

ITALIAN INFLUENCE ON THE ENGLISH COURT MASQUE.

THE subject of this paper requires a word of explanation. During the course of research into the history of the English Masque, I found it necessary to give some attention to contemporary Italian festivities, which I believed had influenced our court masques even more deeply than was commonly supposed. My anxiety to discover the extent and character of this influence was increased by a study of the designs for masque scenery by Inigo Jones, which are collected at Chatsworth and which I was enabled to examine and trace by the kind permission of the Duke of Devonshire. Many of these designs are of real delicacy and beauty, and the question arose whether they were genuine products of the imagination of our English architect. The general influence of the art of the Italian Renaissance was obvious enough; were they not actually borrowed from the work of Italian artists? This suspicion proved to be correct. I found that several of the designs were taken—either whole or in part—from the work of the Florentine artist Giulio Parigi, the master of the famous French engraver, Jacques Callot. Further, I found that the designs and libretti of many English masques, were borrowed from certain Italian festivities which took place in the year 1608.

These facts, of which, as far as I know, historians of the masque have hitherto been unaware, are of more than mere antiquarian interest. They do, I believe, throw valuable light on the character and development of the English court masque.

The masque is sometimes treated as a rather unimportant subdivision of the drama; but it may almost be said to have been less closely related to dramatic literature than to music, dancing, painting and architecture. The nucleus of the whole performance was the arrival of magnificently disguised masquers, who first appeared carefully grouped in some gorgeous machine, set against an elaborate background; and then descended into the hall to dance new figured dances and to join in ordinary ball-room dancing with the spectators. There was just enough dramatic dialogue (spoken or chanted by professionals) to furnish a

motive for the appearance of the noble and silent masquers¹. Grand spectacular effects and transformation scenes were generally considered to be far more important than consistent plot or good poetry. This English masque was closely related to various types of entertainment which were popular at the same period in France, Italy and elsewhere.

From the fifteenth century onwards the pastimes of European aristocracies were largely æsthetic in character; poets, painters, musicians were all required for their preparation. At the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, there was a tendency to shape this inchoate mass of revellings into a definite *genre*, which was intended to be a harmony of all the arts. The result of this attempt was the Italian Opera, the French Ballet de Cour, and the English Court Masque. In France and Italy this development was the result of conscious thought and effort; in England there was, as usual, very little deliberation and theorizing and the æsthetic development of the masque was chiefly due to the fact that a favourite court amusement was taken in hand by two great artists: the architect Inigo Jones and the poet Ben Jonson. This happened at the beginning of the Stuart period.

In 1605 King James was entertained at Oxford by the performance of a tragedy, *Ajax Flagellifer*. Hoping to make their play unusually splendid, the Oxford men 'hired one Mr Jones, a great traveller, who undertook to further them much, and furnish them with rare devices, but performed very little to that which was expected². He did however arrange for three changes of scene, worked by a system of revolving pillars, a device which he had taken from the Italian stage³.

For the moment Inigo Jones may have disappointed the expectations of his countrymen; but in a very few years he had acquired a great reputation as a designer of scenery for the English court masques, and, no doubt, he owed his initial success very largely to his association with Ben Jonson. From 1605 to 1631 Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson usually worked together and for some time the poet was the dominant partner; by 1631 however the situation had become reversed, and when the two fiery artists had the inevitable quarrel, Jones was able to dispense with the services of Jonson and appoint whatever poet he pleased to write the libretti for the court masques, which he himself designed and for which he chose the subject matter.

¹ Their silence only lasted during the dramatic part of the performance. As soon as they began to join in the revels and to 'mask with' the ladies, gallant conversation was expected of them.

² *The Progresses of King James I.*, ed. by John Nichols. London, 1828, vol. i, p. 558.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 538.

At first this quarrel seemed the natural outcome of an attempt to unite two different but equally noble ideals of art. Ben Jonson was a poet; to him poetry was the 'soul of masque' that would outlive all the 'painting and carpentry,' the mere 'bodily part which was of Master Inigo Jones his design and act.' But, as I then thought, Inigo, too, was a great creative artist, and Ben Jonson had no right to his superior attitude. The facts which I bring forward in this article have, however, compelled me to alter my estimate of Inigo's contribution to the masque. It seems to me now that he was only interested in it because it gave him an opportunity of reproducing in England certain scenic devices that had already made a sensation in Italy. This plagiarism was kept in check while he collaborated with Ben Jonson, but after 1631 Inigo introduced Italian designs into almost every court masque that he composed; most of these designs being taken from a few Italian illustrated pamphlets which he must have had in his possession.

