commencé' [that which all our neighbours will soon speak, if our conquests continue as they have started].²⁵ This assertion has a resonance with the performance of *Florimène* upon the English court stage and adds a new dimension to the *Gazette de France's* praise of the pastoral's elegant verse. The elegant versé becomes a manifestation of France's cultural superiority, and a constitutive element of the 'gentillesse' displayed by the play's French actresses. The *Gazette's* report reappropriates Henrietta Maria's ladies for France as symbols of French civilisation. In contrast, the English court ladies are simply nicely dressed ('avantageusement parées'); they are all decorative show, and no substance.

In his sponsorship of such popular vehicles as Renaudot's *Gazette*, and in his association with the Académie française, Richelieu's cultural project was supported upon the twin pillars of public propaganda and intellectual respectability. The poets of the Académie could be called upon to produce laudatory literary works, and the *Gazette* was only too happy to promote the Cardinal's cultural enterprise.²⁶ In addition, and importantly with regard to *Florimène*, the Cardinal appears to have collaborated with Académie poets and playwrights in the production of theatrical spectacle.

In 1634-5, Boisrobert was involved in the production of *La Comédie des Tuileries*, a tragi-comedy staged before the French Queen in March 1635 and again before Louis XIII, Anne of Austria and the duc d'Orléans in April of the same year. The events surrounding the composition of this play are significant and have been explored at length by Georges Couton. In letters to Boisrobert dating from between November 1634 and January 1635, Jean Chapelin described how he received a prose narrative from Richelieu with the instruction to make it into a play in verse and to conceal the Cardinal's artistic contribution. Having done what he was instructed (in collaboration with Boisrobert and three others), Chapelin wrote to Boisrobert with the request that this

²⁵Pellisson-Fontanier, *Relation*, pp. 23-4.

²⁶In 1635, the Académie produced four laudatory volumes of poetry, two dedicated to Louis (*Le Parnasse Royal* and *Les Palmae Regiae*), and two to Richelieu (*Le Sacrifice des Muses* and *Epicina Musarum*). As Couton has observed, the quality of the editions left no doubt that they had been officially financed; Couton, *Richelieu*, p. 8.

latter read the play to Richelieu and ask the Cardinal for his corrections.²⁷ Richelieu's involvement in the play was thus manifest at all stages of its production, although the Cardinal suppressed public knowledge of his personal contribution.

Therefore, although the *Gazette de France* named Boisrobert as the author of *Florimène*, it is intriguing to speculate whether Richelieu himself was instrumental in the composition of the pastoral. What is certain, setting aside the question of the Cardinal's active role as a contributor, is that the play demonstrates signs of Richelieu's influence. Part of Richelieu's project for the renovation of French theatre involved an adherence to classical forms, especially to the unities of time, manner and place. *Florimène* is exemplary in this regard, its action taking place on the island of Delos and appearing to unfold within one day. Moreover, the pastoral both opens and closes with images of the Temple of Diana, neatly concluding events on the same spot in which the action began.²⁸ In addition, *Florimène*'s five acts are interspersed with four *intermedii* representing winter, spring, summer, and autumn. Stephen Orgel regards these interludes as 'unrelated to the main play' and comments that, the action of *Florimène* being continuous, 'nothing in the play's time scheme was being expressed by these scenic marvels'.²⁹ However, this seasonal conceit is compatible with, indeed a marker of, the play's adherence to the three unities, providing a balanced, harmonious image of time. A comparison may be drawn here with the printed text of *Mirame*, a tragi-comedy commissioned by Richelieu in 1641 to inaugurate his new theatre in the Palais Cardinal. The text of *Mirame* appeared in a luxurious quarto edition with plates by the Florentine, Della Bella. Each act was illustrated with an image of a different time of day (moonrise, dawn, etc.), the sequence of drawings concluding with the representation of noon.³⁰ The edition thus demonstrated a clear respect for the unities of time and place, and was yet another public manifestation of Richelieu's project to glorify the state through culture.

²⁷Couton, *Richelieu*, pp. 25-6.

²⁸Although the play opened and closed at Diana's Temple, the scenic designs differed. It was the play's boast that 'no Scoene but that of the Pastoral was twice seene'; *Florimène*, p. 15

²⁹Orgel, *The Illusion of Power*, p. 35.

³⁰Couton, *Richelieu*, p. 55.

Florimène, while appealing to Henrietta Maria's taste for pastoral romances, was therefore fully compatible with the cultural tradition that Richelieu was sponsoring in France. However, it must be acknowledged that the play was also embedded within the tradition of anglicised French culture sponsored by Henrietta Maria at the English court. As such, the production was an integral part of Caroline monarchical spectacle and had a nationalistic agenda that was in direct competition with Richelieu's cultural imperialism. John Peacock has shown how Inigo Jones drew on predominantly French sources to develop an architectural idiom suitable for Henrietta Maria's theatrical productions.³¹ Financed by the Queen, the production of *Florimène* became an instance of French culture mediated through English expertise. While the pastoral might well have been written by Boisrobert for Richelieu as a gift for Henrietta Maria, its performance (albeit by the Queen's French ladies) was nonetheless a product of the English court. Furthermore, although demonstrating the Queen's willingness to entertain the idea of *rapprochement* with France, the pastoral production was coloured by the fact that Richelieu's gift to the Queen was transformed, in performance, into a gift from the Queen to her husband. At once suggesting Henrietta Maria's willingness to intercede with Charles on France's behalf, this transformation paradoxically excludes France through the insertion of the pastoral into the economy of English court spectacle.

A critical interpretation of *Florimène* based on the authorial guarantee of Boisrobert is therefore problematic, not only because complicated by Richelieu's possible involvement, but also because the production was authorised by the English Queen and took place within a tradition of Caroline court theatre. However, the new information provided by the *Gazette de France* which links *Florimène* to Boisrobert, and therefore to Richelieu, does mean that the production should be considered in the light of Anglo-French relations. In addition, it provides an indication of Henrietta Maria's significance on the international stage, gesturing towards the important part she could play in political negotiations between the Bourbon and Caroline courts.

³¹Peacock, 'The French Element in Inigo Jones's Masque Designs', *The Court Masque*, ed. Lindley, pp. 149-68.

Breaking connections: the case of the Townshend antimasques

Modern critical discourse, unable to intervene in *Florimène* without the grounding of an authorial father figure, has confronted an epistemological impasse. Nevertheless, critics have recently found solace in a series of antimasque entries written by Aurelian Townshend and attributed by Stephen Orgel to the production. These entries exist in an apparently unique printed pamphlet in the Huntington Library. They are undated, have no proper title, but are inscribed with Townshend's name.³² Orgel remarks that the entries formed an antimasque that was danced as a 'comic eclogue' at the end of the production of *Florimène*.³³ Cedric Brown, though, argues that they represent a 'short masque to follow the play', with the first verses belonging to a series of comic antimasques, followed by a 'Subject of the Masque' which introduces and explains the masque figure (Brown, p. 109). The *Gazette de France's* fascinating report that *Florimène* concluded with a ballet seems to corroborate Orgel and Brown's suppositions. However, if, as Brown suggests, the description headed 'The Subject of the Masque' looks forward to the new action of the dance, and does not, as Orgel believes, reflect upon the action of the pastoral, then the connection between the verses and the play is somewhat dislocated. While the *Gazette de France's* additional information about a ballet at the end of *Florimène* makes it likely that Townshend's verses *are* connected with the play, I would like nonetheless to register a note of caution about Orgel's attribution.

According to Orgel, Townshend's verses refer to a production that was performed in the presence of the King and Queen and was enacted by French ladies. Furthermore, he continues, they make reference to a plot which involved four couples, disguises involving a change of sex, marriages arranged by a deity, and information imparted by Fame. This, he asserts, does not fit with the plots of either *Artenice* or *The Shepherds' Paradise*, but matches *Florimène* precisely, 'even down to the appearance of

³²See *The Poems and Masques of Aurelian Townshend with Music by Henry Lawes and William Webb*, ed. Cedric C. Brown (Reading: Whiteknights Press, 1983), p. 109.

³³Stephen Orgel, 'Florimène and the Ante-Masques', *Renaissance Drama*, 4 (1971), 135-53 (p. 137).

Fame who speaks the prologue' (Orgel, '*Florimène*', p. 137). In contrast, Cedric Brown remarks:

The word 'fower' in line 12 [of Townshend's text] does not refer to the number of couples married off in the play (in which, incidentally, only three pairs marry), but rather tells us that four shepherdesses are to dance. They are presumably four of the queen's ladies who have just acted, and they are introduced as having come from Beauce, the fertile plain south of Paris, Versailles and Rambouillet. They are to dance with four shepherds who have been drawn to them by Fame. These shepherds do not seem to be from France, so they are probably English lords. Thus English gentility links with French gentility to celebrate the union of the watching Charles and Henrietta Maria. (Brown, p. 109)

Both Orgel and Brown agree that Townshend's verses were intended for use in a production watched by both the King and Queen that involved the participation of at least four French ladies costumed as shepherdesses. However, these factors do not unequivocally connect the verses to the production of *Florimène*. Orgel states that his identification of Townshend's work with the pastoral rests on 'clear internal evidence' (Orgel, '*Florimène*', p. 137), yet on closer inspection, and taking into account Cedric Brown's belief that the verses represent a short masque in and of themselves, this 'evidence' is profoundly sketchy. While it is true that none of the characteristics identified by Orgel can be discovered in Henrietta Maria's other known pastorals, disguise and marriages arranged by a deity are not unusual elements of pastoral plots, neither are story-lines involving several couples. Moreover, while Fame might be an unusual figure to find in a pastoral play, Townshend's verses make specific reference to a masque, not a play. In a masque context, Fame is a very familiar figure.

While I do not unequivocally reject Orgel's proposition about Townshend's verses, it is entirely possible that they belong to another of the Queen's many, and undiscovered, productions. Indeed, a case can be made to associate them with 1632, the year in which Townshend received a big commission to compose two court masques. By the time of the production of *Florimène*, it was Davenant who was receiving the

Queen's commissions. It was he who wrote a new prologue for *The Faithful Shepherdess*, performed before the King and Queen at Whitehall in January 1634, and it was he who wrote the last four royal masques of the reign, the *Temple of Love* (1635), *Britannia Triumphans* (1638), *Luminalia* (1638), and *Salmacida Spolia* (1640). Although Townshend contributed a song to a 'masque' performed before the King and Queen at the court revival of Cartwright's *The Royal Slave* in 1636,³⁴ it was in 1632 that he was most in favour as a masque poet. Indeed, it is possible that he ruined his chances of preferment that year by the outspokenness of his 'Elegy on the death of the King of Sweden: sent to Thomas Carew'.³⁵

Furthermore, a piece of topical information strengthens the reassignment of the Townshend masque to 1632. In the spring of that year, Sir Isaac Wake, the English ambassador to France, signed a treaty at Saint-Germain which passed all English colonial interests in Canada over to the French. Townshend's first antimasque entry in the undated pamphlet verses is 'a Man of Canada': in the context of 1632, this figure has a certain local significance; in 1635, it simply provides exotic colour. While feathered Indians had already made an appearance upon the English masquing stage, notably in Chapman's *Memorable Masque* of 1613, and in Townshend's 1632 *Tempe Restored*, Townshend's figure, as a Canadian, nonetheless stands out as an innovation. What is more, in the light of Anglo-French negotiations over the ownership of Canada, the verses he recites are significant.

Entering upon the stage, the Man of Canada declares:

From Canada, both rough and rude,
Come I, with bare and nimble feet,
Those Amazonian Maides to greet,
Which Conquer'd them that us subdu'd:
 Love is so Just,
 Our Victors must
Weare Chaines as heavy as ours bee:
Fetters of Gold make no Man free. (Brown, p. 110)

³⁴See Brown, *Aurelian Townshend*, pp. 115-6.

³⁵See Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, p. 156.

Cedric Brown has noted that the word 'Amazonian' in the Huntington Library pamphlet is underlined and glossed in the margin with the words 'faire Franc', probably meaning France (Brown, p. 113). This is consistent with the idea that the entertainment was performed by a group of Henrietta Maria's French ladies, who become synonymous with the production's 'Amazonian Maides'. If Brown is to be believed, and the entertainment also involved a group of Englishmen who danced with the French ladies, then the 'Victors' who subdued the Canadians must be the English. The Man of Canada's stanza therefore represents Englishmen as the conquerors of Canada, but allows those Englishmen, in their turn, to become the subjects of the Amazonian (or rather the French) maids. The transference of English colonies to France is thus romanticised and becomes a celebration of courtly love rather than a reminder of France's victory over the English.³⁶

The Man of Canada's stanza also makes a tongue-in-cheek reference to 'Fetters of Gold' which make 'no Man free'. Cedric Brown remarks that the masque, coming after the production of *Florimène*, celebrates 'the union of the watching Charles and Henrietta Maria' (Brown, p. 109), while Orgel relates the masque's action to the marriages that were performed at the end of the pastoral (Orgel, '*Florimène*', p. 137). However, the verses which constitute 'The Subject of the Masque' make the observation that 'the Deity that doth reside/ In yonder Grove shall point One out a Bride' (Brown, p. 112). If Townshend's verses are detached from the production of *Florimène* it then becomes possible to see them as part of a wedding, or betrothal, celebration. This celebration gently mocks the institution of marriage in its antimasques and is later concerned to point out a bride to *one* specific bridegroom. Rather than referring to the pastoral or to Charles and Henrietta Maria's own romance, Townshend's masque might be a short entertainment specifically arranged to celebrate a wedding.

