

Nichola M. V. Hayton MBE, Hanns Hubach, Marco Neumaier (Hg.)

## ***Churfürstlicher Hochzeitlicher HeimführungsTriumph***

Inszenierung und Wirkung der Hochzeit  
Kurfürst Friedrichs V. mit Elisabeth Stuart (1613)



Renold Elstrack: *Friedrich V. und Elisabeth Stuart als Hochzeitspaar, 1613*

Nichola M. V. Hayton MBE, Hanns Hubach, Marco Neumaier (Hg.)

# ***Churfürstlicher Hochzeitlicher HeimführungsTriumph***

Inszenierung und Wirkung der Hochzeit  
Kurfürst Friedrichs V. mit Elisabeth Stuart (1613)

Titelbild: Vordergrund: British Museum, Prints and Drawings: P, 1.22  
 Frontispiz: British Museum, Prints and Drawings 1864-1210.490  
 © The Trustees of the British Museum  
 Titel: Churfürstlicher Hochzeitlicher HeimführungsTriumph  
 Untertitel: Inszenierung und Wirkung der Hochzeit Kurfürst Friedrichs V. mit Elisabeth Stuart (1613)  
 Herausgeber: Nichola M.V. Hayton MBE, Hanns Hubach, Marco Neumaier  
 Reihe: Mannheimer historische Schriften, Band 11  
 Reihenherausgeber: Hermann Wiegand, Wilhelm Kreutz sowie der Mannheimer Altertumsverein von 1859 – Gesellschaft der Freunde Mannheims und der ehemaligen Kurpfalz, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen und MARCHIVUM  
 Satz: Henrik Mortensen (vr)  
 Umschlaggestaltung: Jochen Baumgärtner (vr)

ISBN 978-3-95505-142-6

Bibliographische Information der Deutschen Bibliothek  
 Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliographie; detaillierte bibliographische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.de> abrufbar.

Diese Publikation ist auf alterungsbeständigem und säurefreiem Papier (TCF nach ISO 9706) gedruckt entsprechend den Frankfurter Forderungen.

Alle Rechte vorbehalten.

© 2020 verlag regionalkultur

verlag regionalkultur

Ubstadt-Weiher • Heidelberg • Speyer

*Korrespondenzadresse:*

Bahnhofstraße 2 • D-76698 Ubstadt-Weiher

Tel. 07251 36703-0 • Fax 07251 36703-29

E-Mail [kontakt@verlag-regionalkultur.de](mailto:kontakt@verlag-regionalkultur.de) • Internet [www.verlag-regionalkultur.de](http://www.verlag-regionalkultur.de)

## Vorwort und Dank

Die Vermählung des pfälzischen Kurfürsten Friedrich V. mit der englischen Königstochter Elisabeth Stuart am Valentinstag 1613 in London und die aufsehenerregende Heimführung der Braut nach Heidelberg waren bereits vor 400 Jahren spektakuläre gesellschaftliche Ereignisse von europäischem Rang, die nichts von ihrer Attraktion verloren haben und bis heute nachwirken. Diese Eheverbindung prägte wesentlich das dynastische Verhältnis der Kurpfalz mit dem britischen Königshaus: ihr entsprang die Linie der zukünftigen Könige und Königinnen Großbritanniens seit 1714. Zunächst trifft diese Situation auf ihre jüngste Tochter Sophie zu, die 1701 in dem Act of Settlement vom britischen Parlament als rechtmäßige Erbin des Throns nach der Regierungszeit von Königin Anne bestimmt wurde. Tatsächlich war es schließlich Kurfürst Georg von Hannover, Sophies ältester Sohn und Enkel des kurpfälzischen Paares, der 1714 als Georg I. den britischen Thron bestieg.

Anlässlich des 400. Jubiläums der Hochzeit Friedrichs und Elisabeths konzipierte und initiierte Nichola Hayton eine Reihe von Gedenkveranstaltungen, die in Heidelberg stattfanden, und von ihr in Verbindung mit verschiedenen Institutionen auf lokaler und länderübergreifender Ebene organisiert wurden. Es war eine große Ehre, die royale Anerkennung dieser Vorhaben dahingehend zu erhalten, dass Ihre Majestät Königin Elisabeth II. 2012 die Schirmherrschaft übernahm. Diesem Ereignis kam eine Schlüsselfunktion zu, denn die geplanten Veranstaltungen konnten sich dadurch einer weitreichenden Unterstützung sicher sein. Die Feierlichkeiten erstreckten sich über das Jahr 2013 und beinhalteten Projekte wie die Aufführung eines eigens in Auftrag gegebenen Theaterstückes über das junge Brautpaar und eine Präsentation von bedeutenden historischen Gemälden aus britischen Museen im Rahmen der Ausstellung „Macht des Glaubens“ zum parallel begangenen 450. Jubiläum des Heidelberger Katechismus auf dem Heidelberger Schloss.

Den wissenschaftlichen Höhepunkt des Jubiläumsjahres bildete die im Internationalen Wissenschaftsforum Heidelberg (IWH) vom 5. bis 7. September 2013 durchgeführte interdisziplinäre Tagung „Die Hochzeit Kurfürst Friedrichs V. von der Pfalz mit Elisabeth Stuart von England. Inszenierung und Wirkung einer europäischen Verbindung“, die aufgrund der über alle drei Tage hinweg erfreulich kollegialen und stimmungsvollen Atmosphäre vielen Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmern in angenehmer Erinnerung geblieben ist. Sie entstand als Kooperation des Historischen Seminars der Universität Heidelberg (Prof. Dr. Thomas Maissen, Nichola Hayton und Dr. Marco Neumaier), den Mitgliedern des Arbeitskreises Heidelberger Hofkultur (Sigrid Gensichen M. A. und Dr. Hanns Hubach) und dem Mannheimer Altertumsverein von 1859 – Gesellschaft der Freunde Mannheims und der ehemaligen Kurpfalz (Prof. Dr. Hermann Wiegand). Ihre Ergebnisse werden in diesem Sammelband veröffentlicht.



Zunächst möchten wir allen danken, die zum Gelingen der Heidelberger Tagung und der vorliegenden Publikation beigetragen haben, insbesondere den Referentinnen und Referenten sowie zusätzlichen Autorinnen und Autoren, die ihre Texte zur Verfügung stellten. Das Zustandekommen der Konferenz war nicht zuletzt möglich aufgrund der Unterstützung durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) und die Stadt-Heidelberg-Stiftung, denen beiden unser außerordentlicher Dank gebührt.