Inigo Jones first appears as a designer of masque scenery in the year 1605, when he devised the setting of Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness*, which was presented at Whitehall on Twelfth Night. The plot of the masque was that certain Ethiopian nymphs, daughters of Niger, had grown desperate through hearing that women in other parts of the world excelled them in beauty, and in response to a vision had come to seek out Britannia, a land ruled by 'bright Sol' (i.e. King James):

Whose beams shine day and night, and are of force
To blanch an Æthiop and revive a corse.

The painted scene consisted of a woody landscape, which disappeared on the fall of the curtain and revealed an artificial sea 'raised with waves which seemed to move, and in some places the billow to break.' Into this sea came Tritons, sea-maidens, and sea-horses bearing Oceanus and Niger; accompanying the masquers, who appeared as twelve dusky nymphs, placed in a great concave shell, like mother-of-pearl.

The idea of the masque was, I believe, suggested by a tournament, which was held on Wednesday, October 14, 1579, in the Pitti Palace, Florence, to celebrate the marriage of Francesco de' Medici with a noble Venetian lady, Bianca Cappello¹. The theatre was erected in a courtyard of the palace, where a grotto was shown adjoining a beautiful garden. The audience was full of silent expectancy, when, to a sudden outburst of music and light, the grotto opened out and was transformed into a magnificent loggia overlooking the sea-shore. The sea, with its

¹ *Feste nelle Nozze del Serenissimo Don Francesco Medici Gran Duca di Toscana; et della Sereniss. sua consorte la Sig. Bianca Capello*. Composte da M. Raffaello Gualterotti; In Firenze nella Stamperia de' Giunti, 1579, p. 13.

foaming waves, was painted with such verisimilitude that 'it seemed really to be moving and breaking, and whitening as it broke against the rocks.'

The 'cartel' of the tournament was to the effect that three Persian knights were prepared to maintain against all comers the superiority of Persian ladies to all others in the world¹. During the course of the tournament various triumphal cars entered the theatre, and among others a large and resplendent one of mother-of-pearl, shaped like a boat and bearing in its white bosom two ladies and two knights with their attendants, and borne along by a crowd of mermen, sea-nymphs and ocean deities. The two ladies represented Europe and Africa, who could not suffer the Persian boast of Asia's superior beauty to pass without a challenge.

I have no doubt that in this case Inigo and Ben Jonson drew their inspiration from the tournament in the Pitti Palace; but they certainly did not imitate their models with any exactness. They took some ideas from the Italian entertainment but the treatment of the theme was their own.

In 1608 Cosimo de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, married Maria Maddelena, Archduchess of Austria, and the wedding was celebrated in Florence with magnificent revels beginning on Sunday evening, October 25, and lasting many days. *Il Giudizio di Paridi*, a pastoral comedy by Michelagnolo Buonarotti, was performed in 'the usual theatre of such spectacles²,' the hall being arranged like a Roman circus. The scenery of the comedy and of the sumptuous *intermedi* which were performed between the acts was designed by Giulio Parigi.

The first *intermedio* was that of the Palace of Fame. On the top of the highest tower of the translucent palace appeared Fame herself, and showed to the royal couple a great company of their illustrious progenitors. After both Fame and these heroes had sung a madrigal, the door of the palace opened, and the heroes entered in, 'per indi salire al Cielo alla meritata gloria'—then suddenly the palace disappeared, and Fame, remaining in the air, began to rise up and singing vanished in the clouds³.

In February, 1609, Inigo and Ben Jonson produced the *Masque of Queens* in which Queen Anne and her ladies took part. 'The part of the Scene which first presented itself was an ugly Hell'; where certain

¹ *Ibid.* p. 8.

² *Descrizione delle Feste fatte nelle Nozze de' Serenissimi Principi di Toscana, D. Cosimo de' Medici, e Maria Maddalena Archiduchessa d' Austria*, pp. 34, 35.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37.

witches danced and sang until suddenly to a loud blast of music the Hell vanished and 'in the place of it appeared a glorious and magnificent building, figuring the House of Fame, in the top of which were discovered the twelve masquers, sitting upon a throne triumphal, erected in form of a pyramid, and circled with all store of light¹.' From this palace descended Perseus or 'Heroic Virtue,' and made a speech introducing the masquers, who represented twelve great queens of antiquity. After this the throne on which the masquers were sitting suddenly changed and in place of it appeared 'Good Fame,' who called upon Heroic Virtue to honour the great queens. Meanwhile the masquers descended, and came out of the doors of the palace mounted on three triumphal chariots drawn by griffins, eagles and lions. The witches appeared bound in front of them. Songs and the revels followed, then the masquers mounted once more into their chariots and returned into the House of Fame and the masque ended.

