CHAPTER 3

The Masques, Art, and Religion

It has been suggested in the preceding chapters that Henrietta's type of préciosité, with its connection to Devout Humanism, influenced the moral tone of Charles's court, and the tone of poetry and drama addressed to the Queen. In these contexts the fashion for "Platonic love" had only a general connection with the Queen's Catholicism. The language and ideals of Platonic love were, however, a bridge between the social and religious sides of the Queen's love cult. The idealistic side of Platonic love found its strongest expression in court masques of the 1630's, and it was in the masques that, I believe, the social and religious sides of the Queen's love cult met. In the following discussion I shall suggest that the masques built on the connections I have outlined between the Queen's cult of love and her Catholicism, and that images of Platonic Beauty and Love took on a double significance: they express the social side of the Queen's Platonic ideal, but they also express through visual imagery ideals of Beauty and Love that were connected with religion, and that had deep significance for the period under discussion. The transition from the social to the religious side of the cult was made through the visual images created for the King and Queen on the stage. An analysis of the masques in terms of their visual images, and against the background of connections between the arts and religion during the period, is therefore necessary to restore to the masques their full level of meaning.

Early commentaries on Platonic love in the Caroline masques generally treated it lightly, and the Queen's masques in particular tended to be
dismissed as trifling examples of spectacle. Recent criticism, however, has emphasised the importance in these masques of the doctrine of Platonic love, not only in helping to build a personal mythology for the King and Queen, but in presenting to the court the political ideals of Charles's rule. In their discussions of masques of this period, Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong have pointed out that Platonic love, "which has usually been regarded as flippant and irrelevant, a mere courtly game," is, on the contrary, a political assertion, "exactly consonant with, and indeed implied by, the King's absolute monarchy." Just as, earlier in the century, Ben Jonson's masques had helped to give authority to the Neoplatonic philosophy that underlay James I's claims to the Divine Right of Kings, so his two masques of the 1630's, Love's Triumph through Callipolis and Chloridia (both 1631), set out in words the moral and political implications of the Queen's doctrine of Platonic love. In Orgel's words, "about the Queen revolved all passion, controlled and idealised by her Platonic beauty and virtue, as about the King all intellect and will"; thus Platonic love, in relation to the Monarchy, became a political statement. It also became a religious statement, and I believe that Jones's development of the ideals of Platonic love in succeeding masques went beyond the vaguely religious associations of Neoplatonism suggested by Orgel to a much more specific reference to religious issues and events of the period. In this chapter I shall attempt to approach the masques from the point of view of their visual images rather than from their literal meaning, which in most of these masques is of secondary importance. My first aim will be to suggest that Jones created complementary sets of images for the King and Queen in terms of his own arts, architecture and painting, and that the qualities associated with these arts were also qualities associated with the King and Queen's religions; secondly, to show that Jones's architectural setting and stage for the
masques had implicit connections with religion; and, thirdly, to suggest that Jones's ideal of Beauty, which he invests in the Queen, had reference to the ideal of Beauty in the Anglican Church.

(i) Pictures with Light and Motion

Court masques in the 1630's were dominated by Inigo Jones, whose emphasis on stage spectacle over-rove the contribution of writers. Ben Jonson was dropped as a collaborator after the first two masques, Love's Triumph and Chloridia, and only in two other masques of the period, Thomas Carew's Coelum Britannicum and James Shirley's The Triumph of Peace (both 1634) did the writers claim an equal share. In all the other masques Jones was responsible for the design of the masque as a whole, for the written description of the subject, the scenes, the costumes, and, of course, for all the staging. Only the songs and verses were contributed by Aurelian Townshend to Albion's Triumph and Tempe Restored (both 1632), and by William Davenant to the remainder of the masques, The Temple of Love (1635), Britannia Triumphans, Luminalia (both 1638), and Salmacida Spolia (1640). Of these masques, four (Love's Triumph, Albion's Triumph, Coelum Britannicum, and Britannia Triumphans) were presented by the King, four by the Queen, and the last (Salmacida Spolia) was a joint masque of the King and Queen (I shall not make detailed reference to The Triumph of Peace, since it was produced by the Inns of Court for a somewhat different purpose, and has been discussed elsewhere). In most of these masques it is probable that the subject was arrived at by the King or Queen, or both, in consultation with Inigo Jones. These masques form a homogeneous group for study, not only because they represent a deliberate policy on the part of Royalty to resume
regular masque-giving after 1630, and to use the masques to convey ideas that were felt to be important at the court, but also because they were presented over a relatively short time to an audience which changed little, and which was therefore able to appreciate recurring themes in the masques, and to interpret their meaning on a number of different levels.

Because of the dependence of Jones's masques on spectacle it is necessary to approach them differently from Jonson's masques to discover their full meaning. Jonson's, which depended on a unifying poetic idea for their "invention," can be read in a linear fashion because their meaning unfolds from beginning to end. Jones's masques have to be approached from the "wrong" end, from the grand concluding spectacles which he added to masques after 1630, and which summed up the meaning of the performance. It is significant that none of Jones's masques with Jonson before Love's Triumph and Chloridia has a concluding spectacle, although in two by other authors (Tethys' Festival, 1610, and The Lords' Masque, 1613, by Daniel and Campion respectively) a change of scene was introduced after the masquers' dance and revels. The reason which Daniel gives is "to avoid the confusion which usually attendeth the dissolve of these shows" (11.311-12), and it is possible that Jones would have used them more often had they not been contrary to Jonson's concept of the masque. After 1630, however, there was a compelling reason for Jones's addition of a final scene. In James's reign the King was always present from the beginning of the performance (and the Queen's pleasure was not much considered), so that Jonson's meaning could be stated at the beginning, unfold in the action to culminate in the discovery of the masquers, and fold back into itself with dancing and a song at the end. After 1630, either the King or Queen, or both, always took part in the performance: hence it was no use Jones unfolding his meaning while half the important people in the court were still behind the scenes. The
anti-masques and the "action," therefore, which take up a disproportionate amount of space in the written version, helped to fill out the evening and amuse the spectators before the main business of the performance, the discovery of the masquers. Jones writes in Tempe Restored, for instance, that the performers who introduced the discovery scene took their place on the degrees by the lords and ladies, where they sit "to see the masque" (11.180-81). It is only after the masquers have danced, and are safely seated under the State, that Jones has the full attention of his audience for the spectacular final scene in which the full meaning of the masque is revealed. The pattern of Jonson's masques therefore is a circle, whereas the pattern of Jones's is more like a flight of stairs. Only when the top is reached does their full meaning unfold.

In masques of the 1630's, Jones can be imagined starting his "invention" with these concluding spectacles, fitting them to a "subject" which reflected the wishes of the King or Queen, and then calling on the poet, musician, and dancing-master to supply their parts. The stated "subject" in the written version of Jones's masques often bears little apparent relation to what is seen on the stage. The text of Luminalia, for instance, begins with an elaborate story about the dispersal of the Muses in ancient Greece, and their present return to the English court, none of which is referred to overtly in the rest of the masque. Just how casual Jones was in choosing a formal "subject" for the masques in which he had the ruling hand, can be seen in Salmacida Spolia: the title of the masque and the "ancient adages" from which it comes (neither of which are referred to directly again in the rest of the masque) are set down verbatim from passages in Vitruvius, one of Jones's favourite books on architecture. It does not bother him that the common association of effeminacy with those who drink the water of Salmacis (the myth of Hermaphrodite) could be very unflattering to the King,
and in fact echoed many of the charges that Puritans were directing against
the court. So secure was the court circle, that allusion to the cultured
world of the visual arts, in which Jones's interests co-incided with those
of the King, was all that Jones envisaged. The King's recognition of a
source in Vitruvius would in itself constitute a compliment to him.

Charles's court was, of course, well qualified to understand meaning
conveyed in terms of the visual arts, and Jones himself was one of the most
distinguished artists at a court distinguished for its artistic tastes. A
renaissance of all the arts in England was looked for in the work of artists
like Jones, through whom, Edmund Bolton had said, "there is hope that
sculpture, modelling, architecture, painting, acting and all that is praise-
worthy in the elegant arts of the Ancients may one day find their way across
the Alps into our England."

Throughout the 1620's, works of art both
classical and contemporary had been arriving in England in the great
collections of the Earl of Arundel, the Duke of Buckingham, and the King.

An allegorical painting by Gerard Honthorst in 1628 (Fig. 7) shows
Buckingham, as Mercury, presenting the Liberal Arts to the King and Queen,
as Apollo and Diana, and the painting could stand as an introduction to
masques of the thirties, in which a constant theme is the return of the arts
to England. The King as Apollo, father of the Muses, leans forward to
welcome the Arts; Diana, as goddess of chastity, ensures that they are
purified and reformed. The vices are tumbled into the darkness below the
Royal throne, like the figures of an anti-masque, and the play of light
connects the central group with the Royal group, which reflects light to the
heavenly figures above. The scene is reminiscent of so many masques in
which Mercury or another god leads a group up to "the state" to praise the
King and Queen that it could be a representation of one of the many lavish
entertainments devised by Buckingham before 1629. In masques of the 1630's,
Fig. 7 Gerard Honthorst, showing the King and Queen as Apollo and Diana
Jones not only made the return of the arts to the English court one of his principal themes (it will be treated in considering the Queen's masque), but he created images for the King and Queen in terms of the visual arts themselves.

It has been generally recognised that in the King's masques Jones relied on visual allusion to Neoclassical architecture to suggest both his own artistic, and Charles's political ideals. In the border of the scene to Albion's Triumph Jones defended his own art against Jonson's criticism by including an allusion to the title-pages of Renaissance books on architecture, showing that by the combination of Theory and Practice "all works of architecture and ingingine have their perfection" (Albion's Triumph, 11.39-40). By doing so, Jones placed his own work among the Liberal Arts, and it must have been a special humiliation to Jonson when, at the end of Chloridia, Jones introduced a scene in which Fame is supported on the one side by Poetry and History, on the other by Sculpture and Architecture. Many years before in The Masque of Queenes (1609), Jones's design for the House of Fame had chosen "the statues of the most excellent poets, as Homer, Virgil, Lucan, etc., as being the substantial supporters of Fame" (11.650-52). Now in Chloridia Architecture and Sculpture are promoted to the same position. Jonson singled out the scene in Chloridia for special condemnation in his Expostulation with Inigo Jones (11.31-40), suggesting that it, and all Jones's arts are merely show. Jones was able to reply in Albion's Triumph by producing a series of classical buildings (an Atrium and Amphitheatre, Figs. 8 and 9, as well as a Forum and a Temple) leading up to a prospect of the King's Palace at Whitehall. If, as Jonson said, architecture were merely a mechanical skill, the memory of buildings should vanish when they had outlived their usefulness; instead, the masque shows, they connect the values of the ancient classical world with those of Charles's court.
Fig. 8  Inigo Jones, A Roman Atrium in Albion's Triumph (1632)
Fig. 9 Inigo Jones, An Amphitheatre in *Albion's Triumph* (1632)
Buildings themselves thus take on the role of Platonic ideas: Orgel and Strong have pointed out that Palladian architecture—the Piazza of Peace in The Triumph of Peace, the Roman buildings in Albion's Triumph, the vision of a great city in Salmacida Spolia—are visible forms of the order and harmony which Charles is represented as having restored to the realm. Jones's architectural images thus had political meaning, which, in the Stuart Doctrine of Divine Right, was closely connected with religious meaning.

The visual imagery of the King's masques closely reflects the twin ideals of Roman Imperialism and early British Christianity, to which the Doctrine of Divine Right appealed for authority. Anglican theologians such as Bishop Jewel had referred back, for example, to the Emperor Constantine (who was both British-born and Christian) as a ruler in whom the power of Church and State were combined, writing that:

We flatter not our prince with any new-imagined extraordinary power, but only give him that prerogative and chieftey that evermore hath been due unto him by the ordinance and word of God; that is to say, to be the nurse of God's religion: to make laws for the church; to hear and take up cases and questions of the faith, if he be able; or otherwise to commit them over by his authority unto the learned; to command the bishops and priests to do their duties, and to punish such as be offenders. Thus the godly emperor Constantinus sat in judgement in a cause ecclesiastical ... Greater authority than Constantinus the emperor had and used our princes require none.

(Defence of the Apology, Works, III, p.167)

At the same time a "British" tradition was traced back to Brutus, the first conqueror of Britain, from whom the Stuart Kings were supposed to be descended, and to Lucius, the first Christian King of Britain. Theologians like Richard Montagu (who was James's Chaplain and then Charles's) traced the history of the English Church back to "ancient founts" derived from classical and patristic authority, and to early Christianity in England before the advent of Augustine and the "Romish" influence, which eventually
had made necessary the Reformation. This combination of ideas drawn from Christian Rome and early Britain was closely reflected in masque images associated with the King.

Albion's Triumph is the clearest expression of the classical theme. Charles appears as a Roman Emperor, the first scene is a Roman atrium, the anti-masques consist of "such kind of pastimes as victorious emperors were wont to present as spectacles to the people" (11.244-45), and the action passes to the forum of the city of Albipolis, with "Albanactus triumphing, attended like a Roman emperor" (11.130-32). Jones's buildings and costumes are all carefully copied from books of classical designs, and spectators would have had an immediate frame of reference against which to judge these scenes in Mantegna's cartoons for The Triumph of Caesar which the King had purchased in 1629; a visual reminder of Charles's love of art would reinforce the double theme of the masque, of the King as heroical leader, not in war but in the arts of peace. In The Triumph of Peace the idea of a triumph was turned into a reality when a procession of horsemen, chariots and masquers "all after the Roman form" (1.130) travelled through the streets of London to Whitehall, where the masque was presented. As the decade proceeded, another set of images connected with ancient Britain merged with the images of ancient Rome, representing the King as the restorer and upholder of the best qualities of both. In Coelum Britannicum, as the title and Carew's text make clear, modern Britain becomes the inheritor of the virtues, but not the vices, of the classical world. Jones's scenes reinforce the theme, not only in the impressively visual process of extinguishing the ancient constellations and "stellifying" the new British heroes (1.1076), but in the progress of the settings from ancient to modern times. The masque opens on "the ruins of some great city of the ancient Romans or civilised Britons" (11.36-37), varies to a "grave anti-masque of
Picts ... ancient Scots and Irish" (1.885-86) with a "genius" presiding over the three Kingdoms (1.889), and leads up to a final vision of Windsor Castle, "famous seat of the most honourable Order of the Garter" (1.1080). The British heroes are represented as new stars in the firmament, taking the place of the classical gods in a concluding scene which, as Orgel and Strong point out, "sums up in a single stage picture a whole complex of Caroline religious, ethical and social ideals" (p.70). In the following masque, Britannia Triumphant, the emphasis has turned fully to Britain, but the Palace of Fame (Fig. 10), through which the King makes his entry, is framed by an architectural setting emphasising classical order: "a Peristylium of two orders, Doric and Ionic, with their several ornaments, seeming of white marble, the bases and capitals of gold" (11.507-09). The design for the Palace (not at all classical) had been used before in masques, and the setting would have suggested to spectators British virtues growing out of classical tradition, echoing the salute to the King and masquers as ones who "in this isle / The old with modern virtues reconcile" (11.484-85).