Zu danken ist darüber hinaus dem Vorsitzenden des Mannheimer Altertumsvereins Prof. Dr. Hermann Wiegand, durch dessen Vermittlung der Tagungsband in die Reihe „Mannheimer historische Schriften“ aufgenommen wurde, verbunden mit der Übernahme der Publikationskosten. Dazu leistete die Stadt-Heidelberg-Stiftung ebenfalls einen Zuschuss. Dass der Band mit Farabbildungen ausgestattet werden konnte, verdanken wir einer großzügigen Spende des Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg.

Die überaus vorbildliche Betreuung durch Henrik Mortensen beim Verlag regional-kultur garantierte einen reibungslosen Ablauf der Drucklegung des Bandes. Ein solches Engagement ist in der heutigen Verlagslandschaft leider nicht mehr selbstverständlich. Dafür danken wir ihm recht herzlich.

Der Erfolg der Gedenkveranstaltungen im Jubiläumsjahr 2013 unter der Schirmherrschaft Königin Elisabeths sowie der darauffolgende offizielle Besuch des Herzogs und der Herzogin von Cambridge in Heidelberg am 20. Juli 2017 spielten eine wesentliche Rolle um die bedeutende dynastische Verbindung der Kurpfalz mit der britischen Königsfamilie ins öffentliche Bewusstsein zu rufen. Wir hoffen, dass der vorliegende Band die Wahrnehmung und das Verständnis dieses besonderen Verhältnisses weiter vertiefen wird.

Heidelberg, im September 2019  
Nichola Hayton MBE, Hanns Hubach und Marco Neumaier

## Foreword and Thanks

The wedding of Friedrich V, Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth Stuart in London on Valentine's Day 1613 and the much celebrated journey of the couple to Heidelberg were spectacular social events on a European scale which resonate down to the present day. This union was of particular dynastic importance in the relationship between the Palatinate and the British royal house: from their union came the line to the future kings and queens of Great Britain. In the first instance, this was through their youngest daughter Sophie, who, in the 1701 Act of Settlement, was named by the British parliament as the rightful heir to the British throne after the reign of Queen Anne. Later, it was through Sophie's eldest son, and Elizabeth Stuart's grandson, Georg, Elector of Hannover, who in 1714 ascended the British throne as George I of Great Britain and Ireland.

For the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the wedding of Elizabeth and Friedrich, Nichola Hayton conceived and initiated a series of commemorative events to take place in Heidelberg, many of them organised in conjunction with a variety of institutions both at a local and trans-national level. It was a great honour in 2012 to receive royal recognition of these projects when Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II granted them her patronage, and this was key to them subsequently receiving widespread support. The celebrations ran throughout 2013 and included the staging of a specially commissioned play about the young couple as well as the presentation of important historical paintings loaned from British museums which were shown at Heidelberg Castle as part of the exhibition "Macht des Glaubens (The Power of Faith)" on the occasion of the simultaneously commemorated 450<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Heidelberg Catechism.

The academic highlight of the anniversary year was the international interdisciplinary historical conference "The Wedding of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth Stuart. Staging and Impact of a European Marriage Alliance" held at the International Academic Forum (IWH) from 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> September 2013. This prestigious venue provided a most welcome and enjoyable setting in which to host the three-day event.

The conference was the result of a cooperation between the Department of History at Heidelberg University (Prof. Dr. Thomas Maissen, Nichola Hayton and Dr. Marco Neumaier), the members of the Research Group for Heidelberg Court Culture (Sigrid Gensichen M. A. and Dr. Hanns Hubach) and the Mannheim Historical Society of 1859 (Prof. Dr. Hermann Wiegand). This volume presents the proceedings of the conference.

First we would like to thank here all those who contributed to its success, especially the speakers as well as those who made their papers available to the present publication. The realisation of the conference was only possible through the support of the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the Foundation of the City of Heidelberg. To both we owe our thanks.

A special thanks must go to Professor Dr. Hermann Wiegand, president of the Mannheim Historical Society of 1859, who arranged the inclusion of the conference volume in the series 'Mannheimer historische Schriften' and, through his organisation, provided funds for the publication. In this case the Foundation of the City of Heidelberg also made a further contribution. The inclusion of colour images was made possible thanks to a generous donation by the State Office for the Preservation of Historical Monuments in Baden-Württemberg.

The exemplary support provided by Henrik Mortensen at verlag regionalkultur guaranteed the smooth production of the volume. Such a commitment is not to be taken for granted in the world of publishing today. We thank him greatly for his efforts.

The success of the commemorative projects in 2013 under the Queen's patronage, followed by the official visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge to Heidelberg on 20<sup>th</sup> July 2017, played an essential role in bringing to public awareness the significant dynastic connection between the Palatinate and the British royal family. We trust that this volume will continue to deepen awareness and understanding of this special relationship.

Heidelberg, September 2019

Nichola Hayton MBE, Hanns Hubach and Marco Neumaier



## Inhalt

MARCO NEUMAIER

Die Hochzeit von Kurfürst Friedrich V. und Elisabeth Stuart – Quellen und Kontext: Eine Einleitung .....	11
---	----

PETER BILHÖFER

Die politischen Hintergründe der englischen Hochzeit Friedrichs V. – aus kurpfälzischer Sicht .....	47
--	----

NICOLA BOYLE

The Lady Elizabeth's Men: The Centrality of a Jacobean Playing Company to the Royal Nuptials of Friedrich V, Elector Palatine, and Lady Elizabeth Stuart .....	75
---	----

MARIE-CLAUDE CANOVA-GREEN

The Royal Betrothal and Wedding Celebrations of 1612 in Paris and 1613 in London and Heidelberg: A Comparative View .....	83
--	----

REINHARD DÜCHTING (†)

Vers um Vers. Die poetischen Huldigungen an Kurfürst Friedrich V. und Elisabeth Stuart aus Cambridge .....	103
---	-----

RAINGARD ESSER

Friedrich V. und Elisabeth Stuart in der europäischen Fürstengesellschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts: Staaträson – Dynastie – Konfession .....	111
---	-----

SIGRID GENSICHEN

Flussgötter, Quellnymphen und eine Brunnenstube. Der Heidelberger Hortus Palatinus im Kontext der pfälzisch-englischen Hochzeit 1613 .....	131
mit einem Beitrag von SILKE BÖTTCHER Materialtechnische Befunde zur Brunnenstube .....	151