Only a few months elapsed between the Florentine wedding festival and the performance of this masque, and the obvious resemblances between the two events can hardly be accidental.

The 'ugly Hell' may have been suggested by the flaming forge of Vulcan, a scene full of smoke and fire which formed the fourth intermedium of *Il Giudizio di Paridi*. The main theme of the masque is strikingly similar to Parigi's first *intermedio*. Again, however, there was no direct borrowing. The design for the main scene in the first *intermedio* of *Il Giudizio* does not correspond in detail to Jonson's description of his House of Fame. Moreover Jonson distinctly states that the structure and ornament of it 'was entirely Master Jones's invention and design...in which he profest to follow that noble description made by Chaucer of the place².' Parigi's palace was made of glass, a striking innovation which for the moment was not adopted by Inigo; next year, however, he devised for the *Masque of Oberon* 'a bright and glorious palace, whose gates and walls were transparent³.' On this occasion Inigo and Ben took their conception of Fame from Cesare Ripe and Vergil; many years later, however, they returned to Parigi's description.

For the last scene of *Chloridia* (1631) a hill rose up out of the earth, 'and on the top of it a globe, on which Fame is seen standing with her trumpet in her hand...at which Fame begins to mount, and moving her wings flieth singing up to Heaven.... Fame being hidden in the clouds,

¹ Jonson, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

² Jonson, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 60.

³ Jonson, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

the hill sinks, and the heaven closeth¹.' Compare with this the Italian description: 'Sparve subito il Palazzo, e la Fama restata in aria, cominciò a salire all' insu, e si nascose tra le nuvole cantando...²' This scene appears to have been a failure, for Ben Jonson has a satiric reference to 'the ascent of Lady Fame, which none could spy³.' After the performance of *Chloridia* the strife between the two artists broke out again and was never healed, and it is interesting that the attempt to emulate Parigi seems to have had something to do with their mutual antagonism.

Inigo Jones had done with Ben Jonson; he had not done with Parigi. Now that the restraining hand of his colleague was removed, there was a great increase in the number of his borrowings and also a change in the nature of his indebtedness. He now began to appropriate the actual designs of Parigi and others, but took care not to steal them wholesale, but to take parts of them and re-combine them and scatter them about among many different masques, apparently in order to throw dust in the eyes of his public.

In 1638 he collaborated with William Davenant in the composition of the masque *Britannia Triumphans*. After certain antimasques had been danced, a palace made of gold, silver and rustic work rose up out of the earth and revealed Fame standing on a high tower with a trumpet in her hand. 'When this palace was arrived to the height, the whole scene was changed into a Peristilium of two orders, Doric and Ionic... this joining with the former, having so many openings and windows might well be known for the glorious Palace of Fame.' A chorus of poets enter, Fame sings. 'The masquers came forth of the Peristilium, stood on each side, and at that instant the gate of the Palace opened and Britanocles (i.e. King Charles I) appeared.... The Palace sinks, and Fame remaining hovering in the air, rose on her wings singing and was hidden in the clouds⁴.'

In the Chatsworth Collection there are two of Inigo's designs for this scene, one representing only the central building which appeared first, the other showing this building joined on to the 'Peristilium of two orders,' which Inigo produced by means of painted side wings (A. 32, 33). The design for the main building is an exact copy of Parigi's Palace of Fame (although we can tell from the description that Inigo did not make his palace translucent). The side wings differ from

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² Jonson, *op. cit.*, pp. 207, 208.

³ Jonson, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

⁴ Sir Wm Davenant, *Dramatic Works*, ed. by James Maidment and W. H. Logan, Edinburgh, London, 1872, vol. II, pp. 283-286.

those of Parigi¹. There is, however, at Chatsworth a design for side wings, copied from the side wings of Parigi's House of Fame, and these side wings may have been intended for the scene of the ruined city in Carew's masque *Cælum Britannicum*².

Parigi's third *intermedio* represented the garden of the nymph Calypso, in the island of Ogygia³. Design B. 10 of the Chatsworth collection is a very delicate copy of the side wings of this design by Parigi. This Chatsworth design corresponds exactly to the verbal description of the bower of Circe in *Tempe Restored*, a masque composed by Inigo Jones and Aurelian Townshend and produced at Whitehall on Shrove Tuesday, 1631. Parigi's design gives a better idea of the masque scene, 'a prospect of curious Arbours of various formes,' than does the Chatsworth design, which only shows the side wings. The background of the English masque, however, differed from that of the Italian *intermedio*, for above the careful pen-work of the side wings are certain faint pencil marks suggesting 'a valley environ'd with Hills a farre off⁴.'