The allegorical figure of "Religion" appears in the concluding spectacle of two of the King's masques. In Albion's Triumph her companions are Peace, Justice, and Concord, in Coelum Britannicum Truth, Wisdom and Good Government. These qualities are associated with the King, and certainly represented for Charles the virtues that grew out of the via media of the Anglican Church. Concord and Peace echo Charles's Declaration on Religion of 1627 which was designed to close debate on religious disputes: as Supreme Governor of the Church he undertook "not to suffer unnecessary disputations, altercations, or questions to be raised which may nourish faction both in the Church and commonwealth," but to "conserve and maintain the Church ... in the unity of true religion and the bond of peace." Truth and Wisdom are representative of the contemporary attempt to define faith in terms of intellectual assent
Inigo Jones, scene showing the fusion of classical and native British traditions in *Britannia Triumphans* (1638)
and reason, with which Charles sympathised. William Chillingworth, for instance, who dedicated his main work *The Religion of Protestants: A Safe Way to Salvation* (1638) to Charles, wrote in the dedication that he felt himself equal to the task of defending Anglicanism "because it is the truth I plead for, which is so strong an argument for itself, that it needs only light to discover it." This sentiment is echoed in the proscenium border of *Salmacida Spolia*, where Jones makes Reason and Intellectual Light the necessary companions of Doctrine and Discipline (11.23-49), leading to Wisdom which is shown as the virtue of the King. At the end of *Coelum Britannicum* Charles is shown in his role as Head of the Church when he is represented as the brightest star in the crown of Eternity. Eternity herself is enthroned over Windsor Castle, which was for Charles a chief centre of Anglican ceremony, so that the images of the masques were designed to symbolise the King's religious as well as his political ideals, and to show the King himself as their embodiment.

In the masques for the Queen Jones created a different, but complementary, set of images which drew on the aesthetic values of contemporary baroque painting. In the Queen's masques Jones faced a challenge which he makes explicit in *Tempe Restored*, of finding for the Queen a visual equivalent of the Platonic ideal of Beauty, so that "corporeal beauty, consisting in symmetry, colour, and certain inexpressable graces shining in the Queen's majesty, may draw us to the contemplation of the beauty of the soul, unto which it hath analogy" (11.361-364). Symmetry, colour, graces that shine, all suggest a painter's approach, and in responding to the aesthetic element in the Queen's Platonic ideal, Jones seems to have explored the painterly qualities of his scenes, making the Queen's masques not only a progress of Beauty, but a progress of Beauty in terms of his own stage art. There is in these masques a much greater imaginative freedom than in the King's, in
which one often feels that the scenes are being strained to a text, that the allegorical figures are being dragged in to convey a political message. Partly freed of this in the Queen's masques, Jones used them to experiment, and it is in them that he made most of his significant advances in stage technique. In Chloridia he used a fly gallery for the first time, making possible the extensive aerial motions which became increasingly complex in succeeding masques. In Tempe Restored he produced a spectacle of outstanding brilliance for the Queen's appearance as Divine Beauty, a spectacle that, as Jones tells us in his description, "was for the difficulty of the engining and number of the persons the greatest that hath been seen here in our time" (11.204-06). The Temple of Love ends with the vision of a temple which (as I shall argue below) was of special significance to Jones's work in relation to the Queen. Luminalia ends with a daring aerial ballet which Jones again comments on, saying that this apparition "for the newness of the invention, greatness of the machine, and the difficulty of the engining was much admired, being a thing not before attempted in the air" (11.409-11). This greater technical freedom gives the scenes a fluidity of line that allowed Jones to experiment with the qualities of colour, composition and light in his masque scenes; in order to express the "inexpressable" I believe that he turned to the side of his work that was concerned with painting.

Jones was interested in painting long before he became an architect. One tradition says that he began as a "picture-maker," a painter of large-scale compositions, another that he went abroad to study landscape Painting. Certainly he retained an interest in painting all his life, advising the Earl of Arundel and Charles on their collections, and associating at court with artists and collectors. In the 1630's Rubens and Gentileschi both painted panels for the ceilings of buildings which Jones had designed,
Rubens for the Banqueting House, Gentileschi for the Queen's House at Greenwich (Fig. 11).[27] Other painters worked under Jones's direction on decorating the walls and ceilings of buildings, and Jones's instructions to Jacob Jordaens for panels to be painted for the Queen have been preserved, showing the care he took for composition and lighting.[28] All these were paintings on a grand scale, and must have had an effect on the way Jones conceived the scenes of his masques. There were many painterly effects in masque scenes: living figures often blended with others that were not real at all, but "feinto," painted on a backdrop; or "in relievo," modelled and cut out to look real in the distance, blurring the distinction between painting, sculpture, and actual living figures, in the way admired by contemporary painters.[29] Jones must always have thought of his main scene, the discovery of the masquers, as a **tableau vivant** in which the carefully grouped figures are revealed, to the accompaniment of music, in a blaze of colour and light. During the 1630's Jones seems to be thinking as an artist about these groupings, consciously making them less stiff and formal, as in Albion's Triumph when the King appeared, "attended by fourteen consuls, who stood about him, not set in ranks, but in several gracious postures, attending his commands" (11.262-64), or in The Triumph of Peace, when sixteen masquers were discovered, "sitting in a gracious but not set form" (1.632). In Salmacida Spolia he is interested in **chiaroscuro** effects, when light from above the Queen illuminated her throne so that "all the ladies about her participated more or less of that light, as they sat near or further off" (11.387-88). In a court such as Charles's, Jones could depend on the educated taste of his audience to appreciate the various ways in which the figures were grouped, colours blended, the important parts of the scene picked out with light, and the whole arranged within the scene of perspective.
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Ceiling in the Queen's House, Greenwich, built by Inigo Jones
In his approach to masque scenes Jones could hardly have remained unimpressed by the presence at court in the 1630's of painters like Rubens and Van Dyck. With Rubens especially he shared many similarities in taste. The two men were near contemporaries, and both had spent their formative years in Italy. During his long visit to the English court (from June, 1629 to March 1630) Rubens discussed with Jones and the King the plans for panels in the Banqueting House to celebrate the reign of James I (Fig. 12). Jones's arrangement of the panels was similar to that in the ceiling of churches like San Sebastiano in Venice, filled with the paintings of Veronese whom Rubens particularly admired, and Rubens chose Veronese's paintings as the model for the central panel and at least two others in the Banqueting House. Rubens' paintings were in the tradition of Renaissance and Baroque church art: the central panel of James's Apotheosis derived from Veronese's Coronation of the Virgin in the Sacristy of San Sebastiano in Venice, a painting which Rubens had already adapted for his own Coronation of the Virgin in the ceiling of the Jesuit church at Antwerp (completed 1620). Another panel, The Union of England and Scotland, comes from a Biblical subject that was popular with Renaissance and Counter-Reformation artists, Esther and Ahaseurus, the subject of one of Veronese's paintings which Rubens had adapted to three different subjects in the Jesuits' ceiling. Rubens' panels thus brought a style of painting associated with Catholic religious art into the heart of the English court. Whether or not Jones actually supplied the written "programme" for the ceiling to Rubens, he certainly showed his admiration for the paintings by copying details from them for the border of his scene in Salmacida Spolia, thus recalling to the audience the allegory of the ceiling, and implying that, like Rubens' painting, his border consists "of picture qualified with moral philosophy" (1.67), so tempering delight with profit. Jones possibly borrowed from
Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), *Apotheosis of James I*, Whitehall Banqueting House, London

*Fig. 12* Central panel in ceiling of the Banqueting House
Rubens even before the panels were fixed in place in 1635. In Tempe
Restored the final spectacle consists of "a new heaven ... in the midst of
which, Jove, sitting on an eagle, is seen hovering in the air with a glory
behind him" (11.260-62) (Fig. 13). The scene has a general likeness to
scenes in Italian entertainments (cf. Orgel and Strong, Fig. 87), and no
doubt Jones took the idea from them. But the scene may also have held a
topical allusion to a preliminary painting by Rubens for the central panel
of the Banqueting House, showing James seated on an eagle (Fig. 14). The
likeness of the scene to the sketch becomes evident when we read that
"Cupid from another part of the heaven comes flying forth, and having passed
the scene, turns soaring about like a bird," like the figures in Rubens'
painting, while Pallas and other figures, with the "great chorus," stand
below (11.263-67). Such a conflation of sources would have appealed to the
audience, pleased the King by alluding to James (as Jove), and reminded
everyone of the paintings that were soon to make a "new heaven" of the
ceiling overhead in the Banqueting House, where the masque was being
performed.

Rubens made several allegorical paintings during his visit, including
one of the King and Queen, and an "Apotheosis" of the Duke of Buckingham
(Fig. 15), in a Baroque style that was obviously attractive to the court.
His treatment of his subjects, whom he presents as ideal yet sensuously
beautiful, mythological yet paradoxically real, was similar to the treatment
of the King and Queen in masque, and the qualities of his painting, full
of rich colour, luminosity, and a sense of space and movement, must all have
made an impression on Jones in the thirties in creating the scenes of his
masques. These qualities became particularly important in the images of
Beauty and Light which Jones associated with the Queen, and which complemented
the images of reason, order, and proportion associated with the King. Tempe
Fig. 13  Inigo Jones, Jove on an eagle with a glory behind him, *Tempe Restored* (1632)

Fig. 14 Rubens' sketch for central panel, showing James on eagle
Fig. 15 Rubens, Apotheosis of the Duke of Buckingham, for ceiling of York House (after 1628)
Restored was the masque in which Jones speaks of his scenes as being "nothing else but pictures with light and motion" (ll.49-50). The phrase may have been put in as a wry comment on the criticism of people like Ben Jonson, but there is enough truth in it to make it an apt description of masques like Tempe Restored and Luminalia. The main scene of Tempe Restored is remarkable for both these qualities. It opens with eight musicians, representing the spheres, seated on a cloud, "which in a circular form was on each side continued unto the highest part of the heaven, and seemed to have let them down as in a chain." To the music of these spheres two other clouds containing eight stars descend to the middle region of the sky, and another greater cloud, containing six stars, descends from above them; above all, in a chariot richly adorned with precious gems, sat Divine Beauty "over whose head appeared a brightness full of stars ... striking a light round about it" (see ll.186-97). The stars pass and repass, the clouds and chariot descend in complex motions, bearing their passengers to earth and flying up again to heaven "showing a pleasing contention between them as they pass." The scene is accompanied by a wealth of music and singing, but, not surprisingly, the words of the songs all direct the attention back to the sight. The verse explicitly renounces its claim to attention: "I cannot blame ye if ye gaze, / And give small ear to what I say," sang the Highest Sphere (ll.226-27); and "How are we ravished with delight / That see the best!" sang the Chorus (ll.256-57). The verse compliment to the Queen becomes, indeed, a compliment to Jones's art:

The music that ye hear is dull,  
But that ye see is sweet indeed,  
In every part exact and full,  
From whence there doth an air proceed,  
On which th'intelligences feed,  
Where fair and good, inseparably conjoined,  
Create a Cupid that is never blind. (ll.230-36)
The Platonic mingling of beauty, goodness, and love in the Queen is indistinguishable from those qualities in the image of Divine Beauty which Jones has created for her on the stage.

In *Luminalia* Jones concentrated on the symbolic properties of light. He had of course, from the beginning of his career, been interested in light, and he used hundreds of torches and lights to illuminate his scenes, but in *Luminalia* the whole "invention" was based on it (1.13). The masque opens with a scene all of darkness, the nearer part woody, and further off more open, with a calm river, that took the shadows of the trees by the light of the moon, that appeared shining in the river, there being no more light to lighten the whole scene than served to distinguish the several grounds that seemed to run far in from the eye. (11.57-62).

The action of the masque proceeds through scenes of night and sleep, to dawn, and the promise of a new light in which "intellectual and corporeal brightness are joined" (1.256). This was, of course, the Queen, and she appears resplendent with light: "behind all was a bright sky, and in the midst, about the Queen's majesty's seat, was a glory with rays, expressing her to be the queen of brightness" (11.255-57). The gradual lightening of the stage is a superb theatrical effect, but (as I will show later) also an essential part of the masque's meaning. In the concluding spectacle Jones goes on to create an image of "lightness" in terms of movement: a heavenly vision in which a bright and transparent cloud came forth far into the scene, upon which were many zephyri and gentle breasts with rich but light garments tuckered around their waists and falling down about their knees, and on their heads garlands of flowers. These to the violins began a sprightly dance, first with single passages, and then joining hands in rounds several ways. (11.403-07)
This airy vision joins with the images of light to suggest that in this masque corporeal beauty had indeed achieved a transcendent form. Jones's images for the Queen, depending on "light and motion," were harder to represent as drawings than his architectural images for the King, depending on line and proportion, and so they have not received an equal amount of attention in trying to reconstruct the symbolism of the masques. A series of sketches for *Luminalia* and for the Queen's appearance in *Salmacida Spolia* does, however, give some impression of the qualities which Jones was trying to reproduce on the stage. The scene for the opening of *Luminalia* (Fig. 16), based on detail of a painting by Adam Elsheimer, is the most "painterly" of Jones's masque designs. Elsheimer's effects of light and shadow were admired by Rubens, who has a painting which shows a similar detail of the moon reflected in water. Another sketch for the "new and strange prospects of chimeras" in the masque (11.170-71) (Fig. 17) is based on cloud effects in Parigi's *Intermedium* for "The Return of Astraea" (Fig. 18), showing the general effect that Jones intended. Two other sketches for the final scene show the "heaven full of deities ... with instruments and voices" (11.386-88), first in detail (Fig. 19) and then in a sketch of the whole scene (Fig. 20), showing how Jones imagined it on the stage. The dance of the "*zephyri* and gentle breasts" in the upper part of the heaven was suggested to Jones by the figures in another scene from Parigi, "The Temple of Peace" (see Orgel and Strong, Fig. 70). These "heavenly" scenes in connection with the Queen are continued in Jones's sketches for *Salmacida Spolia*. The "huge clouds of various colours" (1.381) is shown (Orgel and Strong, no.407), and then the vision which it opened to reveal (Fig. 21). In a "transparent brightness of thin exhalations, such as the gods are feigned to descend in" (11.383-84) sat the Queen, over whose head darted "lightsome rays that illuminated her seat" (11.386-87). Jones's
Fig. 16 Inigo Jones, opening scene of night for *Luminalia* (1638)
Fig. 17 Inigo Jones, Cloud scene for Luminalia
Fig. 18 "The Return of Astraea," in *Il Giudizio di Paride*, designed by Giulio Parigi (Florence 1608)
Fig. 19 Inigo Jones, "A heaven full of deities" in Luminalia
Fig. 20 Inigo Jones, sketch for final scene of *Luminalia*
Fig. 21 Inigo Jones, the great cloud in which the Queen descended, *Salmacida Spolia* (1640)
sketch for this scene attempts to suggest some of the airiness and luminosity of the stage vision which he calls "this brightness" (1.388), and which descended to the stage "with many streaks of thin vapours about it, such as are seen in a fair evening sky." In these scenes for the Queen Jones plays on the imagination and the emotions, demonstrating the power of Beauty to appeal through the eye to the soul, and creating for the Queen a Platonic image of great visual force.

The two sets of images for the King and Queen, although they seem confused in the written version of the masques, would have been visually quite distinct on the stage. In the King's masques the discovery of the masquers is associated with images of civic order, or with the rugged "earthy" aspects of nature: the "stately temple" in Albion's Triumph, a cave in the Mountain of the Three Kingdoms in Coelum Britannicum, the Palace of Fame in Britannia Triumphans, the throne in Salmacida Spolia which is placed in a setting of "craggy rocks and inaccessible mountains" which represented "the difficult way which heroes are to pass ere they come to the Throne of Honour" (11.292-300; 1.345). In the Queen's masques the discovery is associated with pleasant aspects of nature or with "heavenly" scenes: the fragrant bower in Chloridia, the heavenly chariot in Tempe Restored, a richly adorned maritime chariot in The Temple of Love, in a garden set against a "bright sky" in Luminalia, in a luminescent cloud in Salmacida Spolia. The King always makes his entry from the ground, while the Queen on two occasions makes her appearance from the "heavens." These paired sets of images were appropriate representations of the "masculine" and "feminine" Principles symbolised by the King and the Queen in the masques: of military courage and chaste love (Albion's Triumph), of Heroick Virtue and Divine Beauty (Tempe Restored), of Understanding and Will (Temple of Love), of Reason and Intellectual Light (Salmacida Spolia). Jones's complementary
sets of stage images reinforced visually the basic dualities of Neoplatonism, of masculine and feminine, body and spirit, earth and heaven.

