

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI BERGAMO  
DOTTORATO DI RICERCA IN LETTERATURE  
EUROAMERICANE

XXVIII Ciclo

Settore scientifico disciplinare: L-LIN 10 “Letteratura inglese”



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**Writing the Nation and Writing the Empire**  
**From Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* and *The Masque of Beauty* to Edward Elgar's *The Crown of India***

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Anno Accademico: 2016-2017



## **Acknowledgments**

I would like to express my deepest thanks to both my supervisors, Professor Angela Locatelli and Professor Rossana Bonadei. This dissertation was made possible because of their invaluable critical insight and for their incredible effort in reviewing all the written material. Professor Angela Locatelli and Professor Rossana Bonadei offered me steady moral support and encouragement throughout these years allowing me to complete this work.

My deepest thanks go to Antonio Silla, the best loving and supportive brother-friend I could have ever wished for, to Professor Paola Tornaghi, to Doctor Erica Dilk and to Maestro Alessandro Buffone for their precious support throughout years of friendship. There have been many other people who have supported me during these last difficult years and I thank each and every one of them.

My special thanks go to Professor Geoffrey Charles Hutchings, who started this study making me discover Ben Jonson and the Masque when I was an undergraduate student so many years ago.



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To Professor Geoffrey Charles Hutchings,  
Who taught me how to read poetry set to music.

# I The Textual Literary Space As Political Space

## Premiss

In Tudor times, and especially during Elizabeth I's reign (1558-1603), England became a political maritime power, thus shifting the *axis mundi* on Europe's geopolitical and historical map. The British Isles ('Britannia') were defined in spatial terms in a cartographic vision, expressing a particular structure that was social and cultural as well as philosophical and political. This vision is also reflected in the literature of the time. The British Isles appear on the map, historicised and contextualised as an epistemological structure, i.e. an expression of the specific cultural and political practices and traits of a national community isolated from the rest of Europe. This juxtaposition of a precise 'local' vision and an international one by means of cartographic and geographical tropes represents national and nationalistic thinking, with broad configurations of space and culture. English cartography is centred on the domestic and 'private' national society and its landscape in contrast to the rest of the world -- intending to show that national identity coincides with the island's geographical confines. The new English *mappa mundi* places the British Isles in its centre thus giving a specific central position to the nation and to the beginnings of empire.

Camden's cartographic image of *Britannia* offers us a map portraying figures and symbols. It can be read as narrative made up of fragments that recall and fix on the map moments of history, politics, wars, commerce and myth. This is a *mappa mundi*, which in its didactic function, historical as much as it is geographical, blends classical and biblical sources as well as space and time concepts in order to focus on and recount the nation's history. The iconology of this map, if we note its various symbolic and political messages, reveals that Camden inserts into it a series of geographical utopias. There we find the Earthly Paradise, the Age of Gold and the Happy Isles; all together these elements offer a powerful image of the Isles as a geographical utopia, stemming from the yearning for abundance, harmony and peace under the aegis of a strong and wise monarch, James I. 'Britannia' would like to be an archipelago of the Happy Isles achieving beatitude and enjoying an uncontaminated fertile countryside. This utopia

gives spontaneously to its citizens every possible pleasure -- with, at the same time, the benefits of the arts and a superior civilisation.

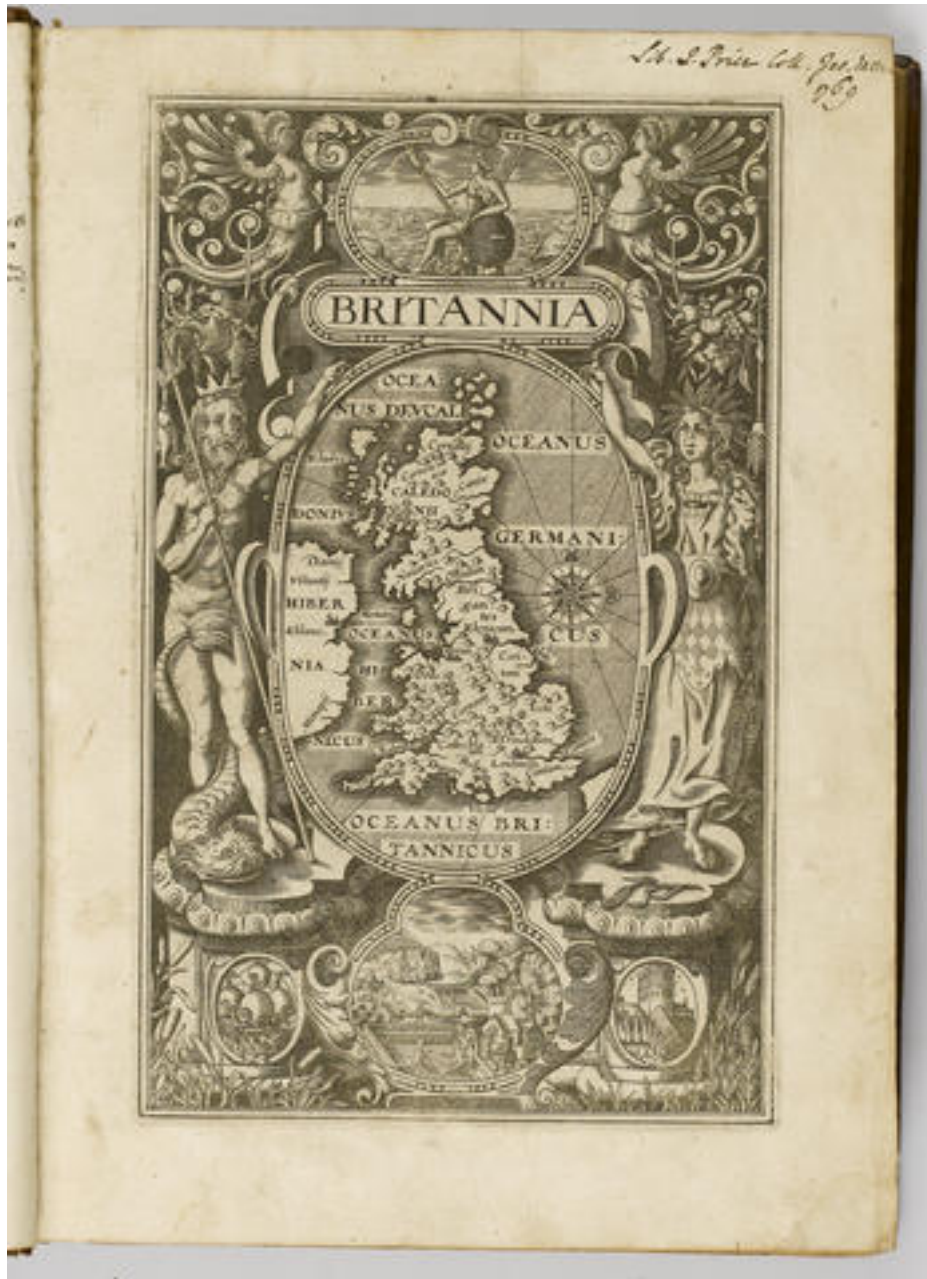


Figura 1: William Hole. *Britannia*, frontispiece. Print, 1607, drawn for William Camden's *Britannia sive Florentissimorum Regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae*, [London: George Bishop and John Norton, edition 1607]

The succession of James I to the throne in 1603 seemed a promise that this utopia could come true, 'Britannia' as united nation-isles would be a land of happiness and harmony. James' first political gesture was the 1603 *Union of England and Scotland Act*, through which he meant to start the process of constituting Great Britain by

unifying in his person *England, Scotland and Ireland* (although *The Acts of Union of England and Scotland* were not, however, formally passed until 1706 in England and 1707 in Scotland). It was with this gesture that James I, bringing to an end the intestine conflicts undermining the Isles' stability, created for himself the image of *Rex Pacificus* offering his subjects a new epoch of peace and prosperity. With his all-enveloping political vision of the isles and with the supposition of an all-embracing humanist monarchy, James imagined this geographical utopia as something possible. By combining the concepts of 'Utopia Britannica' and the political idea of the nation, and adding the microcosm of the perfect court, James' political ideology conveyed his concept of empire through a procedure of geopolitical idealisation (then expressed in the literary works dedicated to the king).

Space with topographical poetry and its rhetoric becomes central in Jacobean times. Shakespeare himself had involved in his Last Plays (the Romances) in a discourse that was at the same time utopian and political, romancing happy regions and happy regal couples that put Britain at the centre of a peaceful geo-political revolution. Other playwrights such as Drayton, Carew and Fletcher wrote topographical poetry using the pastoral mode to convey the political vision of Stuart Britain.

The purpose of most of this dissertation, in the following chapter III, is to highlight the position of Ben Jonson's masques in the network of seventeenth-century culture and beyond. It aims to bring together the literary discussions of the masques in a coherent view leading to an analysis of the masques' contents and their political-historical meaning. We wish to highlight, on the basis of rich information, the interaction of synchronic and diachronic perspectives on this dramatic genre. This part of the work is therefore contextualised in Jonson's masques and times and sees the production of the masques as essential in his search for patronage and career. This analysis of the two main topics dealt with in the masques – the topography and the inscribed political history of Britain – sheds light on the Jacobean ambitions, political agenda and their representation.

Topography connected with Jonson's rhetorical description and inscription of the land of Britain, a discourse fragmented among the narrative voices belonging to the local landscape. The *Dramatis Personae* (the Queen Consort and the courtiers as Masquers) who performed the masques embodied, like the masques themselves, all the

socio-political values of Jacobean England. The function of engraved maps of Britain was to offer this same vision. A coherent picture emerges if we unite the map, the topographical content of each masque, and its single landscape features, with their historical-mythical content telling their History/stories into one entity containing, in itself, space and time and connecting specific (present) places to specific (past) events (unifying both dimensions). So, the single locality is, at the same time, historically separated from, but physically united with, the rest of Britain -- a relationship that blends Jonson's use of topography and history, also at mythological level. This issue is connected with the contemporary debates on the union of England (and Wales) and Scotland and Ireland, a theme which Jonson repeatedly returned to in his *opus*.

This dissertation's main aim is that of exploring the relationship between space and dramatic narrative in the masque. Because of the importance of space in our dissertation, the first chapter provides a study of this concept in the critical theory of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century. The reason why our focus, in the first part of this thesis, is on literary criticism of spatiality is the need to give our textual analysis of two outstanding masques of Ben Jonson (*The Masque of Blackness* and *The Masque of Beauty*) a theoretical framework that can also be applied to the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century masque by Edward Elgar (*The Crown for India: an Imperial Masque*), to be analysed in the last chapter of this work.

Instead of providing an overview of the many authors and theories that we have examined, we find it more productive to focus on a few key critical concepts: we will briefly introduce Bakhtin's '*chronotope*' and J. J. van Baak's '*literary space*' as it seems to be a productive starting point on the discussion of literary space seen as political dimension; then, we will discuss the concepts of Foucault's '*heterotopy*' which constitute our only critical-analytical tools towards the definition of (political) spatiality in Jonson's and Elgar's Masques.





## I.1 A Turning Point in the Study of Literary Space in 20<sup>th</sup>-Century Literary Theory

Since it is generally agreed upon that all artistic productions of a society make up the cultural texture of that society, it derives that the theatre in a variety of forms, including the masque genre, is part of such artistic historical production. Our reasons in privileging the study and analysis of the masques in a cultural and historical perspective in such different epochs was dictated by our wish to expose how masque events, regardless of their particular different elements and different historical contexts, embodied ideological experiences of socio-political hierarchy and royal power. Our aim, in the case studies of two individual masques by Ben Jonson and in Elgar's only masque belonging to the early 17<sup>th</sup>-century and the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century England, wishes to demonstrate how their dramatic narrative made meaning and shaped the socio-political realities of the times in which the masques were conceived and brought on stage. In fact, even though court masques were artistic entertainment created to praise the monarch, the playwrights who created them, along with the royal patrons who commissioned them, did not intend the genre as 'mere distractions from social, economic and political reality' as masques were according to Richard Dutton 'assertions of the court's place within that reality'<sup>1</sup>. This is the reason why the masque-texts focused on and incorporated contemporary issues, thus bringing them to the audience's attention. Stephen Orgel stresses the point that court masques were always 'topical' affirming then that the court was a 'centre of power'<sup>2</sup>. The Stuart masque was a genre of political entertainment that idealised the court and the masques that followed provided an opportunity for the court to display itself 'not only to itself, but also to foreign ambassadors and diplomats who eagerly sought invitation'<sup>3</sup>. The genre itself, a highly self-referential and self-reflexive form of entertainment that blended court policies and current realities, had, compared with other theatrical forms, the greatest potential for political comment for it was the supreme kind of court entertainment. Performances

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Dutton, 'Introduction', in *Ben Jonson*, ed. Richard Dutton, Longman Critical Readers Series, Harlow, Pearson Education, pp. 1-25, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen Orgel, *The Illusions of Power: Political Theatre in the English Renaissance*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1991, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> David Lindley, 'Introduction' to *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments 1605-1640*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, ix-xvii.

were exclusively for courtiers and royalty so the creators of masques could write their masque dramas for a specific audience.<sup>4</sup>

Although the two historical periods considered, being Jacobean and Edwardian, are chronologically and aesthetically so distant that they could hardly be more different, this dissertation tries to demonstrate that the genre itself proves to be useful for exposing the surprising cultural and political similarities inscribed in the discourses carried out by the three masques object of our analysis. The similarities of content consist in purveyance of the concepts of Empire and historicised monarchical political power; of colonial dominance and the way in which this consciousness is expressed in the texts and proposed to the British audience attending the performances in ‘theatrical’ or public terms even if they are 300 years distant from each other.

If the three masques investigated are linked by similarity of socio-political content, the same can be said about the masque spatial textual structures. This creates another important analogy that offers our critical inquiry a theoretical framework in which to operate as well as a technical tool that provides us with an inherent methodology of literary analysis.

In the masques we will examine, spatial categories can be defined as ‘literary elsewheres’, since there are metaphorical representations of places rendered in geographical and cartographical terms. We wish to show in our dissertation that the ‘elsewhere’ in both Jonson’s and Elgar’s masques is the imperial colonial space of ‘Britannia’, a metaphor for the British Empire reified in the spaces of performance of the dramatic entertainments. In this light, Foucault’s theories on the concept of ‘heterotopia’ offer us the perfect critical and theoretical approach since Foucault defines ‘heterotopia’ as

‘counter-spaces’, i.e. ‘places that are distinguished from one another, they are some somehow *absolutely* different from the others – they are places opposed to all the others and they are destined to cancel the latter, to make up for them, to neutralise or purify them.’<sup>5</sup> (LH, 25)

This definition permits us to analyse and link these masques by different authors from different era with each other in an ‘other space’ in a literary context, which is first of all understood as political space.

