
Fig. 1. Bernardo Buontalenti, *Celestial Siren*

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# Inigo Jones and the Florentine Court Theater

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*The Lords' Masque*, presented on 14 February 1613 with text and music by Thomas Campion and designs by Inigo Jones, was the first of a series of three masques to celebrate the wedding of James I's daughter Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine. The importance of this alliance, a crucial move in the King's foreign policy, had been magnified by the sudden death three months earlier of his heir, Prince Henry, whose own marriage was then being earnestly discussed. Whether Henry was to respond to the pressing offers of Tuscany, Savoy or France, or try to marry some Protestant princess from Germany, had not been settled.[1] The choice would have been momentous, and inevitably many of the frustrated political hopes which had focused on that choice were displaced onto the marriage of Henry's sister, already important enough in itself. It was seen as a major step in the advancement of the Protestant cause in Europe.

The title of Campion's *Lords' Masque* distinguishes it from the two other wedding masques, which were presented by the Inns of Court and over which it therefore had priority, Chapman's *Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn* and Beaumont's *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*. Jones designed the first of the lawyers' masques, but only one of his drawings survives.[2] However, six survive for *The Lords' Masque*, all costume designs, and three of them are particularly important, highly elaborate drawings using watercolor. For this reason alone they stand out among Jones's surviving masque designs, where the use of watercolor is rare; but, as well, its use here is associated with the production of ambitiously striking images. Jones's ambition can be explained in

Fig. 2. Inigo Jones, *Lord Masquer*

part by the exalted rank of the masquers and the momentousness of the occasion,[3] for Europe as well as England. But there is a further stimulus behind these exceptional designs, and one which works in an interestingly awkward relationship to the other factors.

The stimulus is that of the Florentine *intermedi*, especially the famous series of 1589.[4] This may seem a very stale topic to bring up, given a long tradition of discussion of Jones's debt to Medicean scenography summed up, in the vast 1980 exhibitions in Florence, in the section devoted to "Inigo Jones fiorentino."[5] But the lack of substance in that project is reflected in Giuliano Pellegrini's catalogue essay, suggestive but loose, impressionistic and largely uninformative; it does not really go beyond the work of Allardyce Nicoll in 1937, which itself merely demonstrated typological relationships between Jones's designs and those from Florence and other continental centers.[6]

I wish to suggest that the costume designs for *The Lords' Masque* show recognizable similarities to Buontalenti's costumes for the *intermedi* of 1589, and that Jones had access not only to Bastiano de' Rossi's printed description of those costumes[7] but to some of Buontalenti's drawings or copies of them. Of course to speak of "Buontalenti's drawings" may be an oversimplification, since the costume drawings preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale seem the work of at least two distinct hands;[8] but for our purposes it is enough that Buontalenti was ultimately responsible for them all. Certainly Bastiano de' Rossi says that all the designs for the *intermedi* were the work of Buontalenti.[9] For Jones too, insofar as he may have been interested in Buontalenti as an artistic or intellectual personality—and there is evidence that he was—such drawings would have been seen as the product of one mind.

However the discussion *is* complicated by the fact that Jones did not derive his designs from Buontalenti alone. Although later in his career as a stage designer he used his sources with increasing boldness and directness, in this earlier period he often evolves a design by a process of careful, laborious selection from a range of sources, and his costume designs are often just as much "built up" in this way as his architectural set-designs. So in the present instance we need to unravel different sources from each other.

This is so with the design for the lords' costume (Figure 2),[10] which suggests their initial appearance as "heav'n born stars . . . become sublunars" with flaming hair.[11] Jones, looking for an

Fig. 3. *Servius Tullius*. Engraving by Thomas de Leu, from *Les Decades . . . De Tite Live*, 1583

Fig. 4. Inigo Jones, *Lady Masquer*

exemplar of such an unusual image, has remembered an anecdote in Livy about the childhood of Servius Tullius, whose future glory as sixth king of Rome was presaged by a miraculous fire burning on his head (I.xxxix.1-3). Jones has taken Thomas de Leu's engraving of Servius Tullius in Blaise de Vigenère's annotations to his translation of Livy (Figure 3)[12] and made it the basis for the drawing of the figure in his design; the legs, for example, are copied exactly. But in seeking a model for the lords' headdresses, he has also referred to one of Buontalenti's designs for the Celestial Sirens in the first of the *intermedi* of 1589, on The Harmony of the Spheres (Figure 1).[13] Here the visual similarity may seem less conclusive than in the case of the de Leu engraving, but there is a further piece of visual evidence. Jones has copied the face of this same Siren of Buontalenti almost exactly for his own companion design in *The Lords' Masque* of a Lady Masquer as transformed statue—the resemblance is uncanny (Figure 4).[14] Of course time and again Jones reveals his sources—which he is precisely not concerned to hide—by producing such resemblances; but the sources are almost always engravings, which would have been easily available to him, and only occasionally paintings or drawings, where choice was restricted. So the conclusion, made on visual evidence alone, that he was able to use drawings of Buontalenti needs to be put in a wider supporting context.

Certainly the literary evidence helps to back up and fill out the visual information. There are a number of printed accounts of the festivities of 1589. The most detailed and as it were definitive was by Bastiano de' Rossi, but there are indications that Jones and his collaborator Campion consulted others as well. Since Campion wrote not only the text but the music for *The Lords' Masque*, he is very likely to have been interested in Cristofano Malvezzi's publication of the music for the 1589 *intermedi*.[15] This reveals that the roles of Sirens in the first *intermedio* were sung by men, and so explains why the Buontalenti design used by Jones in the form in which we now have it is annotated with a list of five male singers beginning with Giulio Caccini. The sexual ambiguity of these figures, men impersonating women, provides an explanation for Jones's adaptation of the design for both male and female costumes.

He did not use Buontalenti's work in a random way. In fact he seems to have viewed it in its context as reconstructed by

de' Rossi's exhaustive *Descrizione*. Since Jones, not Campion, was responsible for the "invention" of this masque,[16] he would have needed to take such an overall view instead of merely piecing together designs to order. It would seem that the whole conception of the lords as stars who appear from the heavens is adapted from Giovanni de' Bardi's presentation of the Platonic Sirens in his first *intermedio*.[17] There are certainly correspondences between Campion's description of their costumes—

> The ground of their attires was massy cloth of silver . . . on their heads they had crowns, flames made all of gold-plate enameled[18]

—and the passage in de' Rossi referring to our Buontalenti drawing:

> Le Serene voltanti la nona, e decima sfera. . . . L'acconciatura piena di raggi risplendenti sopravi stelle . . . vestirono d'un drappo lucido di seta fondo d'argento.[19]

De' Rossi adds that each Siren wore a "manto verde"; in the drawing it is brown, an apparent contradiction, but a closer look with the text in mind reveals the annotation "verde"—either a correction or a sign that the color has faded. This means that Jones, in using greens with cloth of silver, flame-colors, blue and dark pink, has the same color scheme as Buontalenti. The more we look at the two drawings like this, instead of with visual literalness, the closer they come together.

The suggestion that Jones (typically for him) was interested in Buontalenti's conceptions and methods as well as just his images is further substantiated by the third of these colored designs for *The Lords' Masque*, that for the Torchbearers, pages who took the roles of Fiery Spirits (Figure 5).[20] The costume here has a close resemblance to those for the Platonic demons of fire in the fourth *intermedio*, as described by de' Rossi:

> il poeta gli fece alati: l'ali finte d'ermisin rosso infocato, spruzzate d'argento. . . . I capelli assai lunghi, e crespi, d'un colore mischiato d'ariento, e di fuoco, con faccia rilucentissima e bella: vestiti infino a mezza coscia di teletta d'argento, e rossa.[21]

No drawing of this costume has survived in the otherwise very full sequence of designs for 1589. But a visual source for Jones's figure can be identified elsewhere: in an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi after an antique relief of two fauns carrying torches (Figure 6).[22] Jones has based the figure of his Torchbearer very closely on that of the faun at right, in an even more thoroughgoing way than he derived the Lord Masquer from de Leu; and he has then dressed the figure in an adapted version of Buontalenti's costume as described by de' Rossi. In the absence of the relevant image he has reinvented it for himself. It contains just one literal Buontalentian feature. De' Rossi describes a pectoral ornament in the shape of a mask:

> e la vesta disopra sparata a guisa di camicia, e si chiudeva quello sparato da un maschera d'oro, che si conducea fino al petto.[23]

Jones could have seen how this looked because exactly the same ornament appears in the costume of the Siren, and he has reproduced it in a tentative, vestigial form, but quite recognizably, on the chest of his torchbearer. It shows as a shadowy Buontalentian signature, something like Whistler's butterfly in reverse, subtly pinpointing the self-consciousness of the design.