The object of Neoplatonism was to reconcile complementary opposites in a union effected by love. This was also the object of the masques, and the symbolic means of uniting them was through the love of the King and Queen. Every masque ends in reconciliation of the opposites outlined above, with the King and Queen seated together in the chair of State, and a song in praise of their mutual love and marriage. In these masques the words (except in Jonson's two masques) do little more than allude to the well established principles of beauty, goodness and love; the real reconciliation is made in the coming together of Jones's two sets of visual images in the concluding spectacles. Having set up the two sets of images in terms of his own arts, he reconciles them in the same terms. The masculine principle represented by the King and symbolised by Jones in terms of the civic art of architecture, and the feminine principle represented by the Queen and symbolised in terms of the beauty and spiritual light of painting, are brought together as images of the union of "earth" and "heaven" in the final spectacles. In Albion's Triumph the heavens open to reveal Peace and her companions over "a prospect of the King's Palace at Whitehall" (11.338-44); in Coelum Britannicum the scene with a "princely villa" gives place to a heaven full of allegorical figures, and a vision of Eternity over Windsor Castle (1.1020; 11.1050ff.); in Salmacida Spolia, appropriately for a joint masque, the two sets of images come together in what was probably the most artistically satisfying of the spectacles (Figs. 22, 23): the stage set represents the suburbs of a great city, complete with "magnificent buildings," a bridge over a river, and even people passing to and fro (1.454), while above it hang spheres and clouds full of music; then again "beyond all these, a heaven opened full of deities; which celestial prospect, with the chorus below, filled all the whole scene with apparitions and
Fig. 23 Detail of the scene in the Heavens, Salmacida Spolia
harmony" (11.462-64). It is from this heaven that the Queen has just come to join the King after his descent from the craggy and difficult throne of Honour. The two sets of images representing the joining of the King and Queen open out from the particular to the universal in a vision in which civic peace and heavenly harmony are joined.

For Jones, I believe, the images of Reason and Order that he created for the King, and of spiritual Beauty which he created for the Queen, became more than mere tags applied to the conventional flattery of Royalty. They represented complementary sides of his own nature, and in the masques he was interested in solving the artistic problem of uniting reason and imagination, "body" and "soul." Jones's attitudes to art were deeply influenced by Platonic ideas, and his practice involved two apparently opposite interests: his belief in reason, classical rules, proportion, which he applied to architecture, and his love of colour, imagination, fluency, which he admired in painting and art. These two interests came together in the design of his buildings, and are summed up in the rule he applied to art: "In all inuencions ... on must first designe ye Ground, or ye thing plaine, as yt is for youse, and on that vary ye, addorne yt—Compose yt wth decorum according to the youse and ye order yt is of...." These were not, for Jones, simply matters of artistic expression. He went on to apply his rule for art to an analogy with human behaviour, an analogy which gives a glimpse into the two sides of his own temperament when he writes:

For as outwardly every wyse man carrieth a grauiti in Publicke Places, weare ther is nothing els looked for, yet inwardly hath his immaginacy set on fire, and sumtimes licenciously flying out, as nature hir self dooth often tymes stragantly, to dellight, amase us sumtimes moue as to laughter, sumtimes to contemplation and horror, so in architecture ye outward ornaments oft [ought] to be sollid, proporsionable according to the rules, masculine and unaffected, whereas within the Cimeras yoused by the ancients, the varried and composed ornaments both of the house ytsuelf and the mouables within yt ar most commendable.
The Banqueting House, in which the masques took place, was a perfect example of the rule: designed by Jones on neoclassical lines on the outside, decorated with all kinds of hangings, paintings and tapestries inside, and eventually adorned with the flamboyant colours of Rubens' ceiling, it combined in itself the two principles represented in the masques, of civic order enlightened by spiritual vision. Similarly, when he came to design the sets for the masques, Jones designed the "outside," the proscenium border, the flats and shutters of the perspective scene, and the machines that moved across it, to be "sollic ... masculine and unaffected"; within these he arranged the "movables," the living figures, the lights, the airy visions that were to delight and amaze the spectators, and to set their "immaginacy" on fire. It is thus a mistake to think of Jones as the Augustans tended to do in architecture: as the artist whose buildings brought to England the cool sanity of classical form, and whose proscenium-arch stage set a distance between actor and spectator. Beneath the neoclassical lines of his architecture and the neat Mannerist drawings for the masques, Jones hid an extravagant imagination which found its expression in "cimeras" and visions of "heavenly" Beauty on the stage, visions which were associated in the masques with the appearance of the Queen.

These "heavenly" images, like Rubens' paintings on the Banqueting House ceiling, introduced to the English court an element of the baroque aesthetic that on the Continent was associated with the expression of Counter-Reformation ideals of religion. When associated with the Queen they harmonised with her religious beliefs, becoming on the visual level an equivalent for the Catholic element in her cult of Platonic love. The images of Strength, Reason and Proportion, on the other hand, associated by Jones with the King, were significant of those qualities in Jones's own
art, and in the religious and political ideals of Charles's reign. By bringing together these two sets of images on the stage, Jones created a visual symbol of unity that radiated out from the King and Queen, taking on significance on the artistic, political and religious levels. The importance of the first two levels of meaning has been sufficiently recognised, but the third level has been recognised only as a vaguely religious ambience to court entertainments. It seems to me, however, that religious symbolism was quite fundamental to these masques, and that far from being vague and general, it was specific and timely, referring to issues being debated in the 1630's and of vital interest to the court and to the country as a whole. The key to the meaning of the masques lies, first, in the direct way in which the arts and stage were connected with religion in the seventeenth century, and, secondly, in the way Jones's images for the King and Queen, which recreated Platonic ideals in terms of the visual arts, were also significant of the King and Queen's religions. The union of the two sets of images in the masques took on meaning in relation to varying relationships during the period between the King's Anglicanism, and the Counter-Reformation Catholicism of the Queen.

One area in which this relationship became of particular interest in the 1630's related to the elaboration of ceremony in the Anglican Church under Charles and Archbishop Laud, an elaboration which seemed to many to be leading England back to Rome. I believe that a defence, and a demonstration, of religious ceremony was incorporated in the masques, and that Charles's ideal of Beauty in religion was connected with the ideal of Beauty represented in the visual images associated with the Queen. The last section of this chapter will examine the way in which these meanings were conveyed in individual masques. First, however, it is essential to look at Jones's stage itself. An understanding of the visual and physical properties of the masque stage is quite central to the issue of religious significance in the masques,
and in the next section I want to examine the way Jones's stage paralleled, from early in the century, many of the visual and ceremonial forms being introduced by the Stuarts to the Anglican Church. I will go on to suggest that in the 1630's the parallel became of increasing interest, as both Jones's stage and Anglican ceremony took on closer associations with Counter-Reformation Catholic ceremony. The latter was familiar to the court, both from its practice in the Queen's chapel, and from contacts with the Continent, where a similarity between court and church spectacle was fully accepted. Attitudes to church ceremony during the period were deeply significant of religious principles and beliefs, and the architectural and visual properties of Jones's stage made an ideal setting for referring to issues of religion in the masques.

(ii) The Masque Stage and Religion

Jones developed his masque stage, and the architectural setting that was an integral part of it, from court stages in countries where the Reformation had made no clear break between many of the outward forms of church and court ceremony. These associations had, of course, a long history, since many secular forms of spectacle had been absorbed into religious spectacle in the Middle Ages, and many religious forms reabsorbed into civic and court pageantry in the Renaissance. Many of the visual elements of the Renaissance stage itself originated in church art, in the altar and tomb sculpture, painting, and tableaux vivants used by the Mediaeval church, and the tableaux vivants are especially important for an understanding of the masque, in which the "discovery" of the masquers remained the vital part. In church ritual objects of art were used to mark the events of the church calendar, and were made the centre of adoration and prayer; a group of objects was sometimes covered with a curtain, and revealed with special effects of music and lighting, while a prologue presenter explained the significance
of the show. These tableaux were further dramatized when living actors took the place of statues, and performed music, made speeches, or engaged in action. When tableaux vivants were taken over for Royal entries, triumphs and processions, the biblical figures remained, gradually being joined by historical and chivalric characters and, in the sixteenth century, by the whole world of classical mythology. Often only the names of deities were changed, Jupiter or Jove taking the place of God in the throne of Heaven, nymphs and goddesses taking the place of the religious virtues, without causing any special change in dramatic or pictorial form. In France, religious plays were performed for Royal entries in Paris in the fifteenth century, and continued to be performed on these occasions as tableaux vivants, simply by suppression of the text.

Furthermore, many elements which later became characteristic of the baroque stage were already present in the French mystères which were adapted to the entertainment of Royalty: the gloire or luminous halo around the head of a saint, the clouds on which the gods were seated, the canvas-covered platform on which figures could perform or sing, the ciel with angels, Mary and Child, or God the Father, were familiar among other spectacles at Royal progresses. This religious inheritance of art and stage was eagerly adopted by the Renaissance for the sophisticated ceremonies and entertainments at the courts of the Emperor Charles V, and later of Catherine de Medici in France, and of the Medici Dukes in Florence.

In Catholic countries there had been no clear break between church and court traditions. In Italy, for instance, the Renaissance stage which influenced Jones had grown out of religious celebrations such as the Laudesi and the Umbrian Divozione of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Divozione were sacred melodramas performed for fixed feasts of the year; they were sung in church, where saints and other
celestial beings were represented in galleries above the "stage." A development of these were the *sacre rappresentazione* of the fifteenth century, acted by wealthy confraternities and encouraged by Lorenzo de' Medici to give greater order and solemnity to Carnival days, on which triumphs, pageants, and processions treating a whole range of subjects from sacred to profane passed through the streets. These edifying spectacles employed all the resources of Florentine scene-painters, stage mechanicians, architects, musicians, and poets, to add to their theatrical effect. Their form was adopted with very little alteration by the secular stage for pastoral melodrama such as *Orfeo*, performed in 1472.  

The *intermedii* that accompanied the *sacre rappresentazione* were later adapted to convey political messages and compliment in court festivities of the seventeenth century.  

In Italy, therefore (as also in France and Spain), there was no violent break between Mediaeval religious drama and Renaissance court entertainments.

In England, during the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, the pattern of adapting religious subjects and ceremony to Royal celebrations had been similar to that on the Continent.  

The religious influence of the Miracle cycles (which were not finally suppressed until between 1570 and 1600) combined with the chivalric influence of the tournament to provide the basis for street theatre, civic receptions, and Royal entries. Disguising, Mumming, and Mask brought the devices of the outdoor stage to indoor entertainments in palaces and halls, and in the Morality play and *interlude* a more dramatic element, often with topical significance, was added to religious subjects. In these plays and entertainments, religious and social forms fused: abstract Virtues and Vices mingled with biblical, historical, or contemporary figures, in much the same way that they do in the later masques. After the Reformation the process of
adapting religious forms to court ceremony continued, although in necessarily more complicated ways. When the monarch became head of Church and State, court ceremony itself took on added significance by absorbing into itself many religious forms. Catholic ritual was banned from the Church, but liturgical processions, festivals and Saints’ days found their way into civic processions, Royal progresses and national celebrations, serving the purposes of a new nationalism and symbolising the concentration of religious as well as political power in the monarch. Under the Tudors, for example, images in churches were torn down, but the Royal coat-of-arms replaced them on the walls and screens of English churches. The ancient Order of the Garter (founded 1344) was revived and took on new importance: under Elizabeth it was built up to rival the Burgundian Golden Fleece, and its Knights of St. George were played off against Henri III's Knights of the Holy Spirit. The ceremonies connected with St. George's Day, used by Elizabeth as a display of civil and religious loyalty to the Crown, were developed by James I and Charles as ritual and religious occasions.

Whereas Elizabeth had tended to develop these occasions in an outdoor setting, in processions and Royal progresses, James preferred to concentrate them in the court, and he adopted a much more deliberate policy than Elizabeth of investing court ceremony with many of the forms of ritual that had formerly belonged to religion, a policy which had important consequences for all the arts. In contrast to Elizabeth's style of government, James preferred to centralize power in the court, making it the focus of political and religious authority. With the amalgamation of Church and State in the person of the King, with James's virtual taking over of play-acting as a State-controlled activity, and with emphasis on indoor staging, entertainments became spectacles of State, and court
ceremony was invested with much of the significance which had formerly belonged to religion. The masques of the early seventeenth century played an important part in this process, as Jonson clothed with classical learning and poetic invention James's claims for himself as God's representative on earth, and helped to build the Stuart mythology of Divine Right.

The halls which Inigo Jones built to house court ceremony played an important part in giving it solemnity. All three halls, the first for James in 1606, the stone Banqueting House (1618-22), and the special hall for the masques (1637), were designed on the model of a Roman basilica, bringing a new dignity to court functions and replacing the temporary structures—the arches, pavilions and summerhouses—required for Elizabeth's peripatetic entertainments. At the same time Jones gave a new discipline and coherence to court entertainments by focusing attention on a raised stage at one end of the hall. In this, of course, he was doing nothing particularly new. Plays and indoor entertainments had from early times been performed in some variation of a hall, in churches, refectories, and rooms of great houses. As Glynne Wickham has shown in his *Early English Stages*, a separation between acting area and auditorium was required by the spectacle and machines of the Miracle plays, and a raised stage was used for plays at court, and at Oxford and Cambridge colleges, from the mid-sixteenth century. The main difference between these stage-settings and Jones's is that the houses and machines were either wheeled on stage, or left as simultaneous settings; more commonly at court entertainments they were dotted about the hall on the same level as the audience (Fig. 24). Jones's first staging of a masque in 1605 (*The Masque of Blacknesse*) gathered the dispersed settings, placed them behind a proscenium arch and
Fig. 24 Title-page, Balet comique de la Reine (Paris 1582), showing setting for opening scene.
arranged them within the scene of perspective, at once concentrating and controlling the attention of the audience.

Jones's introduction of the perspective scene was a natural outcome of his adoption in architecture of Vitruvian principles, which demanded that building and stage should form a single architectural unit, resulting (as Glynne Wickham puts it) in "the development of an arched façade in the style of a basilica" designed to integrate the houses of the multiple setting within a single frame, and dependent upon the perspective scene and formalized stage picture to unify the whole. 59 Buontalenti towards the end of the sixteenth century, and later Giulio and Alfonso Parigi, had perfected this stage in the Florentine court entertainments from which Jones borrowed his ideas (Fig. 25). 60 An important practical result of Jones's adoption of these principles, both in building and stage, was that only the King and those closest to him had a perfect view into the scene, and (increasingly in the later masques) into the "heavens" where God's sub-deities sat enthroned. 61 The majority of the audience, who sat on the sides of the hall, were given an unimpeded view of the State, not of the stage, and were dependent on the King's clear vision for an interpretation of the message coming from the stage heavens. Jones's stage arrangements emphasised symbolically a hierarchic view of society in which the King occupied an intermediary position between his people and God, thus giving physical expression to James's theory of his "Divine" Right to the throne.