³⁶Charles I had initially ceded English interests in Canada to the French in 1629 in the wake of the Ile de Rhé conflict. In 1632, the *Mercure François* reported that French and English deputies had met at Saint-Germain 'pour la restitution des choses prises par les sujets des uns des autres depuis le Traicté fait à Suze entre les deux Couronnes'; *Mercure François*, 18 (Paris: Estienne Richer, 1633), p. 56.

During the Christmas season of 1632/3 two important marriages took place, both involving members of the Villiers family. Lady Anne Feilding, daughter of William Feilding, the Earl of Denbigh, and of Susan Villiers, the sister of Buckingham, married Baptist Noel, son of Edward, Viscount Camden, while Basil Feilding, her brother, married Anne Weston, daughter of Richard Weston, Earl of Portland. Interestingly, a bill contained in the Queen's debenture books from Toby Bailie, one of the grooms of her chamber, comments upon two weddings held during the Christmas season, claiming moneys for the carrying of 'sixe payre of Armes: from Denmark house: to white Hall for: two seuerall wedinges: at two seueral times'. Bailie also claims expenses in the same bill for carrying 'foure christall brainches [...] to be imployed at her Ma.^{ties} Pastrall' (Ravelhofer, 'The Stuart Masque', Appendix, p. 14). In a season when pastoral costumes were definitely *à la mode*, it is entirely possible that Townshend was commissioned to produce a short entertainment in celebration of one of these marriages.

One other date is worth considering for the performance of Townshend's verses. John Orrell has argued convincingly that the Somerset House production on the 5th March 1633 was not a repeat performance of *The Shepherds' Paradise*, but a new entertainment in its own right.³⁷ Barbara Ravelhofer's work on the Queen's debenture books has supported this theory, providing clear evidence of two productions in the 1633 season: one set of bills refers to a 'pastoral'; the other is connected with 'an unspecified masque at Shrovetide' (Ravelhofer, 'Bureaucrats', pp. 81-2). The accounts show that the second production was danced by the Queen and several court ladies, together with at least ten noblemen. It included the characters of Diana, Cupid, Mercury, a priest, furies, witches, various shepherds and shepherdesses, and martial masquing ladies with swords (Ravelhofer, 'Bureaucrats', p. 83). The characters certainly have a close affinity with the Townshend masque: the 'Amazonian maids' referred to in Townshend's verses might well have been costumed as 'masquing ladies with swords', while the deity who 'points one out a bride' could certainly have been the goddess,

³⁷John Orrell, 'Productions at the Paved Court Theatre, Somerset House, 1632/3', *Notes and Queries*, 221 (1976), 223-5.

Diana (who, it is to be remembered, filled precisely that role in the Queen's 1626 production of *Artenice*).

Nonetheless, two obstacles remain in the way of this new dating. Firstly, as Orgel has remarked, the verses make it very clear that their shepherdesses were born in 'the fertile plains and fields of Beauce' (a region in France just outside Paris). Moreover, the gloss on the Huntington text described by Cedric Brown corroborates this fact by associating the 'Amazonian maids' with 'faire Franc'. Both Brown and Orgel make the not-unreasonable assumption, therefore, that the ladies who danced in the masque were the Queen's French attendants. This obviously makes it easier to associate the masque with *Florimène* than with the unidentified Shrovetide masque of 1633 danced by the Queen and English ladies. Furthermore, the masque's final verses address both the King *and* the Queen who were apparently seated in the audience. This again makes the production more compatible with 1635 when the Queen did not dance because of her pregnancy. However, these two factors do not provide a water-tight reason not to associate the masque with 1632/3. Firstly, many Caroline court masques conclude with an address or encomium to the royal couple who have come together under the State in order to lead off the revels. Just because Townshend's verses address the King *and* the Queen does not mean that the Queen had not taken part in the production. Secondly, there is no reason to assume that the ladies who danced the roles of the Amazonian maids and the shepherdesses were themselves French. Both Orgel and Brown fall into the trap of reading Townshend's verses, not as literary artefacts, but as a transparent window on to a past reality in which French Amazons are necessarily French women. They also neglect to take into account the variety and multiplicity of theatrical productions associated with the Queen.

If it is accepted that Townshend's verses are only a fragment of a larger production, then it becomes possible to associate them quite convincingly with the 5th March 1633 entertainment. Following the structure of *Tempe Restored*, the 1633 masque appears to have opened with a series of disruptive antimasques danced by court

gentlemen.³⁸ Bills in the Queen's debenture books describe costumes for roaring girls and furies, wanton women, witches, and a 'Queene of Vices' (Ravelhofer, 'The Stuart Masque', Appendix 2, pp. 28-36). These disruptive antimasques might then have been followed by the arrival of four groups of shepherds: the costume bills detail that Arthur Knight, haberdasher, provided 'stuff' for 'Sheppards in grey, Sheppards in greene, Sheppards in white', and 'Sheppards in watched' (Ravelhofer, 'The Stuart Masque', Appendix 2, pp. 29-31). Interestingly, these four groups of shepherds correspond in number to the 'fower' shepherdesses mentioned in Townshend's verses.³⁹ Some sort of transformation might then have taken place, perhaps effected by the arrival of the Queen and the main masquers dressed as Amazonian women, wearing helmets and carrying swords.⁴⁰ Townshend's verses observe that the shepherds changed 'their Country Habits into new' and emphasise the necessity for a Man aspiring to be close to the shepherdesses to 'drinke Lethe, and no signe remaine/ Of folly in him, or of former flame' (Brown, p. 112). This implicit neoplatonising would purify the disorders of the antimasques, preparing the shepherds for true love in a manner that would later be echoed by the Persian youths of the Queen's 1635 *Temple of Love*. Diana, Cupid, and a priest might then have entered upon the stage to unite the shepherds with the shepherdesses, corresponding to the moment in Townshend's verses when 'the Deity that doth reside/ In yonder Grove shall point One out a Bride' (Brown, p. 112).

Townshend's verses can be made to fit this 1633 production just as easily (or as uncomfortably) as they may be manipulated to fit the production of *Florimène*. However, what the bills for the 1633 entertainment do not accommodate, as must by now be evident, are Townshend's antimasque figures of a Canadian, two Egyptians,

³⁸The names listed include, 'Mr Tartero' (also 'Mr Tartiro' and 'Mr Tartereau'), 'Mr Bouye' (also 'Mr Boye'), 'Mr Crofts' (also 'Mr Crofte'), 'Mr Seamer' (also 'Mr Seymer'), 'Mr Lapeare' (also 'Mr William LaPierre'), 'Mr Cromye' (also 'Mr Cromey'), 'Mr Murrye' (also 'Mr Mury'), 'Mr Iay', and 'Sr Iohn Meynard'; Ravelhofer, 'The Stuart Masque', Appendix 2, pp. 28-9, and pp. 33-6.

³⁹Nonetheless, *five* pairs of white shoes were made for the shepherdesses which implies that there were five shepherdesses, not four; see Ravelhofer, 'The Stuart Masque', Appendix 2, p. 27.

⁴⁰The debenture books detail that helmets were made for the Queen and for Lady Desmond, while swords were procured for mistresses Nevill and Cary. As both Sophia and Victoria Cary are named in bills concerned with this production this entry might imply that swords were made for both women; see Ravelhofer, 'The Stuart Masque', Appendix 2, pp. 28-39.

three Pantaloons, and four Spaniards. Nonetheless, while the accounts of the 1633 masque discovered by Barbara Ravelhofer are extensive and very descriptive, they are not necessarily exhaustive. It is entirely possible that the production they describe was penned by Townshend at a time when he was still in favour with the Queen, and during a season when dressing as a shepherdess was the only appropriate response to a court entertainment. Townshend's antimasque figures might have been paid for elsewhere, yet their inexplicable absence from the Queen's debenture books causes a dislocation between a possible occasion and a possible text.

A consideration of Townshend's verses, therefore, together with a consideration of the production of *Florimène*, problematises both the nature of a literary history which relies upon authorial authority for its meanings, and the nature of a criticism which reads literary texts as transparent reflections of a prior historical reality. It reveals that history is nothing more than a series of fragments that may be joined together to make a coherent story, but may equally be pulled apart and reassembled in a multiplicity of different ways. As masque historians we breathe life into the bones of the text, we make the ghosts dance, and we fix our own identities in the present in relation to these monuments of the dead. In the next chapter, it is precisely the question of monuments to the dead, and of dancing ghosts, that will be my main concern.

CHAPTER 8

Uninvited Guests: Spectres at the Feasts of the Last Masques

Can such things be,
And overcome us like a summer's cloud,
Without our special wonder?
Macbeth, III. iv. 110-12

In Chapter 6, I discussed the iconographical tensions within *The Temple of Love* which fractured the text even as it tried to present itself as a coherent whole. In this chapter, I am again concerned with tensions within the Queen's productions, considering *Luminalia* (1638) and *Salmacida Spolia* (1640), the last masques of the Caroline reign. These masques have traditionally been read as ephemeral productions that symbolise the decadence of a court teetering on the brink of extinction. Thus, for Graham Parry, *Luminalia* 'dramatises the divine power of majesty at a time when the King needed every assurance of his infallible rule', while Gerald Eades Bentley terms *Salmacida Spolia* 'the swan song of the Caroline court'.¹ Although I do not doubt that, for example, *Salmacida Spolia* can be read as a response to the Scottish rebellion, or to Charles's recall of parliament after eleven years of personal rule, I am very resistant to criticism which reads the masque retrospectively in the light of the Civil War. Furthermore, *Luminalia* and *Salmacida Spolia* were both masques which involved the participation of the Queen, and yet they have been interpreted as demonstrations of the *King's* will.² While I am by no means suggesting that these productions did not register domestic concerns, I think that they should both be opened up to readings which draw attention specifically to the position of Henrietta Maria. I wish, therefore, to consider both *Luminalia* and *Salmacida Spolia* as entertainments that invoke the spectre of female cultural agency, and as spectacles that left a lasting impression upon the mind.

¹Parry, *Golden Age*, p. 199; Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 3, p. 214.

²See Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 1, p. 72; Parry, *Golden Age*, pp. 199-203.

Let there be light: active femininity and *Luminalia*

Unlike her predecessors, Erica Veevers has read *Luminalia* as a masque which has a specifically Catholic context and which responded to a period of optimism for the Catholic party at court (Veevers, p. 142). Refreshingly, in her reading, the production is not represented as a manifestation of the King's will, but is specifically tailored to the Queen's own religious concerns. Nonetheless, to 'find the meaning' of the production, Veevers follows Inigo Jones's instructions and reads its opening scenes as 'a foil to set off more nobler representations'.³ The 'fantastic visions' of the antimasques are therefore interpreted as merely leading up to, and vanishing before, the Queen, who is 'the climax of a meaning that has been developing from the beginning' (Veevers, p. 143). In a reading very similar to her discussion of *Chloridia*, Veevers identifies a strain of Marian imagery in the masque that is focused upon the figure of Henrietta Maria, and concludes that the production celebrates the 'triumph of spiritual illumination over the forces of darkness and superstition, a triumph of "true" religion over false' (Veevers, pp. 145-6).

This reading is entirely compatible with my interpretation of *The Temple of Love* and seems to be the logical and sensitive response to a masque that was, after all, produced for the Queen. Nonetheless, I believe that *Luminalia*, more than any other production, bears witness to a tension between the real and the ideal that is most evident precisely in the antimasque 'foil' that Veevers so quickly dismisses. Orgel and Strong have presented *Luminalia* as an expression of 'the Caroline faith in the ability of the human mind to comprehend and perfect the visible universe' and as 'the ultimate Platonic statement of the architect's genius' (Orgel and Strong, 1, p. 72). As such, it follows in the tradition of, say, *Tempe Restored* and *Albion's Triumph* whose antimasque/masque combinations drew a distinction between physical and intellectual apprehension. However, rather than translating the King and Queen to the skies, or celebrating the emergence of true faith from behind the veils of religious error,

³See William Davenant, *Luminalia*, in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 2, pp. 706-23, ll. 72-3. All subsequent line references will be taken from this edition.

Luminalia locates the royal couple in their physical bodies and denies itself the magical metaphorical transference that would place them among the stars. Despite the masque's subtitle of a 'Festival of Light', it draws upon solar imagery only to place it within the sphere of a 'terrestr'al beauty' (l. 279). In effect, it is a work of proleptic mourning that emphasises the passage of time and lauds the King and Queen more for their mortal achievements than for their mythologised roles as eternal gods. It also has a strong sense of its own transient nature, locating itself as a nocturnal fancy that will eventually be erased by the coming of day. Although the figure of Night, like *Coelum Britannicum's* Time, expresses a desire to halt the movement of the heavens, there is a strong awareness in *Luminalia* that this is an impossible fantasy; Night can only 'lengthen what [she] can't destroy', and the Caroline King and Queen are only lent to the earth (l. 155 and l. 402). In other words, despite the court's fantastic revels, the masque warns that day *will* come, and the King and Queen *will* die. The masque is strongly self-reflexive, not only because it calls attention to itself through its spectacular architectural innovations (for example, a ballet danced in the air), but also because of Night's professed desire to add some diversion to the 'glist'ring shows' at court (l. 152). It is a virtuoso display of architectural skill, and yet it locates itself as a spectacle that, by its very nature, will pass away.