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<sup>4</sup> Graham Parry, ‘The Politics of the Jacobean masque’, in Mulryne and Shewring, eds., in *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 87-117.

<sup>5</sup> Michel Foucault, ‘Les Hétérotopies’, in *Le Corps utopique suivi de Les Hétérotopies*, ed. and Afterword by Daniel Defert, Paris, Nouvelles Editions Lignes, 2009, pp. 21-36, p. 25.

To us it now seems obligatory to dedicate a first explanatory theoretical chapter to the brief presentation of the study of literary space in the 20<sup>th</sup>-century which later led Foucault to propose his 'heterotopia' as a means of defining the 'other space' in the masque-texts.

### I.1.1 Modern Spatial Theorists: Bakhtin and van Baak

Mikhail Bakhtin's definition of *chronotope*, introduced in 1937, marks an outstanding moment in studies of space in literature. It meant, among other things, a first-time escape from the classicising concepts, which had until then held sway in the field. In his essay 'Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes toward a Historical Poetics'<sup>6</sup>, Bakhtin defines the *chronotope* as 'intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships'<sup>7</sup> asserting the real nature of space and time, which Kant had defined as transcendental forms essential to knowledge.

Bakhtin's approach closely binds together text and historical reality, through the concept of chronotope: the novel, ever since its origins, takes place in space-time, thus reflecting various moments of extra-textual reality. Bakhtin's approach is relevant to the world construction that is at the base of every narrative text, comprising a coherent combination of spatial and temporal indicators.

The famous passage in which he comes closest to formulating a definition reads as follows:

In the literary artistic chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history, The intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterize the artistic chronotope<sup>8</sup>

Bakhtin's basic assumption is the idea that narrative texts are not only composed of a sequence of diegetic events and speech acts, but also – and perhaps even primarily – of the construction of a particular fictional world indicated by the *chronotope*. From the inseparability of space and time, we get the novel's *chronotopes*, which can be taken as a category regarding literary form and content. Bakhtin supports his proposition with a diachronic analysis of the novel from Hellenist times till the 19<sup>th</sup> century, punctually noting the most telling changes in space-time settings.

The different stages of this critical space-time approach followed a winding path with stylistic and literary reasonings -- in developments that were anything but linear.

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<sup>6</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin, 'Forms of Time and the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes toward a Historical Poetics', in Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin, University Of Texas Press, 1900, pp. 84-258.

<sup>7</sup> *Ivi*, 84.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*.

Literature is always searching for its own space-time, from the abstract adventure scenarios of the Hellenist novel to the prodigies of chivalric romances, from the symbolic tales of the picaresque to Rabelais' concrete living cosmos, which, in its vastness, stemmed from Renaissance world-discoveries.

Bakhtin's speculation became clearer as a great innovation especially in the 'Closing Remarks' added to his 1973 essay. This stands as an inheritance left to literary critics. In discussing the meanings, one can give to '*chronotopes*', Bakhtin goes into the problem of art and figurativeness with important critical implications. In fact, he points out that the events narrated in literary texts serve the reader only thanks to *chronotopes* within which time is condensed into specific spaces of literary text-image. In some *chronotopes* that Bakhtin cites as examples, space is particularly marked – this is for instance, true of the castle, the town and the threshold. More in general, Bakhtin sees all literary art imbued with chronotopic values since it works through semantic moments that can enter the social experience of readers only if the moments are given adequate space-time expression.

Despite the fact that the 'figuring world' (i.e. the real world where the writer and the readers live) and the 'figured world' of the text are separated by a precise boundary, a rapport of reciprocal action is established between them. The author of the novel, who locates himself/herself outside the figured-world *chronotopes* but at the same time acts as witness, finds she/he is placed on the tangent between these *chronotopes* and those of the real world. The literary image, formed of *chronotopes*, possesses an historical validity since it is bred from a dialectic with reality. Lessing, who had also, *ante litteram*, sensed the chronotopic nature of literature, limited himself to a technical-formal view of the phenomenon, stressing nothing but the time component – of what Bakhtin would later define as '*chronotopes*'. Realising that literary space was still not much studied (in contrast to time), Bakhtin hoped that in the wake of his own research<sup>9</sup>,

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<sup>9</sup> Bakhtin's invitation had already been answered, some years before, by Jury Lotman, leading exponent of the so-called 'Tartu School', where the formalist lesson had been learnt and assimilated with stimuli from semiotics and structural linguistics. Though little literary space had been investigated, particularly by Lotman in his 1968 essay 'The problem of artistic space in Gogol', all of Lotman's writings are pervaded by thoughts on the role of space-models in the semiotics of culture. Lotman defines a more general 'typology of culture'; these ideas will prove indispensable in grasping some aspects of space theory. In considering literary work, Lotman overcomes the form-content dualism by intuiting an 'idea' that marks the image of reality, realised in an adequate structure. Since works of art are conceivable as reality models, i.e. translations of reality following precise rules to achieve the recognisable, it follows that all arts function as 'secondary modelling systems'. The most abstract model of reality formulated by

this tendency would be reversed – so as to guarantee in depth research for the chronotopic approach based on time-space inseparability. Although Bakhtin's *chronotope* does not constitute our theoretical framework for the close-reading of the chosen texts, the *chronotope* could, in fact, be used as a critical tool in the textual analysis of Jonson's masques since these courtly panegyrics embody mythological references intimately connected with the real living world. These scenarios of court entertainments offer philosophical, geographical, historical and political connotations of Jacobean Britain, merged in a time-space unity, which is used as a rhetorical device. Such an expression of a geo-political vision, linked up with the Isles' topography, and including mythography and localised historiography, is offered by the Jonsonian masque – a dramatic form about the court and for the court, trying, as medium, to contribute to a British national identity.

In the early 1980s, one work was published which has unfortunately been completely forgotten: *The Place of Space in Narration. A Semiotic approach to the Problem of Literary Space* by J. J. van Baak.<sup>10</sup> This work takes its rightful place in the stream of semiotic studies. It stands as another contribution to the study of space structures. In his introduction, J. J. van Baak recounts the history of literary-space criticism, taking to task other theorists of spatial form, for their equivocal idea of space understood as a system of references placed in a text. Instead, he insists that the presence of an associative scheme within the narrative indicates the formation of a latent achronic and atopic dimension.

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any culture will always have space traits. To form a 'world picture', various models of space -- models peculiar to a specific culture -- have to be applied. Such models include artistic ones -- though these may have special features like the physical non-crossable boundary, which separates the text from surrounding space. Rather than simply as a background for characters and their behaviour, literary space must be taken as a meaningful space-*continuum*, which also dictates the other levels of the text. Bakhtin's chronotopic concept is reinforced by Lotman. He postulates a one-to-one correspondence between an epoch's social/cultural mechanisms and the type of space terms in literary works. He hypothesises that such terms also depend on heterogeneous factors like social class or the writer's belonging to this or that artistic current. The space structure of a text can express relationships that are not at all spatial but that blend with concepts from different spheres of meaning. In creating their world model, writers often use space to characterise their 'actors' – giving rise to what our semiologist would call 'two-level metaphors, ethical and spatial'. Lotman manages, even in such an arduous field, to create a satisfying balance between the qualities of the literary text, grasped in its specifics, and the features of a context that, from time to time, takes on nuances that are anthropological, cultural or social. Lotman's contribution to the typological study of space seems insuperable in its scientific approach and concrete analyses – which are such rare gifts in the relevant criticism. Lotman's essay remains an obligatory step for anybody proposing to enquire into the functions of space in cultural systems and in collective consciousness.

<sup>10</sup> J. J. van Baak, *The Place of Space in Narration. A Semiotic Approach to the Problem of Literary Space*, Amsterdam, Editions Rodopi, 1983.

Before the onset of structuralism and semiotics, J. J. van Baak pointed out the unsystematic and partial treatment of space by all except a handful of researchers. J. J. van Baak is indebted to Bakhtin's vision and he recaptures its authentic chronotopic spirit, stressing the importance of the space dimension. J. J. van Baak's semiotic approach is justified by the intense coherence of literary texts, coherence expressed by their various levels working together. He takes account of the correlation between the texts' structural components (characters, time, viewpoint, motives, etc.) and space – as well as the interaction between text and 'cultural space', i.e. space as seen from an anthropological viewpoint. There are, in fact, two universal parameters, i.e. a binary opposition between *finite* and *infinite space* that mould not only space but also the effective moral and ideological values of a specific culture. Language contains significant examples of space expressions used to define relationships and oppositions that are of outstanding anthropological importance. For example, we find concepts of 'verticality' and 'horizontality' and of 'centre' and 'periphery', shown in precise semantic fields, in the height of castles or hills in contrast to valleys and lakes. J.J. van Baak dedicates a section of his writings to the analysis of some aspects of this 'topological' language, examining the following opposing pairs and the axiological values connected to them: inside-outside, closed-open, near-far, right-left and forward-backward. His approach could be applied to the analysis of Jonson's verses, since the politicised version of the topo-iconographic images that we found in his masques could be better understood and explained if one decided to apply van Baak's categories. At present, this kind of theoretical application is beyond the scope of our textual analysis.

## I.2 Towards an Allegory of Space

Allegorical criticism tries to reach beyond surface textual meanings, to find more complex meanings in the works' deep structures. This meaning is often revealed unexpectedly through painstaking in-depth analysis. Ambient space, i.e. the fictional world where characters move possesses in itself an easily-perceived allegorical sense made up of descriptions entrusted entirely to the language medium. This is an allegorical sense, which comes into being through the imagination of the writer/dramatist and the audience, whose perception is moulded, at least in part, by the dramatist's perception. This space-time dimension is essential for any literary text. It is also the result of a series of exchanges, interactions and movements between the creative plane and the real world where the dramatist works. The conventions and norms regulating this material are obviously different according to the intentions of the writer. Space figured in literature may also be altered so much as to become unrecognisable to readers who are familiar with a certain referent or, on the contrary, it may offer a faithful picture of places and situations. Some literary space is established, with precise reference to context by using an allegorical-transformation procedure. The very idea of ambient space in literary texts is already allegorical -- since it forms, because of the narration-pact between writer and reader starting from the written word, the process of *allegoresis*. The allegorical spaces are often distorted to represent ferment and disturbance in some historical period or other, expressing needs and cultural tendencies that the writers wish to declare in a mediated manner. The real world may, in fact, be taken as a basis for the infinite fantastic universes created by literature -- depending on its subject and the period when written, each text will have, as a base, some image of reality. The tendency to re-create a world starting from a reality-based ambient is a procedure used systematically in theatre performances, including masques. In such cases, we can point to a 'complex dual structure' joining differing universes in one single structure, finally producing a correspondence between constituents displayed in scenic convention -- as happens, for instance, on stage with an Elizabethan play or Jonsonian masque. Literary texts defined in this way are a recreation because in the strongest sense, they invent a world both at a realistic and metaphorical level. As a matter of fact, literary texts harbour within them entities without any direct



correspondence to the primary universe. Allegory takes its place as a general *topos* of literature.

The narrative and its emerging contents are to be considered ‘an historical variable’ and, as such, they are liable to changes, for good or ill, depending on historical-cultural factors and on the kind of information the writer means to transmit. From this point of view, realism can be defined as a literary mode in which the representation of actual events prevails together with minute details confirming the reality effect. The author and his public thus accept the fact that the described world is as similar as possible to the real one, following the logic of minimal divergence. The imaginary contents’ function is controlled by some leading principles, e.g. allegory and other forms of figurality, so that the imaginary literary world corresponds to heterogeneous referents in reality to create an effect of verisimilitude. Distance and conspicuousness are principles through which fiction plays its role inside cultural formations and social systems. The critical intention is to enquire into fictional works as mechanisms providing communication between reality and the imaginary. The author, often with acceptable results, looks at salient structures whose function seems to offer a scheme that can be extended to space allegories.

In delineating a scheme of theoretical reference as a basis for a more precise definition of space allegory, literature is characterised by a high input of figurality, i.e. of distortions in the transparency between signifier and signified, deviations and variances.

From our point of view, the notion of figure and figuration has proved very useful because it enables us to define an important feature of space allegory in Jonson’s masques. The referent, be it a nation, a city, a landscape, a social situation or a certain historical circumstance, gets masked and distorted until it becomes a space representation that is totally ‘other’. This transfiguration process of reality data can take place in various ways and dimensions depending on the writer’s aims.

Concepts such as allegory, and that of the literary ‘elsewhere’, *de facto*, concentrate on the hypothesis of an allegory that deals above all with space representation. Thus, we touch the core of the matter, i.e. submitting ambience space to allegorical treatment and so endowing it with a strong semantic currency and political ideology.

### I.3 Towards a Theory of Literary ‘elsewhere’. Foucault’s ‘heterotopias’

The features of the *elsewhere*, offer some interesting analogies with the notion of ‘heterotopy’ introduced by Michel Foucault and put to use in literary, sociological and anthropological as well as political studies.

Foucault’s first reference to the concept of ‘heterotopias’ appeared in 1966 within his preface to *Les Mots et les choses*<sup>11</sup> (1970), later translated into English as *The Order of Things*<sup>12</sup>, (1970). According to Foucault, the starting point for his book was the reading of a passage by Jorge Borges, in which Borges recounts the baffling classification of animals found in an imaginary *Chinese Encyclopedia*. In 1952, Borges, an Argentinian writer, published a selection of essays about world literature, maths, metaphysics, religion and language (1975). One essay concerns the ‘analytical language of John Wilkins’ which reminds Borges of Doctor Franz Kuhn, the discoverer of a *Chinese Encyclopaedia* entitled *Celestial Empire of Benevolent Knowledge*. Foucault quotes the following classification of animals:

a) belonging to the Emperor, b) embalmed, c) tame, d) sucking pigs, e) sirens f) fabulous, g) stray dogs, h) included in the present classification, i) frenzied, l) innumerable, m) drawn with a very fine camel-hair brush, n) et cetera, o) having just broken the water pitcher, p) that from a long way off look like flies<sup>13</sup>.