At much the same time that the perspective stage was being developed at courts in Italy, the Counter Reformation Church after the Council of Trent was adopting the same basilical model for the building of its churches. The basilical model was a departure from the central-plan churches built in the High Renaissance, 62 and it answered the needs of the Counter Reformation for a piety which placed a new emphasis on the
Fig. 25  Jacques Callot, etching of a scene by Giulio Parigi, showing perspective stage setting in the Uffizi Theatre, Florence
role of preaching and on the Sacrament of the Mass in directing men's minds towards God. When the Jesuits chose the basilical plan for their main church, Il Gesù (built by Vignola in 1568), they were well aware of its advantages for enhancing the oratorical quality of the service, and for directing the congregation's attention to an altar which, as the seventeenth century progressed, became increasingly stage-like and ornate (cf. Fig. 35 below). Inigo Jones must have been aware of the similarities between contemporary church and court architecture in Italy, and he chose the basilical plan of the Banqueting halls for his two Catholic chapels. The chapel at St. James (begun in 1623 for the Spanish Infanta) and the chapel at Somerset House begun in 1632 for Henrietta, were both, like the Banqueting House but on a smaller scale, designed in the proportions of a double cube. The basic similarities between the architecture of church and Banqueting House can be seen by comparing the interior of the latter (Fig. 26) with, for example, Palladio's Il Redentore (1576-92), which Jones would have seen on his first visit to Italy (Fig. 27), and with an impression later in the century of the interior of the Queen's chapel at St. James (Fig. 28). The resemblance is enhanced if it is borne in mind that Jones first built the Banqueting House with a "great neeche" or apse occupying the south end to half its height. Even after this was removed, Jones's scenes for the masques, with the proscenium arch framing the "picture" and, especially after 1630, with a scene in the "heavens" or upper stage as well, often closed the view with an effect similar to that produced in many Counter Reformation churches of the period.

It is not suggested, of course, that Jones was deliberately introducing "Catholic" architectural forms to the court. Although he himself (like Ben Jonson) had been born a Catholic, his first loyalty was undoubtedly to art, which he pursued with an almost religious intensity. Like the
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Fig. 26 Inigo Jones, interior of the Banqueting House, Whitehall, which was originally designed with a 'great neeche' or apse at the end wall in the style of a basilica (1618-22)
Palladio's *Il Redentore* (Venice 1576-92), which influenced the style of Counter-Reformation church building.
Fig. 28  Inigo Jones, the Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace: an engraving by Johannes Kip showing the Chapel fitted with a baroque perspective scene (1686-88)
Earl of Arundel and others at Charles's court who shared a Catholic background, he was attracted to the culture of Italy and France, although he approached it in a spirit that was probably humanist, antiquarian, and anti-Puritan, rather than specifically Catholic. His profession as architect brought him into close contact with different religious views, and his personal beliefs were certainly no bar to the variety of his work. Between 1630 and 1640 alone, he designed and built the Catholic chapel at Somerset House, worked on renovating and rebuilding St Paul's Cathedral, and designed the first "Protestant" church to be built since the Reformation, St. Paul's in Covent Garden. He enjoyed adapting features from many different points of view and fitting them into a harmonious whole. He also enjoyed the sense in which the universal principles of art transcended the particular forms of religion, and the way in which his art linked him with artists of the past. For him Roman temples and Counter-Reformation churches were both expressions of harmonious artistic principles that related them in spirit as well as in form.

Nevertheless, Jones's architectural and stage setting for the masques had from the beginning of the century created a setting analogous in many ways to the setting for worship in Catholic churches. The similarities may be suggested by comparing a sketch of Jones's setting for the Masque of Blacknesse (1605) with a sketch of the interior of Palladio's Il Redentore (Fig. 29). Both settings depend on the laws of perspective for their full effect, and they have other physical similarities. For masque performances the stage was separated from the body of the hall by steps, proscenium arch, and sometimes (as in the case of Blacknesse) by a curtain; in Counter-Reformation churches the altar was separated from the nave by steps, a frame with niches and statues, and sometimes a screen or railings. Both settings depend on a sense of distance for their effect, but also on
1. Simplified Sketch of Stage Setting for *Mask of Blackness* (1605). After Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages*, II, Fig. 21 a.


From Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, Fig. 39a.

Fig. 29 Comparison of the perspective setting for Jones's stage, and the perspective setting in a Counter-Reformation church
arousing a sense of wonder (hence the importance of spectacle) in order to involve the imagination and the feelings of the participants. These settings, with their similarities, may be contrasted with the setting for court entertainments in Elizabeth's reign, which are similar to the setting for worship in Reformed churches (Fig. 30). Daniel's setting for The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses (1604) shows the typical arrangements for court entertainments before Jones's introduction of the perspective stage; there was a cave of Sleep and a temple of Peace at one end of the hall, and a mountain at the other; the audience surrounded the acting area and the dais was more or less on floor level. Similarly, in the plan for Communion in a Reformed Church of the early seventeenth century there is no separation between the Communion area and the congregation, and there is little distinction between the minister and the participants. In both settings all those present have an equally good, or equally poor, view of what is going on. It is perhaps significant for the history of English theatre that Elizabethan drama (which drew on the Reformation for much of its patriotic and spiritual fervour) was staged at a time when Reformers advocated the building of round churches, and altar and minister were placed in the body of the church. It is equally significant that in 1604, James, going against Reformation edicts, ordered the altar to be put where "most convenient" (which for him and the Anglican Bishops who shared his tastes meant against the East wall of the church) and that Jones introduced the perspective stage at court in the following year.

The practical issue that, more sharply than any other, divided the Reformed from the Catholic Church, was the question of the proper place of the altar in the church. In the seventeenth century, debate over religious belief very often took the form of controversy over the external signs of worship: over the position and function of the altar, the wearing
Fig. 30 Comparison of the setting of the court stage before Jones, and the setting in a Reformed English church.

3. Simplified sketch of stage setting for Daniel's The Vision of Twelve Goddesses (1604). After Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages, II, Fig. 21 b.

of copes and vestments, the use of candles, images, and ornaments, bowing and kneeling in church. These were of course outward signs of deep-lying doctrinal and theological differences of creed, but they came to symbolise the differences between Protestant and Catholic, and within Protestantism to polarise the attitudes of Anglican and Puritan: the altar became the focus for all the issues concerning images and ceremony that deeply stirred the seventeenth century. At the Reformation, altars had been torn from the east wall of churches and stripped of their ornaments and images. Screens, chancel arches and choir-lofts were broken or defaced. The altar was no longer to be a stage for the celebration of the Mass, but a Holy table around which the faithful gathered for Communion (cf. Fig. 31). In the court itself, however, the issue of the altar had never been clearly resolved. The Chapel Royal, even in Elizabeth's day, had retained more of the visual forms of Catholic worship than were allowed by strict Reformers. The altar had never been detached from the east wall, as it had in most other churches, and under James and Charles it steadily increased in the richness of its furnishings. Bishop Andrewe's chapel, which put into practice Hooker's ideas on the need for decency and beauty in church ceremony, was taken as a model by William Laud. Laud, as Dean of Gloucester in 1616, remodelled his own chapel on the pattern of Andrewe's chapel and the King's, having the altar fixed to the east wall, raised on steps and railed, and richly decorated with candle-sticks and holy vessels. These chapels became the pattern for the Laudian reforms which steadily increased the richness of Anglican ceremony throughout the 1620's and 1630's (cf. Fig. 32).

Thus Jones's stage in the Banqueting House, with its concentration of attention on a proscenium-arch framing the perspective scene and its emphasis on spectacle, paralleled the visual arrangements for church
"The Lords Supper," from an engraving in A Course of Catechizing (1674 ed.). The communicants kneel around an altar set table-wise in the body of the church
Fig. 32 The High Altar of St. Paul's Cathedral at the end of the seventeenth century, after the Laudian reforms
ceremony being re-introduced into the Anglican Church in the early years of the century, and it seems to have been used to gain acceptance for them. When, for instance, Laud defended his reasons for replacing the altar at the end wall, the reasons he gives are largely those which made Jones's perspective stage an improvement on the old dispersed settings for court entertainments. Apart from the position being traditional, its advantages are practical: it adds order and convenience to liturgical occasions; it takes up much less room than in the body of the church, and the minister can be better seen and heard than when he is on the same level as a crowd of people. Other defences of the ceremony favoured by Laud were given on analogy with court ceremony. When John Pocklington wrote in defence of bowing, for instance, he says that the Knights of the Garter bow towards the altar at services "because it is the throne in earth of that great Lord, from whom their honour proceedeth," and that reverence is due to it "in regard to the presence of our Saviour whose chair of State it is upon earth." Acceptance of the forms of religious ceremony was simply an extension of court ceremony, and an acceptance of Stuart rule. For this reason it is appropriate that a masque should have been used, as Leah Marcus has pointed out, to defend the ceremonial changes being ordered into the Church. In 1617 James sent to his chapel at Holyrood House paintings and religious figures, organ, choristers from the Chapel Royal, and a carved choir and stalls reputed to be by Inigo Jones. They were accompanied by an admonition to the Scots Presbyterians to distinguish between pictures intended for ornament and images made for worship. The Presbyterians replied that all were Popish, as was William Laud's histrionic vestment and action in kneeling to receive the Sacrament. Marcus points out that in the masque of the following season, Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue (1618), the ritual final portion has a strong
resemblance to liturgical forms, that Jonson's verses may be read as a defence of the "comely via media of the Anglican Church," and that the figures in long red robes and golden mitres are representations of the Anglican Bishops. In the final scene the Bishops are tactfully set between Daedalus and a white-clad goddess, showing that Religion and the Arts are reconciled by Virtue. Jonson himself had just become "reconciled" to the Anglican Church, and Jones, in addition to backing up Royal policy, had a vested interest in drawing attention to his own arts (Daedalus is the god of architecture and sculpture), and their part in enhancing the ceremony of church service and court stage. The masque is both a defence and a celebration of James's policies, and of their worthy execution by people like Laud and Jones himself. Neither James's policies nor this masque enjoyed immediate success, but the issues it set out became part of the concerted policy of Charles (who had been the chief masquer in Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue) and Laud in the 1630's.

Masques were an ideal medium through which to refer to the issue of ceremony. In both court and church there was an underlying similarity in attitude towards the use of "visible signs," and to images as sensible representations of spiritual ideas. Traditionally the Church had defended images in religious worship on the grounds that, if properly used, they served to bring back the memory of their archetypes and hence led to contemplation of the Divine. Thomas Aquinas, amongst others, defended images by arguing that Scripture itself speaks of spiritual truths under the similitude of the corporeal. After the reinstatement of images and the arts by the Council of Trent, Counter-Reformation church ceremony gathered momentum in the seventeenth century, and by 1630 was already displaying the signs of baroque excess that made little distinction between spectacle in church and on the stage. Anglican Divines, who claimed to
walk a "middle path" in liturgical as well as in theological matters, looked for their models to the practices of the early Church; they argued that in going back to a "pure" form of Christianity they were avoiding both the excesses that had grown up in the Roman Catholic Church, and the excessive bareness and absence of ritual insisted on by Calvinists. Richard Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594, 1597) had strongly defended the external and "visible signs" of traditional worship. Men are edified, Hooker wrote, either through their understanding or their affections, and for this purpose "not only speech but sundry sensible means besides have always been thought necessary." Especially important are those means which being object to the eye, the liveliest and the most apprehensive sense of all other, have in that respect seemed the fittest to make a deep and strong impression: from hence have risen not only a number of prayers ... but even of visible signs also; which being used in performance of holy actions, are undoubtedly most effectual to open such matter.

He goes on to say that "words, both because they are common, and do not so strongly move the fancy of men, are for the most part but slightly heard," so that deeds of weight have always been accompanied by sensible actions, "the memory whereof is far more easy and durable than the memory of speech can be." Views similar to these were the basis of court as well as church ritual, and such a passage, with its emphasis on the eye as "the liveliest and most apprehensive sense of all other," and its opinion that words "are for the most part but slightly heard," coincides with Jones's view of the masque, and the emphasis on visual forms in the 1630's: when great matters are at stake "We speak in acts, and scorn words' trifling scenes" (*Albion's Triumph*, 1.99).
By the 1630's the visible signs of worship which Laud was endeavouring
to introduce throughout the Kingdom were increasingly comparable to the
visible signs of ceremony in the Banqueting House. The altar raised on
steps at the end wall of the church was often framed with columns and
statues; chancel screens, which had already been adapted in Tudor times
to hold the Royal Arms (Fig. 33), played a particularly important part
in the Visitation Articles: Winchester Cathedral had a screen attributed
to Inigo Jones which held statues of James and Charles, and in Scotland
"a glorious partition wall with a degree ascending thereto" was later
pulled down as being superstitious. To stress the importance of the
altar, Laudians were placing it under a stained glass window, a reredos
or tapestry behind, and adorning the chancel roof with paintings or
sculptural forms. They erected new galleries on top of the chancel screens
for musicians, choir and organ, just as Jones's stage had its raised
musician's gallery behind the scenes (shown in the stage plan for
Florimène). To Puritans the resemblances between theatre and church
were obvious, and both were signs of "Popery." Peter Smart complained
in 1628 that John Cosin had set up

so glittering Angels round the quire of Durham Church,
in long scarlet gowmes, with golden wings and gilded
heads: together with three other Images over the
Byshops Throne, one of them beeing the Image of Christ,
with a golden beard, a glorious blew cap with rayes
like the Sunne beames, which betokens in the Popes
School, some Deitie in the head which it couereth.

(sig. *2v)

He goes on to complain of the candles and lights, the "piping and singing"
(p.8), the old copes "used in May games" (p.10), and the ever greater
number of images and pictures (p.11). In his sermons For God, and the King
of 1636, Henry Burton preached against innovations in the King's chapel,
such as "a quire of Gentlemen, Singing men, & other Choristers, which dayly
Fig. 33 Church of St. Mary the Virgin (Croscombe, Somerset) with a screen of 1612 and the Royal Arms replacing the Rood.
sing Service in the Chappell" and in St. Paul's he criticised the "mitred
Images and Statues newly erected," and "winged Angels round about the
Quire ... metamorphosed into a Curtizan-like garbe" (p.161). In the
complaints of the Commons against Laud, the whole of Laudian ceremony is
likened to pageantry, which in itself is "Popish." A homily against the
Peril of Idolatry is quoted, saying:

And because the whole Pageant must thoroughly be
played, it is not enough thus to deck Images and Idols
(with Gold, Silver, Rich, Wanton and Proud Apparel,
tempting their Paramours to wantonnesse) but at last
come in the Priests themselves, likewise decked with
Gold and Pearls, that they may be meet servants for
such Lords and Ladies, and fit worshippers of such
Gods and Goddesses; and with a solemn pace they pass
forth before the Golden Puppets, and fall down to the
ground on their Marrow-bones before the honourable
Idols, and their gorgeous Altars too.83

Burton had concluded by saying that, if holiness stood in outward rites,
"in false shows, and will-worship, in a kind of Courtship, in a complement,
in a Congee," then these were very religious men: "then is Popery piety,
and Superstition holinesse" (For God, and the King, p.99).