The fourth *intermedio* is a sea scene, a creek or bay set in an Indian landscape. Into this creek Amerigo Vespucci is sailing on top of a huge sea chariot drawn by sea monsters and dolphins. Inigo has borrowed from this *intermedio* for his designs for Davenant's masque *The Temple of Love*. There is at Chatsworth the design of side wings for this masque which is a rough reproduction of the side wings of this fourth *intermedio* (A. 39). Then again we have at Chatsworth a plan for the disposition of the masquers in a scene representing a 'creek in an Indian landscape' (A. 40), which is evidently an undetailed sketch of the scene for which the side wings were intended; and finally from the description (though not from any design by Inigo Jones) we can tell that this masque scene must have borne a very close resemblance to the fourth *intermedio*.

The masque scene represented 'a sea somewhat calm' breaking on the land 'which represented a new and strange prospect...in which were

¹ In the British Museum there is a pamphlet containing Parigi's designs for *Il Giudizio di Paridi* and also designs for magnificent water-chariots to be used for the great show on the Arno, which were invented by Parigi and engraved by Jacques Callot, the famous French artist who at that time was studying his art in Florence. The designs for the *intermedii* have been reproduced by W. J. Lawrence, in his interesting article, 'A Primitive Italian Opera,' in *The Connoisseur*, xv (1906), p. 235.

² For this statement I am trusting to my memory. My other statements concerning Inigo Jones's designs are based on tracings or satisfactory descriptions of the designs which I was able to make during a careful study of the drawings at Chatsworth. Jones's designs for scenery are contained in two portfolios marked A and B respectively.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁴ Aurelian Townshend's *Poems and Masks*, ed. by E. K. Chambers. (Tudor and Stuart Library.) Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, pp. 3, 4.

trees of a strange form and colour, and here and there were placed in the bottom several arbours like cottages, and strange birds and beasts, far unlike the country of these parts, expressing an Indian landscape.' Out of this creek came an antique barque, on which sat Orpheus, and other persons dressed as seamen. 'He playing one strain was answered with the voices and instruments of the Brachmani joined with the priests of the Temple of Love.' When the barque had taken port, and while the chorus were playing and singing, the masquers appeared in a maritime chariot made of a spongy rockstuff mixed with shells, sea-weeds, coral and pearls, drawn by sea-monsters and enthroning Indamora, Queen of Narsinga.

In the Italian *intermedio* 'the scene represented a placid, quiet sea, the shores of which were covered with trees, unfamiliar to us, and scattered among them, here and there, appeared cottages made of palms and reeds...the air was full of parrots and similar kinds of birds and on the ground were naked men dressed as western Indians.' Into this sea came a ship, with Amerigo Vespucci seated on the poop. At the brow were Hope, Boldness, Strength and other soldiers and sailors. A madrigal was sung, and as the ship came to land 'a rock, which was drawn by two sea-monsters and could be recognized as the car of Tranquillity, began to rise up from the water. This rock was full of shells and corals, with sea-weed and other sea-marvells. On the summit of it stood Tranquillity¹.'

The Italian and English descriptions resemble each other even in details, and it is interesting that the Indian cottages which are mentioned in both cases appear more clearly in the Italian than in the English drawings, and that Parigi's design for the car of Tranquillity gives a much better idea of the main scene of the English masque than do the rough sketches of Inigo Jones which have been preserved at Chatsworth.

The last *intermedio* of Parigi represented the Temple of Peace. In the Chatsworth Collection (A. 17) there is a small, incomplete but careful sketch of porticoes and pillars which exactly resemble portions of this Temple of Peace, and by the rough sketch of the framework surrounding these pillars, we can identify it as a design for 'the forum or piazza of Peace' in *The Triumph of Peace*, a scene in a magnificent masque written by Shirley and produced by Gentlemen of the Inns of Court in February, 1633-4.