The passage made Foucault explode with laughter as it seemed ‘to break all the familiar landmarks of my thought – our thought’ and all the customary ways of dividing the world in order to understand it. For Foucault, this totally strange, wonderful taxonomy questioned the ‘limitation of our own, the stark impossibility of thinking *that*’<sup>14</sup>. What interests Foucault is not just the amazing juxtapositions found in Borges’ enumeration, but the fact that such juxtapositions are impossible except in the space of language, a contradictory ‘un-thinkable space’ (OS, xvii). He compares such ambiguous textual space with ‘utopia’, a place (*topos*) that is both nowhere (*outopia*) and a good place (*eutopia*) and he suggests that Borges’ invention, in stark contrast to utopia, is a ‘heterotopia’, a different or another (*heteros*) place. Whether Foucault was aware of it or not. It is also worth noting that heterotopia is originally a medical term referring to a

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<sup>11</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences*. Abingdon, Routledge, 2009.

<sup>12</sup> Foucault, *ivi*, xv.

<sup>13</sup> *Ivi*, xvii.

<sup>14</sup> *Ivi*, xiii.

particular tissue that develops at another place than usual. The tissue is not diseased or particularly dangerous but merely placed elsewhere, a dislocation<sup>15</sup>. According to Foucault's very limited characterisation, utopias, however fantastic, present an ordered, coherent whole, whereas Borges 'scheme shatters language itself and utterly undermines the usual ways in which the world is presented offering a thoroughly disturbing textual space'<sup>16</sup>. 'heterotopias' are disquieting and undermine language: 'They desiccate speech, stop words in their tracks, contest the very possibility of grammar at its source; they dissolve our myths and sterilise the lyricism of our sentences'<sup>17</sup>.

'Where could these groups ever be juxtaposed', asks Foucault, 'except in the non-place of language? Their overlapping and open-ended qualities preclude their simultaneous co-existence in any possible space, either real or imaginary. The category 'e) sirens', for example, seems to belong within the adjacent 'f) fabulous', but could sirens not also be embalmed, or tame, or belong to the Emperor? And is it not possible, perhaps probable, that a stray dog will also be frenzied? The central category 'h) included in the present classification', remarks Foucault, 'is indication enough that we shall never succeed in defining a stable relation of contained to container between each of these categories and that which includes them all', while 'j) innumerable and 'l) et cetera', violate the finite nature of our thought. Here, then, the heterotopia is defined as an unthinkable space in which 'things are 'laid', 'placed', 'arranged' in sites so very different from one another that it is impossible to find a place of residence for them, to the fine a common *locus* beneath them all'<sup>18</sup>.

Such a loosening of words and things (the French title of Foucault's book makes the point more explicit: *Les mots et les choses*) becomes the initial stimulus for Foucault's cogitations because it raises questions about the establishment of order in our culture, and about the basic codes that govern perceptions, language and practice. Foucault goes on to investigate a formal history of 'order', literally how things are divided up, compared, classified and arranged from the 17<sup>th</sup>-century onwards.

In the same year of the publication of *The Order of Things*, Foucault gave a radio talk on 'France Culture' as part of a series on utopia and literature. In the talk, Foucault rather playfully reflects on the possibility of studying systematically our range of 'different social sites rather than textual spaces'. In this radio lecture, he defined

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<sup>15</sup> *Ivi*, xviii.

<sup>16</sup> *Ivi*, xviii-xix.

<sup>17</sup> Michel Foucault, 'Les Heterotopies', in *Le Corps utopique suivi de Les Hétérotopies*, ed. and 'Afterword' by Daniel Defert, Paris, Nouvelles Editions Lignes, 2009, pp. 21-36, p. 25.

<sup>18</sup> Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', trans. By Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics*, 16, 1 (Spring 1986), pp. 22-26.

‘heterotopias’ as ‘mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live.’<sup>19</sup> It began with a recapitulation of the literary pedigree of the notion of utopia itself, before going on to suggest, somewhat paradoxically, that there are some mythical non-spaces that can be tied to a specific time and place. The broadcast, which has recently been issued as CD (2004), is fascinating since it follows the shape of lecture, but with some distinctive features both in content and style. His opening illustrations of the concept of ‘heterotopias’ referred to various children’s imaginative games, mentioning Indian tents and dens in gardens as well as all the games played on or under the covers of the parents’ bed. The children’s inventive play produces a different space that at the same time mirrors what is around them. The space simultaneously reflects and contests their surroundings. Foucault outlines a number of these ‘counter-spaces’ that are in different ways outside the ordinary, including cemeteries, brothels, prisons, asylums and holiday villages. Foucault goes on to explain that such sites can be found in all cultures and suggests that there could be a ‘science’ of these extraordinary spaces: a heterotopology. He outlines how in some of the so-called primitive cultures there are different spaces set apart for rites of passage, or initiation, whilst in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century, amongst privileged classes, this setting apart can be seen in boarding or military schools. He suggests that Western modern heterotopia sites relate more to enclosing some form of deviation rather than marking a stage in life. Foucault gives the rest-home as an example, a place for the known hyper-unproductive, for those doing absolutely nothing. Further examples of these semi-mythical sites, illustrated by Foucault through reference to a number of works of literature, include the theatre, the library, the museum, the ship and the mirror, real sites that somehow exist separately from all other places and give rise to similarly fantastic conceptions of space.

Finally, as a result of this radio broadcast, Foucault was invited to give a lecture to a group of prominent architects in Paris in March 1967, a proposal which he apparently found ridiculous. Despite his resistance, he gave the lecture and it is in the transcript of this lecture that the concept of *heterotopia* found its widest audience. Although never reviewed for publication by Foucault himself, the text appeared just before his death in 1984 as *Des espaces autres*<sup>20</sup>, and in translation two years later as

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<sup>19</sup> Foucault, *The Order of Things*, *op. cit.*, xix.

<sup>20</sup> Foucault, ‘Of Other Spaces’, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

‘Of Other Spaces’<sup>21</sup>. Since then, heterotopia has taken on a life of its own, attracting hundreds of interpretations, applications and adaptations, making of *heterotopia* ‘the’ media trope in critical thought about spatiality, even if an ambiguous trope. Meanwhile, the original radio talk, first published as ‘Les Hétérotopies’ in 2005, but which remains unpublished in English, is most often overlooked, or mistakenly assumed to be synonymous with its later definition. Although the lecture was to cover much of the same ground, with many passages recreated *verbatim* they are by no means identical. Most notably, while ‘Les Hétérotopies’ contains numerous references to works of fiction, ‘Of Other Spaces’ is almost entirely devoid of literary significance, positing the *heterotopia* as a tool for understanding primarily material sites. In less than a year, then, Foucault’s notion of the *heterotopia* had shifted from an impossible space to a kind of real space<sup>22</sup>.

Although utopias, as Foucault says, ‘have no real locality’, there is nevertheless an implied imaginary geography that precedes the writing of utopian fiction<sup>23</sup>. ‘heterotopias’, on the other hand, open up a space ‘without law or geometry’<sup>24</sup>, collapsing the distinction between *fabula* and *syuzhet*<sup>25</sup>, and precluding the possibility of an *a priori* world, either real or imaginary. However, less than a year after the publication of *The Order of Things*, in ‘Of Other Spaces’ Foucault describes ‘heterotopias’ as sites which are ‘outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality,’ and as places which constitute a ‘simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live’<sup>26</sup>. His lecture for the architects begins with a declaration that, in contrast to the history-obsessed 19<sup>th</sup>-century, the preoccupation of the present epoch is space. ‘We are in an epoch of simultaneity’, he

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<sup>21</sup> Michel Foucault, ‘Of Other Spaces’, trans. By Jay Miskowicz, *Diacritics*, 16, 1 (Spring 1986), pp. 22-26.

<sup>22</sup> Ivi, p. 22.

<sup>24</sup> In *The Order of Things*, Foucault asserts that utopia allows fables and discourse which run with the very grain of language and are part of the fundamental dimension of the *fabula* whereas ‘heterotopias’ dissolve our myths and sterilise the lyricism of our sentences.

<sup>24</sup> Foucault, ‘Of Other Spaces’, *op. cit.*, p. 22

<sup>25</sup> The *fabula* is the Russian Formalist notion of the ‘real’ events of fiction that are related by a narrative or *syuzhet*. In the essay ‘Behind the Fable’, published after *The Order of Things*, Foucault uses the Russian Formalist distinction between *fabula* and *syuzhet* defining the fable as ‘what is related, episodes, characters, functions they exercise in the narratives, events’ as opposed to fiction, which he defines as ‘the narrative system [...] according to which [the fable] is ‘narrated’. The fable is made up of elements placed in a certain order [...] resides in the mythical possibilities of culture.’ Michel Foucault, ‘Behind the Fable’, in *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984*, ed. James Faubion, London, Penguin, 2000, pp. 137-138.

<sup>26</sup> Foucault, ‘Of Other Spaces’, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

says, 'we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, the dispersed'<sup>27</sup>. He goes on to trace the history of Western space, from the hierarchised sacred and profane places of the Middle Ages, through Galileo's infinite extension of space, to the modern-day notion of the site, an understanding of space defined by relations of proximity between points or elements. Foucault argues that we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites, which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not possible on one another<sup>28</sup>. However, he says, there are some spaces that have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralise, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect. Of these spaces, he suggests, there are two types. First, there are utopias, sites with no real place, which present a society itself in a perfected form, or else a society turned upside down. Then, there is what Foucault here calls a *heterotopia*, i.e. a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, or the other real sites that can be found within the culture are simultaneously represented, contested, inverted. Between these two categories of utopia and heterotopia Foucault suggests one point of intersection: the mirror. 'The mirror is, after all, a utopia, since it is a place less place', he says 'but it is also a *heterotopia* insofar as the mirror does exist in reality, where it exerts a sort of counter action on the position that I occupy'<sup>29</sup>.

Further examples of the latter type of space, include, as we have suggested, the cemetery, the prison, the library, the museum, the garden, the zoo, the theatre, the mirror, the brothel, and the boat, sites that Foucault argues are characterised, to varying degrees, by the following set of principles:

1. '*heterotopias*' – they are to be found in every culture around the world.
2. the function of any individual *heterotopia* is liable to change in the course of time. The cemetery, for instance, gradually migrated from the centre of the city to the outskirts in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century, reflecting the growing consensus that disease was propagated by the proximity of death, and the growing emphasis placed on the individual burial sites that accompanied the decline in the belief of an afterlife.
3. the idea of *heterotopia* is capable of juxtaposing numerous seemingly incompatible spaces in one place. The mirror, he says 'makes this place that I occupy at the moment

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<sup>27</sup> Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', *op.cit.*, p.24.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*.

when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there'<sup>30</sup>. The theatre and the cinema bring a series of places foreign to one another on to the space of a stage and on the screen respectively. The traditional Persian garden comprised four sections representing the four parts of the world, microcosmic formulation that can also be found in many modern day zoos. 'If we consider the Oriental rugs were originally reproductions of gardens – in the strictest sense of the term 'Winter Gardens' – we understand the legendary value of magic carpets, rugs that roam the world. The garden is a carpet where the whole world has come to fulfil its symbolic perfection, and it is at the same time a garden moving through space. Was it a garden or a carpet that, described the narrator of *The Thousand and One Nights*?'<sup>31</sup>

4. the idea of *heterotopia* is at its most effective when it distorts the conventional experience of time. This principle can be divided into two subcategories. First, there are those spaces in which time is in definitely accumulating, such as the museum and the library. And then there are 'heterotopias' such as the festival and the fairground, the existence of which is temporal and fleeting.

5. 'heterotopias' feature systems of opening and closing that isolate them from the space surrounding them. Entry to some, the prison for example, is compulsory; entry to others it is granted on the grounds that one adheres to certain codes or convention. There are others still in which entry itself is an illusion, such as some South American guestrooms, which open on to the outside world, but through which no access to the family home is possible.

In addition to outlining these principles, Foucault subdivides 'heterotopias' into two independent dichotomies. First, he makes a distinction between crisis 'heterotopias', spaces reserved for individuals in a state of biological crisis, and 'heterotopias' of deviation, spaces inhabited by those whose behaviour deviates from society's norm, such as prisons and psychiatric hospitals. Then he distinguishes between 'heterotopias' of illusion and 'heterotopias' of compensation, with the first being an illusory space which exposes real space as even more illusory, and the second being a highly meticulous and ordered space, the aim of which is to reveal the disorder

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<sup>30</sup> Ivi, p. 25.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*.

surrounding it. As an example of the former, he posits ‘those famous brothels of which we are now deprived, while in relation to the latter he describes the perfectly regulated space on 17<sup>th</sup>-century colonies, such as those founded by the Puritans and the Jesuits in north and South America respectively.

Given this mesh of intersecting and somewhat contradictory principles, categories and subcategories, one could be forgiven for thinking that this lecture was a practical joke on Foucault’s part, itself emulating the impossible classification of Borges’ *Encyclopedia*.<sup>32</sup> As Sohn argues ‘heterotopias’ are exceptions that differ so greatly from all categories that they cannot be fitted and fixed into any rigid taxonomy<sup>33</sup>. Edward Soja<sup>34</sup> blends Foucault’s double definition of the *heterotopia* together; warning the readers of ‘Of Other Spaces’ not to expect those ordered surfaces that Borges’ *Chinese Encyclopedia* breaks up. *Heterotopia* was never intended as a tool for the study of real urban space, nevertheless it has been used in architecture extensively.<sup>35</sup> Instead, it seems to hold the promise of a useful tool in signifying a set of literary motifs used by writers to present an alternative configuration of space. From here it is not difficult to see how we might attempt to reconcile two definitions of ‘heterotopias’: i.e. ‘heterotopias’ in the sense of a place that one occupies at the moment when one looks at oneself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and heterotopia as an absolutely unreal space, since in order to be perceived it has to be passed through a virtual point which is over there. If we understand the term to refer not to real places but rather to fictional representations of sites as ‘simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space we live’, then this Foucault’s later definition of the concept describing ‘heterotopias’ as a finds its own

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<sup>32</sup> The third Principle of Foucault’s heterotopology, the capacity of the *heterotopia* to juxtapose ‘in a single real place several places, several sites that are in themselves incompatible’ (OS, 25), seems to approximate the incommensurabilities and the resultant impossibility of Borges’ *Chinese Encyclopedia*. Similarly, it is tempting to identify a connection between the impossible simultaneities in Borges, and Foucault’s emphasis on simultaneity in his later definition of the ‘heterotopias’ -- his description of it as a simultaneously mythical and real contestation of the space in which we live. Indeed, in his descriptions of a number of heterotopian sites, he uses language which indicates their simultaneous constitution of contradictory perceptions of space

<sup>33</sup> Heidi Sohn, ‘Heterotopia: anamnesis of a medical term’, in *Heterotopia and the City: Public Space in a Postcivil Society*, eds. Michiel Dehaene and Lieven de Cauter, London, Routledge, 2007, 2007, p.44.