NICHOLA M. V. HAYTON MBE

The Other Wedding of Thames and Rhine: Lady Anne Sutton Dudley and Colonel Hans Meinhard von Schönberg .....	169
---	-----

HANNS HUBACH

Tapisserien für den Heidelberger Hof – in den Briefen des Antwerpener Humanisten Frans Sweerts (1618) .....	191
--	-----

WOLFGANG METZGER

Ein Feuerwerk höfischer Repräsentation: Wolfgang Harnister und sein Heidelberger Triumphfeuerwerk von 1613 .....	233
---	-----

JAKOB ODENWALD/SIMON GRÜNING/FELIX WENZEL	
Eine <i>Google Earth</i> -Tour der Hochzeitsreise	
Kurfürst Friedrichs V. und Elisabeth Stuarts .....	257
GRAHAM PARRY	
The Palatine Wedding in the Context of Jacobean Festival Culture .....	267
BARBARA RAVELHOFER	
Visual Effects in the Wedding Masques of 1613 .....	277
DANIEL SCHÖNPFLUG	
Fürstenheiraten als „totales gesellschaftliches Phänomen“:	
Vergleichende Betrachtungen aus brandenburgischer Perspektive .....	291
CHRISTOPH STROHM	
Abraham Scultetus' Dankpredigt anlässlich der Hochzeitsfeierlichkeiten	309
in Heidelberg	
ANDREW L. THOMAS	
The Culture of the Palatine Court in Heidelberg at the Dawn	
of the Seventeenth Century .....	327
BARBARA ZEITELHACK	
<i>Kurtze Verzeichnuß was bey der Hejdelbergischen Heimführung fürgangen.</i>	
Die Hochzeitsbeschreibung des Burglengenfelder Landgerichtsschreibers	
Johann Keilholz an Herzog Philipp Ludwig von Pfalz-Neuburg .....	351
Farbtafeln .....	385

BARBARA RAVELHOFFER

## Visual Effects in the Wedding Masques of 1613

The court of James I and Anne of Denmark set new standards for illusionistic theatre in seventeenth-century England, and the festivities in honour of the Palatinate in 1613 bear testimony to the advanced understanding of visual spectacle in England's capital. At least three masques – splendid entertainments involving music, ballet, sumptuous costumes and exotic settings – were produced to celebrate the wedding of Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine.<sup>1</sup> Festivities commenced with Thomas Campion's *The Lords' Masque* on Sunday, 14 February, 1613 at the Banqueting House, Whitehall. Two productions sponsored by London's lawyers, the Inns of Court, followed suit. George Chapman's *The Memorable Masque* was performed the night after Campion's entertainment: thousands of onlookers hailed the torchlit pageant of masquers as they crossed the city of London towards their destination, the Great Hall at Whitehall. On Saturday, 20 February, Francis Beaumont's *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* provided a glorious conclusion with a magnificent display of disguised performers in the King's very own barge on the river Thames. From letters of eyewitnesses, printed accounts, and court records, we know that the masques performed on the occasion of the 1613 wedding were high-maintenance productions. Huge sums were invested, for instance, *The Memorable Masque* cost £ 2,255, which, in today's money, might have been worth over £ 220,000.<sup>2</sup> This financed well above 140 pageant participants, opulent stage machinery, as well as the muscle needed for crowd control in the streets; as Chapman later wrote, the masquers *were strongly attended with a full Guard of two hundred Halbardiers: two marshals [...] Commaunder-like attir'd, to and fro coursing, to keepe all in their orders.*<sup>3</sup>

In the Jacobean period, masques fulfilled the representative function of showcasing the court (and in 1613, also the Inns of Court) to an elite audience, including diplomats and foreign guests, courtiers, and leading citizens of London (Pocahontas saw Ben

- 1 On the planned, or possibly performed, fourth entertainment, see NORBROOK 1986, 81–110.
- 2 LINDLEY 1995, 237. According to the currency converter at London's National Archives, £ 2,255 spent in 1610 would have been worth £ 220,719.40 in 2005 (<http://apps.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/default0.asp#mid>, accessed 24 October 2014).
- 3 CHAPMAN [1613], sig. A4<sup>r</sup>. From the account it is clear that there were at least twelve musicians, twelve noble dancers, 36 moors, twelve boy dancers, six professional actors or singers, and an escort of 50 richly dressed lawyers. The number of additional torchbearers is no longer known but there must have been well above twelve.

Jonson's *The Vision of Delight* in 1617<sup>4</sup>). The prime intention was to impress spectators, with the further didactic aim of converting the audience to the sponsor's values by way of immersing observers in the illusionistic spectacle that evolved before their eyes. Whether masques succeeded in swaying their audiences in this way is a moot point; evidence suggests that, at times, individuals left the performance underwhelmed. The reviews of the 1613 festivities are characteristically mixed: with regard to *The Lords' Masque*, for instance, one correspondent complained about its excessive length (*I heare no great commendation, [...] long and tedious*);<sup>5</sup> yet the King's Master of Ceremonies thought it *ingeniously cast with well figured dances*, and the Venetian ambassador praised the *very beautiful* event for its dancing stars and changes of scenery.<sup>6</sup>

At the high end of the spectrum, a masque was a long, elaborate affair for a selected few who had received special invitations. Sites such as the Great Hall or the Banqueting House could at best accommodate a few hundred spectators; the most optimistic estimates arrive at about 1,200 persons in the Jacobean Banqueting House.<sup>7</sup> Guests regularly struggled, queueing for hours. A Master of Ceremonies decided who was to be admitted; the remaining crowd was restrained with physical force by the early modern equivalent of the bouncer. Eventually, turnstiles came to be placed at the doors (an innovation we first hear of in the 1620s).<sup>8</sup> Women were asked to dispose of their voluminous farthingales because the hooped skirts took up too much space in the jam-packed auditorium.<sup>9</sup> Sometimes members of the audience found themselves trapped in the galleries leading to the stalls and boxes; on one occasion an eyewitness reported that ladies were *shut up in several heaps betwixt doors and there stayed till all was ended*.<sup>10</sup>

The Inns of Court productions were exceptional because of their public component: their performers could be seen by thousands of Londoners lining the streets. On such occasions, a private event became street theatre. Ordinary people who would never have gained access to the Banqueting House had, for once, the opportunity of catching a glimpse of the rich costumes and devices. This was useful propaganda, extolling not only the largesse of the Inns of Court but also disseminating the impact of a masque beyond the very restricted circle at Whitehall. A dynastic wedding between Protestant houses

4 Interestingly discussed in ROBERTSON 1996, 551–583.

5 John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 8 February 1613, in: ORGEL/STRONG 1973, I: 242.

6 John Finet to Dudley Carleton, 22 February 1613; Antonio Foscarini to the Doge, 1 March 1613; both in: ORGEL/STRONG 1973, I: 242.