Although the architectural part of Parigi's design was used by Inigo for *The Triumph of Peace*, the movement and the speeches of the

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 41, 42.

characters in this sixth *intermedio* suggest not Shirley's masque but certain passages in Townshend's masque *Albion's Triumph*, produced in 1632. After the main masque dance had been performed the scene was varied to a prospect of the city of London with the King's palace of Whitehall. 'And presently the whole heaven opened, and in a bright clowde were seen sitting five persons, representing *Innocency, Justice, Religion, Affection* to the Country and *Concord*, being all companions of *Peace*.... These moving towards the earth sing together as followeth.... Then from the upper part of the heaven was seen to follow this: another more beautiful cloud, in which alone triumphant sat *Peace*... *Proclaiming her large Benefits, and the World's Ingratitude*.... The Five in the lower clowde confessing her great *Bounty* answered.... When the five persons which first descended were come to the earth, the clowde that bare them was in an instant turned into a richly adorned Throne. And out of the foure corners of the scene proceede 4 Gods, *Neptune, Plutus, Bellona, and Cebele, complaining of ease and plenty*'.... After some dialogue, Peace commands the four gods to serve England and the English King; the gods announce that they will be delighted to obey her.

In Parigi's sixth *intermedio* Peace appears on a cloud with a large number of followers, among whom are Affection to the Country, Innocence, Concord, Justice and Adoration. (It may be noted that Parigi and Inigo Jones dress their characters differently.) Peace sings and is answered in song by the priests in her temple. Then Peace alights on the earth and seats herself on her throne, while there appear in the sky four clouds, on each of which is a chariot containing a god—Bellona, Cebele, Pluto and Neptune. In reply to questions put by Peace, the four deities explain that they have come to honour the heroic pair. Thereupon the heavens open in three places, revealing many celestial beings, who sing with joy, while at the same time clouds appear filled with zephyrs and breezes who dance together, 'con gran meraviglia degli spettatori come di cosa non più tentata in aria².'

This aerial dance was imitated by Inigo in *Luminalia* (1637)³, 'which apparition for the newness of the Invention, greatnesse of the Machine, and difficulty of engining, was much admired, being a thing not before attempted in the aire⁴.'

The masque *Luminalia* is a patchwork of borrowings. To trace its

¹ Townshend, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-21.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 46-49.

³ This fact was pointed out by W. J. Lawrence in the article on 'A Primitive Italian Opera,' *op. cit.* I should like to acknowledge my great indebtedness to that article.

⁴ *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies Library*, ed. by Rev. Alexander B. Grosart, vol. iv, *Luminalia*, pp. 629, 630.

sources we must first of all return to the Florentine festivities of 1579.

Among the triumphal chariots which graced the tournament in the Pitti Palace was the Car of Night, drawn by two black animals. Above the Car of Night was Æther her son: 'In the middle of it, were many shades and phantasms, made of black gauze so that they were transparent, and *with a black but sweet smelling smoke issuing out of their mouths*¹; and by diverse attitudes showing themselves to be afraid.'

The Car stopped in front of the Royal Box and then to all the other delights was added that of music, for the sleeping Night awoke and taking a viola in her hand sang this madrigal:

*Fuor dell' humido nido
Uscita con le mie presaghe schiere
Di Fantasmi, di Sogni, e di Chimere
La Notte io son....*

The whole invention was made by Signor Palla Rucellai, the music by G. S. Piero Strozzi, and the song tune by M. Giulio Caccini².

This Car of Night almost certainly furnished suggestions to S. Francesco Cini for his *Notte d' Amore*, a series of musical spectacles, which diversified the ball held in the Palazzo Vecchio as part of the wedding festivities of 1608³.

A stage had been erected in the largest room of the Palace, and suddenly in the middle of the princely dancing the curtain fell and revealed a view of the western quarter of the city of Florence, with its neighbouring mountains, only more woody than in reality. Then as the spectators were lost in admiration and surprise Hesperus crossed the scene in a cloud and summoned in a song Night to come on her accustomed path and give rest to mortals, for the sun was hidden and had yielded up his power to her. At this Night appears and responds to the call of Hesperus, saying that she brings with her her faithful followers, Oblivion, Silence, Repose, Sweet Sleep. But her purpose is thwarted by the arrival of Love who brings with him his troop, namely Cupids, Play, Laughter, Dancing, Song, Contentment, and bids Night yield up her sceptre to him, for here is an assembly of lovers more ready for delights than for dreams. Night obeys and departs with her followers,

¹ I have put in italics passages in the Italian and English descriptions which bear a close resemblance to each other.

² *Feste nelle Nozze*, etc., pp. 24-26.