<sup>34</sup> Edward Soja, *Thirdspace. Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*, Cambridge Ma, Blackwell, 1996, pp.159-180, p.172.

<sup>35</sup> See *Heterotopia and the City: Public Space in a Postcivil Society*, eds. Michiel Dehaene and Lieven de Cauter, London, Routledge, 2007 and Edward Soja, *Thirdspace. Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*, Cambridge Ma, Blackwell, 1996.



common ground with Borges' *Encyclopedia* in the realm of language, in which, as we have seen, the simultaneous presence of incompatibilities is eminently possible. However, before we can begin any attempt fully to reclaim 'heterotopias' for our purpose of literary analysis, which Defert labels 'the site of the *heterotopia*'s emergence'<sup>36</sup>, it is first necessary to justify such a project by examining the shortcomings of previous approaches from different perspectives.

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<sup>36</sup> Defert, 'Foucault, Space, and the Architects', in *Politics/Poetics: Documenta X – The Book*, Ostfildern-Ruit, Cantz Verlag, 1997, pp.274-283.

## I.4 Heterotopia in Literary Studies

In an interview, Foucault claimed that he wanted his *oeuvre* 'to be a kind of toolbox others can rummage through to find a tool they can use however they wish in their own area'<sup>37</sup>. In the case of *heterotopia*, however, it seems that many have been far too liberal with their interpretations of his ideas. As Genocchio has remarked, most applications of the term 'provide little critical engagement with Foucault's texts, simply calling up the *heterotopia* as some theoretical *deus ex machina*'<sup>38</sup>. Certainly, there is no reason to restrict our notion of what constitutes a *heterotopia* to the examples Foucault gives in his lectures. But as Dehaene and De Caeter have warned, it is important to remember 'that not everything is a *heterotopia*'<sup>39</sup>.

We do not wish to suggest that there have not been engagements with *heterotopia* from a literary perspective but we prefer to argue that the discipline of literary studies has yet to formulate a satisfactory conception of Foucault's other spaces by reasserting its privileged position in the concept's history. Given Foucault's definition of the *heterotopia* as a semi-mythical site that commends upon the society of which it is simultaneously a part and apart from, it is perhaps not surprising that a number of critics have applied the term to the fantastical and educational worlds of children's literature<sup>40</sup>. Heterotopian space can be seen as a magical place outside the practices of everyday life but a site, which nonetheless mirrors many political and social issues familiar to us from our own daily reality. For similar reasons, a number of critics have discussed *heterotopia* in relation to science fiction. There have also been a number of appropriations of the concept from the perspective Postcolonial Studies, for which heterotopia represent an alternative conception of space that subverts that of Imperialist culture -- in a similar way to that of magical realism and historiographic metafiction which regularly constitute a rewriting of dominant historical narratives.

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<sup>37</sup> Foucault, 'Les Hétérotopies', *op. cit.*, p.28.

<sup>38</sup> B. Genocchio, 'Discourse, Discontinuity, Difference: the Question of Other Spaces', p.41, in S. Watson and K. Gibson, eds., *Postmodern Cities and Spaces*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1995, pp. 35-46.

<sup>39</sup> M. Dahan and L. De Caeter, eds., *Heterotopia and the City*, London and New York, Routledge, 2008, p. 45.

<sup>40</sup> In a further deviation from 'Of Other Spaces', or rather a way in which the later lecture deviates from the radio broadcast, 'Les Hétérotopies' puts far greater emphasis on the role that the imagination plays in the realisation of these sites. Adults, like children, perform this imaginative transformation of space, a practice that finds an outlet not in play *per se* in the space of literature. Hence, the striking image of the magic Persian carpet at the centre of his lecture. Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', *op. cit.*, p. 28.

Burrows argues that ‘the notion of *heterotopia* lends itself to Postcolonial critique and analyses because both are quintessentially about otherness and social ordering’<sup>41</sup>. As a result of the ascendancy of geographical and architectural studies in the reception of *heterotopia*<sup>42</sup>, most literary engagements with this primarily literary concept tend to approach it through the prism of its later architectural incarnation. Although many demonstrate an awareness of Foucault’s discussion of Borges in *The Order of Things*, the predominance of the geographical notion of *heterotopia* means they are compelled to circle back on its original textual formulation rather than using it as the basis for their all textual applications of the concept.

Of these notions, perhaps, Andrew Thacker’s brief discussion of heterotopia in the introductory chapter to his *Moving through Modernity* (2003)<sup>43</sup> aims to reassert the centrality of experiences of space and movement to the study of modernist literature. Thacker lists Foucault, along with thinkers such as Heidegger, Bachelard, Lefebvre, and De Certeau, as one of the theorists who have provided him with the terminology required to carry his project out. He describes Foucault’s concept, as outlined in ‘Of Other Spaces’, as a provocative way of combining material and metaphorical senses of space and identifies its underlying literary quality in the description of the ship as the greatest reserve of the imagination in modernity. Indeed, among Foucault’s declarations about the timeless and quasi-primitive quality of heterotopia, it is easy to forget that Foucault defines it as a historical-contingent phenomenon.

As we have said, in his 1966 lecture (extended and published only in 1984) Foucault defines ‘heterotopia’ as follows:

among all these places that are distinguished from one another, there are some

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<sup>41</sup> V. Burrows, ‘The Heterotopic Spaces of Postcolonial Trauma in Michael Ondaatje’s *Anil’s Ghost*’, in *Studies in the Novel*, 40, 1-2, (Spring- Summer 2008), p. 165.

<sup>42</sup> As a result of the strange distribution of the texts in which Foucaults defines ‘*heterotopias*’ (and we note, in particular, the pre-eminence of ‘Of Other Spaces’) the majority of critical engagements with the concept have come from geographical and architectural perspectives. Indeed, for many working in these fields, Foucault’s lecture to the *Cercle d’études architecturales* constitutes a formative moment for both the emergence of a new cultural geography, and in the reassertion of space as a subject worthy of critical study. Confronted with the impossibility of making Foucault’s concept coherent for the study of urban space, geographers consistently resorts to employing the indeterminate nature of *heterotopia* as a boon, suggesting that this openness allows for the exploration of new conceptions of spatiality, the realisation of which is perpetually delayed. Inherent in this way of thinking is the implication that *heterotopia*, as a space that defies categorisation and which contains incompatible configurations of space resists definition, as if to present a unified definition of *heterotopia* would be to detract from its subversive, an entirely different, quality. See Edward Soja, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-180.

<sup>43</sup> A. Thacker, *Moving through Modernity: Space and Geography in Modernism*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2003, p. 22.

somehow *absolutely* different from the others – they are places opposed to all the others and they are destined to cancel the latter, to make up for them, to neutralise or purify them. These are, somehow, ‘counter-spaces’<sup>44</sup>.

Foucault points to the spaces where a society confines individuals<sup>45</sup> and to phenomena that question the image it wishes to give of itself. These spaces indicate sites, buildings, landscapes, objects, etc., that any society wants to hide or, at least, would keep at a distance, such as mad-houses and prisons. ‘heterotopias’ include different features and aims – the term, for example applies to isolation and the housing individuals in biological crisis but it also serves for texts portraying a harmonious image of the world (the original meaning of the *garden* in eastern cultures<sup>46</sup>).

For our definition of ‘elsewhere’, we are concerned above all with the double twist of condensation and contestation that heterotopy holds at its core – since it recounts and, at the same time, overturns the values of the constituted social order. From a highly specific viewpoint, like the literary one, one can apply Foucault’s heterotopia concept only if one decides to create a model from it, i.e. a scheme that can be filled from time to time with specific contents and meanings. One can speak of the elsewhere as ‘literary heterotopy’ on condition that one declares the purely speculative and abstract nature of the operation. Writers have recourse to ‘elsewhere-heterotopia’ in order to show and clarify a social context, a historical moment, a *status quo* that they want to question. The ‘elsewhere’ is transformed into a place chosen to contain dissent from an established norm up to the point of becoming the site of a possible ideological

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<sup>44</sup> Michel Foucault, ‘Les Heterotopies’, in *Le Corps utopique suivi de Les Hétérotopies*, ed. and Afterword by Daniel Defert, Paris, Nouvelles Editions Lignes, 2009, pp. 21-36, p. 25.

<sup>45</sup> Among the particular sites of heterotopia discussed by Foucault, the site with which he is most frequently associated with is the prison. In *Discipline and Punishment* (1975), Foucault examines the social and theoretical developments that have been the basis of reforms in the penal system, tracing how incarceration has been the principal form of punishment in society. The prison, Foucault maintains, is a product of the power relations present in a disciplinary society and the crystallizations of such powers. As such, the prison reproduces all the mechanisms that are to be found in the social body. The prison represent a problematic site of ‘heterotopias’ in Foucault’s definition of a site that subverts, inverts or contests all the other spaces to be found in a particular society. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, London, Penguin, 1991, p. 233. See also Jonathan Simons, *Foucault and the Political*, London, Routledge, 1995.

<sup>46</sup> In ‘Of Other Spaces’, *op. cit.*, p.30 Foucault describes the microcosmic quality of the garden, with its four sections representing for different parts of the world. He even mentions Persian rugs, which he explains, ‘were originally reproductions of gardens’ (OS, 30). Here he goes even further, suggesting that the mythical image of the magic carpet originates from the real site of the garden, via the rugs that depict them pictorially. Both allow us, so to speak, to travel to the farthest corners of the earth. Subsequently, due to its inability to give rise to an alternative configuration of space, Foucault suggests that the garden is a privileged place in the creation of fiction. He says that ‘we might perhaps be under the impression that novels are setting gardens with ease, the fact is novels and gardens are probably born of the same institution’.

and cultural deviation. It is also the invisible laboratory which, in an unforeseen way, offers alternatives to current reality. The 'elsewhere' is an extremely flexible micro-category which includes all the various forms (among themselves heterogeneous) of spatiality.

In search of some guiding principles that let us discriminate between neutral spaces and the kind that may rightfully be seen as literary 'elsewheres', one should consider that the 'elsewhere' always consists of a space which, at first, is difficult to identify and which can be located on the basis of the text information.

Space configurations can be more or less complex and formed by closed places or open ones. 'Elsewhere' differs from fantastic or science fiction space since it does not represent, indiscriminately, an invasion of the unheard-of or the supernatural into a reality model which tries to act upon a present situation – either by explicit allusion or by occult reference. At times, the degree of space allegorising can be so intense that it enables the reader/audience to perceive only some limited classes of meaning.

In Ben Jonson's masques, the basis of Greek and Roman mythology enables him to create political and geographical 'elsewheres'. Another important requisite concerns the understanding of the context into which the work is inserted and which must always confirm the viability of the interpretations proposed. In other words, it is indispensable to use all the information and data we possess about the author, his times, his poetics and his interests, so as to confirm space readings as 'elsewheres'.

The macro-category of 'elsewhere' invites us to define and organise a representative model deduced from textual reading and analysis resulting from the complex rapports of mediation and transfiguration with different reality-referents. This inquiry into the 'elsewhere' will enable us to enter the interstices of a multi-faceted literary history. At the core of the literary universe, there is always a perceived compromise between freedom of artistic expression and the author's urgency to give his own judgement on his/her contemporary world – through a (deforming) technique of representation. It is thus that the 'literary elsewhere' comes into being, offering itself as a magnifying glass for observing current reality and providing the spectator/reader with heuristic and critical means.

In the Jonsonian masque-texts we are going to examine in this work, there is ample space-description. We can hypothesise these Jonsonian spaces as 'literary

elsewheres'. This definition of elsewhere is meant to indicate the imprecise location of places on a virtual geographical map, whereas the adjective 'literary' indicates their textual nature. In any case, we are dealing with texts where the space described is transformed and allegorised and its reference is not immediately indicated by the author. Authors like Jonson give us a multi-faceted surface on which, like varying lights, different meanings are reflected. The semantic values, assumed by the 'literary elsewhere' in the Jonsonian Masques studied, create a third dimension which we will take into account when analysing the texts. The 'elsewhere' in the Masques is a rather extended category dependent on the extent of the semantic spectrum presented by the author in each specific text. As we will attempt to demonstrate in chapter III and in chapter V, which are to follow, the 'elsewhere' in the masques we are going to analyse is the imperial colonial space of 'Britannia'. The 'elsewhere' represented in both Jonson's and Elgar's *oeuvres* under scrutiny in this dissertation is ultimately a metaphor for the British Empire. Having ascertained that the choice of the 'elsewhere' is never unmotivated, we can attempt to find, at the core of varying positions and dissimilar poetics, a common denominator – i.e. the need to express a critical and anti-conventional attitude towards society and the world.

If writing a play or masque is tantamount to making a gesture meaningful for the socio-political background, then the performance of 'another reality', connected indirectly to the author's and audience's *hic et nunc*, implies a message to be deciphered. This 'elsewhere' has an informing function for the society, whence it originated. It suggests a reading that is, at times, politically hostile and so perhaps more open and authentic. These 'other' spaces, 'elsewheres', offer the possibility of a political reading, indirectly denouncing the absurdity of a human condition that, for Ben Jonson, was more and more complex due to an increasingly irrational ruling class. These spaces invite a new perspective for critics. In the upcoming chapter III and chapter V, our definitions will introduce examples from masque-texts by Ben Jonson and Edward Elgar and those examples will be discussed in terms that derive from the above theoretical introductory pages. Thus the close-reading will provide that vivacity that pure speculation hardly possesses. We hope that exemplification from the works will manage to justify our critical comments.