7 BUTLER 2008, 42.

8 For instance, at an entertainment given for the French ambassador in 1626; BASSOMPIERRE 1870, III: 274.

9 As attested by John Chamberlain, writing to Dudley Carleton on 18 February 1613; NICHOLS 1828, II: 589–590.

10 Dudley Carleton on *The Masque of Blackness*, 7 January 1604/5, in: CARLETON 1972, 68.

palpably enjoyed popular support, which was at the time in favour of an anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish alliance, and a broader spectrum of the citizenry partook in this political initiative to reinforce the importance of Protestant nations in Europe.

Anyone who has attended an opera may ponder how difficult it can be to understand the words a diva is actually singing, even though modern audiences are disciplined listeners. The performance conditions during a masque were far less favourable. Early modern Londoners showed little deference to performers if we can trust satirical portrayals of audience behaviour in the public playhouses and accounts of masquing nights.<sup>11</sup> Due to background noise, chatter, and bad acoustics, people were sometimes unable to hear the songs and speeches. Eyewitnesses tell us that desperate thespians moved up to the state (the seating where royalty was placed) to shout their lines into King James's ears.<sup>12</sup> Even if they could hear the words, spectators were expected to speak English, which was not always the case given the high number of foreign dignitaries present on such occasions, and surely many German guests must have struggled in 1613. Campion's *The Lords' Masque* came up with an ingenious solution, presenting a final speech by a Sibyl in Latin. This emphasised the joint forces of England and Germany through a medium that was both the lingua franca of European elites and the authoritative language of the world's greatest empire in classical times. To modern readers, the Sibyl's lines seem obscure now. Yet on the night itself, they offered a cognitive life-line for listeners, and filled ears with promises of ambitious hopes.

When we go to the theatre, programmes tell us about plot and cast. It is unclear to what extent any such information was available in the early seventeenth century. We know that designers, poets, choreographers and patrons discussed the nature of a spectacle in advance. Shakespeare presents us with an amusing impression of just such a situation in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (c. 1595), where Duke Theseus, wishing to celebrate his wedding in style, calls for his master of ceremonies:

*Come now, what masques, what dances shall we have  
To wear away this long age of three hours  
Between our after-supper and bed-time?  
Where is our usual manager of mirth? [...]  
Say, what abridgement have you for this evening?  
What masque, what music?*

and is promptly presented by his majordomo with *a brief how many sports are ripe* from

11 DEKKER 1609.

12 On performance conditions see PARRY 1993, 113.

which to choose.<sup>13</sup> Yet it remains unclear whether audiences were given any explanatory booklets or leaflets to help them understand the action before their eyes.<sup>14</sup> Under these circumstances, visual clues became all the more important, to the point of superseding the verbal elements of a spectacle. The poet Samuel Daniel, who wrote two masques for Queen Anne, understood the dynamics of a masquing night perfectly well; he even went so far as to admit that his own text was, during performance, less relevant than the visuals: *in these things [...] the only life consists in show, the art and invention of the architect gives the greatest grace, and is of most importance, ours the least part and of least note in the time of the performance thereof*.<sup>15</sup>

This does not mean that masque texts had no impact. Daniel carefully distinguished between a poem's importance *during* and *after* a performance. Printed booklets which circulated widely after the event enabled readers to catch up on beautiful lyrics that might have previously been drowned out; they provided an important, lasting record of the masque's argument, intention, action, and audience reaction. As such they are an invaluable source for literary critics and theatre historians.

During performance, however, costumes and scenery were indispensable as a theatrical system of communication between audience and action. They adhered to a set of visual commonplaces that circulated in emblem books of the period – instantly convertible images which transcended language boundaries and were put to use in courtly spectacle all over Europe.<sup>16</sup> For instance, the epochal French *Balet Comique de la Royne* (performed at the Louvre in 1581) set the fashion for court theatricals far beyond Paris, not least because a published, illustrated account of the event enabled a wider dissemination of its ideas. In England, it inspired William Browne's *The Masque of Ulysses and Circe* (1615).<sup>17</sup> The Palatine wedding also took some visual cues from *Le Ballet Comique*: the illustration of three musical sirens in the report *Beschreibung der Reiß* (1613) bears a resemblance to its French model.<sup>18</sup>

Conventions of the performers' visual appearance extended to questions of make-up, the length and material of garments, the nature of wigs and vizards, and footwear. A stock character in European spectacle of the period, the "blue water nymph" featured prominently in English masques and indeed in London's Palatine festivities. Blue-faced ladies had danced in Anne of Denmark's *Masque of Blackness* (1605). In 1613,

13 SHAKESPEARE 1988, 5.1.32–42.

14 For a discussion of this question see RAVELHOFER 2006, 4.

15 DANIEL 1995, 55.

16 See PEACOCK 1995; BÉHAR/WATANABE-O'KELLY 1999.

17 WRIGHT 1999, 190–217.

18 BEAUJOYEUX 1581, fol. 10<sup>v</sup> / sig. C.ij<sup>v</sup>; BESCHREIBUNG DER REISS 1613, ch. 25, copperplate no. 8; MULRYNE 1992, 190.