Instead of interpreting this notion of transience as evidence of the court's pessimism or its awareness of its own ephemerality, I wish to investigate the space on the stage that this strategy opens up. *Luminalia* and *Salmacida Spolia* are the sites of multiple, competing voices which combine together into strange hybrid productions. The figures of the Queen, the architect, the poet, and the monarch all compete for space in the masquing hall, while at the same time, the productions themselves invoke, and try to exorcise, the ghosts of other elaborate celebrations. For example, *Luminalia's* printed argument makes the strongly nationalistic statement that 'true pleasure' is to be had at 'English masques, which by strangers and travelers [*sic*] of judgement are held to be as noble and ingenious as those of any other nations' (ll. 6-9). Although comparing itself to foreign productions, the masque, nonetheless, as Enid Welsford first observed, suppresses its debt to Francesco Cini's *Notte d'Amore*, a 1608 entertainment composed

for the Florentine wedding of Cosimo de Médicis and Maria Maddalena, Archduchess of Austria.⁴ The Italian production exists as a spectre behind the Caroline masque despite this latter's claims to originality. Similarly, *Luminalia's* aerial dance, described as 'a thing not before attempted in the air' (ll. 410-11), takes as its precedent the innovative ballet from Parigi's *Triumph of Peace* (Welsford, p. 236). Here again, the Caroline masque refuses to recognise its parent, expelling it to its margins in the same way that it dismisses the fantasies of its antimasques. However, just as without the antimasques the production would be a very sorry affair, so the masque gains meaning from the ghostly resonances that may be uncovered within it.

Luminalia's conceit of dreams and Night had already found expression on the Stuart stage in *The Vision of Delight* (1617), King James's Twelfth Night masque. In addition, Anne of Austria's *Grand Ballet de la Reyne representant le Soleil* (1621), in which Henrietta Maria danced the role of Aurora, contained an early scene in which the Gods of Sleep, Dreams, and Chimeras emerged from their Cimmerian caves before being driven away by Dawn.⁵ The influence of this French production on *Luminalia* is especially important because, seventeen years after she had uttered the prophetic lines, 'Parmy tant de clairté ie ne suis que l'Aurore,/ Mais dedans peu de temps ie deuiendray Soleil' [Among so much brightness I am only the Dawn,/ But in a short while I will become the Sun] (*Soleil*, p. 10), Henrietta Maria appeared on the English stage in a mature manifestation of the imagery that had followed her from France.

As I have discussed (and as Erica Veevers maintains in connection with *Luminalia*), the imagery of light associated with the Queen can be read as synonymous with the light of Catholicism. Just as the Amiens entries conflated the light of the sun with the light of faith, so the light evinced by neoplatonism could be conflated with the light of true religion, dispelling shadows of error from a lover's soul. Nonetheless, I feel that to read *Luminalia* simply as a religious statement is to neglect the ways in which it

⁴Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship Between Poetry and the Revels* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1927; repr. 1962), pp. 113-14 and p. 236. Cosimo II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, was Marie de Médicis' cousin.

⁵Bordier, *Grand Ballet de la Reyne representant le Soleil*, pp. 3-4.

recollects the Queen's heritage and, through this, how it gives rise to a strong sense of female cultural agency. The use of Catholic imagery, particularly in relation to a woman, is not always and already an expression of faith, but can have a political goal. For example, Helen Hackett has shown how Marian imagery, while eschewed by some Tudor poets because of its Catholic associations, was co-opted by others to Queen Elizabeth I's iconographical cause.⁶ Even in the context of a Catholic queen, as Deborah Marrow has shown in relation to Marie de Médicis, the Virgin Mary provided 'another very strong and appropriate image for a woman with aspirations to power'.⁷ The imagery of *Luminalia*, while drawing upon Marian precedents, is also an imagery traditionally deployed in the service of powerful women. Furthermore, it can be shown to have a strong connection with many of Henrietta Maria's immediate relations and thus has a genealogical, as well as a religious, import in productions associated with the Queen.

Court masques are populated with ever-recurring Floras, Irises, and Auroras, while the association of women with rays of light is stock-in-trade for a Renaissance literary culture steeped in the ideals of Petrarchanism and neoplatonism. However, Henrietta Maria was the aunt of the monarch who would come to be known as France's Sun King, and was descended from a family whose iconography drew heavily upon solar imagery. She had herself not only danced as Aurora in the 1621 ballet, *Soleil*, but had taken the role of Iris in the 1623 *Grand Ballet de la Reyne representant les Festes de Junon la Nopciere*. She had also specifically been referred to as Aurora in the 1625 *roman-à-clef*, *La Galatée*, which placed her in a court described as a 'nouveau Ciel', whose King was all powerful and whose Queen was a Moon surrounded by Stars.⁸ The personal emblem of her maternal grandmother, Johanna of Austria, was a sun in partial eclipse behind a crescent moon, accompanied by the motto 'extincta revivisco'

⁶Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), espec. pp. 70-1.

⁷Marrow, *Art Patronage*, p. 62.

⁸Remy, *La Galatée*, pp. 62-9, p. 549, and p. 553. The image of Aurora was a common one in French iconography, particularly for unmarried noblewomen. It is important to locate Henrietta Maria within this iconographical tradition.

('extinguished I come to life again'), while Marie de Médicis' Florentine wedding had drawn upon the iconography of Catherine de Médicis and had figured a huge rainbow which extended across the banqueting hall.⁹ (*Luminalia*, too, it is to be remembered, draws upon the image of the rainbow in a spectacular stage effect which sees it supporting the antimasque City of Sleep.) Catherine de Médicis' own early icon had been a light-coloured rainbow with the motto 'I bring joy and gladness', exchanged after her husband's death for the more sombre, 'ardorem testantur extincta vivere flamma' ('the glow lingers though the flame is gone').¹⁰

These women's emblems all figure a refracted or a reflected light, and depend for their meanings upon their association with marriage.¹¹ Even in Anne of Austria's 1621 ballet where the Queen danced the role of the Sun, her ultimate authority was derived from her connection with her husband. She was given verses which praised Louis XIII as her 'Soleil vainqueur', and which continued:

C'est de vous que ie prens ma flame [...]
 Le pouvoir d'un Amour extreme,
 Qui m'a sousmise à vostre Loy,
 Me change si bien en vous mesme,
 Que ie ne suis que vous, et cesse d'estre moy.
 (*Soleil*, p. 15)

[It's from you that I take my flame [...]
 The force of extreme Love
 Which has subjected me to your Law
 Changes me so completely into you
 That I am only you, and have stopped being myself.]

As I will demonstrate in the next section, this image of loving absorption, rather than posing an obstacle to a woman's cultural and political agency, could actually be used to facilitate it. However, here I am more concerned with the innovation effected by

⁹Ronald Forsyth Millen and Robert Erich Wolf, *Heroic Deeds and Mystic Figures: A New Reading of Ruben's Life of Maria de' Medici* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 36; Marrow, *Art Patronage*, p. 7.

¹⁰See Sheila ffolliott, 'Catherine de' Medici as Artemisia: Figuring the Powerful Widow', *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986; repr. 1987), 227-41 (pp. 234-5).

¹¹Note, for example, that Iris is traditionally the messenger of Juno, goddess of marriage.

Luminalia which, for the first time, saw Henrietta Maria represented on the Caroline court stage as a Sun in her own right. In *Soleil*, Anne deferred her power to the authority of her husband. Similarly, in England, the figure of Henrietta Maria usually operated in tandem with Charles: for example, in *Coelum Britannicum*, although Jove resigns the government of the earthly sphere to the King and Queen and resolves to model his own domain upon the virtuous Caroline court, what the masque presents is still an image of the royal *couple*. However, in *Luminalia*, the masculine Sun resigns 'the pow'r of making day' to the Queen (l. 277-9) who subsequently scatters her light to 'those beauties near her' (ll. 343-4). This is a significant development which places Henrietta Maria in a position of almost divine authority, and is one which resonates interestingly with Ficinian neoplatonism.¹²

Discussing the ways in which the soul returns to God, Ficino observed:

But because it is proper to the male to give and to the female to receive, for that reason we call the sun male, since it receives light from none and gives to all. [...] And to those in whom that divine light from the sun of God was infused at their birth with a disposition of Courage we say that a masculine light has been granted. To those in whom the moon of God with a disposition of Justice, a mixed. To those from the earth of God, with a disposition of Temperance, a feminine. (Ficino, p. 78)

As a 'terrest'ral beauty' who gives light to her attendant stars in the place of the Sun, Henrietta Maria takes on decidedly masculine attributes in a manner proleptic of her appearance on *Salmacida Spolia's* stage as a courageous Amazon.¹³ She has an active

¹²Philippa Berry has observed that, at the beginning of her reign, Elizabeth I was sometimes referred to as the sun, especially in the Elizabethan tilt, and in the Ditchley and Rainbow portraits. She comments that as 'a signifier of Elizabeth's "body politic", or her public role as ruler, the solar image appears to have been unproblematic'. Nevertheless, 'by the end of Elizabeth's reign it was the moon which was most closely associated with the queen'; Berry, *Of Chastity and Power*, p. 135. The fact that lunar imagery was favoured even for a ruler like Elizabeth demonstrates the significance of the association of solar imagery with Henrietta Maria in *Luminalia*.

¹³Nonetheless, in *Great Britains Beauties*, Francis Lenton's book of verses written in response to the masque, Henrietta Maria's authoritative potential is again reduced to a reflection of her husband's glory. Lenton anagrammatizes the name 'Maria Stuart' as 'I Am A Tru Star', and declares that the Queen is 'A radiant *Star*, whose Lustre, more Divine, / By Charles (our Sun) doth gloriously shine'; Francis Lenton, *Great Britains Beauties, or, The Female Glory* (London: Marmaduke Parsons for James Becket, 1638), p. 2.

influence over her attendants and, furthermore, she inspires poetic encomiums by her virtue and through the 'beauties of her mind' (ll. 286-9). In other words, the Queen is located as an active arbiter of the Word; she has a beneficial influence upon art and society, and can operate in a sphere that is not necessarily dependent upon that of her husband.

Despite this powerful image, the masque bears witness to a certain internal tension as its verses fail to articulate their praise of the monarch and his wife. Couched in terms that imply that this failure arises because of the poet's inability to find words to describe the splendour of the royal couple, the masque nonetheless rests uncomfortably between its subservience to neoplatonic ideals and a sense that these are hollow. Approaching the State to praise the King, Hesperus and Apollo's flamens find themselves perpetually tongue-tied. They offer Charles praises, yet declare that, because these praises are 'truths', they are silenced (l. 313). Eventually, they are forced to admit that it 'is more lawful far/ Than possible to sing your praise', and, finally, they retreat to 'save their desperate honours [...] lest wonder strike us dumb' (ll. 322-9). In a way, what happens is a strange competition between the monarch's demand for praise, and the singers' (or the poet's) inability to provide it. A tussle occurs over the right to author the Word and, like Bellessa's curse to Echo in *The Shepherds' Paradise*, the singers' dilemma threatens to render them voiceless.

When the Queen and her masquers subsequently appear, this problem is compounded. Prefiguring Davenant's 1643 New Year's poem to the Queen which announced that it was idolatrous to use analogies to praise the Queen and which stated that 'With greater safety we may dare/ Resemble you to what you are',¹⁴ Hesperus and the flamens denigrate the ineffectual similes used by poets to represent great beauties. They then assert:

Now judge (if fairest stars no more contain
Than what is certain to th' astrologer)
Whether compared to stars she so much gain
As stars have gotten when compared to her. (ll. 345-8)

¹⁴Sir William Davenant, ed. Gibbs, p. 135.

Playing upon the intrinsic slipperiness of a language that generates its meanings through allusion and metaphor, Davenant's verses direct the audience's attention away from elaborate neoplatonic fictions to the figure of the Queen, thus forcing her to stand as the only representative of herself. This, of course, is a rhetorical strategy that does not reach to the essence of Henrietta Maria any more than any other linguistic convention. However, it subtly holds the Queen in the 'real' world of the masque where her virtues as Charles's wife are impressive because they are 'conjugal' and perplexed with 'human difference' (ll. 391-8). Rather than being a transcendent angel (and therefore virtuous because unsexed), the Queen is praised for the control she wields over her mortal passions.

Erica Veevers has stated that the figure of the Queen represents the climax of the masque's meaning, yet, by debating her very inexpressibility, *Luminalia* creates a space which it then fills with a notion of physicality. This physicality, in its turn, brings about an inescapable sense of the royal couple's mortality, and of their death. Nowhere is this more evident than in the production's concluding plea:

Be long expected in your thrones above!
 And stay on earth until our judgements know
 The noble use of that we so much love;
 Thus heaven still lends what we would ever owe. (ll. 399-402)

Luminalia, more than any other Queen's masque, bears witness to the royal couple's inevitable, and very physical, demise, asserting that their influence on earth will only be felt as long as it is held in the memories of those who remain. Like the dreams that inhabit the antimasque, and like the spectrum of refracted light that holds up the City of Sleep, *Luminalia* presents itself as insubstantial and transient. In effect, it becomes a memorial both to itself and to the royal couple. As a 'glist'ring show', opened up in a liminal place somewhere between the night and the morning, it will leave a spectra (a visual after-image) on the minds of its observers, allowing them to come to terms with their place in the present by mourning its passing: rather than gesturing beyond itself to

a true faith and a transcendent deity, the masque self-reflexively returns its audience to themselves.

By revealing itself to be an elaborately constructed fiction, the production underlines its antimasque assertion that 'man's immortal part/ Works things less perfect than if ruled by art' (ll. 208-9). This early element of the production is highly significant and bears witness to a deep connection between the antimasque and the main masque that is very unlike the relationship between the two parts of, for example, *Tempe Restored*. In Townshend's masque, the degenerate physicality of Circe's bower gave way to a spectacle of purity and virtue; in contrast, the antimasque and the main masque of *Luminalia* operate on the same plane of physical matter.