³ *Descrizione delle Feste*, etc., pp. 28-32 (from which all the following descriptions and quotations are taken). For the poetical libretto cp. *Notte Damore* del S. Francesco Cini. Rappresentata tra Danze, nelle Nozze del Sereniss. D. Cosimo de' Medici, Principe di Toscana e della Serenissima Archiduchessa Maria Maddalena d' Austria. In Firenze l' Anno MDCVIII.

while Love urges on his followers to descend and dance among the spectators. The company and Love sing a chorus in time to which they dance. With this the first 'vigil' ended and ordinary dancing was resumed. The knights and ladies in the audience danced together at the end of each 'vigil.'

For the second vigil, the scene changed unexpectedly to a beautiful garden '*full of flowering trees and green plots and squares and fountains and loggias and circles and similar delights that deceived the eye.*'

Now there appeared in the sky certain stars in front of the moon, and '*one of them, not seeing in the place the accustomed obscurity of Night asked where she might be, or whether the sun had reversed his course.*' The moon appearing was astonished at seeing such splendours and invited the stars to descend and to admire these new wonders. Just then Endymion appeared in the garden and seeing the moon he adjured her by their ancient love to descend on the spot where Love had assembled the flower of lovers and of beauties. Then followed a chorus of Stars, Moon and Endymion, dancing together. Love adds his summons to mirth and dancing and the second vigil ends.

More hours passed by, the guests dancing and making merry in company with the new masquers until weariness began to overtake them. In order to revive their flagging interest the scene changed again and showed '*castles in the air, mountains, rocks, seas, buildings burning or in ruins; with men, some sailing, some falling; with various other dreamlike apparitions; the whole thing sustained by the rainbow.*' Across the scene flew the Nocturnal Hours and one of them cried out in a loud voice, summoning Dreams false and true, calling upon '*Morpheus, representor of human figures, Itatone of monsters, Panto of material forms*¹, and on all sleep-disturbing phantasms. Upon this the Dreams appeared, in all kinds of stunted, monstrous and unfinished shapes, and danced together for a while, until one of them asked the flying Hours whither they were driving them, 'for this was no place for them, here where the lovers—like so many Arguses—were keeping a delightful vigil.'

¹ The ultimate source of this passage is to be found in Ovid, *Met.* xi, 633–643. The forms *Itatone* and *Panto* are corruptions of *Icelon* (acc. sing.), *Phantasos* (nom. sing.). Perhaps they indicate an intermediate source between Ovid and Cini, possibly a corrupt mediæval version. We may compare the corrupt form *Eclympasteyre* in Chaucer's *Book of the Duchesse*, ll. 166, 167, which goes back to the same passage: Ovid, *Met.* xi, 641, 642 '*Hunc Icelon superi, mortale Phobetora vulgus | Nominat...*' '*Eclym*' is Ovid's *Icelon*,—'*pasteyre*' possibly represents *Phobetora*. Gower (ed. Pauli, II, 103) calls *Icelos*, '*Ithecus*,' and *Phantasos*, '*Panthasas*,' cp. Skeat's *Chaucer, The Minor Poems* (Clarendon Press, 2nd edit.), p. 241, note to line 167 *Eclympasteyre*. In an *intermedio* performed in Mantua in 1608, the names drawn from Ovid are spelt almost but not quite correctly: '*Morfeo, Forbetore e Fantaso*,' *Compendio delle Sontuose Feste*, etc. In Mantova. Presso Aurelio & Lodovico Osanna Stampatori Ducali, MDC.IX, pp. 88, 89.

Love, hearing this, tells the Dreams that all the lovers present are enjoying their true delights, and are not to be troubled by vain visions, but the Dreams may dance among themselves to cause laughter and delight. After the Dreams have performed the burlesque dance, Love and his chorus sing together, bidding the monstrous Dreams to vanish, to go and disturb the dreams of sleepers :

E noi tornando, à gl' amorosi inviti,
Guidiam balli d' Amor, balli graditi.

The princely guests now amused themselves with dancing until it was almost day. Then the scene was changed into a garden as before, and there appeared in the air the Morning Breeze, who called upon Aurora to redden the mountain tops. Aurora obeys the call. Tithonus remaining alone in the sky, laments his bride Aurora and curses the Morning Breeze. Love bids Aurora to delay the arrival of the Sun and to descend among them. Stars and Cupids sing in chorus during the descent of Aurora. Then there is a chorus of Stars, Loves, the Morning Breeze, Aurora, and Endymion dancing together. 'It is no wonder,' they cry, 'that deities should descend when such a goodly company is gathered together.' They bless the princely couple and their friends. Aurora turns towards the sky and announces the coming of the sun. One by one the Moon, the Stars, and finally Endymion all depart, lamenting the transience of human delights.