*The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*, which illustrated the marriage of the rivers Thames and Rhine, banked on aquatic effects: machinery simulated running water onstage, with a fountain flowing from artificial rocks, and a group of nymphs appeared *in long habits of sea-greene Taffita, with bubbles of Christall intermixt with powdering of silver resembling drops of water; blewish Tresses on their heads, garlands of Water-Lillies*.<sup>19</sup>

How did early modern designers indicate unusual skin colours, such as a blue face? Options ranged from masks to face-paint.<sup>20</sup> White paint was applied when actors imitated corpses, statues, or pale ladies. Perhaps the boy actor impersonating Ophelia enhanced his pallid complexion with a paste that contained ground pearls, silver-coloured herbs, or oyster shells, which would have shown off strikingly in an intimate, candlelit indoor theatre.<sup>21</sup> Make-up for dark-coloured skin might have consisted of pig's grease, walnut oil, or charcoal. A dark blue shade was most likely obtained from woad, a plant that had already been used by tribes in Celtic Britain. In the Middle Ages and early modern period, France was the chief exporter of woad or *pastel*. The centuries-old pastel trade still thrives in the areas around Albi, north of Toulouse; in processed form, the highly versatile substance is used in cosmetics, soap, detergents, and wall paint. Because of its antifungal qualities, it is applied to conserve wooden facades in Eastern Germany, where it is known as "Färberwaid" (*isatis tinctoria*).<sup>22</sup> Woad paste, however, has one disadvantage: it stinks abominably.

Was this the reason why dark make-up was rare in masques? Queen Anne's 1605 masque bombed with her English audience; as one observer commented, *their Faces, and Arms up to the Elbows, were painted black, [...] you cannot imagine a more ugly Sight*.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps this comment reflects racial prejudice;<sup>24</sup> perhaps we should also consider other reasons for the (as far as English audiences were concerned) hostile reception of an event that must have been otherwise spell-binding in its rich visual dazzle. Was Anne's dark complexion achieved through an admixture of woad? Certainly woad was administered to her nymphs. Did the production reek of dung water?

The default option for masquers was to use a vizard, not make-up, also for practical reasons: paint on face and limbs risked soiling clothes. Masks were made of leather and lined with fabric, and they usually came with a wig attached; costume accounts of the

19 BEAUMONT [1613], sig. Cʳ.

20 For an excellent overview, see TWYCCROSS/CARPENTER 2002.

21 STEVENS 2013, 127.

22 I am grateful to the participants of the Heidelberg colloquium for drawing my attention to this point.

23 Dudley Carleton to Ralph Winwood, January 1605, in ORGEL/STRONG 1973, I: 89.

24 The masque's racial implications have been the focus of much criticism, for instance, AASAND 1992, 271–285.

period refer to a *face and hair* or *head and hair*. Tight-fitting *skin coats*, a kind of leotard in natural flesh colours, covered arms and legs. Thus, *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* delighted viewers with *four Cupids [...] attired in flame-coloured Taffita close to their bodie, like naked Boyes*.<sup>25</sup>

In April 1613, Queen Anne travelled towards Bath to recover from the exertions of the Palatine wedding. On the way, she was entertained at the stately Caversham House near Reading with theatricals in the park: a Cynic popped out of a bower, *dressed in a skin coat [...], his nakedness being also artificially shadowed with leaves; on his head he wore a false hair, black and disordered, stuck carelessly with flowers*. Indeed the performer could not resist a self-referential joke (*my skin is my coat*).<sup>26</sup> Such coats had the added advantage of warming their wearers. We need to bear in mind that masques usually took place between December and February, and English spring can be inclement. This probably explains the bill for six pair of *longe underhose to practice*, which the masquers used in their rehearsals for Ben Jonson's *Time Vindicated* in the Banqueting House in January 1623.<sup>27</sup>

How did masquers make themselves visible in the year's darkest season? The city was without street lighting, and indoor theatres were at best dimly illuminated. The Sam Wanamaker Theatre in London, which was built after plans for an early Stuart indoor playhouse, gives a good impression of the intimate atmosphere generated by a space that is only illuminated by candlelight. Mood swings can occur simply by raising a chandelier towards the ceiling. Discreet illumination that is less sharp than a modern spotlight facilitates a sense of communion with the performers; one almost feels part of the play on the stage. Masques must have had a similar effect on their audiences, pulling them into the spectacle. Francis Bacon, writing in 1625, observed that *it draws the Eye strangely, & makes it with great pleasure, to desire to see that [which] it cannot perfectly discern*.<sup>28</sup> Torch dances were a favourite in courtly spectacle of the period, and the 1613 festivities relied on an army of torchbearers to provide subtle, mobile lighting.<sup>29</sup> *The Lords' Masque*, for example, featured a spectacular formal choreography by *sixteene Pages like fierie spirits, [...] bearing in either hand a Torch of Virgine Waxe* [that is, a torch of bright-burning high-quality wax].<sup>30</sup>

Furthermore, costumes were devised so that they came out well in a dark environment. Designers and tailors chose colours appropriately; especially costumes for high-ranking participants were produced with great care for effect. The dominant colours of the 1613

25 BEAUMONT [1613], sig. C2<sup>r</sup>.

26 Thomas Campion: *The Caversham Entertainment* (April 1613), in LINDLEY 1995, 92.

27 Payment to the hosier Robert Wadeson, in ORGEL/STRONG 1973, I: 349.

28 BACON 1625, 224: *Of Maskes and Triumphs*.

29 For a wider discussion, see DAYE 1998, 246–262.

30 CAMPION 1613, sig. [C4]<sup>r</sup>.

masques were white and carnation, the latter a reddish hue that ranged from flesh-colour to crimson and, in contemporary opinion, showed well under artificial lighting, especially when enhanced by material such as tinsel or silver lace.<sup>31</sup> True to convention, the Olympian knights of *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* wore doublets of carnation satin and silver lace, embroidered with blazing silver stars, *with powderings of smaller Starres betwixt*, carnation stockings and pumps of carnation satin.<sup>32</sup> The chief masquers of *The Memorable Masque* represented Indians from Virginia. Masks were usually held in light colours but in this instance the producers had opted for exoticism: olive-coloured vizards and long tresses of black hair were offset by white ostrich feathers and sprigs of gold plate. The Indians wore golden coronets adorned with suns and pearls; legs flashed forth thanks to white stockings with golden embroidery. As the report enthused, the masquers were *shining in the habits of themselves; and reflected in their kinde, a new and delightfully-varied radiance on the beholders*.<sup>33</sup> And yet, the Indian masquers still needed extra fire power from torchbearers, so that the sparkling suits *might with ease and cleerenesse be discerned as far off as the seate* [of the evening's chief dignitaries].<sup>34</sup>