Luminalia's antimasque sees Sleep arriving on the stage and announcing that he has brought with him Phantaste, Iceles, and Morpheus to 'raise *Ideas* from [his] shady bow'r' (l. 201). These Ideas are 'dreams of human forms, of worse estate,/ That reason want, and things inanimate' (ll. 202-3). The use of the word 'Ideas' gives the moment a specifically neoplatonic impulse, while Sleep's 'shady bow'r' recalls the simile of the cave in Plato's *Republic*.¹⁵ However, the Ideas that Sleep invokes are not true Platonic Ideas, existing in a pure state beyond the physical world, but are the debased, fantastical forms of dreams that infect the sleeping human mind. To emphasise this, the antimasque's Chorus gleefully continues:

How we shall fill each mortal with delight
To show the soul's fond business every night,
When she doth inwardly contract her beams
To figure out her influence in dreams!
How they will smile that man's immortal part
Works things less perfect than if ruled by art! (ll. 204-9)

This song draws obliquely upon the fifth book of *The Republic* in which Plato attempted to define the nature of the philosopher. In this text, a philosopher is a man who 'believes in beauty itself and can see both it and the particular things which share in it'. He is

¹⁵See Plato, *The Republic*, trans. Desmond Lee, 2nd edn (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1974; repr. 1980), pp. 316-25.

described as 'very much awake', in contrast to a man who 'recognizes the existence of the beauty of things, but does not believe in beauty itself', and who is described as 'merely dreaming' (*Republic*, p. 270).

The early neoplatonist, Plotinus, expanded upon this idea of dreaming, relating it to art and the artist in a manner that resounds particularly with *Luminalia*. He observed:

Those who locate reality in bodies [...] behave like dreamers, who think that the figments of their dreams really exist. Sense-perception belongs to the sleeping soul, the part of the soul immersed in body; and the true awakening is a rising up, not with the body, but from the body. [...] Corporeality is contrary to soul and essentially opposed to soul, as testified by the birth, change and decay that bodies suffer, processes foreign to the nature of Being.¹⁶

Plotinus's sleeping soul, immersed in the corporeal body, comes to believe that the images it perceives through its senses are real. Similarly, the souls of the dreamers in *Luminalia*, infected by the corrupt matter of their bodies, generate fantastical visions that have no foundation in truth. In effect, the antimasque dreams in *Luminalia* are a literal representation of Plotinus's simile. Furthermore, in both cases, a dreamer arrives at Truth by being awakened to the transcendent essence of Beauty, which, for Plotinus, unlike Plato, can be found in the soul of an artist and in his art. In the *Enneads*, Plotinus discussed the case of a musician who must be led beyond his appreciation of perceptible sounds to the incorporeal Beauty that illumines them (Gregory, p. 97). The musician's art, like Nature, can therefore be appreciated for the seeds of Truth it contains; it can be gathered up and presented to 'the principle in soul, as something concordant, conformable and dear to it' (Gregory, p. 108). This is precisely the movement that occurs in *Luminalia* when the antimasque Chorus declares that art creates things more perfect than man's 'immortal part': an artist who appreciates the Idea of Beauty is more awake than the dreaming human soul incarcerated in, and infected by, the material body.

¹⁶Plotinus, *Ennead*, III. 6. 6, in Gregory, *The Neoplatonists*, p. 79. I favour Gregory's translation because it is clear and modern. However, see also *Plotinus: The Enneads*, trans. Stephen MacKenna, 3rd edn, rev. B. S. Page (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), p. 208.

The spectral images of past entertainments, and the chimeras and phantoms that populate *Luminalia*, all conspire to locate the masque as a manifestation (and a representation) of the shadowy, mortal world. The Queen herself, lent to earth from the heavens, is also spectral, a soul held within a mortal body that is subject to 'the birth, change and decay that bodies suffer' (Gregory, p. 79). It is the essence of her Beauty, and, more importantly, the essence of Beauty expressed in the masque's art, that will leave a spectra on the minds of the audience, leading them to an appreciation of the spark of Beauty contained within their own souls. In this production, it is, therefore, the genius of Inigo Jones and William Davenant, and not the spectacle of the Queen, that serves as the vessel leading observers to an appreciation of the divine. The masque self-reflexively presents itself as a transient spectacle that will only be made whole in the memory of its observers. It generates wonder, and it demonstrates that the things the human mind perceives as real are only ever ghostly fragments.

In addition, *Luminalia* raises the spectre of female cultural agency through the genealogies of light it associates with the figure of Henrietta Maria. In the next section, it is precisely these questions of agency and heritage that I wish to explore through a consideration of the politics of *Salmacida Spolia*, the last masque of the Caroline reign.

An under-stated mother-in-law: Marie de Médicis and *Salmacida Spolia*

All women become like their mothers. That is their tragedy.
Oscar Wilde, *The Importance of Being Earnest*

In April 1638, Marie de Chevreuse arrived in England, seeking refuge from Louis XIII and Richelieu. During the previous year, she had been involved in a conspiracy, later known as the Val-de-Grâce Affair, with, amongst others, Anne of Austria, the Duke of Lorraine, and Anne's Spanish relations. Anne, childless and afraid of divorce, was corresponding with the Spanish (now at war with France) by means of one of the English ambassador's secretaries. Letters were passed to the English resident in Brussels who then passed them to Mirabel, the Spanish resident. In August 1637, a letter from Anne to Mirabel was intercepted in hands of one of the French Queen's

servants. He was arrested and Anne was subsequently interrogated by Richelieu at Chantilly. Meanwhile, despite the Cardinal's best efforts to buy off Marie de Chevreuse, she fled from France to Spain, and then made her way to England.¹⁷

Madame de Chevreuse was met at Portsmouth by Walter Montagu, her old friend, and was provisionally lodged at Greenwich. Henrietta Maria granted her the right to be seated in her presence, a privilege Chevreuse had controversially been accorded in France by Anne of Austria. She also became reacquainted with other French exiles, notably with the marquis de la Vieuville who had left France in the entourage of Gaston d'Orléans in 1631, and who had danced in that February's *Luminalia*. Quickly, Marie de Chevreuse began to lobby for Marie de Médicis to be received into England, and, in October that same year, was rewarded for her efforts when the exiled Queen Mother arrived from Amsterdam. Both women were looked upon in England as staunchly pro-Spanish and as a severe drain upon the Crown's already over-stretched resources. Nonetheless, they were received with all honour by Henrietta Maria and, if they did nothing else, they had a profoundly influential effect upon the last masque of the Caroline reign.

Writing in December 1639, Amerigo Salvetti, the Florentine agent in London, remarked that the Queen was rehearsing 'her' masque to entertain the Queen Mother at Christmas. In a subsequent letter, he observed:

The queen's masque goes ahead, with the addition of the person of the king and nine other titled gentlemen who, together with the queen and nine of her ladies, will make up a total of twenty.¹⁸

These comments suggest that the production may have been first intended as a Queen's masque. In any event, it was the only occasion on which the King and Queen took to the

¹⁷For a longer discussion of these events, see La Porte, *Mémoires*, pp. 85-182, and Tillinac, *L'Ange*, pp. 164-87.

¹⁸Orrell, 'Amerigo Salvetti', p. 25.

stage together, the position of principal observer under the State being occupied by Marie de Médicis. *Salmacida Spolia* was therefore a masque that had to negotiate a difficult problem. It was performed before and addressed a song directly to the Queen Mother, but nonetheless took place in a climate of unease about her political intentions during her stay in England. Performed by both the King and Queen, it had to invoke national concerns. However, it also looked beyond the shores of Britain to the Europe of the Thirty Years' War, synthesising elements of Marie de Médicis' personal iconography with the iconography of the British royal couple.

The masque opens with the arrival from overseas of the Fury, Discord, a stock image from French *ballet de cour*. On a purely superficial level, this image signals *Salmacida Spolia's* engagement with continental iconographical forms, and may be construed as an attempt to appeal to the tastes of Marie de Médicis and her French entourage. However, interestingly, Inigo Jones's costumes for the Fury were based upon a Nancy entertainment performed for the Duchess of Chevreuse during her exile from France in 1626. Charles IV, Duke of Lorraine, the Duchess's host, took part in the production which was designed by Jacques Callot and which included the entry of a 'Garrison of Hell', dressed up in fire and flames. This Garrison was accompanied by 'three ladies forming the court of honour for the princess of Hell'. Their heads were covered with hissing snakes, and they carried blazing torches, and 'vipers and entwined serpents as frightening as their headgear'.¹⁹ The close connection of *Salmacida Spolia's* Fury with this entertainment is interesting, not only because it demonstrates Marie de Chevreuse's very probable contribution to *Salmacida Spolia's* design, but also because it joins the masque with another entertainment performed for the exiled Duchess. It sets up an echo with Marie's honourable reception in Nancy, implicitly allying England with Lorraine against the Richelieu administration that had expelled her from France.

In addition, *Salmacida Spolia's* Fury replicates imagery developed in France at the time of Charles and Henrietta Maria's marriage. Jean Jacquot has pointed out that

¹⁹See Gerald Kahan, *Jacques Callot: Artist of the Theatre* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1976), pp. 54-9.

this figure bears a striking resemblance to the Fury described in the 1625 prose romance, *La Galatée*.²⁰ In the romance, Prince Astiagés watched a performance of the Ballet of Discord in which a revolution against the King of Dicée was calmed by the intervention of Peace, Justice and Clemency. In *Salmacida Spolia*, it is Charles, as Philogenes, the lover of his people, who is imagined out of his mercy and clemency to seek to reduce turbulence into a sweet calm of civil concord. By drawing on the myths put forward in *La Galatée*, *Salmacida Spolia* invokes the memory of the Anglo-French marriage, and thus gestures towards Marie de Médicis' familial connection with the Stuart court. Furthermore, it signals Discord to be a threat not simply specific to Britain, but one which has already challenged the rulers of Europe. Unlike those rulers, King Charles is portrayed as equipped to confront Discord without the divine intervention figured in personified virtues.

As Graham Parry has noted, the Fury's arrival from the sea displaces on to a foreign body the threat of discord, thus ensuring that there are 'naturally no internal grounds for discontent' within the masque.²¹ The image of the Fury arriving in a storm 'having already put most of the world into disorder' manifestly calls to mind the warring factions of Europe, particularly coming soon after the naval battle of the Downs when a Spanish fleet was captured by the Dutch and the Thirty Years' War was brought close to Britain's shores. The protective defences Peace charged the gods to provide for Albion at the end of *Albion's Triumph* are breached at the start of *Salmacida Spolia* and concord in Britain is threatened from outside, thus implicitly locating Charles as one of the last European leaders standing against the Fury's disruption.

Marie de Médicis, whose anti-Richelieu/pro-Spanish sentiments were widely recognised, was deeply embroiled in the European turmoil the masque represented as threatening Charles's kingdom. The figure of Discord is, therefore, at once a subversive feminised image, invoked in order to be contained by the King's intelligent, masculine control, but also, to an observer of *Salmacida Spolia* unsympathetic to the predicament

²⁰Jacquot, 'L'influence française', pp. 133-4 and pp. 159-60.

²¹Parry, *Golden Age*, p. 200.

of the Queen Mother, gives rise to the memory of Marie de Médicis' arrival on England's shores in a ship borne across the Channel in a storm. Caroline Hibbard has noted of Marie's entry into London that it was greeted by terrible storms that unsympathetic Londoners dubbed 'queen mother's weather'.²² Furthermore, in 1638, Lord Feilding received a letter from a foreign correspondent which referred to Marie and her entourage as 'these monsters', while a political squib addressed to the Council in 1639 made a specific equation between Marie's presence in London at the Crown's expense and popular discontent over ship money and religious reform.²³ The image of Discord thus recalls the spectre of the itinerant and unwelcome Queen Mother, whose presence under the State at the masque's performance, in this context, represents a real danger to the harmony of Charles's nation. The masque's internal discontents are indeed displaced on to a foreign body, yet that foreign body, through its accumulation of associations with Charles's mother-in-law, is also already inside, signalling a domestic threat that arises from within the heart of the King's household. Constrained by the obligations of deference and hospitality, *Salmacida Spolia* has to praise King Charles's mother-in-law, and yet it registers disquiet about her potential to destabilise Charles's, and thus Britain's, domestic harmony.

Nonetheless, it is precisely in the terms of domestic harmony that the masque praises Marie, adopting and mirroring back to the Queen Mother the iconography she encouraged of herself. Writing an open letter in England in 1638 to explain her departure from the Netherlands, the Queen Mother reflected on her Regency, employing concepts of Union and Concord very similar to those later made integral to the message of *Salmacida Spolia*. She remarked of the renewed hostilities between France and Spain:

I have ever passionately longed for that Union and Concord between the two Crowns, whereof in former times I had laid the foundations by a double Alliance. And that beside I have

²²Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot*, p. 87.

²³B. Gerbier to Lord Feilding, 11th/21st August 1638, *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Denbigh MSS, p. 59; anonymous squib addressed to the council, 'Reasons that ship and conduct money ought to be paid', *CSPD*, 1639-40, p. 246.

alwayes endeavoured since the rupture, to contribute all I was able to the reestablishment of Peace.²⁴

During her Regency, after the assassination of Henri IV in 1610, Marie de Médicis tackled the difficult problem of maintaining peace in Europe by arranging the marriages of her son Louis XIII with Anne of Austria, and of her daughter Elizabeth with the future Philip IV of Spain, as well as later promoting Henrietta Maria's betrothal to Charles. In 1620, having relinquished the government of the state to Louis XIII, she set about transforming the Luxembourg Palace into her main Parisian residence, making it a monument to her own success as a ruler. Central to the painted ceilings in her private apartments were images of herself, her coat of arms, or female allegorical figures whose attributes (the caduceus, cornucopia, gold and laurel crowns, steering oar, olive branch, and globe) all indicated that they represented good government, peace, prosperity, and glory.²⁵ Many of these icons (the caduceus, cornucopia, gold crowns, and ship's rudder) were reproduced in *Salmacida Spolia's* proscenium arch and show the masque to be making use of a common iconographical language. These images were widely deployed in Europe as symbols of good government and demonstrate that *Salmacida Spolia* was not a production pointing ultimately to the 'frightening isolation' of the Stuart court or epitomising a dynasty on the edge of collapse,²⁶ but was in dialogue with continental forms of monarchical representation, recirculating images in a manner that connected the English court to France, and to the grand Florentine productions of the Médicis.