## **II The Masque As Poly-System Genre**

### **II.1 The Jonsonian Masque As a Political Medium**

The seventeenth-century court masque was a multi-faceted, multi-layered, complex genre, which served to express a range of writers' and patron's expectations, assumptions and desires. The masque was an aesthetic expression of the early modern Stuart court, representing its various political ideologies as theatrical event. The genre was basically an elaborate costumed dance party, informed with dramatic conceits derived from classical myths and prose romances conceived to praise and honour the monarch. This courtly panegyric consisted of different components, comprising many different artistic expressive forms, which were constituent performative elements of the masques. These interrelated elements included the masque-text, music, elaborated painted set-scenery, stage machinery, songs, dancing and, at the end, the final revels, when the aristocratic masquers joined and danced with the spectators. Seen as a complex performance practice, the Court masque could be defined as a poly-systemic genre, with elaborate non-textual elements, which offered multiple sensory stimuli, with full integration of all its artistic constitutive components, all the while presenting a well integrated and extensive effect of its inherent 'variety'. When closely observed, the performance of the masque reveals a diverse range of the cultural and artistic milieus in which the genre was embedded and namely for disclosing such contexts it was created. In fact, playwrights and patrons of the genre were concerned to insert into the dramatic form ideological Jacobean contents in order to disclose them to the selected audience assembled at court.<sup>47</sup> Many artists who wrote masque, or contributed to the creation of them, were an active part in an elaborate three-dimensional dialectical exchange concerning the use, dangers and limitations of a particular early modern aesthetic theory. In fact, the repeated use of certain props, costumes, and scenic elements all contribute to suggest that masque writers and patrons alike were concerned about specific historical, socio-political controversies presenting them within the contexts of their masques. These ideological contents were juxtaposing those of the royal politics or

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<sup>47</sup> Martin Butler, 'Ben Jonson and the Limits of Courtly Panegyric', in Kevin Sharpe, Peter Lake, eds., *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, Basingstoke, MacMillan, 1994, pp. 91-115.



attempting to reconcile crown policies with personal or local values or concerns and controversies. In general, the careful consideration and analysis of the multiple and varied cultural and socio-political contexts effecting the structure and content of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century masque genre demonstrate that this dramatic form was apt to show national issues. The genre was the most powerful tool of propaganda for the Crown's policies. In the masque's content were embedded not only the local political concerns regarding exclusively Whitehall closed circle of the active participants of royal power discourses, in virtue of their physical proximity to the royals. The genre also embodied the ongoing discussions on broader political national affairs as well as England's contemporary relations with Europe.

Due to the extreme flexibility in terms of both form and content, masques written in the Jacobean era could be considered an example of what Rosalie L. Colie defines a mixed genre. In Colie's genre theory's articulation, the critic speculates that there are genres that cannot be seen as rigid systematic genres. Those genres are more of a mixed kind rather than a specific single kind to accept any strict rule.<sup>48</sup> Applying her theoretical approach, we could affirm that the masque's playwrights 'refused to allow generic categories to dictate or predestine the size, scope, content, and manner of any particular literary work.'<sup>49</sup> This critical view summarises the structural variations, intertwined cultural and political contexts as well as including the richness and multifariousness present in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century masque genre. However, when reconsidering and reconstructing the Jonsonian Masque form, there are recurrent fixed patterns and characteristics that make us say Jonson 'invented', or rather perfected, the genre since, having written so many texts compared to his contemporary writers, he understood masques deeply and better than other poets, whose dramatic plays presented many anomalies in comparison with those of Jonson. The Jonsonian pattern, as understood by modern critics of the genre<sup>50</sup>, requires four main events: one or more

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<sup>48</sup> Rosalie Colie, *The Resource of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance*, ed. Barbara Lewalski, Berkely, University of California Press, 1973, pp. 114-15. The critic also maintains that a rigid system of genres never existed in practice and barely even in theory. According to her, there is no genre in which its subject defines the form. This rather loose definition of genre theory is very useful for my critical view of the masque genre especially when applied to the use that Elgar made approaching the genre form when composing *The Crown of India*, which is our subject-matter of analysis in the last chapter of the present dissertation.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 120-122.

<sup>50</sup> In the 20<sup>th</sup>-century, critics who studied the Masque include: Allardyce Nicoll, D. J. Gordon, Enid Wedsford, G.B. Bentley, Stephen Orgel, Leah Marcus, Murray Lefkowitz.

antimasques, the overturning of the antimasque world and establishments of the masquers representing the forces of order, terminal dances alternated with songs, and finally measures and revels dances initiated by the descent of the masquers from the stage into the audience.<sup>51</sup>

It must be noted that every court entertainment of the Stuart period has often been measured against the standard Jonsonian masque before being considered an example of the genre even when presenting masque-like non-textual features, i.e. poetry, vocal music, dancing, an allegorical mode, an occasion of either political importance or festive revelry, with clear political content performed in an indoor aristocratic venue. Stephen Orgel affirms that: ‘more than any other writer, Jonson was able to treat those requirements as poetic ones, to make the demands of the occasion a vital element of a complex work of art’.<sup>52</sup>

During James’ reign, Jonsonian masques were almost always performed in the Great Hall or the Banqueting House at Whitehall Palace: examples of notable masques put on stage at the Banqueting House are the *The Masque of Blackness*, *The Masque of Beauty*, *The Masque of Queenes*, *Oberon, the Fairy Prince*, and *The Golden Age Restored*. It is worth noting that each masque drama was conceived as a part of a larger organising social function displaying Jacobean power; it was useful for larger court events such as festive celebrations or visits of foreign aristocrats and dignitaries. Before each masque, professional builders were to construct a proscenium stage at one end of the hall and tiered banks of seating benches at the other end. The proscenium stage housed the masque’s main poetic dramatic action, which usually offered elaborate perspective sets with two or more scene movements and changes, introduced by professionals. In every masque performance, professional actors appeared on stage to present the narrative conceit of the dramatic entertainment to the court. The dramatic conceit explained the meaning as well as contributing to build a coherent structure around the subsequent appearance and role of the main masquers, the aristocratic performers, who were then the principal dancers of the play.

The concept of the ‘garden variety’ or Jonsonian masque with the listing of all

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<sup>51</sup> For an overview of this pattern see Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604-1640*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996, pp. 2-3.

<sup>52</sup> Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1965, p. 62. See also Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols, Berkeley, University Press, 1973, particularly pp. 50-70 for further discussion on the Jonsonian form.

its performative elements was formulated from the sketched outline provided by Jonson's stage directions in some of his creations:

1. Antimasque dances and songs
2. Loud music and discovery of the masquing scene
3. First song
4. Masquers entry dance
5. Second Song
6. Masquers main dance
7. Third Song
8. Measures and Revels
9. Fourth Song
10. Masquers exit dance<sup>53</sup>

This list rarely reflects the actual chronology of events in many masques; even Jonson's texts fail to conform perfectly in many cases. Moreover, the list substantially misrepresents the relationship of each of the ten elements of the masque by giving them equal status.<sup>54</sup>

More specifically, each masque dramatic action consisted of two to three movements. Many Jonsonian masques opened with antimasques, comic or grotesque displays of disorder performed by 7 professional actors<sup>55</sup>. Antimasques often had their own scenes, and they always contrasted the rest of the event in some meaningful way. In *The Masque of Queens*, for instance, in the antimasque, a group of hags try to breach the secrets of royal power and then get banished so as to stress and represent, also visually, the exclusiveness and integrity of the Stuart reign, symbolically assembled in the Banqueting House. After an antimasque, the scene changed and other professional performers appeared to announce to the audience the event's induction and to introduce the aristocratic masquers. Shortly after their appearance on stage, these masquers came

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<sup>53</sup> For a discussion of this listed pattern of the 'typical Jonsonian masque'. See Andrew J. Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque*, Providence, Brown University Press, 1978, p.7; David Fuller, 'The Jonsonian Masque and its Music', in *Music and Letters* 54, 1973, p. 441.

<sup>54</sup> See Sabol, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-19.

<sup>55</sup> Ben Jonson, in *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, ed. Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1973. See also Jean MacIntyre, 'Prince Henry's Satyrs: Topicality in Jonson's Oberon', in *A Search for Meaning: Critical Essays on Early Modern Literature*, ed. Paula Harms Payne, New York, Peter Lange Publishing, 2004, and Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance*, New York, Thames and Hundson, 1986, pp. 25-57; and 'Creating Entertainments for Prince Henry's Creation', in *Comparative Drama* 42, 2008, pp. 433-49.

down from the stage to enter the felt-covered dance area where they performed one or more choreographed ballets. These ballets were not the commonly-known court dances, since the choreutic figures to be performed were invented, developed and rehearsed having particular masquers in mind for each individual masque<sup>56</sup>. After these dramatic performances, the masquers approached the aristocratic public present at court to dance with singled-out partners beginning the social revels in a process Leeds Barroll calls 'taking-out.'<sup>57</sup> The professional performers remained on stage, during a masque's ballets and revels, to accompany and punctuate the social dancing that dominated the rest of the event along with the musicians. In general, the music was an essential part of the dramatic genre and functioned mainly as accompaniment to the action and dancing, which means it was mainly instrumental and non-lyrical. However, in the intervals between individual dances or at the end of particularly important speeches, the professional performers, always remaining on stage, sang brief lyrical songs<sup>58</sup>. These songs were meant to prolong the conceit into the ballets and revels, a sort of *continuo* musical device, as well as to punctuate the overall dancing, a sort of counterpoint in musical terms. The songs also were the occasion for the performers to choose the dancing partners to take the masque to a close. This final action made by the performers is defined by Barrell as 'the retreat' and it also consisted in calling the principal dancers back onto the main stage to present the audience the last elaborated scene<sup>59</sup>. The songs' part was always inserted into the dramatic narrative so as to add significance into the conventional two or three movements of the masque. Moreover, at times, the songs mark the moment in which the masquers initiate the revels with the 'taking out'. The revels were the longest part of any masque. In Jonson's annotations in the masque-texts,

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<sup>56</sup>As regards extensive and detailed discussion on the music, dancing, and stage mechanics and performances studied and reconstructed by musicologists, dance historians, and theatrical historians see Peter Walls' *Music in the English Courtly Masque, 1604-1640*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996; Andrew Sabol's *400 Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque*, *op. cit.*; John Ward's 'Newly Devis'd Measures for Jacobean Masques' in *Acta Musicologica*, Vol. 60, Fasc. 2, May-August, 1988, pp. 11-142; Richard Hudson's *The Allemande, the Balletto, and the Tanz: Volume I, the History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986; and the splendid, although little-known book by Mary Chan, *Music in the Theatre of Ben Jonson*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980; All these contributions offer factual details to help elaborate and fully comprehend the non-textual elements of the Masque.

<sup>57</sup> Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001, p. 77; pp. 84-87.

<sup>58</sup> Depending on whether there had been an antimasque, the songs contained a final movement for stressing the masque's dramatic action. Normally, it was the third movement if there had been an antimasque, the second if there had none. See, Barroll, *op. cit.*

<sup>59</sup> See Barrell, *Ibidem*, pp. 84-87.

they are simply introduced as the measures, corantos, galliards: his mentioning them so briefly dismisses the fundamental role they play in the context of the masque-event as a public display of royal power and political policies. In Barroll's words, the revels, with their length and complexity, involved an episode of social involvement of both masquers and courtiers, mirroring the Jacobean political structure and the hierarchy of its court.<sup>60</sup> The masquers took out aristocrats of high importance of the opposite gender for measures, and by doing so, they immediately doubled the number of dancers on the floor, pitting them in the limelight, thus affirming their important status at court. The measures were stately, dignified processional dances involving graceful turns and gliding-shuffles movements. Once they ended, Barroll writes, the masquers and their original partners took out new partners. This dancing group taking central stage on the Hall's floor had grown four times larger than the original set of masquers, and by this time danced corantos, lively dances with fast tempos, successions of quick steps and hops. At some point, Barroll speculates, the dancers probably selected more new dancing partners for the next round of dancing consisting of galliards, vigorous dances with hops and leaps. Barroll suggests, the revels at some point opened up to courtiers, also joined by those of lower rank, who had the stamina to continue the revelry all night. Barroll's description accounts for a fast growing group of dancers, continually expanding, at the end of the masque's representation, slowly filling up the court's dance floor. The image projected by the dancing aristocrats was one of coherence and of the hierarchal structure of the Jacobean court<sup>61</sup>.

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<sup>60</sup> Again, see Barroll's description of the revels, *Ibid.*, pp.84-87.

<sup>61</sup> The constituent elements of the masque – its consort music, formal dancing, spectacular scenery, moving set pieces, extravagant costumes, and elaborate poetry – have frequently been considered an impediment because understanding these interlaced elements requires a moderate expertise across numerous disciplines, a real challenge, and so these shows have often been dismissed as unimportant court manifestation of extravagance and dalliance of no literary importance.



## II.1.1 The Jonsonian Masque in 20<sup>th</sup>-Century Literary Criticism: An Overview

Dealing with the Jonsonian court masque means analysing its ability to shape court society and politics also in terms of space, time, and social organisation. This discussion has origins in early masque criticism, as far back as the late 19th century and early 20th century. Although the prevailing intellectual stance at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century criticism made it difficult for some critics to accept the fact that the masque had any clear and legitimate relationship with society and politics. In the 1910s and 1920s, in fact, the period's most prominent historians, such as G. M. Trevelyan, tended to view the Stuart court as insular, decadent, and corrupt.<sup>62</sup> For these historians, the extravagant 'strange spectacles', the self-congratulatory masques pointed towards the court's and the nation's decline into civil war. The dominant critical inquiry was then formalist and some scholars saw the masque with both admiration and discomfort. They admired the form for its varied sophistication and its considerable erudition, as exemplified in Ben Jonson's poetry with its learned classical references, but the scholars were dismissive as regards its relation to, and its involvement with, court politics. In his introduction to an 1890 edition of Ben Jonson's dramatic works, Henry Morley points out the masque's evocations of European festive traditions only to consider it as a sign of James's and Anna's predilections for frivolity and lavish expenditure.<sup>63</sup> Distinguished critics such as C. H. Herford and H. H. Child praise Ben Jonson's artistry while asserting that his need to flatter James stifled his poetic creativity reducing him to compose trivialities.<sup>64</sup>

In contrast to Morley, Herford, and Child's views, some early critics of the masque take a more balanced view of the form and its relationship to court politics and society. In particular, in his *History of English Dramatic Literature*, A. W. Ward dismisses the idea that the masque substantially affected political policy, but he acknowledges its relationship with court identity. For Ward, the masque appealed to the court's desire for 'refined splendour' and gratified a sense of 'aristocratic

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<sup>62</sup> See, G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914.

<sup>63</sup> Henry Morley, 'Introduction', in *Plays and Masques by Ben Jonson*, ed. Henry Morley, London: Routledge and Sons, 1890.