People who feared that the outward signs of "Popish" ceremony at court
were an open preparation for the return of Catholicism cannot have been
reassured when in 1635 Inigo Jones's chapel for the Queen at Somerset House
was fitted out with a masque-like "stage" (complete with a painted
perspective scene and aerial musicians) for the celebration of its opening
Mass. This scene in the chapel belonged to an aspect of Counter-Reformation
stagecraft fashionable at the time in Rome, the quarantore.84 Quarantore
were a kind of theatrum sacrum designed for use in churches; they usually
consisted of a spectacular scene built around the Eucharist, accompanied by
elaborate singing and music, the purpose of which was to uplift the spirit
with a display of the splendours of religion. The church served both as
stage and auditorium, and it has been pointed out how well the Gesù, which became one of the main centres for these displays, lent itself to theatrical purposes. With its flanking wings enclosing a deep room, and extending towards a light backdrop, it conformed perfectly to the scenic principles in use on the court stage. An impression of this type of church spectacle in relation to its setting can be seen from the illustrations of a 1650 celebration in the Gesù (Figs. 34, 35). In 1633, only two years before the scene designed for the Queen, a Quarantore for Cardinal Barberini's church at San Lorenzo in Damaso was designed by Pietro da Cortona, and the design for it has been preserved in the collection of Roman drawings at Windsor Castle (Fig. 36). It is interesting that George Conn, who was Canon of San Lorenzo in Damaso before coming to England (in July 1636), would have witnessed this scene. The document referring to it describes it as a splendid apparatus for the setting of the Eucharist, arranged in the form of a Theatre, with columns, niches and gilded statues of saints, and other ornaments representing at the high altar the rays of the sun, in the midst of which was placed the Holy Sacrament supported by two great Angels, with great abundance of wax lights in silver candle-sticks above this apparatus, and with tapers of silver, and with continual sermons and music.

The description and illustration may serve as a convenient background to the scene in the Queen's chapel, a description of which was written by Father Cyprien de Gamaches, one of the Queen's Capucin Friars during the 1630's. Jones had begun work on the Queen's chapel in 1632, and it was ready to open in December, 1635. To mark the solemnity of the occasion (it was the first time Pontifical Mass had been celebrated in England for nearly a hundred years) the Capucins applied to François Dieussart, an eminent sculptor lately come to London from Rome, to design for them a "scenic
C. Rainaldi, engraving of design for a Quarantore in the Gesù, Rome 1650
Quarantore design of 1650 inserted into a painting by S. Sacchi and F. Gagliardi of the interior of the Gesù, Rome
Fig. 36 A Quarantore design by Pietro da Cortona for Cardinal Barberini's church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, Rome 1633
machine" about forty foot in height, to display the Holy Sacrament shining at the centre of a Paradise of glory. Dieussart first erected a great arch supported by two pillars in front of the high altar, leaving a space between the columns and the walls for the priests to pass to and from a portable altar beneath the arch. The ascent to this altar was by six steps, leaving an unobstructed view in front, and by two sets of steps "in theatrical form" (p.311) at either side. Over the spaces at each side of the arch were placed the choir, organ, and other instruments, and in front of each space stood the figure of a prophet. Behind the altar, forming the centre of the perspective, a Paraclete was seen above seven ranges of clouds, in which were figures of archangels, cherubin and seraphin "to the number of two hundred," some adoring the Holy Sacrament, others singing and playing on all sorts of musical instruments, the whole "painted and placed according to the rules of perspective" (pp.311-12), so cleverly that the distance and the number of figures appeared to be double what they were. An impression of how this might have been achieved is given by an illustration from the Jesuit writer on church and stage scenery, Jean Dubreuil (Fig. 37). Circles of decreasing size led to the Sacrament at the centre: in the first circle were angels larger than life, singing and playing on instruments; in others deacons with censers, some kneeling, some prostrate, others pointing to the Sacrament; more distant circles contained smaller angels sporting in the clouds, inviting the people to rejoice, and in the last circles were cherubin and seraphin surrounded by luminous rays. The Sacrament itself was aglow with golden light, the whole so skilfully illuminated that "the painting seemed to vanish, there was left nothing but the brilliancy of the lights, which caused that place to appear all on fire" (p.312). There were four hundred lights, besides a multitude of tapers ingeniously arranged on the altar to light the first
The composition of a cloud scene and gloire, shown by Jean Dubreuil in *La Perspective pratique* (Paris 1642-49)
circles. The scene was covered by two curtains. When the Queen and her court came to hear Mass, and the Queen was seated in the place prepared for her, the curtains were drawn back and the scene revealed to the excited admiration of the Catholics.

At the same time, the music, composed of excellent voices, set up an anthem, the harmony of which having no outlet but between the clouds and the figures of Angels, it seemed as if the whole Paradise was full of music, and as if the Angels themselves were the musicians ... thus eye and ear found at the same time gratification in this contrivance of piety and skill. (p.313)

The Mass itself was sung in eight parts, and the whole performance repeated at Vespers, "to the satisfaction of the Queen, and the applause of the whole audience" (p.313).

The language used by Father Cyprien is unmistakably that of the theatre, and the form of the scene, with its "stage" and the scene in the "heavens" has similarities to that set up in the Banqueting House for the masques. The altar is placed beneath a proscenium arch in the centre of a raised stage, and the priests come and go to it by passages at the sides of the scene; in performing the service they use the fore-stage with its setting of the altar (cf. Fig. 35 of the scene in the Gesù), much as the masquers use the fore-stage for the action of the masque. The "picture" behind the proscenium arch forms the background for this action, and the raised stage is connected with the nave by steps "in theatrical form."

The Queen in the chapel has a special seat prepared for her, the equivalent of the State prepared for the King or Queen at a masque, so placed that it has a perfect view into the perspective scene. The main scene over the high altar is placed behind the proscenium arch, arranged "according to the rules of perspective," and ablaze with colour and light, similar to the scenes in the heavens or upper stage of Jones's spectacular masques. The
scene is covered initially by two curtains, the congregation becomes the audience who applaud the magnificent sight. The whole performance is accompanied by a wealth of vocal and instrumental music.

The fame of the scene in the chapel spread throughout the court, and the Queen gave orders that it should remain undisturbed until Christmas (a period of about seventeen days), to satisfy the devotion of the Catholics and the curiosity of the Protestants "who never ceased coming from all parts to behold this wonder" (p.314). On the third night the King himself came with a train of gentlemen to the chapel, gazed at the scene for a long time, "and said aloud, that he had never seen anything more beautiful or more ingeniously designed" (p.314).

Inigo Jones no doubt accompanied the King on this occasion, since he was the architect of the chapel, and Charles's constant advisor on matters of art. He too would have found much to admire, and little to surprise him, as he himself used his stage as a "scenic machine" in a similar way. In fact the scene suggested to at least one contemporary a comparison with Jones's masques. Garrard wrote in a letter to the Earl of Strafford:

*This last Month the Queen's Chapel in Somerset-House-Yard was consecrated by her Bishop; the Ceremonies lasted three Days, Massing, Preaching, and Singing of Litanies, and such a glorious Scene built over their Altar, the Glory of Heaven, Inigo Jones never presented a more curious Piece in any of the Masks at Whitehall.*

(Garrard to Strafford, 8 January 1635)

The comparison with Jones's masque scenes is significant for several reasons: firstly because it came naturally to the mind of an eye-witness; secondly because Garrard uses the phrase a "curious Piece," which
suggests that Jones's spectacular scenes were singled out from the masque as a whole to be admired for their pictorial qualities; and thirdly, because it is rather surprising to find the English court stage being compared to Counter-Reformation church spectacle in its most elaborate form.

Garrard must have been calling to mind scenes from the earlier masques, like that for Tempe Restored (described above, p.169) but it is possible that Jones in his later masques aimed in turn at producing some of the effects of the scene in the chapel. He must have been interested, if not actively involved, in the staging of the scene, and the admiration expressed by the King and Queen would have been one of the strongest motives for Jones wishing to emulate it. He was always open to new ideas, and did not hesitate to use other people's when they could contribute to the grandeur of his own design. A notable feature of the chapel scene was the way in which musicians were concealed behind the proscenium arch to produce the magical effect of music issuing from the clouds, seeming to make the painted or relief figures themselves the musicians. Jones may have been interested in imitating such effects in Luminalia (produced for the Queen in 1638) which is remarkable for its aerial music and dancing. In the concluding spectacle appeared "a heaven full of deities or second causes, with instruments and voices" (11.386-88). This was made up of a scene on the upper stage (Orgel and Strong, no.388; see Fig. 19 above), together with a painted or relief scene of musicians on the lower (see Orgel and Strong's analysis of no.387, Fig. 20 above; and Orgel and Strong's diagram of the scene, Fig. 116, reproduced below).
The text states that all these musicians "join with" the Muses of Great Britain and a chorus of priests in singing to the King and Queen, and Jones probably had musicians behind the scenes to give the illusion that the painted figures were also joining in. These clouds and semi-circles of singing and playing figures form the backdrop to another scene in which "the upper part of the heavens opened, and a bright and transparent cloud came forth far into the scene" (11.403-04). On this cloud figures in rich garments begin a sprightly dance to the music of the violins, joining hands in rounds several ways. This scene was inspired by the intermedium for Giulio Parigi's "Il Giudizio di Paride," but the total effect may also be compared with that in the chapel, where the first circle of cloud contained angels "singing and playing on instruments," and more distant circles of smaller angels "sporting" in the clouds, "inviting the people to rejoice." Jones's technical achievement in the masque gives reality to what in the church could be no more than the illusion of life and movement. The feat
of levitation, which Jones wrote "was much admired, being a thing not before attempted in the air" (11.410-11), gives the final scene an air of exultation and lighthearted rejoicing similar to that of the scene in the chapel.

The final scene of Salmacida Spolia (1640) is more sombre, but equally spectacular. In the highest part of the heavens a cloud appeared, bearing eight persons representing the spheres; this,

joining with two other clouds which appeared at that instant full of music, covered all the upper part of the scene; and at that instant, beyond all these, a heaven opened full of deities; which celestial prospect, with the chorus below, filled all the whole scene with apparitions and harmony. (11.460-64)

The illustration of this scene (Fig. 22 above) shows clearly that the two clouds "full of music" bore only two and three musicians respectively, a rather small number considering that Jones stresses that the "whole scene" is filled with harmony. To give the effect of music issuing from the clouds, however, he could have supplemented the playing of the visible musicians by concealing others behind the wings on the upper stage, in the same way that instrumentalisists, organ, and choir were concealed behind the flanking arches in the chapel, giving the illusion that the angels were singing, and playing on their instruments. Beyond these clouds in the masque opened the heaven full of deities (Fig. 23 above), two semi-circles of painted or relief figures revealed by drawing apart the upper stage back shutters. The most distant group of deities is arranged around the central point of a glory, providing a perspective point similar to that of the luminous rays surrounding the Sacrament in the chapel. Both scenes have the characteristics of baroque art, depending as they do on the manipulation of large masses to form a harmonious whole, and on the illusion of infinite space to create a sense of heightened reality. Both suggest,
through an appeal to the imagination and the emotions, the spiritual world that lies beyond, but is linked with, the real.  

Although Jones was in no way dependent on foreign influence for new ideas in stage technique, he was always open to ideas which appealed to the tastes of the King and Queen, as the scene in the chapel obviously did. On the Continent the interchangeability of stage devices for court and church spectacle was taken for granted. The Jesuit stage designer Jean Dubreuil, for instance, in his treatise *La Perspective pratique* (Paris 1642-49),  

says that his stage properties serve equally "aux Autels, et Oratoires des Églises ... aux Alcôves, Théâtres, Ballets." He restores the gloire, which had been adopted by Renaissance courts, to its ecclesiastical function, particularly for celebrations of the Eucharist, but makes it clear that this does not preclude its use on the court stage; 

Je dis si c'est pour y mettre le S. Sacrement: car on peut se servir de ces nuées en des Théâtres et des Ballets, où on veut représenter le Paradis, même on peut y faire monter, et descendre des personnes....

(Traité IV, Pratique ix)  

It is perhaps significant that Jones in these two masques, *Luminalia* and *Salmacida Spolia*, particularly appeals to "strangers and travellers of judgement," the cosmopolitan members of his audience who were familiar with stage performances abroad, yet who, he says, hold "our English masques ... to be as noble and ingenious as those of any other nations" (*Luminalia*, 11.7-9). In *Salmacida Spolia* he notes that the spectacular scenes were approved "especially by all strangers that were present" (1.486). Such people would have been familiar with the similarity between court and religious spectacle, similarities which indicated the increasingly strong connection between ecclesiastical and secular power which was a mark of the Baroque period in Europe.
The "strangers and travellers of judgement" to whom Jones appealed would also have been aware of the close connection between stage spectacle and religion made familiar in Europe by Jesuit theatre. In the early years of the century the Jesuits had adopted all the scenic devices of the court stage in Italy (Fig. 38, and cf. Fig. 25 above), and by the 1630's were themselves among the foremost practitioners of stage-craft. In Italy their productions rivalled the opera in popularity, and in France, where Marie de Medici was a regular attendant at their productions, they influenced the development of ballet. Their plays, generally in Latin, and with elaborately staged intermedii between the acts, invariably glorified the Church, its heroes and martyrs, and the rulers who supported it. Jesuit drama was certainly familiar to English courtiers (and perhaps even to Jones) through the English Colleges at Rome, Douai and St. Omers, where English travellers were regularly entertained and plays presented. The play-list of St. Omers includes the description of numerous plays which had, interspersed between the acts, musical interludes, dumb-shows, dancing, and very elaborate masque. William Habington, author of The Queen of Aragon for which Jones made the scenery, was educated at St. Omers, and in the thirties he was an admirer of the dramatic work of Davenant and James Shirley (himself a Catholic), both of whom wrote texts for Jones's masques. The English College at Rome entertained many visitors (including even Milton). A group of its plays recently studied belongs to the years 1612-13, and of these one was written in English, all were on subjects of interest to English Catholics, and all had elaborate intermedii accompanied by singing and dancing between the acts. It is of interest that Jones spent the winter of 1613-14 in Rome in the company of the Earl of Arundel, who was at that time still Catholic. It is more than likely that Arundel would have been entertained at the
Fig. 38 Jesuit Theatre in Prague, with a scene from Nicolas Avancini, *Ludi Caesarei* (1617), on the stage
College, and that Jones (who accompanied him as an advisor on art) would have accompanied him. The piece in English, entitled *The New Moone*, has been described as a "poetic divertissement, augmented by songs and dances," not unlike *Luminalia*, which Jones describes in the text as an occasion for "variety of scenes, strange apparitions, songs, music, and dancing of several kinds" (11.4-6). The comparison merely suggests similarities in attitude which Jones shared with the producers of religious spectacle, but it was a comparison which many people at court would have been in a position to make. One casual visitor, not a Catholic, recorded visiting the English College at Rome, where, "desiring one day to be admitted unto an Enterlude in *Stilo recitativo* acted before some Cardinals and persons of quallitie ... we were presently bid goe in and had given us very comodiouseats." The writer adds that "wee Protestants" at that time were very kindly received "in respect of our Queene," and that the hospitality of the College was not without religious motive: "These Invitations are done to our Nation certaynely to gayne what they can upon those of our Religion, and soften us as to theirs."