Marie de Médicis' personal iconography situated her as central to a peaceful Europe, stressing her overwhelming importance as a mediator and peace-keeper between monarchs who were also her relations. Her role as a peace-keeper had already found currency in English cultural production; Buckingham's entertainment for Charles and Henrietta Maria at York House in 1626 contained the image of Marie de Médicis waving the kings of Europe together, and Waller's poem 'To the Queen Mother of

²⁴Marie de Médicis, *A Declaration of the Queene, Mother of the Most Christian King* (London: J. Raworth for J. Kirton and T. Warren, 1639), p. 9.

²⁵See Marrow, *Art Patronage*, p. 29.

²⁶D. J. Gordon, 'Rubens and the Whitehall Ceiling', *The Renaissance Imagination*, ed. Orgel, 24-50 (p. 50); C. V. Wedgwood, 'The Last Masque', in *Truth and Opinion* (London: Collins, 1960), pp. 139-56.

France upon her Landing' hailed her as 'Great Queen of Europe! where thy offspring wears/ All the chief crowns'.²⁷ It is in relation to this that the proscenium arch of *Salmacida Spolia* gains additional resonance, for it links the masque's pacific message to Marie's self-conceived role at the centre of the discourse of European monarchy, and represents Charles's philosophy as similarly peaceful.

However, as Martin Butler has shown, Charles's historical intentions towards the domestic problem of the Scottish rebellion were anything but pacific.²⁸ Furthermore, Henrietta Maria herself, perceived to be influenced by the militant Catholicism of her mother and the Duchess of Chevreuse, was connected to a plan to raise money for the war effort from among English Catholics. While Butler points out the divergent political opinions among the noblemen masquing with Charles in *Salmacida Spolia*, it is interesting to note the number of Henrietta Maria's women with Catholic sympathies or with connections to the Catholic money-raising effort. Butler suggests that the masque's pacific message is strained by the male masquers' divergent political agendas. I suggest that the close connections between the Queen, the Queen Mother, and the other women in the production, also contributes to an anxiety about intention that, as I will show, creates tension in the masque's imagery.

In a continuation of the imagery of Marie's personal iconography which celebrated her as an advocate of peace and union within Europe and as her husband's support and heir, Marie de Médicis' marriage to Henri IV is constructed in *Salmacida Spolia* as a blueprint for successful rule. The masque's Chorus of Beloved People go up to the State and address the Queen Mother directly, claiming:

You, in whose bosom ev'n the chief and best
Of modern victors laid his weary head
When he rewarded victories with rest;
Your beauty kept his valour's flame alive,

²⁷See Orrell, 'Amerigo Salvetti', pp. 11-12; *The Poems of Edmund Waller*, ed. G. Thorn Drury, 1, p. 35, ll. 1-2.

²⁸Martin Butler, 'Politics and the Masque: *Salmacida Spolia*', in *Literature and the English Civil War*, ed. Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1990), 59-74.

Your Tuscan wisdom taught it how to thrive.²⁹

Salmacida Spolia recalls the ghost of Henri IV, using his authority to validate its praise of Marie de Médicis. The Queen Mother is then located as the spring from which all Great Britain's blessings flow because she is the mother of 'the fair partner of our monarch's throne' (l. 308). Henrietta Maria, who was pregnant at the time of the masque, is the source of 'blessings' (l. 307) and 'growing comforts' (l. 310) in what is undoubtedly a reference to the royal children and the stability of continuance they represented for the Stuart monarchy.

In addition, the imagery which presents Marie as the spring which bred Henrietta Maria harks back to the title and controlling adage of the masque. The waters of the fountain of Salmacis, at 'the top of the right horn of the hill which surrounds Halicarnassus', had the ability, we are told, to reduce the barbarous natures of the Carie and Lelegi 'of their own accord to the sweetness of the Grecian customs' (ll. 83-92). While the masque explicitly engages with national concerns, recognising the civil strife with which Charles was faced and the need to find a method for dealing with it, the text makes a connection between Marie de Médicis, the fecund Henrietta Maria who is the source of Britain's future health, and the Salmacis fountain whose benefits are to spread peace. Henrietta Maria, in giving rise to the 'comforts' by which Britain's hopes 'are longer lived' (ll. 310-11), thus provides a source of future concord like that offered by the Salmacis spring. In addition, the masque's concluding scene depicts a bridge over a large river, figuring a reconciled nation and drawing the metaphorical water images to their promised conclusion. The masque deploys imagery which connects Marie and Henrietta Maria, promoting women as integral to the generation of national and international harmony. By emulating her mother's role as Henri IV's wife, Henrietta Maria will strengthen her own husband, who is seen to be striving to maintain Britain as the last bastion of tranquillity in a sea of European discord.

²⁹William Davenant, *Salmacida Spolia*, in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, 2, pp. 732-3, ll. 319-23. All subsequent line references to *Salmacida Spolia* will be taken from this edition.

Not only is Marie described in the song as providing comfort for Henri, she is also represented as providing counsel. Indeed, the song's evocation of Marie's Tuscan wisdom brings to mind another famous Florentine political advisor, Machiavelli, whose *The Prince* was dedicated to the Médicis. Marie is linked by implication to a family of leaders and statesmen, her relationship to Henri being represented in a manner reminiscent of the *discordia concors* image of Venus and Mars, figuring the reconciliation of peace with war. The image of the harmonious Stuart marriage is projected back on to the marriage of Henri and Marie, constructing this Bourbon union as a successful historical precedent for Charles's marriage and his method of government. Just as Marie is shown to keep her husband's valour's flame alive (l. 322), so Henrietta Maria is praised in a song which locates her as the source from which the valiant take their fire (l. 426). A connection is made between mother and daughter and their respective husbands. Through his wife's genealogical connections, Charles is represented as the political heir of Henri and, like that 'chief and best/ Of modern victors' (ll. 319-20), is imagined be able to produce concord out of chaos. In addition, the image of flames being kept alive recollects Catherine de Médicis' motto, 'ardorem testantur extincta vivere flamma' ('the glow lingers though the flame is gone'), significantly connecting both Marie and Henrietta Maria to another French Queen Regent who took up the reins of government after her husband's death.

Salmacida Spolia represents Henrietta Maria, like Marie before her, as her husband's solace and, in an image reminiscent of Plato's divine hermaphrodite, celebrates the King and Queen as two parts of one whole (ll. 470-8). The balancing influence of femininity is shown to be integral to good, masculine government, yet *Salmacida Spolia's* title and controlling adage are associated with not one, but two, mythological histories which invoke images of emasculation and the female appropriation of power. These histories undercut the masque's spiritualised image of perfect marital unity, pre-empting Civil War polemic which represented the King as

swayed by the malignant influence of his wife.³⁰ The masque's representation of Henrietta Maria as the source of the country's future comforts confronts and appears to annul the disharmonious impetus of the Fury, contrasting a civilised female figure with the uncontrollably wandering body of Discord. However, when Discord appears on the stage, she expresses an envious malice towards Britain's 'full body, overgrown with peace' (l. 139), remarking that the country's 'long health' will never be altered except by its 'surfeits on felicity' (ll. 136-7). This image of the country's full body is evocative of Henrietta Maria's pregnancy, while the masque's representation of the Queen as the source of the country's 'growing comforts' (l. 310) associates her with the felicity Discord declares will be the nation's downfall. Rather than being the means through which the masque contains the subversive Fury's potential, *Salmacida Spolia* unconsciously suggests that Charles and Henrietta Maria's marriage has a contribution to make to the nation's disorder. On one level the masque's articulation of the Queen's neoplatonic fashion locates her as the helpmeet of her husband, diffusing a civilised and ordered influence over the court and country. However, it also engages with anxieties about women's place in the sexual economy as central to generation, and gestures to a concern about female agency that sees it endangering, or usurping, masculine control.

The image of the King and Queen as complementary parts, tuned to each other and effecting the concord expressed by the Salmacis fountain, recalls the mythological origins of that fountain which are rooted in an anxiety about female agency and sexual desire. In the Ovidian story, the nymph Salmacis falls in love with Hermaphroditus, embraces him while he is swimming in her spring and prays that nothing will ever part them. Their bodies blend together and, as George Sandys translated in 1632, Hermaphroditus prays in horror to his parents, 'May every man, that in this water swims,/ Returne halfe-woman, with infeeble lims'.³¹ *Salmacida Spolia*'s representation of the Salmacis fountain as a source of civil concord at once coincides with courtly

³⁰See, for example, Anon., *The Great Eclipse of the Sun, or Charles His Waine Over-Clouded* ([London]: G. B., 1644), *passim*.

³¹G[eorge] S[andys], *Ovid's Metamorphosis, Englished, Mythologiz'd and Represented in Figures* (Oxford: J. Lichfield, 1632), p. 122.

neoplatonism's insistence on women's civilising influence over men, yet also registers unease about feminine influence because of the emasculatory horror evinced by the myth's origins. Henrietta Maria, conceived as the spring giving rise to Britain's hopes, shares the spring's apparently beneficial attributes, yet her Amazonian appearance in the masque permeates *Salmacida Spolia's* mythological unconscious and gives rise to an image of female agency which endangers masculine power.

The Queen's appearance as an Amazon links her to an iconographical history of illustrious heroines, invoked poetically as paragons in order to celebrate powerful women. Jonson's *Masque of Queens* had conjured up such a gallery of women on the English court stage in 1609 when Queen Anne and her ladies danced in the guises of, amongst others, Penthesilea, Thomyris and Artemisia. Later, in France, Marie de Médicis commissioned a series of eight statues for the dome of her Luxembourg Palace which were to depict illustrious women. She was also famously painted by Rubens in Amazonian costume as Minerva Victrix. Following in this tradition, William Davenant, *Salmacida Spolia's* poet, celebrated Henrietta Maria in a poem which imagined her to be attended by Thomyris, Penelope, and Artemisia.³²

This poem, entitled 'To The Queene', declares it will celebrate the Queen's 'Royall Lover' through a comparison with the Roman emperor 'Julius, who had thoughts so high/ They humble seem'd when th'aimed at victorie' (l. 64 and ll. 57-8). Julius is represented as the archetypal philosopher king, 'In anger valiant, gently calme in love' (l. 61), in an image proleptic of the manner in which *Salmacida Spolia* represents Charles. However, interestingly, the Orpheus poet who narrates the poem tells the Queen that he will have occasion to make the comparison between her royal lover and Julius 'when/ The Destinies are so much vex'd with Men/ That the just God-like Monarch of your brest/ Is ripe, and fit to take eternall rest' (ll. 49-52). The language here is reminiscent of the language used in *Salmacida Spolia* to figure the relationship between the widowed Queen Mother and Henri IV, while the proximity in the poem of the image of Artemisia,

³²William Davenant, 'To the Queene, presented with a suit, in the behalfe of F.S. directed, from Orpheus Prince of Poets, To the Queene of Light; In favour of a young listner to his Harpe', in *Sir William Davenant*, ed. Gibbs, pp. 32-4. All subsequent line references to this poem will be taken from this edition.

'whom Truths best Record/ Declar'd a living Tomb unto her Lord' (l. 48), to the imagined death of the Queen's royal lover, invokes the possibility that a husband's spirit could be absorbed within the body of his wife.

Artemisia was a queen of Caria who married Mausolus, her brother, and was renowned for her valour in battle. One version of her story maintained that, after her husband's death, she dissolved his ashes and drank them. Thus, she became his living tomb and might also be said to have absorbed Mausolus's masculine qualities and martial courage in an image of consumption that saw her literally becoming one with her husband. She erected a magnificent monument to Mausolus's memory at Halicarnassus, which is very significantly the place *Salmacida Spolia* invokes as the site of the Salmacis spring.

Sheila ffolliott has investigated the powerful Artemisian iconography developed by Nicolas Houel in 1562 for Catherine de Médicis, commenting that Artemisia proved the perfect prototype for Catherine 'in that she both dramatically mourned the loss of her husband – the rightful monarch – and stood as an authoritative ruler in his stead'.³³ Fifty-nine cartoons were designed for tapestries, but the Queen's financial constraints probably forced her to spend her money elsewhere and there is no firm evidence to show the tapestries were ever woven. However, the cartoons made a sufficient impact on Marie de Médicis and Anne of Austria that these two French queens regent had tapestries made, attesting to the success of Artemisia as a prototype. The figure of Artemisia was, nevertheless, explicitly excluded by Marie's advisors from the list of statues proposed for the Luxembourg Palace dome because of a fear that its inclusion might provoke adverse criticism.

Artemisia's most laudable action was to provide a sepulchre for her husband, 'something which', as Rubens, Marie de Médicis' artistic adviser, was informed, '[the Queen Regent] has never wished to think about'.³⁴ This specific criticism aside, the figure of Artemisia seems to have been such a powerful emblem of feminine agency that

³³ffolliott, 'Catherine de' Medici as Artemisia', p. 230.