<sup>64</sup> C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson, eds., *Ben Jonson*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950, and H. H. Child, *Review of Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford et al., *The Times Literary Supplement*, November (15), 1941.

exclusiveness.’<sup>65</sup> The first full-length study of the masque was Enid Welsford's 1927 *The Court Masque* <sup>66</sup>. In fact, Welsford provided the first detailed history of the masque, tracing and carefully recording and analysing the European courtly entertainment models, along with those of popular folklore origin, from which the English masque derived. Welsford was ‘chiefly pre-occupied with the significance of the masque’, and examined the influences of both Renaissance poetry and drama on the masque form and how, in its turn, the masque genre later influenced poetry and drama. In *The Court Masque*, Enid Welsford takes a kinder view of the masque arguing that it was a form of celebration through which the court expressed feelings of satisfaction, ease, and community. For Welsford, the masque satisfied a communal desire to celebrate the quality of that British society’s historical moment.<sup>67</sup> The early 20<sup>th</sup>-century’s strongest support for the masque as a political tool comes from Mary Sullivan’s 1913 *Court Masques of James I.*<sup>68</sup> Sullivan displays a historical basis explaining the important relationship existing between the court masque performances at court and European and British diplomatic relations. She shows how the masque functioned as an effective ‘instrument of state’ by which English and continental monarchies asserted their political power, communicated across borders and promoted their agendas. Sullivan’s views on the masque and politics came to the fore when a methodology had developed to configure them better than had been the case among earlier 20<sup>th</sup>-century formalist critics.

It was in the 1960s and 1970s, however, that masque criticism began to develop in new directions, in particular due to the groundbreaking work of Stephen Orgel.<sup>69</sup> In

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<sup>65</sup> A. W. Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1899, p. ii; p. 390.

<sup>66</sup> Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship Between Poetry & the Revels*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1927. Welsford maintains that the masque was only royal flattery, particularly insisting on the masque’s relationship with other forms of revelry.

<sup>67</sup> See Welsford, ‘Introduction’, *op. cit.* Of particular importance in the 1940s is the work of D. J. Gordon. His influential essays of the 1940s on Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones focus on the iconology of the masque. See D. J. Gordon, ‘The Imagery of Ben Jonson’s *The Masque of Blackness* and *The Masque of Beauty*’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VI (1943), pp. 122-141.; D. J. Gordon, ‘Poet and architect: the intellectual setting of the quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XII (1949), pp. 152-178.

<sup>68</sup> Mary Sullivan, *Court Masques of James I: Their Influence on Shakespeare and the Public Theatres*, New York, Knickerbocker Press, 1913, p. 82.

<sup>69</sup> After Orgel’s groundbreaking work in the 1960s and 1970s, there was a bulk of critical contributions interested in the genre as such and on the Jonsonian form as well. Only if we take into account the years between 1975 and 2005, we count circa 200 hundred English-language books and articles, excluding



his never overrated critical study *The Jonsonian Masque* (1965), Orgel analysed the printed texts of Ben Jonson's masques in the context of 'the changing relationship between the masque as spectacle and the masque as literature'.<sup>70</sup> He was the first critic to define the masque genre as developed by Ben Jonson as a literary genre. Then, together with art historian Roy Strong, he formulated that the Jonsonian masque was a central tool of Stuart monarchical policy:

The Masque is for the monarch and about the monarch, the more directly in the reign of Charles I because the King himself played the leading part in his spectacles. At the center of the form was not only Neo-Platonic doctrine but also political philosophy: every Stuart masque is an assertion of the Divine Right of Kings.<sup>71</sup>

With Roy Strong, Orgel also brought, for the first time, the work of Inigo Jones to the attention of the literary critics, reproducing every extant masque design (with explanatory notes) in *Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court* (1973). In 1975 the publication of Orgel's *The Illusion of Power* marked another important shift in masque criticism, for many modern literary scholars and cultural commentators had contributed, agreeing with Francis Bacon's assessment that masques were but 'toys'<sup>72</sup>, to the view that this dramatic form was trivial and superficial and, in general, not worth to be further investigated. Orgel, however, put the masque genre in a historical and political perspective, arguing that the masque of the seventeenth century was an important tool of court politics. The Jacobean court masque, namely the Jonsonian Court Masque, Orgel concluded, was intended to glorify James as he was the central figure during the masque's performances although he never participated in the dramatic action on the stage. His presence as a spectator sitting in the royal box was the focal point, where all perspective in the hall converged; the centrality of the position of the King necessarily gave the visual image of the court as a hierarchical structure and as a political phenomenon – a fact mirrored by the masque form as an exemplification of the coherent meaning of Jacobean socio-political reality. As Orgel puts it:

the masque presents the triumph of an aristocratic community; at its centre is a

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studies published in French and German. See the section of the general bibliography in this thesis devoted to Ben Jonson's secondary literature.

<sup>70</sup> Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque*, Harvard University of California Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965, p. 27.

<sup>71</sup> Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque*, Harvard University of California Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965, p. 33.

<sup>72</sup> Francis Bacon, 'Of Masques and Triumphs', *The Essayes of Counsels, Civill and Morall*, ed. Michael Kirnan, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985, p. 416.

belief in the hierarchy and a faith in the power of idealisation.<sup>73</sup>

Orgel elucidated the various ways in which the masques concurred to the political creation, and projection, of the image of the Stuart monarch at court. According to the American critic, these forms were themselves ‘significant expressions of royal power’, offering and stressing the myth of absolutism and allowing James to present himself through a dramatic entertainment as he wanted others to see him.<sup>74</sup> In this perspective, we might affirm that the Jonsonian masque was a political assertion of the King’s power in the court and for the court, as well as serving the monarch’s purpose to display his policies about his kingdom and court to the general public watching the shows. Orgel’s work really changed the direction of masque criticism, and all scholars who have come after him have benefited from, and are heavily indebted to his seminal studies. Some critics like Leeds Barroll and MacManus have argued that a less monarch-centred approach to the masques is needed, to take into account the fact that the Jacobean court was not at all homogeneous: on the contrary, it was the site of a multiplicity of voices, and the Jonsonian masque served well the purpose to give those voices a stage whence to speak up. These often competing discourses about the genre make the masques fertile ground for ambiguity, tension and multiple-readings and still it proves a goldmine for critics devoting their attention to English Baroque literary and artistic studies alike.

In his other seminal study *The Illusion of Power* (1975), Stephen Orgel notably demonstrated how the masque was both a physical and theatrical experience of royal authority and courtly social stratification since the court assembled around the king’s state in a living emblem of hierarchical order.<sup>75</sup> Jones’s perspective scenes contributed to render visually that hierarchical order, building the stage and the sitting tiered banks in the Banqueting House in such a way that only the king’s perspective point, and that of the royals nearest him, had an ideal view of the masque’s spectacular illusions.<sup>76</sup> On the groundwork laid out by *The Illusion of Power*, recent modern critics like David

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<sup>73</sup> Stephen Orgel, *The Theatre of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1975, p. 8.

<sup>74</sup> Stephen Orgel, *The Theatre of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1975, pp. 20-30.

<sup>75</sup> On the interpretation of the figure of the King as an emblem in Renaissance England, we owe much to the insightful reading of Henry Peacham made by Angela Locatelli. See Angela Locatelli, ‘Semantic Integration and Diversion in Henry Peacham’s Emblems’, in *Slavica Tergestina*, n. 8, Trieste, 2000, pp. 77-93.

<sup>76</sup> Stephen Orgel, *The Theatre of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1975, pp. 10-11.

Bevington and Jonathan Goldberg continued to give masque politics serious centrality, although with some differences, and adding some complications to the overall assessment of the genre. To exemplify this latter point, if we take into account what Orgel shows in *The Illusion of Power*, i.e., that the masque's aesthetic, spatial, and political elements tend to be fully coherent and to mirror one another, and compare it with the critical position of Jonathan Goldberg's 1983 *James I and the Politics of Literature*, we can immediately notice that Goldberg offers a contrasting reading to that of Orgel. Goldberg points out formal and ideological fractures in the masque rather than bringing out points showing coherence both in the dramatic poetic structure and in its ideological content. Goldberg firmly maintains that these fractures reflect the Machiavellian ambivalences of James's own royal self-posturing, the Renaissance self-fashioning, and thus the Jonsonian masque helped insert those ambivalences and dichotomies into British political discourse.<sup>77</sup> Leah Marcus collected and revised Goldberg's positions in *The Politics of Mirth*. Her book constitutes an even more fundamental evaluation, and insightful contribution, to political masque criticism than that offered by Goldberg.<sup>78</sup> The influence of Orgel's reading of the masque is revealed in the centrality the political considerations play in Marcus' assessments. This profound influence is exemplified, by the assertion she makes in her article on the structure of the genre, stating that:

That is not to say, of course, that these works are only about current political and economic scene, but that the key to their unity and structural eccentricities is to be found at that level of meaning.<sup>79</sup>

Graham Parry restates her insightful assertion years later when he says that:

Masques could serve as a prism for refracting the white light of authority, making it visible at times of state celebrations in colourful displays that drew attention to the components of power, imaginatively understood.<sup>80</sup>

In her book, Marcus also sees the masque as a means of promoting royal policy (i.e. royal support for controversial festive pastimes and extravagant expenses). Unlike

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<sup>77</sup> Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and Their Contemporaries*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

<sup>78</sup> Leah S. Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1986.

<sup>79</sup> Leah S. Marcus, 'Masquing Occasions and Masque Structure', in *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*, 1981, p. 8.

<sup>80</sup> Graham Parry, 'The Politics of the Jacobean Masque', in *The Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts*, eds. J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 110.

Orgel and Goldberg, she emphasises the masque's involvement in political negotiation and remarks on its variety of voices expressing different political contents, which she puts down to the fact that the masque had various artists concurring in its creation, another example of the genre multi-vocality. She thus re-evaluates the masque's multi-layered and poly-vocal dramatic form, while she stresses the political value of the genre. Moreover, Marcus considers both James I and Charles I not as monarchs in full control of their kingdom and policies: a kingdom where their subjects, and the writers of masques, sometimes created a subversive political discourse inside their own courts, contrasting their absolute power. The Stuart masques were necessarily involved in active political change in a difficult and shady political world, according to Marcus. Her work acquires importance because it does not only show the limits of Orgel's and Goldberg's monarch-centred suggestive readings and arguments; her study focuses on a broader social, artistic and political context enlarging the perspective on the theatrical phenomenon. As Bevington and Holbrook<sup>81</sup> put it, forms of political criticism often risk incurring in 'reproducing early modern society's ideological misdescription of itself' as fully absolutist and rigidly hierarchical.<sup>82</sup> By avoiding this tempting trap and recognising the masque's polyvocality and variety of artistic expressions, then, Marcus's *Politics of Mirth* led to a more complex and overall considerations of the form's politics that had been ignored, misread or overlooked by both her contemporary scholars and those who had preceded her. After her insightful evaluation of the political value embodied by the Jonsonian masque, then, critics such as Bevington, Holbrook, and Martin Butler have proposed that authority in the masque was 'less a one-way transmission of power than a complex negotiation [...] involving conflict, compromise and exchange.'<sup>83</sup>

In their introduction to *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, David Bevington and Peter Holbrook give a precise vision of this important shift and its influence on masque criticism.<sup>84</sup> They offer detailed explanations on how the 1960s and 70s historians revised English history and provided a re-assessment of the prevailing

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<sup>81</sup> David Bevington and Peter Holbrook, *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

<sup>82</sup> Leah S. Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1986, p. 24.

<sup>83</sup> Bevington and Holbrook, 'Introduction', in *Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, p. 8.

<sup>84</sup> David Bevington and Peter Holbrook, 'Introduction', in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

attitudes toward the civil war, King James, and his court. As they observe:

Orgel's findings remain importantly true even while they need, and deserve, to be enriched by consideration of other discordant voices in the competitions for power that sought out the masque as a medium of political self-definition.<sup>85</sup>

Bevington and Holbrook rejected the up-to-then dominating views of the civil war, as they both insisted on dynamic factions within James's court, contrasting the interpretation of James's reign as a monolithic assertion of royal power, thus developing a better understanding of James's idea of kingship and rule. Both critics acknowledge Orgel's insightful contributions in identifying these divisive tendencies in the court mirrored by the Jonsonian masque and affirmed that 'Orgel sees division in the court as astutely as does anyone else'<sup>86</sup>. In a similar way, Martin Butler also advocates careful attention to the potential multiplicity of influences when attempting to reconcile the structural variety of the masque; Butler says that:

What has to be worked towards at the present is a general view of politics and form which is responsive both to the way that masques make meaning and to the circumstances within which that meaning is made.<sup>87</sup>

Bevington and Holbrook explain how these challenging new critical perspectives coincided with the rise of New Historicism in literary studies, which started the new critical trend to consider the masque and other forms of Renaissance culture as venues of political significance and as expressions of an active form of politics. However, this insistence on the political rhetoric present in the Jonsonian masque is shared not only by New Historicists but also by revisionist scholars. This critical approach is made clear by Bevington and Holbrook in their 'Introduction' to *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*. As a matter of fact, the reconsideration and the reconstruction of the Jonsonian genre and form opened a broader discussion, with repercussions in fields other than the literary one, on the structure of the masque as a complex and contradictory thing that enacted an allegory of monarchical power, and unfolded it in a neat and predictable pattern<sup>88</sup>. The contradiction inherent in the genre was something that the nuanced and astute political arguments by contemporary critics of the masque forwarded.

In this line of critical inquiry, Butler advocates a 'total' and historically-based reading of

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<sup>85</sup> *Ibidem*, 'Introduction', p. 5. The editors also note Orgel's own modification of his original ideas.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 5.

<sup>87</sup> Martin Butler, 'Reform or Reverence? The Politics of the Caroline Masque', in *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts*, eds. J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 124.