*The Lords' Masque* extended such radiance to moving machinery. When the curtain was dropped (in masques curtains were not raised but dropped), the opening scene revealed a star-lit sky. Eight large stars hovered in a multi-coloured cloud – probably these were hollow illuminated machines mounted high up on the backdrop. With startling effect, the stars began to move to the rhythm of a song, *in a strange and delightfull manner*. How the stage architect, Inigo Jones, achieved this technical feat is no longer known. Even Campion, who had worked closely with Jones in the preparations, professed ignorance, asking the reader for unreserved admiration: *fewe have ever seene more neate artifice, then Master Innigoe Jones shewed in contriving their Motion, [...] which if it be not as lively exprest in writing as it appeared in view, robbe not him of his due, but lay the blame on my want of right apprehending his instructions for the adoring of his Arte*.<sup>35</sup>

Spectacular in its own right, the moving machinery led to a striking transformation scene. Apparently, the stars turned into dancers – and again, alas, no-one tells us how. Did performers step out of the machines? Were they hidden in the backdrop? They certainly made a vivid impression, dressed *in cloth of silver embossed with flames of embroidery; on their heads they wore crowns, flames made all of gold-plate enameled, and on the top a feather of silk, representing a cloud of smoke*. The German account of this

31 See also RAVELHOFER 2006, ch. 6.

32 BEAUMONT [1613], sig. D<sup>r</sup>.

33 CHAPMAN [1613], sig. [A3]<sup>r</sup>.

34 CHAPMAN [1613], sig. a2<sup>r</sup>.

35 CAMPION 1613, sig. [C4]<sup>r</sup>.

masque even compared the costumes to *burning flames*.<sup>36</sup> Upon the revelation of these eight fiery dancers, the whole backdrop changed to circles of lights in continual motion, representing the house of Prometheus. With the Greek demigod, craftsman and trickster, who had stolen the fire from the Gods for the benefit of mankind, Jones and Campion had chosen a fitting patron for a masque that pushed the limits of illusionistic stagecraft and extolled human ingenuity.

To my knowledge, the most impressive attempt to concentrate light on the costumes themselves derives from a German Protestant entertainment staged in 1616, also connected with Elizabeth and Friedrich. When the couple visited Stuttgart in that year, the court saw a ballet after the French fashion. On the stage, a shop filled with looking-glasses brightened up a dimly lit hall. Noble dancers appeared in glistening costumes onto which, apparently, 4,000 mirrors had been sewn in order to maximise the performers' visual impact. A formal choreography traced the names *Elisabeth* and *Friedrich*, and thus literally presented the English princess as a *mirror of women*. Font of all light, the moving names of the two most important guests flashed out into the hall, casting a shine on onlookers.<sup>37</sup>

Typically, an English court masque fell into three parts. First, an antimasque (or, variously, antic masque or antemasque) eased the audience into the spirit of the entertainment. In this part, grotesque performers (usually professional actors and dancers, and probably also children from chorister schools) represented the forces of comedy and disorder. *The Memorable Masque*, which hinged on an ideal vision of Riches married to Honour (or credit for merit), started off with an entertaining antitype, Capriccio, a dissolute conferencier and "gold-digger" in emblematic dress modelled after Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*.<sup>38</sup> Capriccio ushered in fitting company – twelve baboons in Neapolitan suits: these were played by boys who climbed down from a stage tree and performed an apes' dance. In Chapman's time, the kingdom of Naples was under Spanish control and associated with exuberant Catholicism, fashion, decadence, and venereal disease. "Naples" was then both a particular kind of bobbin lace and a textile style worn and produced in Naples, as in "Naples taffeta" or "Naples satin". The city exported a yellow pigment known as "Naples yellow"; in this context it is interesting that bills for yellow garments and accessories have survived for this masque.<sup>39</sup> In one of Europe's largest cities

36 [...] *deren Kleider von Golt gestickt / glentzeten wie brennende Flammen*; BESCHREIBUNG DER REISS 1613, 53. This report mentions a printed French account as source; quite possibly Campion's English text informed directly either the French or the German version, or both.

37 Georg Rodolf Weckherlin, *Triumphall Shews*; Philipp Hainhofer's report on his travels to Stuttgart in 1616; Jakob Frischlin's *Erzählung und Beschreibung der fürstlichen Kindstaufe* (1616); all in KRAPF/WAGENKNECHT 1979, I: 28, 331, 442. See also RAVELHOFER 2013, 268–307.

38 BUTLER 2008, 201; REESE 1964, 303–304.

39 Yellow foot-clothes and bridles are listed in ORGEL/STRONG 1973, I: 254.

with a bustling port, syphilis was, unsurprisingly, much in evidence, and thus known to Englishmen as the “Disease of Naples”.<sup>40</sup> Hence, the baboons might have been intended as a highly visual anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish jibe, which fit well within the overall Protestant agenda of the entertainment.

Moving statues were en vogue at the time: we find them in *The Lords’ Masque* and *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray’s Inn*. The latter gives us a particularly vivid idea of how the device worked in practice. With comical effect, a Cupid coaxed four statues into dancing; initially, the statues moved awkwardly because they were not yet used to their newly-gained mobility. The costumes were essential to a persuasively stiff delivery. As Beaumont’s account explains, the performers were entirely boxed in: *These Statuaes were attired in cases of gold and silver close to their bodie, faces, hands, and feete, [...] as if they had been solid Images of mettall, Tresses of haire as they had been of mettall imbossed, girdles and small aprons of oaken leaves, as if they likewise had been carved or molded out of the mettall.*<sup>41</sup>

The statues’ halting performance proved an excellent contrast to a subsequent frolic of rustic characters, including a serving man, a May Lady, a chambermaid, and clowns: *the Musicke was extremely well fitted, having such a spirit of Countrey jolitie as can hardly be imagined; but the perpetuall laughter and applause was above the Musicke*, as the report noted with satisfaction.<sup>42</sup> Unsurprisingly, antimasques proved eminent crowd-pleasers, and thus became more extensive with time. In Beaumont’s production, King James called for a repetition of these sports at the end of the masque, but regrettably, *one of the Statuaes by that time was undressed.*<sup>43</sup>

With the arrival of the main masque (or grand masque, or masque proper), the forces of disorder were dispelled. Now, specially chosen gentlemen and ladies performed intricate choreographies which had been rehearsed for weeks. Grand masquers were not professional dancers but neither should we compare them to modern-day amateurs; their level of accomplishment was probably very high. The dances required the skills of no less than four choreographers: Bochan, Hierome Herne, Thomas Giles, and Confesse. With very few exceptions, main masquers did not take speaking parts; their roles were silent and purely balletic.<sup>44</sup> *The Lords’ Masque* put a superlative show

40 “Neapolitan”, *adj.* 2, now obsolete; “Naples”, *n.*, 1; 2 and 3, now obsolete. OED 2014.