³⁴Quoted in Marrow, *Art Patronage*, p. 10.

it generated profound anxieties for male authors. In Ficinian neoplatonism, for example, Artemisia has a dubious value, becoming illustrative of a self-consuming love that is dangerous in its excesses.³⁵ In the shadowy recesses of the Artemisia story lurks a fear that active femininity will lead to the infection and erasure of the masculine. Nonetheless, Marie liked to represent herself as Henri's living tomb, writing of her welcome into England in 1638 that 'Those things, which were prepared for my delight [...] made me thinke, that the late King, my lord, appeared yet living in my person'.³⁶ Deborah Marrow has also noted contemporary French comments that observed Marie de Médicis 'embodied Henri's mausoleum'.³⁷ Marie adopted the idea of Artemisia's physical incorporation of her husband's body to legitimise her use of monarchical power in a state operating under Salic law. Similarly, the ghost of Henri is called back in *Salmacida Spolia* to provide a prototype of strong leadership and martial success focused upon the bodies of two women.

Salmacida Spolia's controlling device, the Salmacis fountain at Halicarnassus, is located in the region once presided over by the widowed Artemisia. Henrietta Maria's entry on to the masquing stage as an Amazon replicates the image invoked of her in Davenant's poem 'To The Queene', and situates her within a mythological history of warrior women and faithful wives. A reading of *Salmacida Spolia* undertaken with an awareness of the Queen Mother's presence under the State reveals internal connections within the masque linking Marie de Médicis to her daughter through a replication of the imagery by which they are figured, and also uncovers a strand of images which have a connection with Marie's personal iconography and with the iconography adopted by a succession of French queens regent. While the masque overtly represents Henrietta Maria and Marie as the virtuous supports of their respective husbands, it also registers an anxiety about Henrietta Maria's connection to her mother, manifested in the masque's margins which are full of histories of the absorption and incorporation of the masculine.

³⁵Ficino, *Commentary*, p. 164.

³⁶Marie de Médicis, *A Declaration*, p. 7.

³⁷Marrow, *Art Patronage*, p. 56.

Henrietta Maria's appearance on stage as an Amazon at once visibly locates her as her husband's support in a synthesis of her neoplatonic spirituality with Charles's British heroism. However, it also links her to a history of powerful women, and to the imagery promoted by Marie de Médicis of herself as Queen Regent. By comparing the Caroline marriage to the marriage of Henri IV and Marie, the masque has to confront the problem that Henri is dead, and that Marie ruled in his stead. The links between Marie and her daughter threaten to marginalise Charles and to divert from the King the loyalty owed to him by his wife. The spectre of Marie as a detested and disruptive mother-in-law, as well as an itinerant exile within Europe, haunts *Salmacida Spolia*, at the same time as the masque lauds the French Queen Mother for her familial connections with the Stuart court and replicates her ideas about the propagation of peace through marriage and generation.

Modern critics of *Salmacida Spolia* have focused their attentions entirely upon the figure of Charles, concerning themselves with his domestic politics and the imminence of Civil War. However, the masque can be shown to have been, initially at least, a Queen's production that ostensibly lauded Marie de Médicis and that took her marriage to Henri IV as a blueprint for successful rule. The masque invokes the ghost of Henri to herald the arrival of a new golden age in the reign of his son-in-law, allying *Salmacida Spolia* with the French ballets written at the time of Henrietta Maria's wedding, and blending the masquing present with the mythical past of a hero who exists outside time. The masque is filled with the memories and spectres of past occasions, locating the Caroline couple alongside a monarch whose rule can never fade.

Nevertheless, like *Luminalia*'s evocation of the royal couple's mortality, Henri's spectral presence constitutes a reminder of death, and of the masque's transient nature. Furthermore, within the economy of the Queen's Catholicised neoplatonism, the material world is the ghostly shadow of a prior, transcendent Ideal that ultimately denies its mortal subjects full presence: everyone and everything is always already a ghost, striving to overcome fragmentation and death through a self-erasing incorporation with God. Ironically, it is within the text of history that Henrietta Maria's ghostly erasure has

been most complete. Articulating a discourse that associates men with mind and women with irrational frivolity, modern historiography has denied her a relationship to politics, to other women, and to an articulate self-presence. In the stories of men such as Gardiner and Harbage, the Queen can have no place. She is erased from their discourses because she does not reflect back to them the image of themselves as the quasi-divine authors of the Word.

CONCLUSION

Historical Exiles: Henrietta Maria's Return to France

Their history, their stories, constitute the locus of our displacement. It's not that we have a territory of our own; but their fatherland, family, home, discourse, imprison us in enclosed spaces where we cannot keep on moving, living, as ourselves. Their properties are our exile.

Luce Irigaray¹

I began this thesis by discussing how critical interpretations of Henrietta Maria's cultural patronage have tended to marginalise her as a frivolous lightweight, rendering her contributions to Caroline court theatre virtually invisible. However, if her cultural influence is barely apparent in modern histories of the 1630s, then it is even less easy to detect in critical studies of the Civil War. Most notably, after 1644, when the Queen escaped to France, her presence in historical accounts becomes nearly indiscernible. While recent studies have begun to investigate her activities in England and Holland during the war, nobody has ever attempted an analysis of her years in exile. Erica Veevers' study of the Queen's theatrical productions is concerned solely with the glamour years of the Caroline court, while Leslie Hotson's and Alfred Harbage's works touch only briefly upon the Stuart exiles, and then in the context of Prince Charles. To conclude, therefore, I wish briefly to consider the years between the outbreak of war and Henrietta Maria's death in 1669.

Apart from two relatively short returns to London in 1660 and 1662, Henrietta Maria lived the last twenty-five years of her life in France with her French family and a band of English courtiers. It is staggering that nearly half of her life has been ignored by historians and critics, almost as if, as in the patrilineal economy of *The Shepherds' Paradise*, a woman over the age of thirty is no longer worth considering. In this last section, I will investigate the Queen's later cultural activities, showing how the language of her religion and her drama was used to facilitate her active intervention in the

¹Irigaray, *This Sex*, p. 212.

political conflict. I will also consider her return to France, asking whether, as an exile and a widow, she was able to wield any cultural or political influence in Paris.

Lois Potter's work on the royalist literature of the interregnum proposes that the genre of pastoral romance, popular among courtiers in the 1630s, became politicised during the Civil War, remarking:

In defending the role of women and of the private life, romance allows the major religious differences between the king and queen, and the hostility between their two countries, to be glossed over by the myth of a love which transcends conflict. Those who attack romance want that conflict to be fought out openly, not transcended.²

Potter comments that the assumption of pastoral pseudonyms by royalist supporters like Sir John Berkenhead (Cratander) and Katherine Phillips (Orinda) was not just the collective indulgence of a fantasy, but the declaration of a serious political position (Potter, pp. 72-3). Her work is important because it introduces a consideration of literary forms into historical discussions of the Civil War, making evident the cultural polarisation between a ruling elite that celebrated theatrical performance and a parliament that banned it.³

Potter also makes the observation that Henrietta Maria's Civil War letters to Charles showed that she saw herself as an heroic female warrior like the Amazon she enacted in *Salmacida Spolia* (Potter, p. 79). She concludes that it 'was the visibility of women on the royalist side, as much as their actions, that inspired hostility from parliamentarians' (Potter, p. 79). Sophie Tomlinson, expanding on Potter's ideas, has made the significant comment that the Queen's actions at the start of the Civil War saw her 'drawing on a discourse of female performance that her acting helped to set in motion'.⁴ When Henrietta Maria travelled into Holland like a lady-errant to pawn her

²Potter, *Secret Rites*, p. 80.

³On this subject, see also Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry*.

⁴Tomlinson, 'She That Plays the King', p. 202.

jewels and raise money for the war effort, the letters she wrote to Charles showed that she was ironically aware of the role she was playing as a 'she-majesty generalissima' (Tomlinson, pp. 201-2). Tomlinson makes a strong connection between the Queen's earlier theatrical innovations and the manner in which she represented herself during the Civil War. Like Potter, she sees Henrietta Maria's cultural activities providing a vocabulary for her later political actions, and concludes that 'the female claim to the rights of a subject may have been further spurred by the fact that women's acting was justified at the Caroline court' (Tomlinson, p. 203).

Just as the Queen's pastoral productions were given a privileged space within the confines of the court, and were even protected by the Star Chamber's edict against William Prynne, so the theatrical dimension of her letters during the war was a protective strategy that attempted to legitimate her activity in the political sphere: Henrietta Maria invoked the neoplatonic ideals naturalised in Stuart iconography to validate her support of her husband. However, she did not just make use of the Amazonian motif, but deployed a complicated rhetorical strategy to validate her intervention in the conflict. This strategy finds its analogy in the neoplatonic conceit of steadfast feminine constancy articulated in the Queen's pastorals, presenting her as an active agent and locating her as her husband's support and inspiration. Henrietta Maria's letters, drawing on the discourse of neoplatonism, gave her the opportunity to exert a beneficent influence over her husband by urging him to action.

Writing from the Hague in 1642, the Queen exhorted Charles to fight, declaring that if she pawned all her jewels and he did nothing both the cause and the jewels would be lost. She urged him not to hold back from action until parliament declared war, because by then he would have consumed ('aurés mangé') all the money she had raised.⁵ This notion of consumption and inactivity appears forcefully in the Queen's correspondence with Charles, serving at once to urge the King to war, to demonstrate her selfless devotion to her husband, and to emphasise that she, at least, is aware of their

⁵Charles, comte de Baillon, *Henriette-Marie de France, Reine d'Angleterre: étude historique suivie de ses lettres inédites* (Paris: Didier, 1877), p. 373.

strained circumstances.⁶ In a complicated move which validates her undertakings, Charles is located in the letters as the consumer of his wife's jewels, of her actions, her writing, and ultimately of her life force. The letters represent her as a provider and Charles as a passive consumer in a manner which upturns conventional gendered hierarchies and which carries with it the ominous subtext that the King is no longer capable either of looking after his wife or his own affairs.

The King's perceived inadequacies lead, in the Queen's letters, to the repeated assertion that she will be forced to put herself into a convent if he does not act appropriately or if he allows parliament to get the upper hand.⁷ Writing to him in May 1642, she asserted:

I see I shall be constrained by my misfortunes, to retire to some place where I can pray to God for you [...] If you have [passed the militia bill], I must think about retiring for the present, into a convent, for you are no longer capable of protecting any one, not even your self.⁸

The Queen's projected flight lays down a challenge to her husband, denying him access to her body and implying that she needs the protection of a convent because the protection he offers is not sufficient. This, however, is not just a functional solution to her financial problems and her separation from Charles, it is a rhetorical motif that draws both upon Catholic theology, and upon the neoplatonic ideas developed in her pastorals. Both *Artenice* and *The Shepherds' Paradise* contained convent-like spaces which provided temporary sanctuaries for their heroines. By asserting her intention to put herself into a convent, Henrietta Maria acts like a troubled shepherdess fleeing to a

⁶Henrietta Maria writes, variously, 'si nous mettions toutes nos pierreries en gage, pour les manger sans rien faire, elles seroient perdues et nous aussy' [if we pawn all our jewels, in order to eat them without doing anything, they will be lost and us as well]; 'je mourray de faim devant que vous manquiés' [I will die of hunger before you go without]; 'je m'en vais souper, et, quand il couste de l'argent, il ne fault pas laisser gaster' [I am going to supper, and, because it costs money, it mustn't be wasted]; Baillon, p. 377, p. 407, and p. 451.

⁷For selected examples of this assertion, see Baillon, pp. 369, 408, 434, 446, 467, and p. 480.

⁸Green, *Letters*, p. 69.

chaste sanctuary in order to be protected from the vagaries of the world. Indeed, the Queen made this comparison explicit when she wrote:

Adieu royalty. There is no more of it at all for me; I am resolved to bear all, and to live in some place where I shall fancy myself a country girl, and leave you to follow the counsel of those who are wiser than I, as they think. I would venture at least to say, they are more cunning. (Green, p. 120)

Motifs from the pastorals appear in Henrietta Maria's letters as metaphors which allow her to explore and express her situation. By recalling a pastoral idyll ('some place where I shall fancy myself a country girl'), she made an appeal to a discourse which endowed her with influence, reminding her husband of her objectivity and social efficacy, both through the sardonic comment, 'as they think', and through her use of the pastoral metaphor itself. In addition, her comment that Charles's advisors were 'cunning' drew upon the idea (expressed in *The Shepherds' Paradise*) that men were more self interested than women. Not only does the letter locate Henrietta Maria as her husband's most faithful advisor because of the love she bears the King, it allows her to inhabit a position of selflessness and disinterested objectivity because of her gender.

This disinterested objectivity, however, while asserting that women are properly political, paradoxically serves to dislocate them from the political world. In her letters, the Queen constantly insisted that, without the presence of her husband, the world had no meaning for her and provided her with no place: it was a masculine realm from which an unprotected woman could only retreat. The instability of the world and its politics, therefore, comes to be juxtaposed in the letters against the Queen's resolution to enter a convent, yet this is less a declaration of feminine weakness than an assertion of spiritual strength. The Queen's avowals that she will quit the world draw upon the theology of prelates such as Cardinal Bérulle and make manifest a notion of that world as corrupt and unstable. They do not constitute an ideologically innocent reaction to the Queen's historical situation, but develop into a complex rhetorical strategy through which she can lay claim to influence and activity. Henrietta Maria's professed desire to enter a convent demonstrates that her faith is stronger than that of her husband: Charles

is weak because the English have broken with the true Church; Henrietta Maria is constant because she submits to the only true religion and to an eternally constant God. Her spiritual constancy enables her to know herself, to recognise evil, and to remain strong. By following his wife's example (and her advice) the vacillating Charles will be strengthened and drawn to success.