But Jones's reinvention of a Buontalenti design is an even more self-conscious exercise than it first appears, because part of it is the recreation of the affective power of the original. De' Rossi is very positive about this:

> Ed era questo cosi vago, e ricco loro abito, con l'artificiose ale, e con quella infocata zazzera, di tanto pregio, e splendore, e di cotanta bellezza, che agnoli rassembravan di Paradiso.[24]

And this reaction seems to have been general: according to another published account, the *Diario* of Pavoni, the

> demoni . . . per haver tutti le ali finte d'ormesino rosso infocato, furono da molti creduti angioli.[25]

Now this quality of angelic brightness is exactly what Jones's image captures so successfully. The figure resembles an angel and has a kind of spiritual radiance, but the spirituality is that of Renaissance

Fig. 5. Inigo Jones, *Torchbearer*

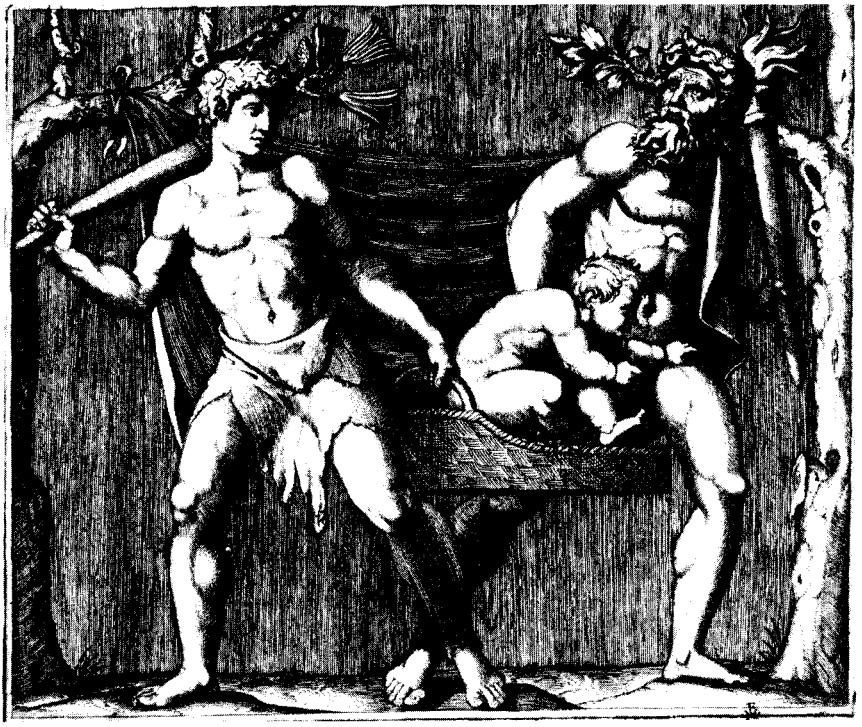

Fig. 6. *Two Fauns*. Engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi

Fig. 7. Bernardo Buontalenti, *Delphic Couple*


Fig. 8. From Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti Antichi . . .* , 1598

Platonism and reveals its inspiration in Buontalenti's visualizations of the neo-Platonic scenarios of Giovanni de' Bardi.

The fact that Jones's drawing looks utterly unlike a Buontalenti drawing shows the strength of that inspiration rather than the reverse. It is precisely not a visual pastiche of Buontalenti but a tribute to his work in the form of a revision. The opportunity came not only because a gap in the series of designs invited emulation but also because in designing a costume for the lords' attendants in contrast to the lords themselves Jones was much freer to do as he pleased. Costumes for lord and lady masquers had to be compatible with the dignity of exalted rank; they could not efface the social persona of the wearer but had to emphasize and enhance it. One consequence was that they had to bear a recognizable relationship to contemporary aristocratic costume.[26] So the main masquers in *The Lords' Masque* are imagined by Jones in terms of a symbolism which is socially determined—it is proper within the framework of the corresponding hierarchies of microcosm and macrocosm to imagine the "stars" of the social firmament as stars indeed—and the fantasy of their costume is elaborated on a basis of social convention. But with their attendants these social constraints scarcely apply, and the designer is freer to act on aesthetic motives. In designing the torchbearers' costume Jones is in a situation much closer to Buontalenti's in the Florentine context, exhibiting his own inventive power in realizing a preordained program of symbolism, and so it is altogether appropriate for him to try his hand here at a Buontalentian improvisation.

The unlikeness of the result is entirely to be expected, given Jones's habitual attitude to the artists he copied and emulated. All stage designers copy, and those of the late Renaissance, the progenitors of modern European scenography, are exemplary in this respect, absorbing disparate sources into a personal imagery. Buontalenti is a case in point: for the *intermedi* of 1589 he borrowed from Vasari, and from handbooks of mythology and costume,[27] but everything becomes unmistakably his own. One revealing example is a female figure in one of the "Delphic couples" in the third *intermedio* (Figure 7).[28] This Buontalenti copies from a figure in Vecellio's costume book (Figure 8),[29] but deranges its erect pose, making it bend and sway so that it emerges unmistakably stamped with his personal *maniera*. Jones is a different case, an exception. As an outsider, trying to learn the whole

tradition of Renaissance art, he uses stage-design as a medium of continuous self-education. This necessarily involves him in criticism and revision, both of himself and the tradition. The critical perspective which he evolves is a peculiarly Anglo-Saxon version of the scheme presented in Vasari's *Lives*, privileging the values of the High Renaissance. It applies across the whole range of his work, although with varying degrees of severity; in his architecture it appears in its most Protestant, reformist guise, and in his stage-design, perhaps necessarily, in its most liberal. Even so, it applies, and the eclectic fantasy of Jones's scenography is governed by a scale of values dominated by a classicizing discipline. Time and again he corrects or revises his sources according to criteria derived from High Renaissance classicism.[30] In the present instance he has simply taken—albeit by way of a verbal description—a specimen of Buontalenti's *maniera* and re-classicized it, with reference to an image from antiquity seen through High Renaissance eyes.

This is not to deny the appeal of Buontalenti for Jones. Jones the aesthetic reformer ("puritanissimo fiero" as the Papal agent said,[31] perhaps more suggestively than he realized) was also intensely susceptible to the beauties of Mannerism. After all, his drawing, approached from the other direction via the Marcantonio engraving, could be seen as a travesty of the antique. In this it is comparable to Buontalenti's whole group of designs for the Delphic couples in the third *intermedio* of 1589, whose costumes were said by de' Rossi to be "quasi alia greca . . . tendenti al greco . . . simiglianti all'abito greco,"[32] but which Warburg convincingly relates to the Quattrocento's romantic visualizations of pagan antiquity.[33] But if those figures cannot be given an authentic antique pedigree Jones's Torchbearer patently can, and the integrity of the original form is still visible under the costume.

What Jones got from Buontalenti was the stimulus to be himself. In the design for the Lord Masquer, the social constraint and the aesthetic restriction it imposes go along with an element of timid pastiche—the finicky pen shading for example can be paralleled, not in the drawing of the Siren, but in others of Buontalenti such as that of Apollo,[34] and it is used very badly. In contrast, the brilliance of the Torchbearer drawing is attributable to the lifting of the social constraint and the absence of a specific model, prompting Jones to respond boldly to a more generalized concept of Buontalenti's art.

This generalized concept, this "idea" of Buontalenti, was arrived at by viewing his designs, which we may suppose were only temporarily available to Jones (I shall enlarge on this below), in the context not only of the specific texts which explain and support them but of a whole complex of notions, fantasies, expectations and interpretations of the Medicean court theater. When Jones began to design and produce court masques in 1605 the best documented body of similar work to which he could turn for guidance was the long series of published descriptions of the Medici court festivals beginning with the wedding festivities of Cosimo I in 1539.[35] There was simply nothing of comparable substance. Enid Welsford, in stressing the Florentine origins of many of the later masques of the 1630s,[36] has obscured an important point—that the Florentine influence was there right from the beginning. She saw it as a sign of exhausted inspiration, just as Orgel and Strong ascribe the Florentine element in Jones's designs of the 1630s to "declining originality of vision,"[37] misconceiving the place of the originality in his work. Although Welsford is more accurate in her accusations of plagiarism (which however are most pertinently leveled against literary collaborators of Jones like Davenant), both emphases distort a crucial fact: that the Medicean theater was bound to be one of the foundations of the Stuart masque.[38]

The obfuscation of this fact from the very beginning is the responsibility of Jones's chief collaborator, Ben Jonson. Whereas in Florence printed accounts of court festivals were often provided by special reporters who might have written none of the original text of the entertainment, in Stuart England it became customary for the poet of the occasion to publish a report together with his text. Since the poet of the occasion was usually Jonson (who in any case regarded himself as *the* masque writer par excellence),[39] it was he who became in effect the publisher of the masques; and the form of publication he used—his texts accompanied by his commentary and his personal description of the spectacle—ensured that they were annexed to the project of his own *oeuvre*, a project which he attempted to make canonical by the imposing issue of the *Workes* in 1616.