Apollo appears, leading in the day, and coming to drive everyone to deeds worthy of the light. There is a short dispute with Love who finally departs with his chorus of Cupids, singing :

O chiaro, o lieto giorno... etc.

In 1617 Ben Jonson composed a masque, *The Vision of Delight*, which shows unmistakable traces of the influence of both the *Carro della Notte* and still more of the *Notte d' Amore*. For the first scene there is 'a street in perspective of fair-building discovered. Delight is seen to come as a far off, accompanied with Grace, Love, Harmony, Revel, Sport, Laughter, and followed by Wonder.' The first antimasque is summoned and dismissed. Then 'Night rises slowly, and takes her chariot bespangled with stars,' and hovering over the place sings :

Break, Phant'sie, from thy cave of cloud,
And spread thy purple wings;
Now all thy figures are allowed,
And various shapes of things ;
Create of airy forms a stream...
And though it be a waking dream,

Chorus : Yet let it like an odour rise
To all the senses here,
And fall like sleep upon their eyes,
Or music in their ear.

Here Ben Jonson transmutes into a few lines of poetry part of the description of the *Carro della Notte* (cp. *supra*, p. 403, italicised passages), and of the summoning up of the Dreams by the Nocturnal Hour in the *Notte d' Amore*. After this the scene changed to cloud, from which Phant'sie breaking forth, spoke a long speech which is nonsensical doggerel from beginning to end, and may have a slightly sarcastic reference to the deformed shapes and queer, unfinished dances of the Dreams in *Notte d' Amore*. Phant'sie's speech is followed by an Antimasque of Phantasms, and then 'one of the Hours descending, the whole scene changed to the bower of Zephyrus, whilst Peace sung as followeth :...Here to a loud music, the Bower opens, and the masquers are discovered as the glories of the Spring....' Then after the masque dance and revels had been performed Aurora appeared (the Night and Moon being descended), and this Epilogue followed :

Aurora: I was not wearier where I lay
By frozen Tithon's side to-night ;
Than I am willing now to stay,
And be a part of your delight.
But I am urged by the Day,
Against my will to bid you come away.

Chorus: They yield to time, and so must all.
As night to sport, day doth to action call ;
Which they the rather do obey,
Because the morn with roses strews the way¹.

Here, again, Jonson has condensed some of the dramatic business of *Notte d' Amore* into a few lines of poetry.

Inigo Jones uses the same source—but with far less discretion and poetic skill—for his *Luminalia*. The masque opens with 'a scene all of darknesse...there arose out of the hollow caverns of the earth a duskie cloud, and on it a chariot enricht and borne by two great owles....' In it was Night. ...'She tels she came to give repose to the labours of mortals, but seeing all things here tending to feasts and revels, she with her attendants will give assistance though it serves but as a foile to set off more noble representations...².' For this 'cloudy night-piece' Inigo may have taken some hints from the *Carro della Notte*. Night sings and from the sides of the scene appear her attendants—*Oblivion, Silence, and the four nocturnal hours or Vigils*. We may compare the appearance of these with that of the corresponding Italian characters, for the descriptions of their dresses are practically identical³.

¹ Jonson, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-120.

² *Luminalia, op. cit.*, pp. 615, 616.

³ Compare *Luminalia, op. cit.*, p. 617, with *Descrittione delle Feste, op. cit.*, p. 31.

The attendants of Night call forth certain antimasques. These antimasques are divided into entries and are so like the entries of a typical French Ballet de Cour that it would not be surprising to learn that they were borrowed from one of them.

*'These antimasques being past, the scene of night vanished; and a new and strange Prospect of Chimeras appear'd, with some trees of an unusall forme, Mountaines of gold, Towers falling, Windmills and other extravagant edifices, and in the further part a great City sustained by a Rain-bow, all which represented the City of Sleepe*¹. One of the vigils in song called forth sleepe who appeared comming out of a darke cave, with three of his principall sonnes, *Morpheus the presenter of humane shapes, Iceles, of fearfull visions, and Phantaste*², *of anything that may be imagined, Sleepe, a fat man in a black robe, and over it a white mantle, on his head a girland of Grapes, with a Dormouse sitting before, in his hand a golden wand.*' (In *Notte d' Amore*, 'il sonno' is dressed in exactly the same way.) Then 'the sonnes of Sleepe bring in these antimasques of dreams.' [For the fourth entry appear 'five feathered men, inhabitants of the City of *Sleepe*.... Here an antique ship was seen farre within the scene, sailing in the aire.' Of the fifth entry we are told: 'From the temple of the Cocke, seated by the haven of the City of Sleepe, the principall Mariners or Master Mates in rich habits...make their entry.']