It was precisely to this vocabulary of active femininity that parliamentary polemicists took exception when the royal couple's correspondence was seized by parliamentarians at Naseby in 1645. Charles and Henrietta Maria's letters were annotated and published in a tract entitled *The King's Cabinet Opened* (1645) in a manner that condemned the emasculatory role the Queen was believed to have wielded over her husband. Drawing attention to Henrietta Maria's religion, the tract stated:

It is plain, here, first, that the King's Counsels are wholly governed by the queen; though she be of the weaker sex, born an alien, bred up in a contrary religion [...] He seems more zealous for bishops and papists (called his and the queen's friends) than the queen herself.⁹

Henrietta Maria's influence over Charles is not only emasculating in itself, but leads him to support an emasculating religion. The annotation to *The King's Cabinet Opened* becomes a religious exhortation, locating Protestantism and the parliamentary cause as the only true, uncorrupted, and, indeed, masculine positions. The tract places itself beyond the false spectacle of Catholicism and laments the fact that the King has been corrupted by his wife's maleficent and theatrical religion. In a very specific example of the ideological conflict being played out between royalists and parliament, *The King's Cabinet Opened* demonstrates how the vocabulary of the Queen's pastorals and the possibilities for female action that those pastorals opened up were condemned by the Protestant opposition.

⁹*The King's Cabinet Opened*, in *The Harleian Miscellany*, 12 vols (London: Robert Dutton, 1808-11), 5, p. 548 and p. 550.

Although, in her letters, Henrietta Maria played a very articulate role as advisor and confidante to her husband, her political efficacy was displaced as the Civil War progressed. The Queen maintained a circle of close friends, including Walter Montagu and Henry Jermyn, whom she declared to Charles parliament wanted to ruin, 'because they are too much attached to you' (Green, pp. 118-20). With these constant friends, she continued to promote policies antipathetic to many of Charles's other advisors. In 1642, she strongly urged the King to take Hull, in opposition to the advice of Edward Hyde who urged Charles to sit as quietly at York as if he were still at Whitehall.¹⁰ Moreover, after the King had placed the islands of Jersey and Guernsey in Henrietta Maria's care, her friend, Jermyn, came up with a scheme to sell Jersey to the French.¹¹ Again, Hyde opposed this policy, signing a bond with other royalist commanders to defend Jersey from both parliament and Jermyn.

Once the Queen was separated from direct contact with her husband and the male courtiers whose devotion she commanded, her counterpublic space of female opportunity dissolved. As an exile in France, she commanded respect as the daughter of Henri IV, yet struggled to assert a political presence. In the context of war, she was hampered by her femininity which did not permit her to insert herself physically into the conflict, her problematic position being summed up by a story told about her by her friend, Madame de Motteville.

In the July of 1648, Motteville and a friend went to visit Henrietta Maria who had retired into a Carmelite convent while the Prince of Wales journeyed to Calais to take a ship to Scotland. They discovered the Queen alone in a little room in the process of writing dispatches. Begging her visitors to be patient until she had finished, Henrietta Maria stressed to them the importance of her letters.¹² Secluded in a small, enclosed space in an institution whose prime tenets were female chastity and religious virtue, Henrietta Maria struggled to assert her influence over the course of the war to the

¹⁰See *Dictionary of National Biography*, sub Hyde.

¹¹See *The King's Cabinet Opened*, in *The Harleian Miscellany*, 12 vols (London: Robert Dutton, 1808-11), 5, (1810), p. 527.

¹²Motteville, *Mémoires*, p. 174.

benefit of her husband, while her son, unencumbered by notions of feminine propriety, could insert himself physically into the conflict. Bereft of money and servants, she was thrown into a traditionally feminine world, impoverished and soon to be stripped even of her position as Queen by the execution of her husband.

Given her situation as a destitute exile, it is unsurprising that Henrietta Maria's time in France has been ignored. Her gender has rendered her post-1644 activities invisible, primarily because women are not supposed to take active roles in military conflicts. In effect, she has undergone a double exile, once from England and once from history. As a widow, no longer beautiful and aged over thirty, her possible contributions to culture and politics have been entirely overlooked. Nevertheless, an investigation into her years at the French court reveal some interesting activity which bears further study.

Refuge and revelling: the Queen's court in exile

Leslie Hotson has described how, during the interregnum, royalist circles in Holland and France maintained their interests in drama and poetry. Until 1646, Prince Charles kept up an acting company in Paris, and, in 1647, the Puritan newsheet, *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, commented of the Earl of Newcastle:

He has writ severall things for the English company that did lately act in *Parris* which sheweth in him either an admirable temper and settledness of mind ... or else an infinite and vaine affection unto Poetry, that in the ruines of his Country and himselfe to be at the leisure to make Prologues and Epilogues for players.¹³

As Potter has suggested, theatrical endeavour became a pawn in the English civil conflict, promoted by royalists and condemned as frivolous by their opponents. In this context, any theatrical activity undertaken by the Queen and her servants in Paris has a

¹³Quoted in Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928), pp. 21-2.

political edge, serving as a reminder of the royalist cause and of the necessity to fight to reassert the Caroline social vision.

Because of Henrietta Maria's lack of funds, and her status as an exile and a widow, it is very difficult to uncover evidence of her theatrical patronage in Paris. Nevertheless, on New Year's Eve 1647, her household produced a Christmas masque that involved a burlesque dance of the figures of Time, Janus, and Christmas. In the same season, two plays were also performed for the Queen, demonstrating that, despite her lack of funds, she managed to maintain a semblance of festivity.¹⁴ This was not just a response to the Christmas season, but also a snub to the Puritan ideologies now prevalent in England. As Hotson observes, the Puritans tried to abolish Christmas as a popish festival (Hotson, p. 23). By celebrating Christmas with masques and plays, Henrietta Maria's court in exile publicly kept the old traditions alive, providing a rallying point for ex-patriots and disaffected Englishmen.

In addition, members of the Queen's family were invited to participate in Bourbon court entertainments. At once a mark of politeness to Louis XIV's exiled cousins, these entertainments also ensured that the English cause was not forgotten in French court circles. In 1653, the Duke of York danced in Benserade's *Ballet Royal de la Nuit*, declaring before the French court:

Je veux [...]

Vanger les Rois et les Royaumes,

Au rétablissement d'un Royaume et d'un Roy.

Il faut punir ce grand outrage

Par la force et par le courage.¹⁵

I want to [...] avenge the kings and the kingdoms,

re-establish a kingdom and a king.

This great outrage must be punished

with strength and with courage.]

¹⁴See Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, pp. 22-3.

¹⁵Isaac de Benserade, *Les Oeuvres de Monsieur de Benserade*, 2 vols (Paris: Charles de Sercy, 1698), 1, p. 58.

The French had no objections to Henrietta Maria's offspring asserting a martial agenda upon the court stage, although they were proving slow at actively assisting the war effort in the field.

The next year, Henriette-Anne, the Queen's youngest daughter, joined her brother, York, to dance in the *Ballet des Noces de Pélée et de Thetis*. This was translated into English by James Howell, and was published in two editions in London in the same year. Howell's translation does not hide its royalist agenda, detailing how Henriette-Anne declared before the French court that her 'Innocent and young aspect' inspired pity and respect, and that she stood as an example of 'Princes falls', 'angry stars', and 'destiny'.¹⁶ York's stanza was even more explicit, describing how he was going to steer his course to 'A fatall ground/ Which seas surround', there to regain 'More then two Crowns and Sceptres' (Howell, sig. B3v). Howell's translation demonstrates that England still maintained an interest in its royal family, and shows that the French stage could be used for propagandist purposes, displaying the sabre rattling of the Caroline princes.

However, in 1655, France opened diplomatic relations with Cromwell and eventually signed a treaty which prevented either country from harbouring the enemies of the other. Charles II was forced to leave Paris and, later that year, when the Duke of York was again invited to participate in a ballet, the verses he uttered had changed. Marie-Claude Canova-Green has pointed out how these verses exchange the present tense for the conditional: 'Si la Vertue pouvoit, elle m'auroit donné/ Tout ce que la Fortune m'oste' [If Virtue *could*, she *would* give me all that Fortune has taken from me (my italics)].¹⁷ By participating in French ballets, the Stuart princes integrated their own discourses into that of the Bourbon court. However, as Canova-Green remarks, they had to be content with the images of themselves that the court and the ballet permitted, and this aesthetic control was also a political one (Canova-Green, p. 109). The French court

¹⁶James Howell, *The Nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, consisting of a Mask and a Comedy or the Great Royall Ball, acted lately in Paris six times* (London: Henry Herringman, 1654), sig. A4v.

¹⁷Canova-Green, *La Politique-spectacle*, p. 107. The ballet in question is Benserade's *Ballet des Plaisirs*.

was no longer in a position to allow itself to be the mouthpiece of the impoverished exiles, and Stuart participation in official entertainments tailed off until the Restoration.

Henrietta Maria nevertheless maintained a presence within French society. In 1651, she was a frequent member of the group that gathered at the house of her niece, Mademoiselle de Montpensier, to converse and to watch plays. This group formed the seed that grew into Montpensier's famous *salon*, a *salon* that promoted the literary genre/parlour game of the portrait in prose or verse. The vogue for complimentary descriptions of members of the social élite swept Paris in 1658, giving rise to a two-volume collection dedicated to Montpensier. This volume contains a prose description of Henriette-Anne written by the comtesse de Bregis, demonstrating that Henrietta Maria's family were visible within the Parisian *beau monde*.¹⁸ While the collection does not contain a portrait of Henrietta Maria herself, Madame de Motteville's *Mémoires* include a description of her that can be described as nothing else but a prose portrait, suggesting that the Queen, too, was treated to the honour of having her description circulated within the *salon* world.¹⁹

The Queen's connections with this world were not just social. She hoped to arrange the marriage of the wealthy Montpensier to Charles II in order to provide him with funds to regain the English throne, and to increase France's obligations towards Britain. Montpensier describes a conversation with Henrietta Maria which took place in 1656 when the Queen visited her, accompanied by a large and fashionable entourage. Henrietta Maria reputedly informed her niece that she should consider marriage to the future King Charles II because she would then be mistress of her own desires, and would be able to make use of anyone she pleased.²⁰ Montpensier's report of this conversation describes her aunt putting forward a notion of marriage that accords women a great deal of power and which locates Charles as a neoplatonic lover,

¹⁸*Recueil des Portraits et Éloges en vers et en prose dédié à son altesse royale Mademoiselle*, 2 vols (Paris: Charles Sercy, 1659), 1, pp. 54-7.

¹⁹See Motteville, *Mémoires*, pp. 84-5.

²⁰'Songez que si vous l'eussiez épousé [...] vous seriez maîtresse de vos volontés; vous vous serviriez de qui il vous plairoit'; Mademoiselle de Montpensier, *Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier, fille de Gaston d'Orléans, frère de Louis XIII*, ed. Michaud et Poujoulat (Paris: L'Éditeur du Commentaire Analytique du Code Civil, 1838), p. 211.

helplessly devoted to her beauty (Montpensier, p. 211). Here again, the neoplatonic language of the pastorals is deployed in a political context, both to privilege women's agency, and as a bid to win support for the royalist cause.

Montpensier's figuration of Henrietta Maria as a fashionable and worldly woman provides a striking contrast to the common view of her as a broken widow, seeking solace in tears and religion. Père Cyprien de Gamache, her Capuchin biographer, writing an almost hagiographical account of her life, states that she spent many months of every year at her convent at Chaillot, adding that it was only her position as a daughter of France and a mother that kept her from embracing the religious life.²¹ Furthermore, in contrast to Montpensier's version of the Queen's views on marriage, Gamache also recounts how, with Henrietta Maria's approval, he taught Henriette-Anne that a married woman's greatest duty was to submit to her husband. These examples show how the Queen's identity was applied rhetorically through discourse, reflecting the position of a text's author as much as that of its subject. Existing within a range of stories, Henrietta Maria was both, and neither, of these women. Nevertheless, when her exile is discussed in modern texts, it is the vision of her as a broken woman that is most prevalent.

Henrietta Haynes has remarked that the convent of Chaillot was a peaceful retreat for the Queen after all her sorrows, 'for the world was strictly excluded, and the convent never became, like [Queen Anne's] Val-de-Grâce, a centre of political intrigue'.²² However, it is significant that the institution, founded by Henrietta Maria in 1651, became a sanctuary not only for herself, but for many former *salonnières*. Its second abbess was Louise de la Fayette, a former *fille d'honneur* of Anne of Austria and one of the late Louis XIII's neoplatonic loves. She was also the sister-in-law of the writer, Madame de la Fayette, who paid frequent visits to the convent. Madame de Sévigné, the famous letter writer and denizen of the Rambouillet *salon*, also retreated to Chaillot after her beloved daughter's marriage, and Madame de Motteville's sister

²¹Father Cyprien de Gamache, 'Memoirs of the Mission in England of the Capuchin Friars of the Province of Paris from the year 1630 to 1669', in Birch, *Court and Times*, 2, p. 470.

²²Haynes, *Henrietta Maria*, p. 296.

became one of its nuns. The convent became a truly feminocentric space into and out of which the Queen could move at will. Not only was it a concrete manifestation of the desires expressed in her letters to her husband, it also fulfilled the fantasies of the Queen's pastorals, according her a place in female community that provided a sanctuary from the inconstant world.