Jonson promulgated a distinction between the "soul" and "body" of the masque, the "soul" being the poetry and the perishable "body" the spectacle, and this distinction gave theoretical

support to his attempted appropriation. It is formulated in collaboration, as it were, with previous theorists, just as the masques were made in direct collaboration with Jones and others; but Jonson tries to seize the theoretical terrain for himself. His silent interlocutors are Baltasar de Beaujoyeulx and Samuel Daniel, respectively the inventor of the *ballet de cour* and the first deviser of a Stuart court masque. Beaujoyeulx in explaining the unprecedented mixed form of the *Balet Comique de la Royne* (1582), which consists of both ballet and "comédie," writes: "J'ai toutefois donné le premier titre et honneur à la danse, et le second à la substance."[40] Jonson had studied the *Balet Comique*, and followed its example by prefacing his first masque publication with a parallel theoretical statement, except that he has decisively reversed Beaujoyeulx's order of priority. Daniel, who could be seen as a rival, comes in for much rougher treatment. His dedicatory epistle to *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604) takes up some important theoretical problems, to do with representation and the nature of the masque genre itself. But the point Jonson picks on is Daniel's defense of modern invention against a too strict dependence on antiquity,[41] and he comes back with an insistence on "*inventions* . . . grounded upon *antiquitie*, and solide *learnings*," followed by an attack on "fastidious *stomachs*" which may prefer "a few *Italian* herbs, pick'd up, and made into a *sallade*."[42] (Daniel had quoted modern Italian poetry in the course of his argument.) His dismissal of Daniel is compounded by disregard of the genuine theoretical problems Daniel had raised. In fact Jonson had practiced a similar disregard towards Beaujoyeulx, even while seeming to address his ideas more directly. Beaujoyeulx's basic point is that the *Balet Comique* poses theoretical problems because of its novelty, as a consciously mixed genre.[43] Jonson, making an implicit analogy with the masque, ignores the basic problem of the relation of the various elements, and simply argues about their relative priority. In a more obvious way he ignores Daniel, who, characterizing the masque as a modern genre, suggests that it poses peculiar problems of decorum, representation and *mimesis*—all of which Jonson evades, while meeting the argument about modernity in a committed but superficial way.

By declining to see the masque as a fundamentally problematic genre Jonson dictates a framework for debate which knocks out other theorists by exclusion rather than confrontation. In his

prefaces both to *Hymenaei* (1606) and to *The Masque of Blacknesse* (performed 1605, published 1608), he writes as if this effectively new genre is utterly familiar, and raises no generic or formal questions at all. But in fact his first few years as a masque writer—from *Blacknesse* to, say, *Love Restored* (1612)—were spent inventing and developing the genre in his own terms.[44] Theory and practice are at variance, but on both fronts the effort is the same: to make the masque his and his alone.

All Jonson's early masques are heavily annotated, in order to show how they are "grounded upon *antiquitie*, and solide *learnings*," and the admission that the content is derived paradoxically helps to reinforce an implicit claim to individuality of treatment. D. J. Gordon has shown how Jonson's classical learning often comes through the intermediate sources of Renaissance manuals, and that the constructions of classical sources made by, for example, Renaissance mythographers are very important to him.[45] We could extend this argument and suggest that the further aesthetic constructions of this mythological material made by the devisers of sixteenth-century court festivals must also have been important to Jonson, since it was from them that he had to learn his generic and formal lessons.

A small illustration may help here. In the first scene of the masque *Oberon* (1611) Jonson introduces Silenus and a group of satyrs. At first only one satyr is on stage, calling his mates:

> CHROMIS, MNASYL? None appeare?
> See you not, who riseth here?
> You saw SILENUS, late, I feare![46]

Jonson's note on Chromis and Mnasyl reads: "They are the names of two yong *Satyres*, I find in *Vir. Eclog. 6.* that took *Silenus* sleeping." Jonson was a learned poet and there is no doubt of his "finding" these names in Virgil. But they are also to be found in the chapter about Silenus in Natalis Comes' *Mythologia*:

> Hunc semper fere ebrium fuisse inquit Virg. ita Eglog.sexta;
> Chromis et Mnasylus in antro
> Silenum pueri somno videre iacentem. . . .[47]

In composing masques Jonson was accustomed to use not only Comes but Cartari, who also refers to the Virgilian context in his comments on the lore of Silenus:

> Virgilio lo far cantare sforzato da duo Satiretti, e da una bella Ninfa, li quali havendolo trovato dormire in certo antro bene ubbriaco. . . .[48]

But to Virgil and the mythographers there is a third level to be added. Part of the festivities in Florence for the marriage of Cosimo I in 1539 was the performance of a comedy with *intermedi*, and the third of these presented

> Silenus—described by Vergil in his Sixth Eclogue as found sleeping in a cave at noon by Mnasy[l]us and Chromis and by the very beautiful Aegle.[49]

And they all reappear in the *Mascherata della Genealogia degli Dei* of 1565, in the "carro di Bacco":

> Sileno vecchio in su uno asino ignudo, legate con ghirlande di hellera con una gran' taza di legnio tutta consumava à cintola, Egla Nimpha, Chromis, & Mnasylo fanciugli vestiti a uso di pastoregli, nella qual' maniera tutte queste persone son' descritte da Virgilio nella sexta Egloga quando ei dice,
>
> Pergite Pierides, Chromis & Mnasylus in antro
> Silenum pueri somno videre iacentem.[50]

So the full context of Jonson's use of the Virgilian names includes not only Virgil and the mythographers but the festivals as well.

Just how far the learned content of Jonson's masques is mediated through a knowledge of the Florentine festival tradition is not our main concern here. But a few examples will indicate that when he disparages the idea of picking up "a few *Italian* herbs" to make "into a *sallade*" he is protesting a little too much. Welsford has shown that *The Vision of Delight* (1617) is indebted to two Florentine productions: the *sbarra* of 1579 with its Car of Night, and especially Francesco Cini's *Notte d' Amore* (1608).[51] And its governing conception, of the masque as a nocturnal vision, had already been expounded by the despised and ignored Daniel.[52] Once we recognize this kind of indebtedness, possibilities abound.

The appearance of Juno with Iris and attendants in *Hymenaei*, ll. 212ff. (1606) is very close to the scheme of the fifth of the *intermedi* of 1586;[53] and the palace in a cavern in *Oberon*, ll. 138ff. (1611)[54] is exactly like that of the "Fiesolana Maga" or Fiesolan Sorceress in the sixth *intermedio* of the same series: "appiè d'una grotta, un magno, e ricco palagio con dirupate caverne intorno."[55] Of course these derivations may be due to Jones rather than Jonson; Welsford's dramatization of their relationship has Jonson holding out persistently against Jones's penchant for Florentine plagiarism. It all depends on how dualistic Jonson was, how much license he was prepared to allow the "body" while he attended to the "soul," and what, in the first place, he thought their respective provinces were. An illustration may suggest the intricacy, even ambivalence, of his thinking.

Jonson begins his account of *The Masque of Blacknesse*, the first he ever wrote, by describing the curtain in front of the stage:

> the invention was derived by me, and presented thus.
>
> First, for the *Scene*, was drawn a *Landtschap*, consisting of small woods, and here and there a void place fill'd with huntings; which falling . . .

and so on to a lengthy description of the first scene and the masquers' costumes, which concludes:

> So much for the bodily part. Which was of master YNIGO JONES his designe, and act.[56]

Is Jonson disowning the entire visual presentation, to invoke his own distinction between the "invention" and how it was "presented"? The question matters, because the hunting scene on the curtain, although appropriate to the occasion as a compliment to the chief spectator James I, who was passionate about hunting, is derived from a Florentine original. For the *intermedi* of 1565 the curtain was similar:

> And the space where there was the perspective for the comedy remained filled for many days, so that it could not be seen, by a cloth . . . on which was painted a hunt with a great many figures both mounted and on foot, with dogs and birds, who were hunting in a large and beautiful land[scape].[57]

In spite of his scorn for "*Italian* herbs," the very first image in Jonson's first masque is taken straight from the Florentine repertory. Did he leave all that to Jones (whose "designe, and act" it was), and remain unaware of where the material came from? I think not. His phraseology echoes the *descrizione* in an odd but tell-tale way: the curious phrase "a void place fill'd with huntings" uses two expressions from the Italian: "Et il vano [empty place] dov'era la prospettiva della Commedia stette ripieno [filled] d'una tela . . . nella quale era dipinto una caccia con gran numero di figure."[58] It is almost as if he is trying not to acknowledge the Italian text, and ends up echoing it in an illogical, involuntary fashion.