Another centre of stage production under Catholic patronage, and one with which English visitors were familiar in the 1630's, was the Barberini Palace in Rome. When finished in 1632 the Barberini Palace became a centre for operatic productions, at first performed in a large hall of the Palace, later in the thirties in a theatre that was capable of holding 3,000 people. Bernini, whose work was influenced by Jesuit thinking, was theatre-manager, and his first opera, with which the Palace opened, was produced with magnificent scenes ranging from Hell, to a landscape, to a Palace, to the final scene in Heaven and the triumphant appearance of Religion. The Palace was a centre of hospitality for people visiting or staying in Rome with letters of introduction from the Queen: Walter
Montague was received there when he went to Rome in 1635, and again the following year when he was ordained; on this journey he was accompanied by the playwright Thomas Killigrew, a friend of Carew. Considering the close relations between the Barberini and the English court during the 1630's, and the interest of people like Montague in court entertainments, it would be unusual if reports of stage spectacle designed by so eminent a person as Bernini (who was at that time engaged in sculpting the bust of Charles from drawings by Van Dyck) had not found their way to Jones. Certainly to many spectators of the masques the general popularity of the religious stage abroad, and the easy access which members of the court had to its productions, would have made an association between the spectacle of Jones's stage, and religious spectacle on the Continent, a common-place. Jones's masque scenes in the 1630's were therefore presenting Charles's rule in a manner which had strong visual associations with spectacle used in courts and colleges abroad to present the ideals of Counter-Reformation religion. The visual properties of the masques, and of the stage itself, appeared to be a strong indication not only of Charles's artistic tastes but of his religious tastes as well, and to opponents of the court there seemed good reason to associate spectacle on the stage with spectacle in church, and to equate both with "Popery."
(iii) Divine Beauty and the Arts

Charles was, of course, loyal to his ideal of Anglicanism, but it was in the area of aesthetics that Anglicanism and Counter-Reformation Catholicism most nearly approached one another. To Charles and the leading members of his clergy, Anglicanism was not alone a religion of reason and truth, but a religion of beauty, in which the traditional liturgical forms of the Church were of fundamental importance. Archbishop Laud placed great reliance on the external forms of worship for governing spiritual habits, and Charles was sympathetic to Laud's taste for order and conformity, adding to it strong artistic interests of his own. The issue of beauty in religious worship became one of increasing urgency during the thirties as Laud, backed by the King, attempted to enforce uniformity in liturgical matters in churches throughout the Kingdom. Because of the close connection between Church and State it was an issue in which the Royal prerogative was closely involved, and, like other issues over which Charles felt a deep concern (such as Ship Money), I believe it became a subject of the masques. In the constant theme of the reformation of the arts, and their return to the English court, can be traced a further level of meaning, the return of the arts to the English Church.

Disputes concerning innovations in church ritual and decoration had been one of the prominent features leading up to Charles's dissolution of Parliament in 1629, and the resumption of regular masque-giving in 1631. In 1629 Parliament had complained of the growing use of pictures, lights and images in church services, had spoken of the danger of supporting Papist practices and influence at court, and questioned the clause which had been added to the 20th Article (not contained in the Act of 1571):

that "The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." These complaints had been precipitated by
a series of cases (1628, 1629) against John Cosin at Durham, where the Cathedral was being turned by Cosin into a centre of High Church ceremony. Cosin, whom the Puritans called "our young Apollo" for the extravagant ornaments of his church, was praised at one of his trials for helping to bring "decencie and order" to God's service, the first of a series of such judgments backed by the Crown in favour of Laudian reforms. In 1629 there was a celebrated case of a painted window at St. Edmund's; in 1630 Laud opened the church of St. Katherine Kree with conspicuous ceremony that drew Puritan attack; in 1632 a notorious case about breaking a church window in Salisbury went to trial, and forced Laud to defend images in the Court of Star Chamber. Events rose to a climax in 1633 with the appointment of Laud as Archbishop of Canterbury, with jurisdiction over all ecclesiastical matters, and the power to decree the form of liturgical ceremony in the rest of the Kingdom. In the same year Charles's visit to Scotland for his Coronation, which was carried out by Laud with full ceremony, aroused in the Scots "great fear of inbringing of Popery." In the later thirties, open opposition to the Laudian reforms was stifled, but resentment over liturgical matters, and the differences in theological beliefs that they symbolised, contributed to the outbreak of Civil War.

It is against this background that the masques of the early thirties were presented, and that Jones's defence of the visual arts in these masques takes on added significance. Jones himself, as has been shown, was closely involved with the return of ritual to the Church, as well as with the building and repair of churches, and his stage imagery often refers to established centres of religious ritual: to Windsor Castle, centre of Garter ceremonial, in Coelum Britannicum; to the Queen's Catholic chapel in The Temple of Love; to St. Paul's, which Jones had renovated, and which was the centre of Laudian Anglicanism, in Britannia
Triumphs (Fig. 39). At the beginning of the period Jones's tableau of Fame at the end of Chloridia seems to announce a programme of action which is "virtuous, great and good" (1.238), and which is supported by Architecture and Sculpture, both promoted to a position among the Liberal arts. Jones's elaborate defence of his own arts in the border of the scene to Albion's Triumph and Tempe Restored takes on significance against Laud's defence of images in the Star Chamber in February, 1632, almost co-inciding with the presentation of the masques (on Jan. 8 and Feb. 14 respectively): it becomes a defence not only against people like Jonson who resented the dominance of the visual arts at court, but against the many people who resented the growing emphasis on visual forms in the Church. Coelum Britannicum is a quite explicit statement of a new English "Reformation" (1.469) in which the arts have a prominent place. The masque not only commends the court for the recent practice of commemorating noble acts in "picture, sculpture, tapestries" and other works of art (11.426-31), but laments the despoliation of the Church by the destructive zeal of the Reformation. The text echoes a common accusation (that reform was activated by greed) when "Wealth" describes how

> your deities
> Are for my sake slighted, despised, abused,
> Your temples, shrines, altars and images
> Uncovered, rifled, robbed and disarrayed
> By sacrilegious hands. (11.520-4)

The masque ends with the appearance of the allegorical figure of Religion, who praises the King and Queen for the "Religious zeal" and "Pure adoration" (11.1095, 1108) now practised under their combined influence in the newly reformed Heaven of the British court.

A fundamental issue in the debate over Beauty in religion was the question of whether arts and images could lead to contemplation of the
Fig. 39  Inigo Jones, a view of St. Paul's Cathedral in *Britannia Triumphans* (1638)
Divine, as Anglican theologians and Catholics claimed. In the masques for
the Queen I believe that Jones examines this issue, going beyond a defence
of the arts to a consideration of the nature of Art itself. When these
masques--Chloridia, Tempe Restored, The Temple of Love and Luminalia--are
analysed separately from the King's, and from the point of view of what
was seen on the stage, they become a sequence in which natural beauty
Progresses to spiritual Beauty, a process which Jones shows being
accomplished through the medium of art and under the influence of the ideal
Beauty of the Queen. Thus in the first of these masques, Chloridia, the
subject itself concerns the beautification of earth. The importance of
this theme has been somewhat obscured by the way in which the text seems
to make the story of Cupid the main subject, and Jones's scene at the end,
with Fame and her attendants, a tacked-on piece of spectacle. This is not,
however, the way in which the masque was conceived. Jonson wrote the
"invention" of this masque, so we can place reliance on his statement of
what the masque was about. Jonson's motto for the masque is "Unius tellus
ante coloris erat" (the earth was formerly one colour), and this, Jonson
says, is the hinge upon which "the whole invention moved" (1.11). The
quotation is from Ovid (Fasti, v.222), and Jonson goes on to explain that
the subject is to be

some rites done to the goddess Chloris, who ... was
proclaimed goddess of the flowers ... and was to be
stellified on earth by an absolute decree from Jupiter,
who would have the earth to be adorned with stars
as well as the heaven. (11.5-10)

In Ovid's myth the nymph Chloris is loved by Zephyr, whose passionate
breath changes her to Flora, the goddess who transforms the earth from
"one colour" to the beauties and variety of the Spring. There is a hint
of this part of the story in the opening section, where Jonson tactfully
removes the fructifying power from Zephyr to "the warmth of yonder sun," which is Charles himself:

Give all to him: his is the dew,
The heat, the humour--
... All
That wisest nature cause can call
Of quick'ning anything. (11.55-62)

If a compliment to the Queen had been all that was intended the masque should have ended with the covering of earth with flowers, as in the Medici entertainment on which the masque was based. Chloridia, however, takes the process of beautification a step further. When the Queen dances, the flowers which she makes grow by "th'impression of her foot" (1.206) are not the products of nature alone, but the product of art acting on nature, and her dance is, in the literal and metaphorical sense, a witty "stamping out" of beauty, creating a beautiful form. Even beautiful form, however, has to be given an embodiment to make it last, and so the "flowers" created by the Queen's art have to be "stellified" by an absolute decree of Jupiter, who "will have earth to have her stars / And lights, no less than heaven" (11.56-58). Jonson does not make it clear how this is to come about, but Jones does. The tableau of Fame at the end, which looks like pointless spectacle, is in fact a continuation of the theme. The masque is not merely about flowers, or the beauty of the Queen, but about art, and the power of the Arts to preserve Beauty and virtuous action. In the last scene Jones introduces the figures of Poetry and History, Sculpture and Architecture, who are necessary to preserve virtuous acts to memory. Without their help, Fame cannot live, so that "great actions oft obscured by time may lie" or die "despiséd / Where the Fame's neglected" (11.241-42; 246). With their help, the fame of such acts is lifted to Eternity. Jones's symbolism coming after Jonson's was no doubt rather crude, but it
must in production have had the advantage of being very obvious. A masque about flowers became part of a programme for encouraging the Arts, a first step in transforming natural beauty to the spiritual ideal of Beauty. The same theme is taken up in *Tempe Restored*, the next masque for the Queen, which begins where *Chloridia* left off. In *Chloridia* the Queen took the part of a pastoral deity, representative of freshness, youth and love. Her proper companions were Spring, and the Naiades (the spirits of fountains and streams) who were all under the attraction of her virtue. In *Tempe Restored* her role, as the opponent of Circe, is more serious. Here the good powers of nature, the Dryads and Naiades, are the servants of Circe, who represents "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" (1.315-19). Circe, like Chloris, is beautiful, because desire, the foundation of life, "cannot be moved without the appearance of beauty, either true or false" (1.327-28). Men, however, who follow desire in general, are apt to become "intemperate beasts" (1.340), and those who have been attracted to false beauty must now be taught to follow true Beauty. That, too, must be seen in bodily form, and the Queen, who in *Chloridia* represented natural beauty, now becomes an image for Divine Beauty. The symbolic meaning of the masque is poorly served by Townshend's text (the "Allegory" is conveniently set out at the end for those who might have missed it), but it is conveyed by the splendour of Jones's scenes. Divine Beauty is presented in what was probably the most technically complex and visually dazzling scene of any masque, certainly of any to that date, and Jones obviously designed it to make the point that art—especially spectacular art—can present corporeal beauty so as to "draw us to the contemplation of the beauty of the soul, unto which it hath analogy" (1.363-64).
Jones's scenes, too, make sense of the title, which is meant to convey the fact that "Tempe, which for a time had been possessed by the voluntary beasts of Circe's court, is restored to the true followers of the Muses" (1.26). On reading the masque one may be excused for wondering how the Muses come into it, for they do not appear in the rest of the text. In the allegory, however, there is a sudden shift which makes the Dryades and Naiades, whose normal occupation is "to gather the most exquisite herbs and flowers of the earth for the service of their mistress," into a figure for "the virtues and sciences, by which the desire of man's spirits are prepared and disposed to good" (11.332-35). The way in which this transformation is achieved is to turn the affections from false to true beauty, and the way it is achieved in the masque is through the effect on the spectator of the scene in which Jones presents the Queen as Divine Beauty. Divine Beauty is made visible by art. Thus it is that, having perceived true Beauty, intemperate men who have for a while possessed the Vale of Tempe, and who by false means have sought "to extirpate the true lovers of science and virtue" (11.343-44), are converted to love of virtue, and Tempe may once more become "the happy retreat of the muses and their followers ... to whom of right only that place belongs" (11.340-44). When the scenic splendour of Tempe Restored is taken into account, it becomes not only an appropriate stage image of Platonic Beauty for the Queen, but Jones's most effective allegory of natural beauty transformed to Divine Beauty through art.

The Temple of Love, the Queen's next masque, is a more specific application of Jones's ideas on art as an expression of ideal Beauty, since (in my interpretation) its subject relates to Jones's own work, which in this masque he connects with the Queen's religious interests. In visual terms, the main subject of The Temple of Love is, in fact, a
Temple, which the Queen, by the influence of her love doctrines, helps to establish in England. The Temple itself is first glimpsed through mists and clouds (1.150), and in the final scene it comes to occupy the whole stage, concluding the masque with a magnificent image of unity and love. The Temple had, of course, symbolic significance (which I shall discuss in later chapters), but purely as a visual image in the masque I believe it referred to a building of Jones's own. Jones's habit of referring to buildings in which he had an interest has been noticed with reference to the King's masques: in Albion's Triumph, for instance, his "prospect of the King's palace at Whitehall" (1.339) doubtless included the outstanding building of the Palace, Jones's own Banqueting House which he had already included as a design in a masque in 1621. Britannia Triumphans opened with a scene in which St. Paul's Cathedral, on which Jones was currently working for the King, forms the centre of the perspective. For Racan's play Arténice, in which the Queen acted in 1626, Jones had produced a concluding masque scene of Somerset House, the actual building of the Queen's Palace in which the play was being performed. In representing a temple on the stage in The Temple of Love, I believe that Jones was referring to another view of Somerset House and to another building of his own, the Catholic chapel which he designed for the Queen, begun in 1632 and now, at the beginning of 1635, when The Temple of Love was presented, nearing completion.

The word "temple" was commonly used by contemporaries to refer to church buildings, and especially to Catholic churches. It was entirely appropriate to describe Jones's chapel, since the inscription which recorded the Queen's laying of the foundation stone refers to it as "Templum hoc." It was also an appropriate stage device for a masque on the subject of Platonic love: Jones designed temples for two other...
works connected with the Queen, *The Shepherd's Paradise* (1633) and *Florimène*, a French pastoral presented later in the same year as *The Temple of Love*.

In the masque, the appearance of the Temple is undoubtedly the climax of the performance, being given a scene to itself after the Queen has danced and is seated under the State by the King. Jones wrote an elaborate description of it:

> this temple instead of columns had terms of young satyrs bearing up the returns of architraves, frieze, and cornice, all enriched with goldsmiths' work; the further part of the temple running far from the eye was designed of another kind of architecture, with pilasters, niches and statues, and in the midst a stately gate adorned with columns and their ornaments, and a frontispiece on the top, all which seemed to be of burnished gold. (11.458-65)

When the masque was produced at the beginning of 1635 Jones must have been thinking about the interior design of the chapel, which opened at the end of the same year, and it would be interesting to know if any of these details correspond with his designs. His altarpiece for the Queen's chapel, for example, had two full-size figures on either side like the proscenium of a masque stage; another design, for the Screen to the Queen's closet in the chapel (Fig. 40), has terms supporting a decorative architrave, which might be compared with Jones's description of "terms of young satyrs bearing up the returns of architraves ..." above. While the figures in the screen are not satyrs, the terms in the masque scene may have given an impression of one of the features of the chapel closely connected with the tastes of the Queen. Jones had also used terms to support the architrave in another design for the Queen, "Love's Cabinet" in *The Shepherd's Paradise* (Fig. 41) and the rest of Jones's description of "another kind of architecture, with pilasters, niches and statues" is reminiscent of a second scene for *The Shepherd's Paradise*, the "Interior of a Temple with Tombs" (Fig. 42). Jones never minded using "twice conceyud, thrice payd for Imagery" (as Jonson called it in his *Expostulation with Inigo Jones*, 1.90), and a conflation of these two
Fig. 40 Inigo Jones, details for the Queen's Chapel; the screen was after the French style
Fig. 41 Inigo Jones, scene for The Shepherd's Paradise (1633)
Fig. 42 Inigo Jones, design for a temple in The Shepherd’s Paradise
scenes with an interior view of the chapel, as well as a reference back to the pastoral that had helped introduce the Queen's idea of love to the court, would have been an appropriate visual image for the two themes of the masque, the appearance of the Temple and the introduction of chaste love. The full significance of the "temple" theme in relation to the rest of the masque will be discussed in later chapters.