'...These antimasques being past, the Heaven began to be enlightened as before, the sunne rising, and the scene was changed into a *delicious prospect; wherein were rowes of Trees, Fountains, Statues, Arbors, Grotos, Walkes, and all such things of delight, as might expresse the beautiful garden of the Britanides*. The morning starre appears on a cloud in the air in the form of a beautiful youth.' From the other side of Heaven comes Aurora 'in a chariot touch'd with gold borne up by a rosie coloured cloud.... *Hesperus asks Aurora, why the Sunne is so long in coming, and whether being weary of his last journey, he is gone to take his rest.*' Aurora replies that the sun has yielded his office to 'a terrestriall Beautie,'

¹ Compare this with the italicised passages taken from *Descrittione delle Feste*, *op. cit.* Cp. *supra*, p. 404.

² Inigo Jones (or his poet-collaborator) evidently rejected the forms *Panto* and *Itatone* as meaningless. He must have had direct or indirect knowledge of the passage in Ovid, *loc. cit.* The names employed by Jones may be due to imperfect memory, or that indifference to exact scholarship which annoyed Ben Jonson. The writers of that time did not shrink from taking liberties with proper names, when in difficulties with rhyme or metre: an example occurs in Arthur Golding's translation of this very passage of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: 'Among a thousand sonnes and mo that father slomber had | He calld up *Morph* the feyner of mannes shape a craftye lad.' Elsewhere he uses the form *Morphye*. The other names are spelt correctly: *Icilos*, *Phobeter*, *Phantasos*. It may be noted that the only time the name *Iceles* occurs in the *verse of Luminalia*, it has to rhyme with 'please.'

and she bids him and the Flamens and Arch-Flamens to celebrate 'this Goddess of brightness with those faire Nymphs dependant on her splendour.' The masque ends with the scene of the aerial dance which was taken from the last *intermedio* of *Il Giudizio di Paridi*.

In the Chatsworth Collection there are several designs for scenes of this masque *Luminalia* (A. 43, 73, 44; B. 22, ? 38, 39, ? 40). They are more imaginative and mysterious than most of the other designs, and it would be interesting to know whether Inigo copied them from Italian designs or whether he invented them out of the hints furnished by the prose description of the *Notte d' Amore*. However that may be *Luminalia* is a convincing proof that Inigo Jones had formed no sort of conception of the masque as a work of art with its own unity and intrinsic excellence. The designs at Chatsworth are really beautiful; the plot of *Luminalia* is entirely devoid of merit.

It is worth noticing that, although these latter masques of Inigo's are a perfect patchwork of Italian devices picked to pieces and recombined, the borrowings almost all come from the Florentine Festivities of 1608¹. Inigo Jones was not in Italy at the time; but he must have very quickly procured illustrated pamphlets describing the events, and have preserved them most carefully. He uses both the designs and the written descriptions. Though the rest of the world may not have known where the famous architect found his ideas, the masque poets must have been in the secret. Ben Jonson probably objected strongly; and his sneer at Inigo's 'Twice conceived, thrice paid for, imagery' had a good deal of justification. It is amusing that Inigo Jones makes his most definite claim to originality in his Preface to *Luminalia*, the masque in which his plagiarism appears most blatantly:

'The King's Majesties Masque being performed, the Queene commanded Inigo Jones Surveyor at her Majesties works to make a new subject of a Masque for herselfe, that with high and hearty invention, might give occasion for variety of scenes, strange apparitions, Songs, Musick and dancing of severall kinds: from whence doth result the true pleasure peculiar to our English Masques, which by strangers and travellers of judgment, are held to be as noble and ingenious, as those of any other nations' (p. 613).

As a matter of fact, 'the true pleasure peculiar to our English Masques' was derived from their lyrical and dramatic excellence, in

¹ Further research, of course, might prove this statement to be inaccurate. I have, however, examined a fair number of descriptions of Italian entertainments which have *not* been imitated by Inigo Jones. He took a few hints from a Florentine tournament held in 1616.

all other respects the masques were merely inferior versions of Italian ballets and *intermedii*. Ben Jonson realized this, and as long as his influence prevailed Italian borrowings were only permitted when they could be fitted into his scheme and transmuted into poetry. The Philistines at the Stuart Court sided with Inigo Jones, but posterity has justified Ben Jonson.

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