In the very inaugural moment of his career as a masque writer Jonson is disingenuous about his debt to the Italian festival tradition. It would seem that he was implicated in providing the "bodily part" of the masque, and knew of its Italian provenance. But to catch him giving the game away is not to arrive at certainty about what the game was—about how far he collaborated with what Enid Welsford calls Jones's "passionate determination to introduce the artistic ideals of other nations into England,"[59] instead of resisting Jones's efforts as Welsford thinks he did. However, one point that we can be surer about is that Jonson's silence about his debt to Florence, which we need to break if we are to discover and characterize the Florentine inspiration in his and Jones's masques, at times breaks itself in a revealing way.

There was much for Jonson to learn from a reading of the various *descrizioni* of the Medicean festivals. Above all, there was the practice of description itself—how to render in words the character and effect of a complex, changing theatrical experience which combined poetry, music, dance and visual spectacle. In the very first of the *descrizioni*, that of 1539, Pierfrancesco Giambullari signals this essential problem.[60] Two styles of description eventually stand out among the Florentine texts: that of Bastiano de' Rossi, whose exhaustive itemization of detail has an archaeological literalness,[61] and that of Michelangelo Buonarroti the younger, who tempers the process of recall with a more skillfully conscious effort to capture the imaginative effect of the performance. Here is Buonarroti's description of a chorus from Caccini's opera for the marriage of Marie de' Medici in 1600, *Il rapimento di Cefalo*:

> giovani angelicamente vestiti . . . che erano stati eletti delle piu squisite voci, e de' miglior musici, che mai s'udissero; con arie diverso di canto, ciascuno di per se con lei ragionarono, e seco della innamorata Aurora si dolsero: con tanta dolcezza che l'anime degli uditori per lo piacere, anch'esse al cielo fra quelli allora parver rapite.[62]

This is exactly the vein of Jonson's most ambitious descriptive passages:

> Such was the exquisit performance, as (beside the *pompe, splendor*, or what we may call *apparelling* of such *Presentments*) that alone (had all else beene absent) was of power to surprize with delight, and steale away the *spectators* from themselves.[63]

At moments like these his taciturnity on the subject of Florence dissolves, and he speaks quite clearly of the almost romantic impression made by the idea of the Florentine festivals. The fact that it can only be an idea, a conception imagined from a distance, gives it an added fascination. It can be recreated and put into practice, which is exactly what Jonson and Jones are up to, but the recreation itself is temporary and fades into the distance of time, leaving behind it once again the resonance of the idea.

Jonson's effective suppression of the *fiorentinità* of the masques (however ambiguous his attitude) was possible because he took control of the whole province of language, effectively excluding Jones from it. When working with more adaptable poets Jones was able to insert passages of his own into the masque descriptions. Thus in the text of *Tethys' Festival* (1610) Daniel presents one "scene . . . in the language of the architector who contrived it, and speaks in his own mestier to such as are understanders and lovers of that design."[64] No doubt Jonson would never have passed the Italian-sounding jargon "architector" and "mestier," affected words of the sort he was to ridicule in his poetic diatribes against Jones after their quarrel in 1631. But the two words are defensible, in different ways. "Architector" is a naturalization in English of the new Renaissance concept of the architect; and the passage goes on to use the technical vocabulary of classical architecture, still far from familiar in England. The seeming affectation in "mestier,"

too, has a point, because when Jones spoke "in his own mestier" he was in fact speaking a foreign language, the visual language of Renaissance art. And, like Jonson in his rare moments of candid susceptibility, but more openly, Jones often spoke it with a Florentine accent.

His reply to Jonson's attacks after the quarrel was couched in precisely these terms, *in lingua fiorentina*. The figures of Theory and Practice on the proscenium of Townshend's *Albion's Triumph* (1632), which D. J. Gordon has shown to constitute a whole argument by Jones against Jonson,[65] are taken straight from Buontalenti—from the description of the designs for Caccini's *Il rapimento di Cefalo*. Buontalenti's scene was flanked by two female figures,

> delle quali questa per la Teorica, e quella per la pratica facolta vi si misero, indimostrazione della necessità, che hanno ciascheduna di esse coloro, che alla perfezione intendono delle matematiche arti: si come nella maestria di tutta quella opera si doveva considetare. . . .[66]

This appears in the text of *Albion's Triumph*, where the proscenium is described as showing "two women . . . over the first was written THEORICA, and over the second PRACTICA, showing that by these two all works of architecture and ingining have their perfection."[67] Although the Italian artist presents himself as a mathematician and the Englishman as an architect, both are saying the same thing, claiming the status of intellectuals rather than mere craftsmen—and Jones has learned this mode of expression from Buontalenti.

He must have been perfectly aware that Buontalenti was accustomed to express himself in this way, and to be understood. Bastiano de' Rossi writes that the *apparato* or scene of 1586 included two large figures with flaming torches representing Architecture and Perspective,

> e volle, per mio credere, con queste figure con quella fiaccola accesa in mano, significar l'Architetto, che senza il vero lume di queste due arti cotanto nobili, in vano faticherebbe, chi volesse far prospettive, simiglievoli al suo.[68]

The *apparato* of 1589 had two pairs of allegorical figures, one representing Mute Eloquence and Painting, the other Invention and Beauty—a cue for the appearance of Invention and Knowledge on the proscenium of Jones and Townshend's *Tempe Restored*, which followed *Albion's Triumph* in the same year, 1632.[69] When Jones adopted Buontalenti's mute eloquence for his polemic with Jonson he was not only hitting the right ideological nerve, retorting on the poet's sarcastic reference to

> The Eloquence of Masques! What need of prose
> Or Verse, or Sense t'express Immortal you?[70]

He was also experimenting with a form of discourse possessing its own prior individuality, trying out the character of another artist as he habitually did in his drawings.

That Buontalenti had a special character in his eyes, and that his sense of it predates not only the quarrel with Jonson but also the designs for *The Lords' Masque* cannot, I think, be doubted. Buontalenti emerges from the *descrizioni* of 1586, 1589 and 1600 as an extraordinary figure, the panegyrics of de' Rossi and Buonarroti being fully substantiated by their accounts of the scenic marvels he achieved. He was the inevitable model for Jones in 1605 at the outset of a career as scenographer-architect. To be the Buontalenti of the Stuart court—these were the only available terms in which Jones's earliest aspirations can have formulated themselves, whatever course his later development was to take.

But in the early years aspiration exceeded achievement, and sometimes there is a sense that the Buontalentian role is being wilfully sustained. Jones's earlier scenic machinery, for example, was certainly not up to Florentine standards. The cloud which carries the masquers to earth in *The Lords' Masque* appears from the side of the stage, not from above, and yet it is described as if it were one of Buontalenti's much more sophisticated cloud machines. De' Rossi has a cliché for the moment when a Buontalentian cloud suddenly disappears: "la nugola . . . miracolosamente sparì, e parve ch'l vento l'avesse fatta sparire" (1585); "sparirono, quasi da un gran vento, le nugole, che coprivan la scena" (1589).[71] Campion takes this up—"the cloud brake in twain, and one part of it (as with a wind) was blown overthwart the scene"[72]—as if exactly the same miracle is happening. The same sort of wish-fulfillment shows in one of Jones's drawings for

*The Masque of Queenes* (1609), that for the House of Fame,[73] derived from the "Palazzo della fama" for the Florentine *intermedi* of 1608 by Buontalenti's pupil and recent successor Giulio Parigi.[74] Jones indicates the ensuing scene change by writing on the drawing in Italian at bottom left: "la Tribuna muta In una nugola / pieno dell lume Con la fame Drentto" (i.e. "dentro"—"the throne changes into a cloud full of light with Fame inside").[75] This is the language of the *descrizioni*, and for a moment creates the illusion of an authentic Florentine production. Fantasies like these seem to have assisted Jones creatively by affirming a kind of Florentine identity and stimulating him to reinvent gradually the marvelous attainments of Buontalentian scenography.