It is nonetheless interesting to speculate whether the Queen conducted social and political meetings at Chaillot, a place secure from prying eyes and vituperative critics. Indications of this can certainly be discerned in a series of memoirs, written by soeur Marie-Henriette Revellois, one of the foundation's original nuns. Revellois's text eulogises Henrietta Maria as the convent's founder, and is keen to represent her as an example of constant Catholicism. The vagaries of her fortune are used to demonstrate the mutability of the material world and, in a manner similar to that implicit in *Artenice* and *Tempe Restored*, show that true security is only to be found in heaven. Taking Ecclesiastes 1.2 as its subtext ('vanity of vanities; all is vanity'), the text seeks to demonstrate that 'tout passe en ce monde, et n'est que vanité', and asserts that God has given the Queen the opportunity of demonstrating her faith through her submission to a series of divinely inflicted disasters.²³ The eulogy describes Henrietta Maria as a woman who had 'une fidelité pour Dieu admirable' [an admirable constancy for God] and who thanked Him every day for rendering her 'une Reine Malheureuse' (Revellois, 3, p. 16). In a strategy very similar to that deployed by the Queen in her letters, she is figured as an example of true Christian constancy, virtually a martyr for her religion. This strategy is entirely necessary because the Queen is the convent's figurehead: if her life is not shown to be exemplary, the foundation's very identity as a religious house is called into question. Nevertheless, one aspect of Revellois's eulogy strikes a strange note, encoding an anxiety about Henrietta Maria's presence at the convent that deserves further investigation.

²³Paris, Archives du monastère de la Visitation, G-2. Soeur Marie-Henriette Revellois, *Mémoires*, 9 vols, c. 1673-97, 1, pp. 65-6, and 3, p. 16.

Revellois is careful to emphasise that the Queen's presence at the convent was not disruptive and did nothing to alter the house's sanctity. However, right from the start of the narrative, questions are raised about the number of secular visitors her presence draws to Chaillot (Revellois, 1, p. 21). The convent's boundaries become so permeable that the nuns develop the habit of closing off their own bodies, attending mass with their eyes closed to avoid being contaminated by the outside world (Revellois, 2, p. 27). Eventually, they are forced to approach Henrietta Maria to ask her to curtail the visits. From this point on, Revellois's text is punctuated by references to moments when the doors to the Queen's apartments were closed to the nuns because secular visitors were attending upon the Queen. In 1651 and 1652, for example, during the French civil wars of the Fronde, the text makes reference to the arrival of several important dignitaries, one of whom was the duc d'Orléans, Henrietta Maria's brother (Revellois, 1, p. 29). A comparison of Revellois's text with the *Gazette de France*, with Madame de Motteville's *Mémoires*, and with the Queen's own letters to her sister Christine in Savoy, shows that Henrietta Maria was involved at that time in negotiations with d'Orléans, the duc de Lorraine, and Louis XIV, mainly concerned with managing the civil unrest. Revellois's text thus provides an indication that the Queen did use Chaillot for informal political meetings, profiting from its seclusion and its lack of gossiping servants.

Just as Henrietta Maria's letters used religious motifs to validate her entry into politics, so Revellois's narrative represented the Queen as a model of devout Catholicism in order to deflect criticism of her more worldly activities. While I am in no doubt that Henrietta Maria's religious convictions were strongly held, the foundation of the convent performed a strategic function, underlining both to her compatriots and to her opponents in England that she was a Catholic and a daughter of France. As well as being a site of religious retreat into whose relative obscurity the Queen could retire, it also spoke loudly of her unfortunate situation and provided a location from which she could conduct political affairs under the aegis of chastity and propriety. Most importantly, however, Revellois's text demonstrates how the figure of the Queen was deployed for ideological ends, serving to guarantee the propriety of the Chaillot convent. Like Montpensier's very different figuration of Henrietta Maria, Revellois's

text tells us more about the nun and her convent than it does about the character of the Queen.

My thesis has sought to give Henrietta Maria a certain historical presence, just as her theatrical productions gave her a vocal presence upon the Caroline court stage. In contrast to previous studies of her activity, I do not subscribe to the view that her cultural patronage was simply a facile reproduction of French fashions, nor that it was entirely apolitical. As the daughter of a French queen regent and as the wife and sister of two monarchs, Henrietta Maria had a role to play in both European culture and politics. Her French heritage was exploited in her masques and plays to provide her with an iconography that, while compatible with that of her husband, could also be used to assert her own independent identity upon the stage. It was this independence that caused her to be solicited by the likes of Cardinal Richelieu, and which rendered her an important conduit to her husband.

History might conceive of Henrietta Maria and her theatrical interests as contributing to the downfall of the Caroline regime, but she nevertheless had an important role to play at the Caroline court. Indeed, the royalist vogue for politicised pastoral romance stemmed from the fashion she introduced from France, demonstrating the significance of her cultural patronage and the manner in which it became a symbol of the differences between the royalist and the parliamentarian camps. After her flight from England, Henrietta Maria's exile in France saw her returning to the land that had nursed her taste for theatre and whose fashions and current affairs had found expression in her pastorals and masques. Nonetheless, it was a return to a land that encapsulated all that her enemies hated about her: she was French, she was Catholic, and she was a woman who acted in irrelevant plays. The image we have received of her is one that has largely been influenced by this view, and ultimately it is the victor's vision. What remains to us of Henrietta Maria is, therefore, the story of an exile: an exile from England, and an exile from history itself.

As a woman and as a Queen, Henrietta Maria inhabits texts which try to prescribe her identity, demonising her as a frivolous child or idealising her as a

neoplatonic woman. Represented in the King's masques as the mirror of masculine self-presence, she has continued to subtend this rational conception of identity, pushed to the margins of literary criticism as a frivolous woman, and operating as the Other against which masculinist constructions of history define themselves. Nevertheless, in her own pastorals and plays she managed to intervene in the discourse of the Caroline monarchy to assert a political presence and a cultural identity independent of that of her husband. It is, therefore, ironic that, having survived the Civil War of her adopted country, she should become the posthumous victim of a French uprising, her tomb violated and smashed, her memory scorned, and her bones scattered into oblivion by the fury of her own compatriots.

Like her father's spectral returns in French ballet and English court masque, Henrietta Maria's memory bears witness to the fragmentary nature of time. History is not a linear process, but a work of mourning and forgetfulness. It is made up of fantasies and impossibilities, containing within itself the promise of a future that is yet to come. Henrietta Maria's historical specificity cannot be retrieved; her bones remain scattered. What is left to us, and what we inherit, is this very scattering, a scene of violence out of which we must constitute our own identities, re-membering a story from the bones of the past.

Appendix

Professional Singers? The Question of Madame Coniack

Tempe Restored (1632), a masque for the Queen composed by Aurelian Townshend, is notorious because its printed text contains the names of two female singers, Madame Coniack and Mistress Shepherd, who sang the roles of Circe and Harmony respectively. The identities of these women have always been a mystery; indeed, Peter Walls suggests that they employed deliberately obscure pseudonyms to avoid public censure (Walls, p. 4). I do not think this was the case, and, although I have not been able to identify either of the women definitively, I have several suggestions to add to the debate about the identity of Madame Coniack.¹

Roy Booth has suggested that Madame Coniack 'was evidently' the subject of Thomas Randolph's poem, 'Upon a very deformed Gentlewoman, but of a voice incomparably sweet'.² The poem is alternatively titled in various locations as 'Upon the French Woman [...] that sings in Masques at Court', and 'On a ffrench woeman, one of the Queenes Chapple'. Noting that the poem is 'a hyperbolically witty variant upon 'Ugly Lady' poems' in which a lovely voice is set off against a foul appearance, Booth is nevertheless quite convinced that its subject is Madame Coniack (Booth, p. 533). However, I do not think that the poem provides enough firm evidence to support this. For a start, one of the poem's variant titles states that the woman sang in 'Masques' (in the plural). Madame Coignet is named only in connection with *Tempe Restored*, a fact that leads me to believe that she was a recognised figure whose participation was worthy of note. Neither can I agree with Booth's assertion that she was a professional singer because professionals were never identified by name in masque texts (unless they happened to be Inigo Jones). Furthermore, Booth's argument presupposes that Madame

¹A family called Coniac did exist in the period. However, they were minor nobility from Brittany and I cannot link them to the Bourbon court. For further information about them, see René Kerviler, *Répertoire général de bio-bibliographie Bretonne* (Rennes: J. Plihon and L. Hervé, 1897; repr. 1978), *sub* Coniac.

²Roy Booth, 'The First Female Professional Singers: Madam Coniack', *Notes and Queries*, 242 (1997), 533. See also *The Poems of Thomas Randolph*, ed. G. Thorn Drury (London: Frederick Etchells, 1929), pp. 115-7.

Coniack and Mistress Shepherd were the only women singers at the Caroline court. I noted above that Margaret Prevost received payments for her contributions to the Queen's music. It is possible that the daughters and wives of Henrietta Maria's musicians participated in the production of music at court.³ The singer described in Randolph's poem cannot, therefore, be connected with any certainty to Madame Coniack and I would like to suggest two alternatives to Booth's attribution.

A Madame Coignet arrived in England in 1625 in Henrietta Maria's train and remained at her side throughout her life, becoming first woman of the bedchamber on the death of her own mother in 1655.⁴ She died in France in July 1668 (just over a year before Henrietta Maria herself), and was buried at the Visitandine convent founded by the Queen. A Jacques Coignet (her husband?), from an old Auxerre family whose presence at court dated back to the time of Catherine de Médicis, also accompanied Henrietta Maria from France, and was frequently employed by her as a messenger: for example, in 1637, he carried letters between her and her sister Christine in Savoy.⁵ However, despite Madame Coignet's long service to the Queen, I have been unable to discover any references to her singing talents. In addition, although several variations of her name do appear in Henrietta Maria's documents, none of them ever approach the spelling of Coniack.

Another likely candidate might be a member of the family of Cosnac from Limousin whose connections with Henrietta Maria's friends and relations went very deep. In 1618, Eleonor de Talleyrand, widow of Henri de St. Aulaire, married François de Cosnac, eldest son of the late Annet de Cosnac.⁶ The couple spent a great deal of time at court where Eleonor's brother, Henri de Talleyrand, comte de Chalais, was Louis XIII's favourite. Nonetheless, in 1626, Chalais, solicited by Marie de Chevreuse,

³Many of the men who served the Queen came from musical families (for example, the La Pierres, the Louis, and the Prevosts). I find it hard to believe that the women of these families were not equally as talented as the men. Here again, the problem that arises is one of women's historical invisibility.

⁴It is possible, therefore, that she was the daughter of Madame de Saint Georges.

⁵See Ferrero, *Lettres*, pp. 47-8.

⁶See *Mémoires de Daniel de Cosnac*, ed. Jules de Cosnac, 2 vols (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1852), especially volume 1, pp. 2-3, and volume 2, pp. 457-8.

became involved in a plot to overthrow the King who was seriously ill.⁷ Gaston d'Orléans was being pressured to marry the wealthy Mademoiselle de Montpensier, yet a plan was conceived to wed him to Anne of Austria should the King die. Buckingham and the Earl of Carlisle were recruited to Gaston's cause and promised him England's support. Indeed, the bishop of Mende reported to Richelieu that 'Le roi d'Angleterre attend de grands effets de l'intelligence qui est entre Monsieur et la reine [Anne] et que presque toute la cour conspire à cette dessein' [the King of England expects great things from the secret relations between Monsieur and the Queen and nearly all the court conspires in the plan].⁸ Needing more information about the plot, Richelieu approached Chalais who finally denounced Madame de Chevreuse as leader of the cabal. However, discovering his betrayal, Chevreuse managed to re-turn him and employed him to encourage Gaston to flee abroad. Chalais was arrested in July 1626 and executed the following month. Chevreuse herself was exiled and fled to Lorraine.

Distressed and sickened by her brother's fate, Eleonor and her husband renounced any courtly ambition and returned to their lands in the provinces.⁹ Nevertheless, in 1661, their third son, Daniel (born in 1630), was chosen to perform the ceremony that married Henriette-Anne, Henrietta Maria's daughter, to Philippe, duc d'Orléans. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility, therefore, that the Madame Coniack who sang in *Tempe Restored* in 1632 was Eleonor Talleyrand. Her family did have a close connection with the French court, her brother was admired by Marie de Chevreuse, Henrietta Maria's friend, and she harboured staunchly anti-Richelieu sentiments.¹⁰ However, I have been unable to ascertain whether she could sing, or

⁷My information about this plot is drawn from La Porte, *Mémoires*, pp. 14-17; Tillinac, *L'Ange*, pp. 126-32; Louis Battifol, *La Duchesse de Chevreuse: une vie d'aventures et d'intrigues sous Louis XIII* (Paris: Hachette, 1920), pp. 84-104.

⁸Quoted in Battifol, *La Duchesse de Chevreuse*, p. 85.

⁹Cosnac's family lands were in the Dordogne region, close to the town of Cognac. The name of the town and the name of the drink associated with it have a pronunciation very similar to that of Coniack.

¹⁰I suspect that the Monsieur de Conac whose letters were included in Nicolas Faret's 1634 *Recueil de lettres nouvelles*, was Clément de Cosnac, Eleonor's brother-in-law, a bachelor of the Sorbonne and later prelate. This would provide a link to both the nascent Académie française (Faret was its first secretary), and the Parisian *beau monde*. Letters from Boisrobert (to the Earl of Carlise), from Guez de Balzac, Malherbe, and Molière were also included in the volume; see *Recueil de lettres nouvelles*, ed. Faret, 2, pp. 136-67.

whether she ever visited the court in England. Nevertheless, given her anti-Richelieu stance and the connections her family maintained with his enemies, most notably with the princesse de Conti, Marie de Médicis' great friend,¹¹ it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that she and her husband were somehow involved in events surrounding the Day of Dupes and fled to England for temporary safety in the aftermath of the Queen Mother's exile in July 1631. This would make her participation in *Tempe Restored* worthy of note and explain the name's presence in the masque's printed text.

¹¹Louise Marguerite de Lorraine, princesse de Conti, was the sister of the duc de Chevreuse. As well as being close friends with Marie de Médicis, she was one of Anne of Austria's intimates, and was also the lover of the maréchal de Bassompierre. Daniel Cosnac's first appointment was as a page in her household.

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