<sup>88</sup> On this discussion, see Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliments: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

the form.<sup>89</sup> Following Marcus, Butler points out that ‘masques did not passively reflect a stable or pre-existing reality, but were themselves part of an unfolding political narrative.’<sup>90</sup> In any given masque, the narrative depended on different and various individuals and groups performing diverse types of political action for various and varying reasons resulting in different levels of giving coherence to the court and praising the King successfully. Butler’s suggestion contends that critics’ attention to the masque’s many components helps understand the full impact and fundamental function the form played in court society and politics. Butler’s shift of critical enquiry marks a movement towards the analysis of other artistic elements rather than just to their royalist textual messages contained in the genre. When read in this illuminating perspective, the critical contributions of Bevington, Holbrook, and Butler demonstrate how masques were highly dynamic and dialectical entertainments offering the occasion for political debate where courtiers, including playwrights and the artistic court entourage that enjoyed royal patronage, could perform a political dramatised enactment of specific political issues and through different behavioural forms, such as seating, fiction-making, dance, dress, and role-playing. The genre helped respond to political issues which arose inside the court, using the multifaceted and multivocal dramatic form offered by the Jonsonian masque. The masque’s capacity for displaying political and ideological contents also by means of its participant group and throughout their various forms of experience and behaviour, and its efficacy to disseminate the monarch’s tenets at the core of Stuart politics, constituted a powerful tool of exercising royal control over his subjects. Although Bevington, Holbrook, and Butler show the masques’ socio-political complexity in their critical analysis sometimes their vision of the genre results partial and biased.<sup>91</sup> Their interpretative readings risk also incurring into describing a picture of an idealised social life at the Stuart court, which does not reflect its historical reality. For this reason, Butler proposes, in *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture*, that one of the motives why early criticism of the masque generally lacks explanatory power is that it tends to accept the masque’s glowing vision of a unified and serenely absolutist

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<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>90</sup> Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 4.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 4-5.

court.<sup>92</sup> Contemporary criticism of the masque should avoid having an unitary vision of the theatrical phenomenon of the Stuart masque as a genre of political expression, although it should also avoid making the mistake of focusing exclusively on alternatives offered by interpretative readings of the masque only showing how the dramatic form embodied, and presented to its audience, political fracture, competition among aristocrats for obtaining power and prestige through royal favour, and politics of negotiation. Butler also has the merit to stress the important fact that James-centric, monarch-focused interpretations turn the Stuart court into a New Historicist ‘prison-house’ where the ‘human historical actors’ are condemned to playing their roles trapped in monolithic and never-ending cycles of political domination, subversion, and containment.<sup>93</sup> If critics participating in the reading of the new trend of masque criticism are not aware of the pitfalls of their factional biased views, we will end up falling victim to a misinterpretation of the court power struggles, by construing the court as relentlessly competitive, and missing or overlooking the fact that masques were also legitimate producers of more positive, or unifying social and political effects. It is important to highlight that as a genre, the masque offered court individuals and factions the political means of empowerment contrary to the suggestive readings given by New Historic critics, who put only emphasis on how masques exemplify and display the disempowerment of the Stuart court’s population they were performed for, to the extent that these New Critics see factionalism and competition as the solely dominant features of Stuart court life.

Martin Butler and Barbara Ravelhofer, both propose that contemporary critics should be aware and avoid the potential posed by fragmentary factional criticism<sup>94</sup>, advocating for what Butler terms as ‘total’ approach to the masque interpretation and criticism, a mode of inquiry that focuses, in an encompassing perspective, on the form’s textual, non-textual, and contextual elements.<sup>95</sup> This ‘total’ approach to the genre demonstrates how the form contained and enhanced positive political and social effects, such as group-bonding, while also enabling factional negotiation of power. For Butler, in fact, the masque both helped satisfy the participants’ desires for complete courtly

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<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>94</sup> Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

<sup>95</sup> Martin Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

inclusion by bringing them physically into the Banqueting House while, at the same time, the genre helped perform their satisfaction to dramatic ‘rites of exclusion’ able to celebrate James’s capacity to banish unwanted elements from the court in the narrative fiction. Butler is also able to demonstrate convincingly how masques both participated in and involved a complex interdependent and interlaced structure of ceremonial practices that were essential to court cohesion, such as important weddings’ celebrations, seasonal festivity, hospitality, and gift-presentation<sup>96</sup>. For Butler, such celebrative events and formalised behaviours comprised the accepted norm of courtly social identity, and in the masque they cohered into ‘rituals of incorporation’ that played on the court’s ‘shared affinities’ while also ‘working to accommodate [its] complex internal differences and rivalries.’<sup>97</sup>

As regards Ravelhofer, the critic focuses on analysing the masque’s dancing, music, and costumes. She insists that dancing encouraged ‘muscular bonding’ among the performers, i.e., among the masquers and the final participants of the revels, allowing for a sense of boundary loss and consequent euphoria that normally derives from disciplined group action moving in unison.<sup>98</sup> She goes on affirming that the dance enabled a sort of empathic response between dancers and spectators, a sense of self-extension and shared purpose that onlookers could experience even while watching passively.<sup>99</sup> On the same note, she states that masque costumes embodied and emphasised courtly homogeneity and a sense of belonging, stressing togetherness in their aesthetic uniformity, while music enveloped the audience and plunged them in shared familiar cadences, rhythms, and harmonies not to speak of melodies, including folk tunes themes repeated in masque after masque. This reiteration through music helped give coherence and structure to the court and emphasised a cultural sharing of the masque’s performance across time.

Butler and Ravelhofer described how the masque encouraged group cohesion at court, although neither has shown, in detailed explanation, how specific masques

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<sup>96</sup> *Ibidem, op. cit.*, pp. 7-8. Roy Strong, Martin Butler and Tom Bishop focus on the role of Prince Henry in such events as well as providing an alternative and often oppositional discourse to that of James. Their analyses, while shifting the emphasis from James, still focus on a royal, male discourse.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>98</sup> Ravelhofer, *Early Stuart Masque*, p. 105. Ravelhofer uses the term “muscular bonding” taking it from William H. McNeil’s, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1995, p. 3.

<sup>99</sup> Ravelhofer refers to it as ‘prosthetic self-extension’ in *Early Stuart Masque, op. cit.*, p. 105.



enacted this cohesion (at least at length sustained with textual evidence). Butler describes the masque's 'rites of exclusion' and 'rites of incorporation', but then moves on to analysing a series of period- and issue-focused readings that place the masque genre discussion back into the factional debate in the very same terms of earlier criticism, (showing how masque-texts intervene in Stuart policy debates, socio-political struggles, and inter-governmental crises).

As for Ravelhofer, she singles out and examines specific masques and shows how their non-textual elements helped interact with, support, and complicate their textual elements, and created conflicting meanings if not dichotomic interpretations. Her analysis never fully focuses upon the incoherent cohesion between the different components of the genre which constitute its specific dramatic identity. Instead, her aim has mainly to do with socio-historical and cultural perspective: dealing above all with the masque's music, costumes, choreography of the acting and dancing rather than its dramatic and literary elements. Thus, according to Ravelhofer, the masque's social final effect derives from its non-textual elements and presents itself in a uniform manner across the genre as a result of the shared knowledge of the ceremonial gestures and common performance of the traditional and established dances and music, unlike its fictional dramatic narratives, which were subjected to continual change from masque to masque. And as Butler and Ravelhofer both say, this elision of text and narrative is intentional. They point out that critics exaggerate the masque's dramatic and literary contents neglecting the other essential and equally important elements. Butler and Ravelhofer's, in their attempts to alter prevailing critical trends, decide to concentrate their criticism on the masque's accompanying socio-cultural aspects instead of focusing only on the material textuality of the dramatic form. Nevertheless, the masque drama does possess a social influence and efficacy with a richness that has been underrated or, in general, neglected. Those dramas worked to formulate embodied experiences internal and external to the masque's non-textual mechanisms for inter-subjectivity, mechanisms that are central to Butler's and Ravelhofer's arguments. Such mechanisms are also essential to Orgel's approach, when he shows how masque scenes in sight and space, gave body and substance to the court hierarchy.

Political readings of the masque centred almost exclusively on the figure of James and his policies, tend to overshadow or dismiss completely considerations of

other cultural, and socio-political, contexts that contributed to influence and shape the Jonsonian genre. In the last decade, in contrast to the previous critical trends, critics such as Barbara Lewalski, Leeds Barroll and most recently Clare McManus have analysed the masques from the central female presence's perspective at the Jacobean court, that of the Queen Consort Anna of Denmark, focusing on her involvement in the writing and staging of the Stuart courtly dramatic genre. Starting with Barroll's article for the Bevington and Holbrook collection, we witness an evaluation of Anna's role when he proposes that early Stuart masques 'deflected attention from the King and his own circle to focus on the new court of the Queen'<sup>100</sup>

It must be said that Anna introduced and promoted the masque to the Jacobean court on a large scale since, between 1604 and 1611, she commissioned and danced in six masques, two by Samuel Daniel, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604) and *Tethys' Festival* (1610) and four by Ben Jonson, *The Masque of Blackness* (1605), *The Masque of Beauty* (1608), *The Masque of Queens* (1609) and *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly* (1611). She also took part in Thomas Campion's *The Somerset Masque* (1613) and was in the audience of Robert Whyte's female masque *Cupid's Banishment* in 1617. Lewalski studies Anna's involvement both as patron and as masquer-writer, focusing mainly on the analysis of the poetry of the printed masques-texts. The critic views the masques commissioned by Anna as a challenge to James's authority within the Jacobean court, defining the entertainments as the Queen's subversive entertainments. However, she argues that this subversion would have been not intentional. According to Lewalski, we must then view contestation and subversion not to be fully conscious on the Queen's or the author's parts, or to be in the service of a consistent political agenda other than that enhancing and affirming the new Stuart Queen's status within the court. Lewalski suggests that Anna did not have the intellectual power or political consciousness to create a consistent opposition policy to the authority of James. Yet, she concludes that the masques Anna commissioned would have undermined James' position and 'offered a patently subversive royal example to

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<sup>100</sup> J. Leeds Barroll, *Inventing the Stuart Court Masque*, in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, eds. David Bevington, Peter Holbrook and Leah Marcus, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 181. In referring to the queen as Anna, we take Barroll's position. He argues that she never referred to herself as Anne. See Barroll, *Anna*, *op. cit.*, p. 173, note 1. It contrasts Ethel Williams' position; see *Anne of Denmark*, London, Longman, 1970.

Jacobean patriarchal culture'.<sup>101</sup> Barroll faces the problem posited by the role of the Stuart queen from the same perspective and, rather than viewing the masques as subverting James' position, he looks at how Anna deliberately clarified and asserted her own separate identity. Reading the masques to 1609 as publicly defining the retinue of women closest to the queen, Barroll nonetheless affirms that 'this was a woman who thoroughly understood the political power of ceremonial display, and who self-consciously exploited it for her own ends as long as it proved useful.'<sup>102</sup> Barroll's assessment of the Jonsonian masque genre from the female perspective subverts the general belief of the frivolity of Anna and re-evaluates both her position and her own political vision, reading her attitudes as usurpation of a long-established male tradition of political self-representation and of actual self-display at court.

Moreover, in his study, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England* (2001), Barroll deals with the way in which the visual display of Anna and her women helped state and reinforce the Queen's authority, using the example of the all-male *The Masque of the Orient Knights* (1603) as a model. Barroll argues that there was personal benefit to be gained for the men chosen to dance in this: 'To be included ... either validated one's own current court status or, at the very least, augured well for one's court future'.<sup>103</sup> This possibility therefore needs to be taken into account when considering the six masques Anna commissioned between 1604 and 1611. In addition, in the examination of Anna's demonstration of power, Barroll comes to the conclusion that the substance of the text is of minor importance, stating that, with regard to *Orient Knights*:

In all instances, contemporary comment indicates that it was not the written script, or the lavish scenery, or the dancing, or the music of the masque that most interested most courtiers. It was the participants.<sup>104</sup>

For this reason he rejects a study of the masques as purely verbal texts asserting, siding with Martin Butler, that masques be considered as a 'total' spectacle. The performance of the interlaced artistic elements carries out Jonson's 'symbolic messages to monarch or peers, regarding the manner in which England was to be governed'.<sup>105</sup> Contrary to Butler, Barroll's perspective views the text as a distraction from the chief purpose of these masques, which Barroll interprets as Anna's 'insistence on her own royal

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<sup>101</sup> Lewalski, *Writing Women*, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-36; p. 37.

<sup>102</sup> Barroll, *Inventing the Stuart Masque*, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>103</sup> Barroll, *Anna*, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 115.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 116.

authority' through the constituent non-textual performative elements, stressing, in particular, the role of dancing.<sup>106</sup> Certainly, literary critics are more used to interpreting the textual element of these dramatic forms and, despite Barroll's claims and approach, there are inherent limitations to the scarcity of the performative descriptions provided by the writers and the other artists involved in the creation of the masques. Most contemporary critics view the stage directions annotated by the playwrights only as descriptions of an ideal performance and not at all as an accurate, detailed rendering of the recorded events on the stage, questioning the accuracy of the limited information given.<sup>107</sup> On this basis, critics are reluctant to engage with the analysis of scene changes and movements, painted scenery and visual information, and above all, with the analysis of musical contents of masque performances either only instrumental or musical setting of lyrics.

The most recent study of Queen Anna's masquing productions is Clare McManus' *Women on the Renaissance Stage* (2002). McManus, like Barroll, chooses to overlooks the printed masque-text, affirming that up to the last decade it has been privileged in the studies devoted to the genre to the utter detriment of other essential artistic aspects of the masque form<sup>108</sup>. Contrasting this critical trend, she decides to examine the relationship existing between the female body and dance, stage architecture and costume, concluding that 'Anna of Denmark's masque commissions and performances and her active political and cultural engagement contributed to the emergence of seventeenth century female performance'<sup>109</sup>

Lewalski's study also analyses Anna's role to find out whether the Queen was trying to oppose the authority of James by creating a polarity within the court from whence they both could exercise power while displaying her royal authority on the stage in front of the monarch.

On the evidence of social bonding witnessed within Anna's female retinue<sup>110</sup>,

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<sup>106</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 136.

<sup>107</sup> Moreover, even accounts given by spectators on the evening of the performance in question are to be considered inaccurate and fragmentary. On this point, see Jerzy Limon, *The Masque of Stuart Culture*, Newark, University of Delaware Press, 1990, in particular chapter 1.

<sup>108</sup> MacManus, *Women*, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>109</sup> MacManus, *Women*, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

<sup>110</sup> In contrast to Barroll and McManus' analyses, Lewalski's discussion also looks at the poetry of the masques. It must be also stressed that the ladies of Anna of Denmark's retinue were the only women to appear on stage at this time, dancing in the court masques commissioned by the Queen. The evidence of

the aim of the critic is also to pay attention to the aristocratic women who participated in the masques, examining the socio-political implications of their appearance on stage performing in specific roles and as a united group.