41 BEAUMONT [1613], sig. C2<sup>v</sup>.

42 BEAUMONT [1613], sig. C3<sup>v</sup>.

43 BEAUMONT [1613], sig. C3<sup>v</sup>.

44 Exceptions confirm the rule: *The Gipsies Metamorphosed* (1621) featured the Duke of Buckingham in the role of a palm-reading gypsy – an unheard-of part, as it opposed decorum in twofold ways – the Duke was speaking lines, and performing as a low-life character. However, the masque was comparatively informal, performed before a very small, select audience in the countryside. It was thus not a grand state occasion but an intimate event for court insiders.

on stage: sixteen noble masquers made their appearance, supported by a massive ensemble of 55 musicians.

After several formal dances of this sort, the main masquers reached out to the audience, inviting them for more dancing in the so-called revels. The revels of *The Lords' Masque* began at ten o'clock in the evening and lasted, sustained by a collation, until the morning.<sup>45</sup> Masques often finished at sunrise and thus tested the stamina of every participant. Faced with staying up for the third consecutive night, King James collapsed on the eve of *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn: the King was so wearied and sleepy with sitting up almost two whole nights before that he had no edge to it*, one correspondent wrote; James pleaded that *they must bury him quick, for he could last no longer*.<sup>46</sup> A final banquet was intended to round off the revels and refresh the assembly but often ended in havoc. Unleashed after a full night's exertions, the hungry crowds would wreck the careful display, overturning tables *according to the strange custom of the country*.<sup>47</sup> The bemused Chaplain of the Venetian embassy noted the rush to the buffet: *at once like so many harpies the company fell on their prey [...] the first assault threw the table to the ground, and the crash of glass platters reminded me exactly of the windows breaking in a great midsummer storm*.<sup>48</sup>

In the melee, valuables were lost, as were, apparently, sexual inhibitions. As Sir Dudley Carleton contemplated the fall-out of *The Masque of Blackness* *what losses there were of chains, jewels, purses, and suchlike loose ware, and one woman [...] lost her honesty, for which she was carried to the porter's lodge, being surprised at her business on the top of the terrace*.<sup>49</sup>

Events that were meant to celebrate unity and harmony thus often ended in chaos – an irony that has not been lost on critics.<sup>50</sup> Reading masque accounts of the period, one is often struck by the feeling that the poets themselves knew how tightly circumscribed the success of their beautiful creations actually was. Beaumont's friend Francis Bacon, who had helped the former with his wedding masque in 1613 and staged another of his own making the year after, famously said about masques that they were *but Toys*;<sup>51</sup> nonetheless, these toys captured the imagination. Chapman concluded his entertainment in honour of the Palatine couple with the hope that their wedding torches might

45 BESCHREIBUNG DER REISS 1613, 54.

46 John Chamberlain to Alice Carleton, 18 February 1613; CHAMBERLAIN 1966, 75.

47 Account in the Trumbull papers on the banquet of *Oberon*, January 1611, in ORGEL/STRONG 1973, I: 206.

48 Orazio Busino, 24 January 1618, in ORGEL/STRONG 1973, I: 284.

49 CARLETON 1972, 68.

50 BUTLER 2008, 83.

51 BACON 1625, 223: *Of Maskes and Triumphs*.



drink up the tears of the Fates.<sup>52</sup> It all ended in tears five years later, of course, but on that February night in London the future was, briefly, perfect.

## Zusammenfassung

### Visuelle Effekte in den Maskenspielen anlässlich der pfälzisch-englischen Hochzeit von 1613

Im höfischen Theater unter dem englischen Königspaar Jakob I. und Anna von Dänemark wurden neue Standards für die Illusionsbühne der Frühen Neuzeit gesetzt. Die Festivitäten anlässlich der Hochzeit im Februar 1613 erlauben einen tieferen Einblick in damalige künstlerische Spitzenleistungen. Mindestens drei Maskenspiele wurden in London aufgeführt: dies waren üppig ausgestattete Produktionen mit Musik und Tanz; komplexe Kulissen (beispielsweise ein Himmel mit rotierenden Sternen) sorgten für überraschende Effekte. Die Feierlichkeiten begannen am 14. Februar mit Thomas Campions *The Lords' Masque* im Banqueting House. Zwei Produktionen, von den Juristen der Inns of Court finanziert, folgten: George Chapmans *The Memorable Masque* sowie Francis Beaumonts *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*. Unter Fackelschein zog eine prachtvolle Parade von 140 kostümierten Teilnehmern durch die Innenstadt, bejubelt von Tausenden; eine Hochzeit, die protestantische Dynastien zusammenbrachte, genoss große Popularität.

Dieser Beitrag erläutert zeitgenössische Reaktionen sowie praktische Gesichtspunkte, die bei solchen Großereignissen anstanden. Beispielsweise wurden – damals eine Innovation – Drehkreuze eingesetzt, um Zuschauermassen geordnet einzulassen; Reifröcke waren wegen Platzmangel verboten. Wegen des allgemein hohen Lärmpegels war es oft schwierig, den Text zu verstehen, und einzelne Darsteller schrien dem König ihre Reden ins Ohr. Visuelle Gemeinplätze machten es dem Publikum leichter, der Handlung zu folgen, wie zum Beispiel emblematische Kostüme: Wassernymphen waren blau, was über Landes- und Sprachgrenzen hinweg verstanden wurde. Generell wurden Masken dicker Schminke vorgezogen; gelegentlich gibt es aber Hinweise auf rollenspezifisches Makeup, mit Zutaten wie Färberwaid, Schweinefett, oder gemahlenes Perlmutter. Bestimmte Farben wie *carnation*, ein rötlicher Ton, galten als besonders attraktiv unter künstlicher Beleuchtung und kamen bei Maskenspielen vermehrt zum Einsatz.

Spektakel, die eigentlich Einheit und Harmonie repräsentieren sollten, scheiterten manchmal an praktischen Unzulänglichkeiten. Die Dichter englischer Maskenspiele wußten dies nur zu gut; dennoch hinterließen ihre Werke oft einen unauslöschlichen Eindruck. Die Hochzeit von 1613 endete fünf Jahre später in Tränen. Für einen Augenblick war jedoch die Zukunft traumvoll perfekt.