Jones's will to emulation can be gauged from one capital stage effect—involving, perhaps significantly, the already mentioned figure of Fame—which he produced several times. Buontalenti, to end the performance of *Il rapimento di Cefalo* in 1600, had contrived a "carro magnificentissimamente ornato" which rose from the stage floor to an unprecedented height bearing Fame on the top, who at the end of the scene was carried up into the sky.[76] This effect of a miraculous ascent into the heavens was one of the archetypal wonders of Florentine stagecraft, the culmination of a tradition dating back to the *sacra rappresentazione* of the Annunciation in 1439 (where Brunelleschi had the angel descend from heaven, address the Virgin, and then reascend)[77] and passing into the secular theater of the grand ducal period. Buontalenti had used it already in 1565, but it was the ascent of Fame in 1600 which earned him extravagant praise, and which was imitated in the Mantuan *intermedi* of 1608, as well as by Buontalenti's pupil Parigi in the above-noted *intermedi* at Florence in the same year.[78] Jones was not equipped to try this feat until 1631, in *Chloridia*. Jonson, who had quarreled with him by then, judged it a failure, referring uncharitably to "Th' ascent of Lady Fame which none could spy."[79] Whether this was true or not, Jones repeated the effect in two masques of 1638, *Britannia Triumphans* and *Luminalia*. In *Britannia Triumphans* he reproduced Parigi's supposedly improved version of Fame's ascent: "The palace sinks, and Fame remaining hovering in the air rose on her wings singing, and was hidden in the clouds."[80] Davenant's text here is translated almost word for word from the *descrizione* of Parigi's work,[81] emphasizing that Jones has proved himself a master

scenographer in the Florentine school. It fulfills the wish of thirty years before when he had inscribed his design for Fame in Italian, as if to cover its jejune scenic technique with an aura of Florentine glamor.

Jones's use of Buontalenti's costume drawings as models for those in *The Lords' Masque* needs to be seen in this elaborate context of ideas and aspirations. There remains the question of how the drawings came to him. On one later occasion, in 1634, Jones actually asked the Tuscan ambassador to request from Florence copies of the designs for a projected entertainment for the Prince of Poland.[82] There may have been earlier requests of this kind, earlier even than 1613. Isaac Oliver's miniature of a lady in masque costume (now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), dated by Roy Strong c. 1605, seems directly indebted to Florentine costume designs. Strong writes that "[t]he dress is of a type worn in all the early court masques as designed by Inigo Jones,"[83] but this is not so. Oliver shows the type of female costume taken over by Buontalenti from Vasari, in which by an elaborate ornamental apparatus the breasts are trussed up and displayed through semi-transparent fabric.[84] Jones's costumes are more relaxed, with some tendency to décolletage; yet they are obviously influenced by this type, and Oliver's painting suggests that Florentine costume designs may have reached London in the early 1600s.

To support such a possibility there is a specific record of another diplomatic request for designs from Florence, made not by Jones but by his colleague Costantino de' Servi. This Florentine painter and architect had in 1611 been delegated by the Medici court to the service of Prince Henry, as part of a campaign to induce him to marry the sister of the Grand Duke Cosimo II. A further move came in June 1612, when the Grand Duke's special representative, Andrea Cioli, presented Henry with a group of bronze statuettes from the studio of Giambologna, in the presence of courtiers favorable to the match. He was utterly delighted and asked for more statuettes to be sent, including a reduction of Michelangelo's David, as if he meant to take a distinct interest in Florentine art.[85] All this was put a stop to by Henry's sudden death in November 1612. At this point de' Servi, who had been high in the Prince's favor, was contemplating some designs for the wedding festivities of Princess Elizabeth and the Elector, and had addressed a memorandum to Andrea Cioli asking him to have sent

from Florence "dua libri o tre di varie inventioni di mascherate, d'intermedii e di architettura."[86] These "inventions" may well have included the very drawings which Jones used a short time later for Campion's *Lords' Masque*.

Whether the drawings arrived or not we do not know, but the indications are that they did. When Costantino eventually designed a masque, that of Campion for the Somerset wedding of late 1613 (Jones was by now absent in Italy), it showed clear Buontalentian influence. The appearance of Eternity and the Destinies with Harmony[87] recalls the use of figures of Necessity and the three Fates and of Armonia Doria in Buontalenti's first *intermedio* of 1589.[88] And the staircase in front of the stage, "a paire of stayres made exceeding curiously in the forme of a schalop-shell," derives from a famous invention of the artist, the feigned ornamental stairs for the high altar of Santa Trinità, Florence,[89] which passed into the repertory of the Medicean theater.[90] Of course if Costantino did procure drawings from Florence he may not have shown them to Jones. His letter requesting them shows him to be competitive and secretive,[91] and Campion's criticism in the text of the Somerset Masque bears this out.[92] But his relationship with Jones was probably not so much hostile as ambivalent. Even though they held rival positions in Prince Henry's household, Costantino must still have been a special figure in Jones's eyes, being just as much an emissary of Florentine art as Cioli was of the Tuscan state. Jones's interest in the Medicean theater, as well as his general desire to widen his knowledge—expressed in the motto on the cover of his Roman sketchbook of the following year (Figure 9), "Altro diletto che Imparar non trovo" (I know no other pleasure than learning)[93]—gave him a strong motive for preserving good relations. If he knew designs were coming from Florence he must have moved heaven and earth to see them.

Alternatively, if Costantino never received them, or kept them a secret, Jones himself may have taken advantage of the rapprochement between England and Tuscany to make a request on his own account. Prince Henry's newly awakened interest in things Florentine, however much associated with a rival artist, could not have failed to evoke a positive response from Jones. Its impetus survived the Prince's death, and the Florentine quality of *The Lords' Masque* is the manifest legacy of the new political and cultural ambience adumbrated by the Tuscan match. But the masque stresses Jones's

Florentine affinities in a competitive as well as a creative spirit. In effect, it upstaged Costantino. Its designs treat source material in a much less literal way than he was proposing to do (the letter to Cioli quoted above suggests that the "two or three books of various inventions" are wanted as a standby or expedient rather than a stimulus to inspiration), and it provided a showcase for his rival's work which he himself was denied. In spite of hopes of employment it was not until a year later that he was asked to design a wedding masque, after Jones had left for Italy. Retrospectively the dead Prince's special estimation of Costantino had been queried; the initiative was being won back by Inigo Jones "fiorentino."

This moment of challenge and opportunity in Jones's career, which impelled him to an enhanced affirmation of the Florentine element in his work, also shows creative results for English art in general. It is in the sequence of costume designs for *The Lords' Masque* that we can first see clearly the importance of Jones's masque designs for contemporary portraiture. Jacobean portraiture was schizophrenic, divided between its private and public faces. The portrait miniature has been called "England's greatest contribution to the art of painting during the Renaissance";[94] as for portraiture in large, the Renaissance had passed it by. Its figures were doubly immobilized, by the stiffness of a residual medievalism and the frozen dignity imposed by Mannerism. In the end this immobility was bound to be dissolved by the dynamic visions of the masque, which were in effect *tableaux vivants*—Jones called them "pictures with light and motion"[95]—where the courtiers appeared like allegorical full-length portraits of themselves, but animated in a way their own portraits never were. But the dissolution, the liberation, was a gradual process. With the masques Jones gave not only himself but the Stuart court a course of instruction in Renaissance art, recapitulating in condensed form a whole history in all its phases, a history which had so far impinged on England only marginally; but there was no native English painter capable of taking advantage of the new sense of vision he instilled. It was not till Van Dyck came in 1620 and then settled in England in 1632 that the new aesthetic situation found its ideal protagonist, an authentically Baroque artist whose universe was essentially dynamic, a painter who brought the human figure to life and charged every particle of the visible world with exquisitely nervous