Luminalia, the Queen's last masque, is the ultimate expression of the masque as an almost purely scenic form, and again the subject refers to the arts. In his introduction, Jones assures the reader that it is based on "high and hearty invention" (1.4), and so, in terms of its scenes, it is. A masque "consisting of darkness and light" (1.13) can hardly be thought to have much explainable meaning, but Jones has a long explanatory passage, and again (as in Tempe Restored) he makes a remarkable shift from the ostensible "subject" to yet another discussion of the Muses. After explaining how the subject of the main masque of light was introduced by anti-masques of sleep and dreams, he suddenly goes on "The Muses being long since drawn out of Greece by the fierce Thracians, their groves withered and all their springs dried up, and out of Italy by the barbarous Goths and Vandals ..." (and so on for many more lines), they (the Muses) are received at last "into protection and established in this monarchy ... by the divine minds of this incomparable pair" (11.16-28). None of this appears in the masque, but it is in the visual symbolism, at least in the back of Jones's mind. When the Queen appears in a scene of light, "expressing her to be the queen of brightness" (1.357), Jones connects her appearance with the Muses when he says in the preface "the scene where this goddess of brightness was discovered was styled the garden of the Britainides, or muses of Great Britain, not inferior in beauty to that of the Hesperides, or that of Alcinoüs celebrated by Homer" (11.29-32). Thus
Jones includes his own scenic art in a classical tradition of beauty, and associates the return of the Muses with the Queen, in an image of spiritual Beauty which is conveyed in performance in a transcendent image of light.

Thus the theme of ideal Beauty in the Queen's masques can be traced as a process in which natural beauty leads to spiritual Beauty, and thence to heavenly illumination, a process brought about through the medium of Jones's art and under the influence of the ideal Beauty of the Queen. The power of art and beauty to lead to spiritual illumination was, however, an extremely controversial issue. Jones's statement in Tempe Restored that "corporeal beauty ... may draw us to the contemplation of the beauty of the soul, unto which it hath analogy" (11.361-64) had a direct relation to religion at a time when Anglican Bishops were arguing that objects and images were "the visible signs of invisible graces," and when Laud was defending the place of images in religious worship. Jones states, moreover, that corporeal beauty which has this power consists in "symmetry, colour, and certain inexpressable graces, shining in the Queen's Majesty" (11.361-63), and I believe his embodiment of the ideal of Beauty in the Queen was significant in the debate over how far "Beauty" in Anglican worship meant "Catholic" Beauty. In discussing Jones's use of light in the masques, Roy Strong has remarked that Jones was using effects on the Stuart stage that on the Continent fed the new piety of the Counter-Reformation. He adds that it is strange that in England "the only rays of this sort darted from the head of Henrietta Maria as she floated downwards on a cloud," and that the only ecstatic vision was that "which focused on the semi-divine beings of the first two Stuart monarchs as they demonstrated to their people that they were 'little gods' made to rule over other men." But the association of these "heavenly" images with the Queen was not as
coincidental, nor the object of the masques as limited, as Strong's remark implies. I have suggested earlier in this chapter that the images created for the Queen harmonised on an artistic and visual level with her religious beliefs, just as the images for the King harmonised with his. The coming together of these two sets of images in the masques was significant of relationships between the two religions that went beyond the King and Queen to fundamental issues of the period. One of the most important of these was the adoption by the Anglican Church of a liturgical ideal of "Divine Beauty" which had much in common with the forms of worship in the Counter-Reformation Catholic Church.

The Catholic origin of many of the forms of Anglican ceremony was naturally one of the main grounds of Puritan criticism during the period, but to Charles and his Bishops these forms were part of the common heritage of spiritual beauty which Anglicans and Catholics shared. Laudian devotion derived from the teaching and practice of theologians like Hooker and Andrewes, who based their ideas on a wide knowledge of the early Fathers and an intense sacramentalism. To these men the traditional liturgical forms of religious worship were of fundamental importance, and were not to be discarded simply because they were practised by the Catholic Church. Laud believed that men were now sufficiently aware of the right use of images to avoid the dangers of idolatry, and he argued that many traditional images and ceremonies had been retained even by the first Reformers. He could therefore lay down the rule for Anglican clergy that "all such Rites as had been practised in the Church of Rome, and not abolished ... were to continue in the same state in which they found them."126 Moreover, to accusations of Arminianism and Popery, he replied that
Where Rome keepeth that which is auncienter and better; others whome we much more affect leaving it for newer, and changing it for worse, we had rather follow the perfections of them whome we like not, then in defects resemble them whome we love.127

To many Protestants, of course, such views were an open preparation for the return of Catholicism to England, and their fears were not allayed by the fact that ceremony in the centres of Anglican worship, the King's Chapel, St. Paul's, at Canterbury and other Cathedrals, seemed to be approaching the forms of ceremony to be seen in the Catholic chapels of the Queen. In the Petition of 1640, complaint was laid against

The great conformity both continued and increased of our Church to the Church of Rome, in vestures, postures, ceremonies and administrations ... the pulpits clothes, especially now of late, with the Jesuits badge upon them every way.128

To Laud, however, and especially to Charles, beauty of worship was one of the "good" parts of Catholicism. A reformed and refined ceremony freed of pre-Reformation excesses and added to the reason and truth of Anglicanism, would result in a religion in which Beauty and Truth were one.

This is, I believe, an important theme in the masques, where the reformed Beauty of Catholicism is summed up in the ideal Beauty of the Queen, while the Strength and Truth of Anglicanism is summed up in the Heroic Virtue of the King. The union of these two sets of qualities, shown in the joining of the King and Queen, symbolises the joining of Beauty and Strength in the King's ideal of Anglicanism. This symbolism is actually played out on the stage, in action which has strong suggestions of religious ritual. Throughout the masques the classical austerity and discipline associated with the King are softened and enlightened by joining with the complementary qualities of beauty and light shining in the Queen. In Love's Triumph, the first masque of the period, Charles is not the
Heroical Warrior, but the "Heroical Lover," and the city into which he makes his triumphal entry is Callipolis, "the city of beauty and goodness" (1.8). In this masque Orgel and Strong have noted the formality reminiscent of Laudian Anglicanism in the ceremony with which the Chorus move about swinging censers to purify the approaches to the Queen's "city of beauty." Callipolis is the "seat and region of all beauty" (1.74), and the Queen herself is its "temple" (1.113). Here "Love in perfection longeth to appear," but cannot do so until the chorus "make lustration of the place" with "solemn fires and waters" (11.83-4):

Then will he flow forth like a rich perfume
Into your nostrils, or some sweeter sound
Of melting music, that shall not consume
Within the ear, but run the mazes round. (11.78-82)

The sensuous beauty of religious ritual could hardly be more richly described, and it would, in performance, have been greatly enhanced by the action on the stage. The ceremony of purification leads to that meeting of ideal Beauty, embodied by the Queen, and ideal Love, embodied by the King, which created form from chaos,

And left imprinted in the air
Those signatures of good and fair,
Which since have flowed, flowed forth upon the sense,
To wonder first, and then to excellence,
By virtue of divine intelligence! (11.149-53)

The King and Queen's union is given a religious significance, which is conveyed not only by the richness of the poetry, but by the performance of ritual on the stage.

In Chloridia, the companion masque, the theme of Beauty approved by Heaven is even more specifically related to the union of the King and Queen. The masque is built on a structure of complementary opposites personifying the masculine and feminine principles of the universe--Heaven and Earth,
Zephyr and Spring, King and Queen—which fit well with the symbolism of the King and Queen's religions. The masculine is the dominant and commanding power, but the feminine brings to it the ancient beauty and variety which belong to the spiritual order, as ineluctably as the beauty and variety of the seasons and elements belong to the universal order.

Why should there be any enmity between earth and heaven on this point? Enmity has been stirred up by Disdain, Fear and Dissimulation, but now, through the love and virtuous union of the King and Queen, Earth and Heaven are reunited. The result is a beautification of the earth, formerly dull and "one colour," which is in accordance with the will of Heaven:

It is decreed by all the gods
The heav'n of earth shall have no odds,
But one shall love another.

Their glories they shall mutual make,
Earth look on heaven for heaven's sake;
Their honours shall be even;
All emulation cease, and jars;
Jove will have earth to have her stars
And lights, no less than heaven. (11.40-48)

In fact what Jove wishes has already begun to be executed on earth by Charles:

It is already done, in flowers
As fresh and new as are the hours,
By warmth of yonder sun. (11.49-51)

Catholic literature tells us that both Earth and Garden are symbols for the Church in relation to God, and the Queen, who rules over the reformed garden of love in Chloridia, is the agent through whom beauty is created; it only remains to decide whether she is the origin ("the root", 1.205) of this beauty, or whether she brought it into being by her actions.

In the next pair of masques, beauty and ritual is again associated with the Queen, and made perfect by its union with the manly virtues of
the King. In Albion's Triumph the King is described in heroic terms:

his triumph is

mighty as the man designed
To wear those bays, heroic as his mind,
Just as his actions, glorious as his reign,
And like his virtues, infinite in train.  (11.88-91)

But this mighty hero and his companions are themselves conquered by Love and Chastity, qualities enshrined in Alba, the Queen, whose beauty has "a great affinity with all purity." The introduction tells us that "the King's devoting himself to this goddess is but the seeking of that happy union which was preordained by the greatest of the gods" (11.10-13).

The second part of the masque is dominated by the images of religious ceremony associated with the Queen, just as the first part is dominated by the images of classical heroism associated with the King. The King and his attendants are discovered in a "stately temple" sacred to Jove (1.261). Cupid and Diana, appearing in the heavens, shoot at the masquers, "and Albanactus, yielding to the gods, moves down the steps in a stately pace to music made by the chorus of sacrificers, that sing as the masquers descend" (11.296-8). The masquers, subdued by Alba's beauty, become "Love's sacrifice" and now are "all divine" (1.295). The Queen is the centre of this religious ritual. When the masquers have descended, "the high priests and sacrificers, treading a grave measure, walk up towards the Queen singing" (11.317-20), and the hero is presented as a sacrifice to her chaste love:

Here comes the trophy of thy praise,
The monarch of these isles,
The mirror of thy cheerful rays,
And glory of thy smiles:
The virtues and the graces all
Must meet in one when such stars fall.  (11.330-35)
The King and the Queen are united, and the virtues that spring from their union are Innocency, Justice, Religion, Affection to the Country and Concord, "being all companions of Peace" (1.344). The classical gods are brought to pay tribute, and, for a conclusion, "the gods, poets and priests join and sing a valediction to Hymen's twin, the Mary-Charles" (11.440-41). In performance, the emphasis on religious ritual in the "grave measure," the priests, and the singing, would have been unmistakable, and the tribute paid to the King and Queen at the end makes them, together, representative of a higher religious virtue than the classical gods, whom they now transcend. In Tempe Restored the same pairing of opposites is stated in the "Allegory," where the King possesses the attributes of Heroic Virtue, being "the prototype of religion, justice, and all the virtues joined together" (11.358-60), while the Queen possesses the complementary attributes of Beauty, which attract and elevate the soul. Charles's "religion and justice" here provide a background for the vision of "Divine Beauty," whose appearance Jones accompanies with all the adjuncts of material beauty that his stage could muster. In Tempe Restored the rather defensive air of Jones's scene with Fame and the Arts at the end of Chloridia has given place to the confident assertion that Beauty has power to attract the soul, and that that Beauty is to be seen "shining in the Queen's Majesty" as the personification of Divine Beauty herself, a significant statement of Charles's convictions on the role and nature of "Beauty" in religion.

The long passage at the beginning of Luminalia, in which Jones explains the "subject" of the masque, begins as a lament for the Muses, and seems to sum up the subject of art and religion in these masques:

The muses being long since drawn out of Greece by the fierce Thracians, their groves withered and all their springs dried up, and out of Italy by the barbarous Goths and Vandals, they wandered here and
there indecently without their ornaments and instruments, the arch-flamens and flamens, their prophetic priests, being constrained either to live in disguises or hide their heads in caves.... (11.16-22)

Jones's words, linking the destruction of the arts, first with the Goths and Vandals and then with the persecution of "their prophetic priests," seem to echo the Introduction to Vasari's Lives of the Painters. Vasari's book was one of the most heavily annotated in Jones's library, and Jones seems to have had in mind the passage in which Vasari describes the destruction of Rome, first by the Goths and Vandals, and then by the fervent but misdirected zeal "of the new Christian religion," a phrase which could well stand to Jones in a contemporary context for the destructive zeal of the Reformation. This zeal, Vasari says, devoted itself "with all diligence to driving out and extirpating root and branch every least occasion where error could arise," and in so doing "not only defaced or threw to the ground all the marvellous statues, sculptures, pictures, mosaics and ornaments of the false gods of the heathens, but even the memorials and the honours of numberless men of rank" (p.xlviii). There was an obvious parallel to be made with more recent examples of such zeal, and the sentiments must have found a sympathetic echo among both Anglicans and Catholics at Charles's court. Jones says that after the "perpetual storm" into which both the arts and priests have been driven over many years, they are at last "by the divine minds of these incomparable pair [the King and Queen] received into protection and established in this monarchy ... making this happy island a pattern to all nations, as Greece was amongst the ancients" (Luminalia, 11.26-38). The images and action of the masques themselves seemed to show that Charles was once more allying the arts with religion, and that in adopting the "good" parts of Catholicism, its traditional beauty and ceremony, he was creating a religion in which Reason and Truth were once more united with Divine Beauty.
Notes: Chapter 3

1. The definitive account of Jones's work on the masque is by Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*. Including the complete designs for productions at court ... together with their texts and historical documentation, 2 vols. (Sotheby Parke Bernet: Univ. California Press, 1973). Orgel and Strong's introductory essays, based on more detailed studies in individual works by the two authors (referred to elsewhere in these Notes), give an overall view of Stuart masques, and set them in an historical and artistic context. My subsequent references to masque texts and designs will be to these two volumes, which will be referred to as Orgel and Strong. All the masques of the 1630's (with the exception of Love's Triumph through Callipolis) will be found in Vol.II, and my references in brackets following quotes from masques are to line numbers in Orgel and Strong. Other studies essential to the history of the masque will be noted at appropriate places, and in the Bibliography.

2. See Orgel and Strong, Chap.iv: "Platonic Politics"; this and the next quotation are from p.55.


4. There is no need here to revive the old quarrel between Jonson and Jones as to whether the poetry or the spectacle was the most important part of masque. The fundamental discussion of the quarrel and its background is by D.J. Gordon, "Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones" (1949), rpt. in *The Renaissance Imagination*, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley: Univ. California Press, 1975), pp.77-101. See also the discussion in Orgel and Strong, I, pp.2-4.

5. This is stated by Townshend (Tempe Restored, 11.365-68) and Davenport (Salmacida Spolia, 11.489-94); the other masques of these two authors follow Jones's style.


9. Jonson's The Fortunate Isles (1625) has a rudimentary final scene after the revels in which "the fleet is discovered while three cornets play" (1.485), but only 6 lines of poetry accompany it.