52 *Bright Hymens torches drunke up Parcaes teares*. Poem attached to *The Memorable Maske*; CHAPMAN [1613], sig. F<sup>v</sup>.

## Sources and Bibliography

AASAND 1992

Hardin AASAND: To Blanch an Ethiop, and Revive a Corse. Queen Anne and *The Masque of Blackness*, in: *Studies in English Literature* 32, 1992, 271–285.

BACON 1625

Francis BACON: *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, London 1625.

BASSOMPIERRE 1870

François de BASSOMPIERRE: *Journal de ma vie*, ed. by Mis de Chantérac (4 vols.), Paris 1870–1877.

BEAUJOYEULX 1581

Balthazar de BEAUJOYEULX: *Le Balet Comique de la Roynie* [1581], intr. by Margaret M. McGowan, Binghamton 1982.

BEAUMONT [1613]

Francis BEAUMONT: *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Grayes Inne: Grayes Inne and the Inner Temple, presented before his Maiestie, the Queenes Maiestie, the Prince, Count Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth their Highnesses, in the Banquetting house at White-hall on Saturday the twentieth day of Februarie, 1612*, London [1613].

BÉHAR/WATANABE–O'KELLY 1999

Pierre BÉHAR/Helen WATANABE–O'KELLY (eds.): *Spectaculum Europaeum. Theatre and Spectacle in Europe (1580–1750)*, Wiesbaden 1999.

BESCHREIBUNG DER REISS 1613

BESCHREIBUNG DER REISS: *Empfahungg deß Ritterlichen Ordens: Vollbringung des Heyraths: und glücklicher Heimführung [...] Des Durchleuchtigsten / Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn Friederichen deß Fünften / Pfaltzgraven bey Rhein [...] Mit der auch Durchleuchtigsten / Hochgebornen Fürstin / und Königlichen Princessin / Elisabethenn / deß Großmechtigsten Herrn / Herrn IACOBI deß Ersten Königs in Großbritannien Einigen Tochter, Gotthardt Vögelin, Heidelberg 1613* (<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/scultetus1613a>).

BUTLER 2008

Martin BUTLER: *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture*, Cambridge 2008.

CAMPION 1613

Thomas CAMPION: *A Relation of the Late Royall Entertainment [...] Whereunto is annexed the Description, Speeches, and Songs of the Lords Maske, presented in the Banquetting-house on the Mariage night of the High and Mightie, Count Palatine, and the Royally descended the Ladie Elizabeth*, London 1613.

CARLETON 1972

Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain 1603–1624. *Jacobean Letters*, ed. by Maurice Lee, New Brunswick 1972.

CHAMBERLAIN 1966

*The Chamberlain Letters. A Selection of the Letters of John Chamberlain Concerning Life in England from 1597 to 1626*, ed. by Elizabeth McClure Thomson, London 1966.

CHAPMAN [1613]

George CHAPMAN: *The Memorable Maske of the two Honorable Houses or Inns of Court; the Middle Temple, and Lyncolns Inne. As it was performd before the King, at White-Hall on Shroue Munday at night; being the 15. of February. 1613. At the Princely celebration of the most Royall Nuptialls of the Palsgraue, and his thrice gracious Princesse Elizabeth. &c.*, London [1613].

DANIEL 1995

Samuel DANIEL: Tethys' Festival (1610), in: David Lindley (ed.): Court Masques, Oxford 1995, 54–65.

DAYE 1998

Anne DAYE: Torchbearers in the English Masque, in: *Early Music* 26 (2), 1998, 246–262.

DEKKER 1609

Thomas DEKKER: *The Guls Horne-Booke*, London 1609.

KRAPF/WAGENKNECHT 1979

Ludwig KRAPF/Christian WAGENKNECHT (eds.): *Stuttgarter Hoffeste. Texte und Materialien zur höfischen Repräsentation im frühen 17. Jahrhundert* (2 vols.), Tübingen 1979.

LINDLEY 1995

David LINDLEY (ed.): *Court Masques*, Oxford 1995.

MULRYNE 1992

James Ronald MULRYNE: Marriage Entertainments in the Palatinate for Princess Elizabeth Stuart and the Elector Palatine, in: James Ronald Mulryne/Margaret Shewring (eds.): *Italian Renaissance Festivals and Their European Influence*, Lewiston 1992, 173–196.

NICHOLS 1828

John NICHOLS: *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities, of King James the First* (2 vols.), London 1828.

NORBROOK 1986

David NORBROOK: "The Masque of Truth". Court Entertainments and International Protestant Politics in the Early Stuart Period, in: *The Seventeenth Century* 1 (2), 1986, 81–110.

OED 2014

The Oxford English Dictionary (<http://www.oed.com>, 26 October 2014).

ORGEL/STRONG 1973

Stephen ORGEL/Roy STRONG (eds.): *Inigo Jones. The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (2 vols.), London 1973.

PARRY 1993

Graham PARRY: The Politics of the Jacobean Masque, in: James Ronald Mulryne/Margaret Shewring (eds.): *Theatre and Government Under the Early Stuarts*, Cambridge 1993, 87–117.

PEACOCK 1995

John PEACOCK: *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones. The European Context*, Cambridge 1995.

RAVELHOFER 2006

Barbara RAVELHOFER: *The Early Stuart Masque. Dance, Costume, and Music*, Oxford 2006.

RAVELHOFER 2013

Barbara RAVELHOFER: Poetry and Censorship at the Court of Charles I. The Case of Georg Rodolf Weckherlin, in: *English Literary Renaissance* 43 (2), 2013, 268–307.

REESE 1964

Jack E. REESE: Unity in Chapman's *Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn*, in: *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 4 (2), 1964, 291–305.

SHAKESPEARE 1988

William SHAKESPEARE: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, in: Stanley Wells/Gary Taylor (gen. eds.): *The Complete Works*, Oxford 1988, 311–333.

STEVENS 2013

Andrea Ria STEVENS: *Inventions of the Skin. The Painted Body in Early English Drama, 1400–1642*, Edinburgh 2013.

TWYXCROSS/CARPENTER 2002

Meg TWYXCROSS/Sarah CARPENTER: *Masks and Masking in Medieval and Early Tudor England*, Aldershot 2002.

WRIGHT 1999

Gillian WRIGHT: "Giving Them but Their Own". Circe, Ulysses, and William Browne of Tavistock, in: *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 12, 1999, 190–217.