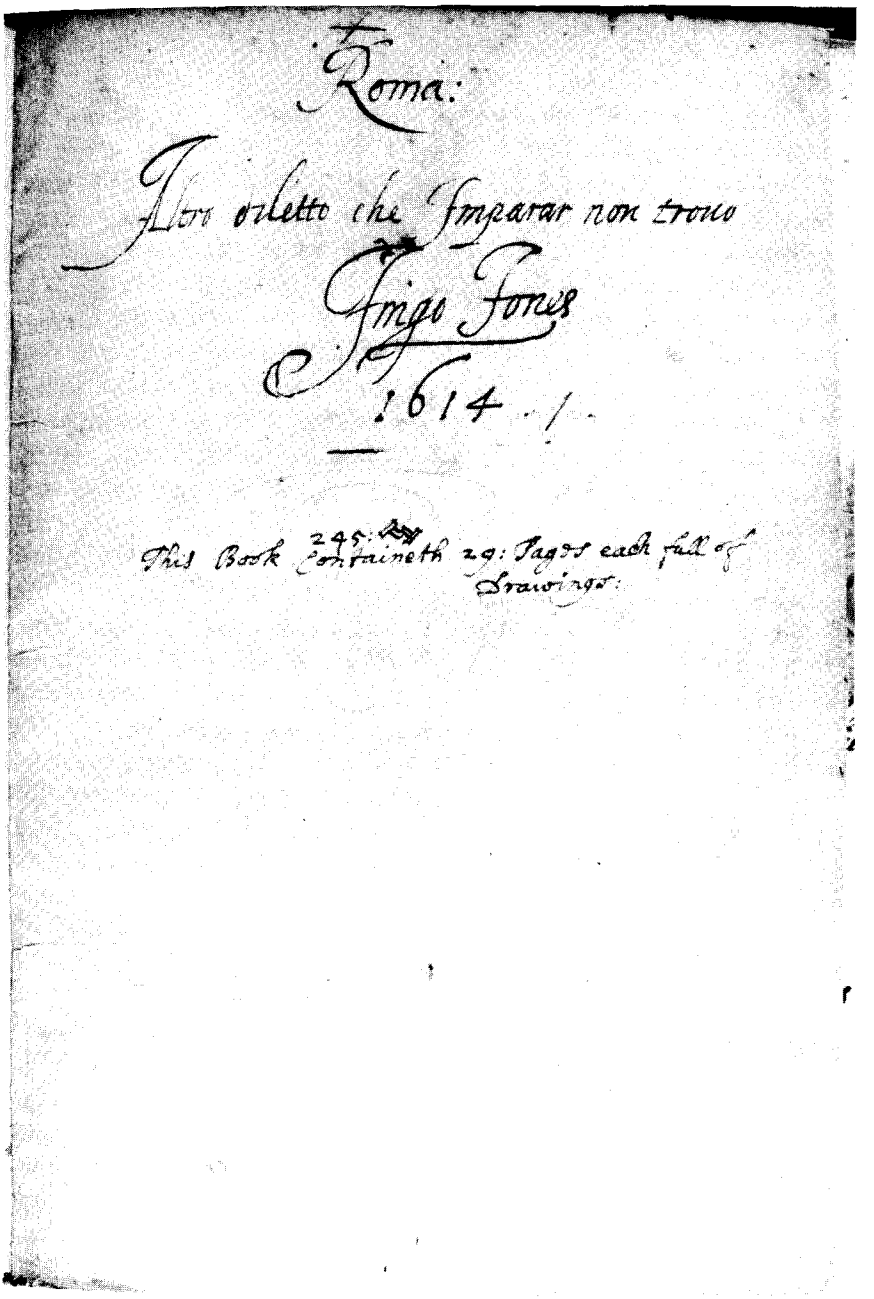


Fig. 9. Inigo Jones, Roman Sketchbook, cover

animation. In the years before Van Dyck the best documents from which to trace the changing climate of English portraiture are the drawings of Jones himself.

Three distinct phases of that changing climate are marked in the sequence of the Lord Masquer, the Lady Masquer and the Torchbearer (Figures 2, 4, 5), although the individual designs coincide chronologically. The Lord Masquer, in spite of its *mouvementé* quality and its Florentine glamor, is the most aesthetically conservative, because of the social constraints surrounding it. The lords who were to wear the costume, and whose aristocratic dignity it had to affirm, would have wanted accurate visual notes of every rich detail of it, just as they got from a contemporary portraitist like Larkin, and the presentation would have been subject to their approval. So the element of brilliant fantasy is partly inhibited by a social and aesthetic literalness, which shows perhaps in the niggling pen drawing. The Lady Masquer is a much more convincing image because, although the same kind of inhibition applied, it could be translated into an expressive feature of the figure. The ladies had to appear as women turned to statues who are then brought to life in the dance; and so the demand for a prepotent social effigy does not conflict with the imaginative dictates of the text. In representing the idea of an arrested vitality Jones has taken the opportunity to produce a summary pastiche of the "Jacobethan" portrait,[96] capturing its sumptuous immobility, and raising it to the power of metaphor. The metaphor applies not only in the masque but to English painting, waiting to be brought to life. The drawing constitutes an analysis of the whole portrait tradition, so authoritatively made as to consign it to history and signal its supercession by a new art.

The new art is announced, in fact substantiated, by the drawing of the Torchbearer. He belongs to a different world. He moves through it in the way that Van Dyck's figures were to move through theirs, and is endowed like them with a beauty which is inseparable from the principle of motion. The figure from the antique relief out of which he is made is subsumed in Jones's imagination in the conception of fire, so that the classic form passes into the flickering gradations of flame-color and the veering, darting lines of the cloak. Like Rubens, Jones shows how to make antique sculpture live and breathe.

Momentarily freed from the need to compromise with the conservative taste of his aristocratic patrons, and lacking in this case a specific Buontalentian design to follow, Jones has tried to give shape to his general idea of the Florentine theater, whose aesthetic and philosophical inspiration was so important to him, and at whose triumphs he had assisted in his imagination, a vicarious participant. It seems that this image, which anticipates the most progressive tendencies in English painting, could only have been produced by Inigo Jones "fiorentino."

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Notes

I am grateful to the British Academy for financial assistance towards my research in Florence; and to the Research Fund of Southampton University Arts Faculty for help with the cost of photographs. Dr Nerida Newbigin of Sydney University kindly discussed with me the translations of passages from the Italian festival books, but in the end these are my responsibility. In all quotations use of i and j, u and v has been normalized, and contractions have been expanded.

1 S. R. Gardiner, *History of England 1603-1642*, 10 vols. (London, 1904), II, 153-54.

2 See Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1973), I, 262-63 (no. 84, "Torchbearer: An Indian," drawing with watercolor). Jones may also have designed Beaumont's masque; see *A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicoll* (Cambridge, Eng., 1967), p. 128.

3 *Lords' Masque*, ll. 190-93: "the eight masquers appeared in their habits, which were infinitely [rich], befitting states (such as indeed they all were), as also a time so far heightened . . . with all the richest show of solemnity that could be invented." Text in Orgel and Strong, I, 244.

4 On the *intermedi* see A. M. Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici 1539-1637* (New Haven and London, 1964); L. Zorzi, *Il teatro e la città* (Rome, 1979); S. Mamone, *Il teatro nella Firenze medicea* (Milan, 1981); N. Pirrotta and E. Povoledo, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, tr. K. Eales (Cambridge, Eng. and New York, 1982).

5 *La scena del principe*, exhibition catalogue (Florence, 1980), pp. 375-82.

6 A. Nicoll, *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage* (London, 1937).

7 Bastiano de' Rossi, *Descrizione Dell Apparato E Degl'Intermedi. Fatti Per La Commedia Rappresentata In Firenze. Nelle nozze de'Serenissimi Don Ferdinando Medici, e Madama Cristina di Loreno, Gran Duchi di Toscana* (Florence, 1589); cited here throughout as de' Rossi, 1589.

8 See e.g. Nagler, figs. 46 (Celestial Siren) and 47 (Armonia Doria), and pp. 74-78. On the former see below.

9 De' Rossi, 1589, p. 5.

10 Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth; reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees. Color reproduction in Orgel and Strong, no. 80, "Masquer Lord: A

Star" (I [following Preface], 240, 247); and in Strong, *Festival Designs of Inigo Jones* (n.p., 1967-68), cat. 38. (Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art.)

11 Lines 146-47. The masquers, brought as stars from heaven by Prometheus' "stealth," perform a dance and are then transformed into "human shape . . . / Clad in familiar weed" (ll. 147-77). Campion comments on the dance: "the stars moved in an exceeding strange and delightful manner; and I suppose few have ever seen more neat artifice than Master Inigo Jones showed in contriving their motion, who in all the rest of the workmanship which belonged to the whole invention showed extraordinary industry and skill; which if it be not as lively expressed in writing as it appeared in view, rob not him of his due, but lay the blame on my want of right apprehending his instructions for the adoring of his art" (ll. 180-87).

12 *Les Decades Qui Se trouve De Tite Live, Mises En Langue Francoise . . . par Blaise de Vigenere* (Paris, 1583), pp. 1461-62. Reproduced by permission of the British Library.