10. This source has not previously been noted in editions of the masque. Cf. Salmacida Spolia, 11.77-92, and Vitruvius, On Architecture, ed. and trans. Frank Granger (London, 1931-34), I, pp.120-23. Granger's translation reads: "Now when Melas and Arevanias led thither a joint colony from Argos and Troezen, they cast out the barbarians, Carians and Leleges. But these being driven to the hills, gathered together and made raids, and by brigandage they devastated the Greeks cruelly. But afterwards one of the colonists, for the sake of profit, fitted up an inn with complete supplies, near the spring, on account of the goodness of the water, and running the inn, he began to attract the barbarians. So coming down one by one, and mixing with society, they changed of their own accord from their rough and wild habits to Greek customs and affability." Vitruvius adds: "Therefore this water obtained such a reputation, not by the plague of an immodest disease, but through the softening of savage breasts by the delights of civilisation."


12. Arundel's collection specialised in Greek and Roman antiquities; Buckingham purchased Rubens's collection of Venetian Masters in 1626, and Charles the complete collection of the Duke of Mantua in 1628.

13. For the source of this illustration, and discussion of the painting, see Oliver Millar, "Charles I, Honthorst, and Van Dyck," Burlington
14. D.J. Gordon ("Poet and Architect," pp.87ff.) suggested Vincenzo Scamozzi's Architettura, Roy Strong (Orgel and Strong, Inigo Jones, p.460, and Fig.69) Sebastian Serlio.


19. See the notes on the designs, Orgel and Strong, pp.460-69.

20. Mantegna was an authority for his age on classical design, and his paintings for The Triumph of Caesar had themselves had a history in connection with court spectacle: see E. Tietze-Conrat, Mantegna (London: Phaidon Press, 1955), PIs.108-116, and "Notes on the Paintings," pp.183-84). Rubens painted a composite triumph scene from the cartoons when he was visiting Charles's court (1629-30). (The cartoons are now at Hampton Court, Rubens's painting in the National Gallery, London).

21. E.g., in Oberon and Time Vindicated, q.v. in Orgel and Strong.


24. For discussion of Jones's stage development, see Orgel and Strong, I, p.18; Jones had used an upper stage as a separate playing area as early as 1613, but only after 1631, with the addition of a fly gallery (for Chloridia) were extensive aerial spectacles a regular feature of the masques.


28. Jones's instructions to Jordaens are printed by Croft-Murray, pp.36-7. The connection of local painters who worked for Jones (John de Critz and Edward Pierce) is also noted by Orgel and Strong, pp.37-8. Jones's contemporaries were accustomed to a great deal of colour and decoration in their art; even the Banqueting House, with its masculine and unaffected lines, was built by Jones in three different colours of stone (Summerson, Architecture in Britain, p.56), and interiors of Royal apartments were finished in the most gaudy colours: e.g., the Queen's Cabinet at Somerset House, a creation of Jones and Goodrich, had 218 panels of grotesque on a white ground, blue columns and lavish gilding (Croft-Murray, p.39).

29. For scenes of relieve, described as "layers of cut-outs, some in moulded relief, standing in front of the back-cloth," see Orgel and Strong, p.38. Some examples of these scenes in the masques are:
Jove on an eagle in the new "heaven," Tempe Restored (Orgel and Strong, no.218) and Fig.13 below; Atlas holding a globe, Coelum Britannicum (no.280); City of Sleep "placed" on a rainbow (possibly suspended from fly-gallery), Luminalia (no.386). The make-up of such scenes is discussed by Richard Southern, Changeable Scenery: Its Origin and Development in the British Theatre (London: Faber and Faber, 1952), pp.60-63, 75.


31. For this and the following details, see Croft-Murray, Decorative Painting, I, pp.34-35.


33. The connections between the panels and Jones's word descriptions are discussed and illustrated by D.J. Gordon, "Roles and Mysteries," in The Renaissance Imagination, pp.3-11.


35. Orgel and Strong, pp.711-12, nos.383, 384, and Fig.114. For Elsheimer and Rubens, see Kenneth Clark, Landscape into Art (London: John Murray, 1949), pp.51-2, and Pl. 60.


83-90, for discussion of Jones in relation to these ideas. For a discussion of the following transcripts, see also Per Palme, The Triumph of Peace: A Study of the Whitehall Banqueting House (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1956), pp.92-99.

38. This, and the following transcription, are quoted from John A. Gotch, Inigo Jones (1928; rpt. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968), pp.81-2, where they are discussed in relation to his architecture.

39. Gotch, p.82. Jones seems to use the word "Cimeras" in the sense applied by contemporary painters to "grotesques" or "fancies" (v. OED); in Luminalia, the "strange prospect of chimeras" consisted of "mountains of gold, towers falling, windmills and other extravagant edifices, and in the further part a great city sustained by a rainbow," representing the city of Sleep (11.170-74).


42. See George R. Kernodle, From Art to Theatre: Form and Convention in the Renaissance (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1944), esp. Pt.I, Ch.ii for details (mentioned below) of tableaux vivants, and for the adaptation of religious to Renaissance art forms in Royal entries and street theatre. See also Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages, 1300-1660 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), Vol.I. Wickham criticises the application of Kernodle's theory to the public stage (p.xxxv, Introduction), but Kernodle's argument does apply closely to the court stage developed for the masques.
43. Kernodle, From Art to Theatre, pp.64-66. See also Jean Seznec, La Survivance des Dieux Antiques, Studies of the Warburg Institute, Vol.11 (London, 1940), esp. Livre I, Ch.I, "La Tradition historique;" Pl.I, from a 14th century chronicle in the British Museum (Egerton 1500) shows beneath Adam and Eve the heads of Saturne, Jupiter, Juno, etc. (p.29).

44. T.E. Lawrenson, The French Stage in the XVIIth Century: A Study in the Advent of the Italian Order (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1957), p.39; v. pp.33-43 for discussion of the gloire and the ciel. Lawrenson generally supports Kernodle's thesis (he discusses some of its pitfalls in Ch.III), and adds much French material; see esp. Ch.II.

45. See Roy Strong, Splendour at Court, for details of these courts.

46. For the following information see John Addington Symonds, Renaissance in Italy (New York: Modern Library Edition, 1935), II, pp.45-75.


49. See Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages, Vol.I for detailed history of each of the following forms, and the ways in which they interacted.

50. Wickham, EES, I, pp.232-34 for examples.


52. Illust. Phillips, Reformation of Images, Figs. 28, 29a, 31; cf. Fig. 33, this study.

54. See Per Palme, The Triumph of Peace: A Study of the Whitehall Banqueting House (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1956). Palme traces the connections between the arts, the processes whereby they were enlisted in court entertainments for moral and political edification, and the adaptation of church forms to court ceremony, making the Banqueting House "the domain of a secular liturgy" (p.124). Palme includes a section on masque, pp.120-75.


57. i.e., in the proportions of a double cube. The first hall was approx. 120' x 53', the Banqueting House 110' x 55' and the third the same. Jones's use of the basilical model derived from Palladio's research on the Roman basilica: see John Summerson, Inigo Jones (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966), pp.50-55, and the same author's discussion of Jones's work in Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830, Pelican History of Art, 4th rev. ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963).

58. Discussed by Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages, II, p.268 et seq. (for documentation of other details in the paragraph, see EES, II, pp.172-85; I, p.168, p.247). Dispersed settings are illustrated by the scene for the French Balet comique de la Reine (1581) (see Fig.24), which E.K. Chambers considers to have been typical of English stages before Jones's introduction of the perspective stage in 1605: v. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), I, pp.177-78.
59. EES, II, p.248.

60. Summerson, Inigo Jones, pp.16-17; Jones's first visit to Italy took place between 1597 and 1603. A description of the Uffizi theatre is given by A.M. Nagler, Theatre Festivals of the Medici, 1539-1637 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1964), pp.59-61. For the relation of Jones's architecture and stage design to Italian practice, see Wickham, EES, II, chap.7.

61. The point is made by Orgel and Strong, I, p.7: see also Strong, Splendour at Court, p.73, and Orgel, Illusion of Power, pp.10-11.


64. Somerset House chapel was destroyed in 1775, but it is known to have been a double cube 60' long, the same as the double cube room at Wilton House (Summerson, Inigo Jones, p.60); Jones's other Catholic chapel at St. James is also a double cube (Summerson, p.61).

65. Summerson, Inigo Jones, pp.50-53; Charlton, The Banqueting House, p.18. Charlton reproduces a drawing which shows the Banqueting House being used as a church at the end of the 18th century.


67. On Jones's religion see DNB, s.v. Jones, Inigo, and Joseph Gillow, A Literary and Biographical History ... of the English Catholics. E.S. de Beer's doubt about Jones's Catholicism (Notes and Queries, 178 [May 1942], 292) was answered by R. Wittkower, "Puritanissimo fiero," in Burlington Magazine, 90 (Feb. 1948), 50-51.


73. Addleshaw, p.139 et seq.; Phillips, p.155. For a list of the works in the pamphlet war over altars that developed in the 1630's, see Phillips, p.159, n.9.


76. Leah Sinanoglou Marcus, "The Occasion of Ben Jonson's Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue" in SEL, 19 (Spring 1979), 271-93.

77. On these events, see also Phillips, Reformation of Images, p.141.

78. For discussion of images, see John Phillips, Reformation of Images, Ch.1; for Anglican attitudes, pp.152-60.


80. Addleshaw, Architectural Setting, pp.35, 39; for details given below, of altar, see p.139; of music, pp.99-100.

81. Orgel and Strong, II, p.643, diagrammatic sketch of Fig. 323.
231

82. Peter Smart, The downe-fall and vanitie of popish ceremonies (Edinburgh, 1628; rpt. Norwood Johnson, 1977). From Tyndale on, "Popish" liturgy had been scornfully compared to theatre: v. Jonas Barish, "Exhibitionism and the Anti-Theatrical Prejudice," ELH, 36, no.1 (1969), 1-29; in the 1630's however, the visual resemblance between Anglican ceremony, Jones's stage, and Catholic ritual, added point to Puritan attacks.

83. Quoted in John Rushworth, Historical Collections of Private Passages of State ... beginning anno 1618 and ending ... anno 1629 (London 1721), pp.280-81.

84. "A Catholic devotion begun in Italy in the 16th century, in which the Blessed Sacrament was exposed for a period of about 40 hours, fixed as the time Christ's body rested in the tomb" (Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. Cross, s.v. Forty Hours' Devotion). For discussion and illustration of quarantore see Per Bjurstrom, "Baroque Theatre and the Jesuits" in Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution, pp.104-07; and Mark S. Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions," in JWCi, 37 (1974), 218-48. Weil (p.218) says that Bjurstrom is wrong in attributing dramatic action to the scenes, but he also says (p.220) that "the Depositio and Elevatio were often enriched with dramatizations that took place in front of a permanent or temporary monument representing the Holy Sepulchre," and he mentions other semi-theatrical events.


87. DNB, s.v. Connaeus, George.

Vicecancelliere et nuovo titolare di quella Chiesa accomodata in forma di Teatro con colonnate nicchie et statue de santi dorate con altri ornamenti rappresentandosi all'altare maggiore raggi di sole, in mezzo de' quali era posto il S\(^{\text{mo}}\) Sacramento sostenuto da due grandissimi Angeli con gran copia de lumi di cera in candelieri di argento sopra di tale apparato et con torcieri di argento et continui sermoni et musiche...."


90. Birch, Court and Times, II, p.311. Dieussart is noticed in Thieme-Becker, Künstler-Lexikon, Vol.10, s.v. Dusart (Dieussart) François; he was of Flemish birth and, after working at the English court in the 1630's, went to Holland, where he associated with Honthorst and Huygens, and later did work for the Princes of Orange and Charles II.


92. There was ample space at the sides and back of the upper-stage scene, behind the back shutters, since the latter formed the back, not of the stage, but of scenery worked on the shutter principle, two-thirds of the way between the front and back of the stage (Richard Southern, Changeable Scenery, p.58; cf. also Webb's plan for the stage, Orgel and Strong, no.400).

93. The effect of Jones's concluding scenes is poorly represented in his extant designs. He himself hardly tried to reproduce them, and John Webb's awkward style gives a stilted air to the scene for Salmacida Spolia. In judging these scenes, however, it is important to take into account the colour, light, sound, and even the excitement of the occasion itself, all of which went to make up Jones's meaning.

94. See T.E. Lawrenson, The French Stage in the XVIIth Century: A Study in the Advent of Italian Order, from which (pp.122-23) the following quotations are taken. See also Bjurström, "Baroque Theatre," pp. 102-03, who draws attention to resemblances between Dubreuil's treatise
(which was probably finished by 1639 and recorded practices already in use) and stage technique at the Hôtel de Bourgogne around 1630 (p.102, n.13).


100. McCabe, "Play -list of the English College of St. Omers," p.316. The Englishman Joseph Simeon (Emmanuel Lobb, 1594-1671) was educated at St. Omers and at the English College, Rome, where he wrote and produced plays, including five Latin tragedies between 1623 and 1631, all with elaborate intermedii between the acts: see McGowan, L'Art du Ballet de Cour, p.211.


102. Marie-Anne de Kisch, "Fêtes et représentations au collège anglais de Rome 1612-14," CNRS (Paris, 1975). The subjects of the plays were the martyrdoms of Sir Thomas More, John Fisher, and Thomas of Canterbury, and an allegory, Captiva Religio, which concerned the religious situation at the court of James I.

103. For dates, see J.A. Gotch, Inigo Jones, pp.71-77. Arundel became Anglican in 1615, but his family remained Catholic, and his wife was an active proselytiser (DNB, s.v., Howard, Thomas).


106. Lytton Sells, The Paradise of Travellers: The Italian Influence on Englishmen in the Seventeenth Century (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1964), Chap.iv; Milton was entertained there and at the English College in 1639 (p.77).


110. Sells, Paradise of Travellers, p.46.


114. Gardiner, VII, pp.242 et seq. for these events.


117. Orgel and Strong, II, No.334 and Commentary (pp.668-69).

118. A.M. Nagler, Theatre Festivals of the Medici, 1539-1637, pp.139-40, describes a Medici entertainment of 1628 in which Chloris and Zephyr are united, and Chloris is changed into Flora. The "plot" is identical with Jonson's: Jupiter announces his decision to endow earth with the counterpart of stars, that is, flowers; Cupid becomes discontented and goes to the underworld for help, as in Chloridia.

119. Orgel and Strong, I, p.40, No.122. For the following details, see II, No.334 and Commentary; for Arténice, I, p.385.

120. Jones may have been working on designs for the Somerset House chapel from as early as 1623, when chapels both there and at St. James were ordered (John Summerson, Inigo Jones [Penguin Books, 1966], p.76), but nothing definite was done until 1630 when the arrival of Henrietta's Capucin Friars made a chapel in her own Palace desirable.
121. E.g., De Templis: A Treatise of Temples, by N.T. (London, 1638), which discusses contemporary church decoration (see Phillips, Reformation of Images, p.165). Henry Burton, For God, and the King, quoted for special condemnation the passage in which Stafford (in The Female Glory) praised "the Princes of this our Ile" for erecting Chapels and Temples to the Blessed Virgin (Burton, p.235).

122. Thomas Birch, The Court and Times of Charles the First, II, p.308. A French description, Les royales ceremonies faites en l'édification d'une Chapelle de Capucins à Londres ... (Reims, 1633), also refers to the building as "vn Temple" (p.8).

123. Reproduced in Isaac Ware, Designs of Inigo Jones and Others (London, 1735), Pls.28, 29 (altar and screen). The design for the screen is copied below from John Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830, Pelican History of Art, 4th rev. ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963), Pl.44.


125. Orgel and Strong, I, p.47.


129. Orgel and Strong, I, p.53.


132. See John A. Gotch, Inigo Jones, Appendix A.