13 Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, C.B.3.53, vol. II, fol. 36v; reproduced by permission. The number XII at the top of the drawing denotes its place in the sequence of designs; the list at lower left names the singers who wore the costume, beginning with Giulio Romano (i.e., Caccini). For an account of the MS volume in which this drawing appears see A. Warburg, *I costumi teatrali per gli Intermezzi del 1589* (Florence, 1895), reprinted in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2 vols. (Kraus reprint, 1969), I, 265ff. and in *La rinascità del paganesimo antico* (Florence, 1966).

14 Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth; reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees. Orgel and Strong, no. 82 (I, 247, 251). Color reproduction in Strong, *Festival Designs*, cat. 30. The Lady Masquers are transformed (again by Prometheus) from "noble woman-statues of silver" (l. 221) in which they had been imprisoned by Jove after Prometheus "forge[d]" them of clay with "heav'nly fire" (ll. 230-35, 248-53). Jove now relenting (ll. 254-57), they reassume human form and are to be courted by the men. (Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art, as also for Figure 5 below.)

15 Warburg, *I costumi*, pp. 17-18.

16 *Lords' Masque*, l. 184 (see above, n. 11).

17 Text in de' Rossi, 1589, pp. 181ff. (summarized by Nagler, pp. 74-78). Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque* (Cambridge, Eng., 1927), p. 192, derives Campion's star lords from an untitled Medicean festival (described by Nagler, pp. 119-25) which had four noblemen representing the four Medicean Stars, i.e. the satellites of Jupiter discovered by Galileo; but she dates it wrongly, in 1612 instead of 1613—it was too late to have influenced the *Lords' Masque*. Welsford is followed by W. R. Davis, ed., *The Works of Thomas Campion* (New York, 1970), p. 254n.

18 *Lords' Masque*, ll. 193-95.

19 De' Rossi, 1589, p. 25 (describing "the sirens who turned the ninth, and tenth spheres," and wore "headdresses, full of shining rays, with stars on them": "they were dressed in a shining fabric of silk on a background of silver").

20 Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth; reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees. Color reproduction in Orgel and Strong, no. 81 (I [following Preface], 247, 250), and in Strong, *Festival Designs*, cat. 39. Prometheus calls up these "fiery spirits," who in a dance "Break forth the earth like sparks t'attend these knights"; the spirits' "attires" were "composed of flames, with fiery wings and bases" (ll. 203-06).

21 De' Rossi, 1589, p. 51 ("the poet gave them wings, made of flaming red sarsenet, splashed with silver. . . . Their hair was very long and curled, a fiery color mixed with silver, and their faces shining and beautiful; they were dressed to mid-thigh in a fine cloth of silver and red").

22 G. Lambert and M. Oberthür, "Marc-Antoine Raimondi," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 92, no. 1314-15 (July-August 1978), 28, no. 144. (Bartsch XIV.230.186.) Reproduced by permission of the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum (photo: Warburg Institute).

23 De' Rossi, 1589, p. 51 ("and the upper garment was open like a shirt, the opening fastened with a gold mask extending to the breast").

24 Ibid. ("And their costume was so lovely and rich, with its artfully contrived wings and those flaming tresses, of such excellence and splendor, and such great beauty, that they seemed like angels from Paradise").

25 "[T]he demons . . . all with wings made of flame-colored red sarsenet, were by many people taken for angels." Italian text in *Diario descritto da Giuseppe Pavoni delle feste celebrate nelle solenissime Nozze delli Serenissimi Sposi, il Sig. Don Ferdinando Medici et la Sig. Donna Christina di Lorena Gran Duchi di Toscana* (Bologna, 1589); in *Il teatro italiano. II. La commedia del Cinquecento*, Vol. I, ed. G. Davico Bonino, p. 498.

26 For similarities of costume in two contemporary portraits by William Larkin see Orgel and Strong, I, 247-48, figs. 32-33.

27 Such as Vincenzo Cartari, *Le Imagini De I Dei De Gli Antichi* (Venice, 1571), p. 304, for designs of Necessity and the Fates: see R. Donington, *The Rise of Opera* (London and Boston, 1981), p. 64, pls. IV and V.

28 Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, C.B.3.53, II. Reproduced by permission.

29 Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti Antichi et Moderni di Tutto il Mondo*, 2nd ed. (Venice, 1598), Bk. XI, fols. 469v-70r, "Greca in Soria" (Greek woman in Syria). Reproduced by permission of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Also in *Vecellio's Renaissance Costume Book* (New York: Dover, 1977), p. 146, no. 463.

30 J. Peacock, "Inigo Jones's Stage Architecture and Its Sources," *Art Bulletin* 64 (1982), 195-216.

31 Gregorio Panzani, in a letter to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, 6 Feb. 1636; cited by R. Wittkower, *Palladio and English Palladianism* (London, 1974), pp. 68-69 and 211, n. 10, who however interprets the phrase differently (p. 70 and nn. 12, 13).

32 De' Rossi, 1589, pp. 42, 46, 48.

33 Warburg, *I costumi*, p. 35 (*Gesammelte Schriften*, I, 288-90, figs. 84a-d).

34 Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, C.B.3.53, II, fol. 1r.

35 For a complete list see Mamone, pp. 138-41.

36 Welsford, pp. 183-88, 199-202, 222-28, and esp. 232-43.

37 Orgel and Strong, 1, 41.

38 Cf. Mamone, p. 38.

39 *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford and P. and E. Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1925-52), I, 133, "Conversations with Drummond," ll. 55-56: "next himself only Fletcher and Chapman could make a Mask."

40 Quoted by Welsford, p. 248, from Baltasar de Beaujoyeulx, *Balet Comique De La Royne, Faict Aux Nopces De Monsieur Le Due de Joyeuse & madamoyselle de Vaudemont sa soeur* (Paris, 1582), sig. é3v. Jonson possessed a copy of the *Balet Comique* (Herford and Simpson, XI, 600), now in the Lincoln Center collection of the New York Public Library. See David McPherson, "Ben Jonson's Library and Marginalia: An Annotated Catalogue," *SP* 71.5 (December 1974), 30.

41 *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, ll. 124-27: "in this project of ours, Night and Sleep were to produce a vision, an effect proper to their power and fit to shadow our purpose, for that these apparitions and shows are but as imaginations and dreams that portend our affections"; and ll. 43-46: "And in these cases it may well seem *ingenerosum sapere solum ex commentariis quasi maiorum inventa industriae nostrae viam precluserint, quasi in nobis effoeta sit vis naturae, nihil ex se parere* [ignoble only to know what can be gleaned from commentaries and to produce nothing of one's own as though the discoveries of our ancestors had closed the way to our industry and the force of nature were worn out in us]." Ed. J. Rees, in *A Book of Masques*, pp. 28, 26, 41.

42 *Hymenaei*, ll. 15-26; Herford and Simpson, VII, 209-10.

43 "Pour autant, amy Lecteur, que le tiltre et inscription de ce livre est sans exemple, et que l'on n'a point veu par cy-devant aucun Balet avoir esté imprimé, ny ce mot de Comique y estre adapté, je vous prieray [de] trouver ny l'un ny l'autre estrange." Quoted by Welsford, p. 248, from the text in P. Lacroix, *Ballets et Mascarades de Cour*, 6 vols. (Geneva, 1868), I, 14.

44 "The Jonsonian masque . . . was considered from its first appearance to be something new, striking, and not altogether satisfactory. . . . He conceived the form anew and educated his audience to appreciate it"; Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 115, 149.

45 D. J. Gordon, *The Renaissance Imagination*, ed. S. Orgel (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1975), pp. 134ff., on the masques of *Blacknesse* and *Beautie*.

46 *Oberon*, ll. 7-9; Herford and Simpson, VII, 341.

47 Natalis Comes, *Mythologia* (Venice, 1568), V.viii, fol. 141v.

48 Cartari, *Le Imagini* (Venice, 1571), p. 417 ("Virgil tells of him being set upon by two young Satyrs, and a beautiful Nymph, who . . . found him sleeping in a certain cave well and truly drunk").

49 A. C. Minor and B. Mitchell, eds. and trs., *A Renaissance Entertainment. Festivities for the Marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, in 1539* (Columbia, Missouri, 1968), p. 297.

50 Baccio Baldini, *Discorso Sopra La Mascherata Della Geneologia Degl'Iddei De' Gentili* (Florence, 1565), pp. 121-22 ("Old Silenus, nude, mounted on an ass, twined around with ivy garlands, a large empty wooden cup at his waist, the nymph Aegle, young Chromis and Mnasylus dressed like shepherds–in which manner all these persons are described by Virgil in the sixth Eclogue when he says," etc.).

51 Welsford, pp. 199-202.

52 In his preface to *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, 1604 (quoted above, n. 41).

53 As summarized in Nagler, pp. 66-67, from Bastiano de' Rossi, *Descrizione Del Magnificentiss. Apparato. E De' Maravigliosi Intermedi Fatti Per La Commedia Rappresentata In Firenze nelle felicissime Nozze degl'Illustrissimi ed Eccellentissimi Signori Il Signor Don Cesare D'Este E La Signora Donna Virginia Medici* (Florence, 1586); the latter is cited below as de' Rossi, 1586. No designs for these *intermedi* survive.

54 For Jones's design for an earlier version of the scene see Orgel and Strong, no. 61 (I, 210, 212-13); Strong, *Festival Designs*, cat. 35; and my "Inigo Jones's Stage Architecture," pp. 199-201, fig. 11.

55 "[U]nder a grotto, a large and rich palace surrounded by precipitous caverns." Italian text from de' Rossi, 1586, fol. 22v. The scene is summarized by Nagler, who however places the palace "next to" the grotto.

56 *The Masque of Blacknesse*, ll. 22-26, 90-92; Herford and Simpson, VII, 169-72.

57 Quoted in Pirrotta and Povoledo, pp. 353-54. The proscenium was designed by Federico Zuccaro.

58 Domenico Mellini, *Descrizione dell'apparato . . . l'anno 1565* (Florence, 1566); quoted by Mamone, p. 98.

59 Welsford, p. 243.

60 *A Renaissance Entertainment*, tr. Minor and Mitchell, p. 134: "I don't want to say any more about the stage setting for the comedy in order not to take away its beauty with my inappropriate words. Even those who saw it can hardly imagine it."

61 Occasionally rising to an enthusiasm which has been called "bombastic"; see Pirrotta and Povoledo, p. 374.

62 Michelagnolo Buonarroti, *Descrizione Delle Felicissime Nozze Della Cristianissima Maestà di Madama Maria Medici Regina di Francia e di Navarra* (Florence, 1600), sigs. BB1v-2r ("youths dressed like angels . . . who had been chosen from among the most exquisite voices and the best musicians that had ever been heard; in different strains of song they each of them on his own account discoursed with her, and condoled among themselves with the love-struck Aurora, with such sweetness that the souls of the hearers too seemed to be rapt away by pleasure to heaven among the singers").

63 *Hymenaei*, ll. 568-72; Herford and Simpson, VII, 229.

64 *Tethys' Festival*, ll. 162-65; Orgel and Strong, I, 194.

65 Gordon, *Renaissance Imagination*, pp. 86-88, fig. 57. Gordon also suggests (pp. 90-92) that the principal visual source for the figures is the title page of Scamozzi's *Idea*, 1615, while Orgel and Strong (II, 460-62, fig. 69) say that the figures are closer to those on the title page of the 1618 edition of Serlio's *Architettura*. This does not affect my point—that the original idea of putting the two figures on a proscenium, where they are advocates for the architect's skill, comes from Buontalenti.

66 Buonarotti, 1600, sig. AA2r ("of which one was to be taken as representing the theoretical faculty, the other the practical, showing how necessary each of them is to those who would have perfect understanding of the mathematical arts, just as was to be contemplated in the mastery of all the present work"). Buontalenti's designs do not survive.

67 *Albion's Triumph*, ll. 31-40; Orgel and Strong, II, 454. Jones was partly responsible for the invention of this masque (Ibid., p. 453) and of *Tempe Restored* (see below).

68 De' Rossi, 1586, fol. 5r ("and with these figures holding a burning torch the Architect, as I see it, wished to signify that without the true light of these two so noble arts, whoever wishes to construct perspectives like his will exert himself in vain").

69 *Tempe Restored*, ll. 30-35, 366-67; Orgel and Strong, II, 480, 483.

70 "An Expostulation with Inigo Jones," ll. 40-41; Herford and Simpson, VIII, 403.

71 "[T]he cloud . . . vanished as if by a miracle, and it seemed as if the wind had made it vanish" (de' Rossi, 1586, fol. 7r); "the clouds which covered the stage vanished, as if blown by a great wind" (de' Rossi, 1589, p. 33).

72 *The Lords' Masque*, ll. 217-18; Orgel and Strong, I, 244.

73 Orgel and Strong, no. 15, I, 130, 138.

74 On Jones's use of Parigi see my "Inigo Jones's Stage Architecture," pp. 197-99, figs. 8-9.

75 See "Inigo Jones's Stage Architecture," p. 197, n. 16.

76 Nagler, p. 100.

77 Mamone, pp. 19ff.

78 Summarized in Nagler, pp. 181, 105.

79 "An Expostulation," l. 35; Herford and Simpson, VIII, 403.

80 *Britannia Triumphans*, ll. 547-48; Orgel and Strong, II, 666. Jones helped with the text in this masque (Ibid., p. 661). In *Luminalia*, probably also by Davenant, the figure of Night "ascends singing, and is hidden in the clouds," ll. 115-16; Orgel and Strong, II, 707.

81 "[S]parve subito il Palazzo, e la fama, restata in aria, cominciò à salire all'insù, e si nascose trà le nuvole, cantando"; quoted by Welsford, p. 218.

82 B.L. Add. Ms. 27962 G. (Salvetti Correspondence, Vol. VII, 1633-36), fols. 72r-72v: "Sentendo questo Signore sopraintendente delle fabbriche di Sua Maestà, che costì si doveva fare, per intrattenimento del Serenissimo Principe di Pollonia una comedia, con scene et intermedii suntuosi, m'ha pregato di fargline venire le copie. . . . Desidero non solo i disegni delle scene et intermedii, ma anco il libro, che ne dichiari la forma" (The gentleman who is Surveyor of His Majesty's Works, hearing that you in Florence have had to produce, for the entertainment of His Serene Highness the Prince of Poland, a comedy with scene-changes and sumptuous *intermedi*, has begged me to have copies of the designs sent him . . . I would like not only the drawings for the scenes and *intermedi* but also the libretto detailing the form of the whole entertainment).

83 R. Strong, *The English Renaissance Miniature* (London, 1983), p. 178.

84 Nagler, figs. 12, 18, 49.

85 K. Watson and C. Avery, "Medici and Stuart: a Grand Ducal Gift of 'Giovanni Bologna' Bronzes for Henry Prince of Wales (1612)," *Burlington Magazine* 115, no. 845 (August 1973), 493-507.

86 G. S. Gargano, *Scapigliatura italiana a Londra sotto Elisabetta e Giacomo I* (Florence, 1923), p. 154.

87 *The Description of a Maske, Presented . . . at the Marriage of the Right Honourable the Earle of Somerset*, in J. Nichols, *The Progresses . . . of King James the First*, 4 vols. (London, 1828; rpt. New York [1968]), II, 710ff.

88 In Nagler, pp. 74-78, figs. 45, 47.

89 Nichols, II, 708. On Buontalenti's staircase, which was later moved to Santo Stefano al Ponte, see John Shearman, *Mannerism* (Harmondsworth, 1967), pp. 118-20, fig. 62.

90 See e.g. Nagler, fig. 109, a stage design by Parigi of 1625.

91 Gargano, p. 154: "E ottenendolo non dica ad alchuno che devin servir per me, poi che la sa li emuli mia e le difficultà che ci sarebbe. Ma dica che S. A. Sma. gli vol vedere in camera sua privata et non altro e me gli mandi per via dei Corsini al Burlamacchi in fra le casse di drappi e sigillati diretti a me" (And in getting hold of them do not tell anyone that they are to be for my use, since you know the difficulties there would be from my rivals. But say quite simply that His Serene Highness wants to see them in his private apartment, and send them to me through the Corsinis to Burlamacchi in with the crates of cloth, sealed and addressed to me).

92 Nichols, II, 708: "I grounded my whole invention upon inchantments and severall transformations; the workmanship whereof was undertaken by M. Constantine, an Italian, Architect to our late Prince Henry; but he being too much of himself, and no way to be drawne to impart his intentions, fayled so farre in the assurance he gave, that the mayne invention, even at the last cast, was of force drawne into a farre narrower compasse then was from the beginning intended."

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94 Strong, *English Renaissance Miniature*, p. 6.

95 *Tempe Restored*, ll. 49-50; Orgel and Strong, II, 480 (see also I, 2).

96 This useful term is from Ellis Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530 to 1790*, 4th ed. (Harmondsworth, 1978), p. 33.