In conclusion, from their different perspectives, Lewalski, Barroll and McManus' readings focus on the implications of Anna's involvement in the masques and stress the importance of the political self-assertion and self-display made by the queen promoting the masque both as a patron and as a creator-performer. However, the central understanding of the Jonsonian Masque fundamental to these reformed studies is the role of politics, with its rhetoric of power and authority even when we witness attempts to offer a critique of crown policy or to represent alternative political ideologies through the use made of the form in the Jonsonian *Queen's Masques*, which are the aim of our discussion. When we consider *The Masque of Blackness* and *The Masque of Beauty*, the texts show that Jonson and Jones were especially attuned to the power of space and time as agent of group cohesion. Specifically, each of these masques show how Jonson and Jones used dramatic narrative both to exploit and manipulate the group experiences of the courtiers, and royal retinues, in relation to the spatial and temporal contexts in which the genre was conceived and performed. These contexts included the Palace of Whitehall, its large-scale Banqueting House, during the court's annual revels season, an extended period of festivity that spanned from the Christmas, New Year's, to pre-Lenten holidays in the broader terms. In more particular terms, those contexts included the Banqueting House's masque-specific set-up and staging as well as the masque's temporal ephemerality, being a one-time-only occurrence as it was. Masque critics have long dwelled on and given pride of place to such contexts, but have not fully recognised how intrinsic they are to the form's dramatic narratives, or how rich they are as sources of group cohesion and identity formation. Orgel observes this relationship rather obliquely when he theorises the masques' illusions of royal authority and their power to reify court hierarchy in the masque space. Butler observes it, too, when he shows how the masque's 'rites of exclusion' affirm participants' inclusion within the hall. But we must stress that the dramatic narrative's experience-shaping power goes far beyond Orgel's hierarchising scenes and Butler's spectacles of expulsion or inclusion. The narrative's power manifests itself textually more broadly and more

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homo-social bonding and female activity provides a useful angle from which to explore the masques and it is worth in-depth researching and of critical reassessment.

consistently than Ravelhofer suggests since the critic sees the masque's textual elements making sense only when they are in-line with their efficacious bodily choreographed elements, namely costume and dance. Repeatedly, masques make meaning out of their own dimensions in space and time. They do so in order to encourage participation from the court even from spectators on the margins, who cannot actively participate through dance; at the same time, masques attempt to place the spectacle itself in the spatial and temporal contexts of the Jacobean court shared political experience to project the ideological agenda onto the court itself and to reinstate the monarch's power in displaying it to the elite audience. In the two Jonsonian masques under discussion, Jonson and Jones repeatedly exploit both these functions as powerful sources of shared understanding and experience, which they use to orient and unite the court around important new centres of socio-political power. Accordingly, this dissertation will attempt to close-read the masque's social efficacy as dramatic form while, at the same time, it will also try to reconfigure the way we conceive of dramatic narrative and embodied experience in the genre. In the close-readings that follow, the masques under discussion appear as tightly coherent, meta-referential, participatory narratives that make their unique spatial and temporal realities into the shaping agency of group experience and group identity in virtue of the masques' explicit and non-explicit significances deriving from their position and performance in space. Moving on to individual masques's analysis, we will discuss what those spatial realities were and will offer a theory of how their social shaping power could manifest itself in political dramatic narrative of the genre.



### III Jonson's Masque as Space of Jacobean Britannia

#### III.1 Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* As Imperial Heterotopian Space

##### III.1.1 Nation and Empire in *The Masque of Blackness*

In the revels season 1604-1605, Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones presented, in the Whitehall Banqueting House, *The Masque of Blackness*,<sup>111</sup> the second annual Masque of James's and his Queen Consort Anne's reign. This was a heaven-sent opportunity for Anna to assert her position in the court as Queen consort, the latter being a novelty in England after Elizabeth's very long reign as solo queen with no consort at all.

When he became king of England, James brought a retinue of Scots aristocrats to London and generally opened up the old Elizabethan establishment, which had become enclosed after the Essex rebellion and was centred on the Cecil and Howard families.<sup>112</sup> In this respect, Anna was of particular importance. As Queen consort, she helped to expand the court in ways that had been impossible for Mary and Elizabeth.<sup>113</sup> As head of her new household, Anna offered the aristocracy its first alternative source of royal favour in some fifty decades. As for the masque, it was the second to feature Anna and her ladies as masquers and the first by Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones – it was also the first to be put on in Whitehall's Banqueting House.<sup>114</sup> While Elizabeth had only enjoyed sporadic court masques, *Blackness* was no fewer than the fourth masque in a custom marking every year of James's reign<sup>115</sup>. Jonson and Jones became the most

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<sup>111</sup> Ben Jonson, *The Queen's Masques: the First, of Blackness* in Inigo Jones: *The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, ed. Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973, cited in text by line number.

<sup>112</sup> The location of the masque must be 'Britannia'. In *Blackness* (l. 185).

<sup>113</sup> See Keith M. Brown, 'The Scottish Aristocracy, Anglicization and the Court, 1603-38', in *The Historical Journal* 36 (1993), pp. 543-76, pp. 543-557. Neil Cuddy, 'The revival of the entourage: the Bedchamber of James I, 1603-1635' in *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey, London, Longman, 1987, pp. 173-76, and Neil Cuddy, 'Anglo-Scottish Union and the Court of James I, 1603- 25', in *Transactions of the Royals Historical Series*, 39 (1989): pp. 107-24, pp. 107-112.

<sup>114</sup> Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001, pp. 36-73.

<sup>115</sup> The masques that preceded *Blackness* were *The Masque of India* and *China Knights*, Samuel Daniel's *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, and *Hymenai* and the *Four Seasons*. *India* and *China Knights* and *Twelve Goddesses* went up at Hampton Court during the revels season of 1603-04. *Hymen* and the *Four Seasons* went up in the Great Hall at Whitehall before *Blackness* during the 1604-05 revels season. See



prolific Stuart masque authors, maintaining the Banqueting House<sup>116</sup> as their favourite venue. *Blackness* aimed at uniting James's hybrid court with its orientation around the new king and queen. The performance also showed the masque's growing power in the annual court revels. Jonson's prologue to *Blackness* reveals that Anna was as actively involved in creating this masque as she was in its sequel *Beauty*, and that the thematic invention was conceived by her:

In duty [...] to that Majesty, who gave them their authority, and grace; and, no less that the most royal of predecessors, deserves eminent celebration for these solemnities [...] I add this later hand [...] Pliny, Solinus, Ptolemy and of late Leo the African, remember unto us a river in Ethiopia, famous by the name of Niger; of which the people were called [...] Negroes: and are the blackest nation of the world [...] Hence (because it was her majesty's will, to have them blackamoors at first) the invention was derived by me and presented thus (11. 8-20).

It appears that Jonson was writing *Blackness* under orders, a fact emphasised by his various references to his 'duty' to Anna and to her 'authority' (11. 8-9). According to Jonson, Anna wanted the women to appear in blackface 'at first'. This reference suggests that she had already planned a sequel in which the women would be transformed into white beauties. Jonson defines his role in providing a 'learned' *invention* to comply with Anna's request; this fact, perhaps, suggests and indicates a need to assert his authorship in view of the fact that 'at first' foresees further subordination. It is also worth considering the results of Anna's choice of representing blackness with paint rather than masks as had been traditional. The inevitable outcome was that the transformation into whiteness could not be enacted at the end of the masque - the women could not wash their make-up off in time, so the metamorphosis necessarily had to be delayed until the following masque.

The performance of *The Masque of Blackness*, at the Banqueting House in Whitehall, opened with a painted curtain being dropped to reveal an ocean scene:

an artificial sea was seen to shoot forth, as if it flowed to the land, raised with waves, which seemed to move, and in some places the billow to break, as imitating that orderly disorder, which is common in nature (11. 23-5).

Six sea-gods were placed at the front of the stage with two sea-maids behind them. In

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Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 358-76.

<sup>116</sup> See Simon Thurley's discussion of the second Banqueting House in *Whitehall Palace: A History of the Royal apartments, 1240-1998*, New York: Yale University Press, 1999, pp. 75-90; and Christy Anderson's review of Simon Thurley's exhibition, 'The Lost Palace of Whitehall', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58 (1999), pp. 201-204.

between the sea-maids were two giant seahorses: 'upon their backs, Oceanus and Niger were advanced, the face of the former painted blue, the face of the latter black' (11. 35-6). Behind and above this scene were Queen Anna and her women, placed in a great concave shell, like mother of pearl:

[T]he top thereof was struck with a chevron of lights, which, indented to the proportion of the shell, struck a glorious beam upon them, as they were seated, one above another: so that they were all seen, but in an extravagant order (11. 48-53).

Surrounding the shell were the nymphs' twelve attendants, the Oceaniae, who rode on the back of six giant sea monsters and carried torches. As with Oceanus, their faces were blue. Niger is being received and greeted by his father, the King of the Ocean, Oceanus. Niger has travelled from the east with his twelve daughters who are in despair, having discovered from poets that only white skin is considered beautiful. Queen Anna and eleven aristocratic ladies appear on stage painted black and costumed as Ethiopian nymphs. The nymphs were instructed in a vision '[t]hat they a land must forthwith seek,!/ Whose termination (of the Greek)/ Sounds –Tania' (11. 164-6) and in search of this country they have passed through 'Black Mauritania', 'Swarth Lusitania' and 'Rich Aquitania' (11. 174-6), finally arriving at a strange place. At this point the moon goddess Aethiopia appears, revealing to Niger that it was she who 'was that bright face/ Reflected by the lake' (1. 206) and that they have arrived at their destination '–*tannia*', 'Britannia'. James, as the sun-god Sol, is described as having the power to transform the nymphs from black into white. A rite has to be performed to make this possible: they must wash in the ocean 'thirteen times thrice, on thirteen nights' (1. 303) - only when they are white will they be able to reach Britain.

In the masque's fiction, they have travelled by sea to Whitehall with their father, the river deity, Niger. After a stately song welcomes the ladies into the Banqueting House, we learn from Niger that a vision prompted them to seek out a land whose name ends in '–*tannia*,' a subtly cryptic invocation of 'Britannia', where they will be able to have their skin bleached white by a god-like sun king (1. 179, 1. 219). But they arrive in the Banqueting House ignorant about where they are and about the identity of the court. Most of the induction involves a conversation between Niger and Oceanus, god of the sea that encircles England. Over the course of this conversation, Niger explains the nymphs' identity and narrates their wandering quest to find the land hinted at in their vision. In turn, Oceanus explains the identity of the court and the Banqueting House,

but he does not satisfy the vision's riddle: he refers to the Banqueting House as 'Albion', not 'Britannia' (l. 187). Finally, the moon goddess Aethiopia appears and informs Niger that he and his daughters are, in fact, in 'Britannia', where James will use his powers to turn the nymph's skin white (l. 219). She then welcomes the nymphs into the Banqueting House and prompts them to descend and dance. Songs punctuate their dances, urging them by turns to retreat into the scene or, conversely, to remain on the dance floor. Ultimately, and by the dictates of convention, the ladies do retreat, but with Aethiopia's promise that they will return the following year having metamorphosed their black skin-into white.

Some critics have seen *The Masque of Blackness* as a show of rivalry between James and Anna, or between the monarchs' different policies and the masque content. In his fundamental critical work, *The Jonsonian Masque*, Stephen Orgel argues that *Blackness* is illogical since the ladies were still black when they left the stage to dance. Thus the masque's display and promise of royal power, James as the sun-god blanching the nymphs white, does not coincide with the moment the masque incorporates and envelopes the court into the masque narrative.<sup>117</sup> But recent critics have pointed out how Anna's performance furthers Jacobean patriarchy and geo-politics. Richmond Barbour and nearly all postcolonial critics of *Blackness* suggest the masquers' black appearance stresses Jacobean claims to British imperialism or simply support for new colonial expeditions.<sup>118</sup> Martin Butler and Mary Floyd-Wilson declare Anna's 'blackness' represents Scottish identity pleading for Scottish aristocrats' inclusion in James's new court.<sup>119</sup> But on the contrary, when critics put Anna first and see queenly power in the masque, they attribute it to the masquers' blackness and exotic femininity,

<sup>117</sup> Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1967, pp. 116-28.

<sup>118</sup> Richmond Barbour, 'Britain and the Great Beyond: The Masque of Blackness at Whitehall', in *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama*, eds. John Gilles and Virginia Mason Vaughan (Madison, Wisconsin, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1989. Suzy Beemer, 'Masks of Blackness, Masks of Whiteness: Coloring the (Sexual) Subject in Jonson, Cary, and Fletcher', *Thamyris* 4, 1997, pp. 223-47. Martin Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-16, pp. 131-37. Joyce Green MacDonald, *The Force of Imagination: The Subject of Blackness in Shakespeare, Jonson, and Ravenscroft*, in *Renaissance Papers*, 1991, pp. 53-74. William Over, 'Alterity and Assimilation in Jonson's Masques of Blackness and Beauty: 'I, with so much strength / Of argument resisted'', in *Culture, Language, and Presentation* 1, 2004, pp. 43-54. William Over, 'Familiarizing the Colonized in Ben Jonson's Masques', in *Partial Answers: Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas* 2, 2004, pp. 27-50, and Yumna Siddiqi, 'Dark Incontinents: The Discourses of Race and Gender in Three Renaissance Masques', in *Renaissance Drama* 23, 1992, pp. 139-63.

<sup>119</sup> Martin Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-16, pp. 131-37, and Mary Floyd-Wilson, 'Temperature, Temperance, and Racial Difference in Ben Jonson's The Masque of Blackness', in *English Literary Renaissance* 28, 1998, pp.183-209, pp. 208-09.

but see such features as opposing James and the masque's formal conventions.<sup>120</sup> Their suggestion, then, is that Anna's assertiveness leads to incoherence that Orgel points to in his reading of the masque.

These attitudes towards the masque do not take into account the form's openness as vehicle for royal egocentricity and for moulding group experience. Instead, Leeds Barroll claims that Anna used her masques, not to oppose James, but to put herself in the limelight as an alternative source of social organization and culture.<sup>121</sup> For Barroll, *Blackness* had this effect just by exhibiting Anna and her aristocratic masquers in this second revels season<sup>122</sup>. These aristocratic women positioned Anna inside the Stuart's wider court group and served to announce her readiness to patronage. Many of these aristocratic ladies were already enjoying Anna's patronage and were, in their turn, patrons of others. So, Barroll suggests, James and Anna coexist as alternate foci. Yet, Barroll also suggests the masque's theatrical devices—costumes and scenery and its dramatic conceit—were irrelevant to its effect of queenly display of power.<sup>123</sup> For Barroll, the masque puts Anna into the court just by making her and her retinue 'a spectacular presence in a glittering and politically symbolic social season.'<sup>124</sup>

*Blackness* places experiences of epic and romance around either James or Anna. Epic and romance are dialectical narrative strategies infiltrating and complicating one another and thus creating plot energy and complication. Like Thomas M. Green and David Quint, we use 'epic' for linear and narrative energies giving social structure by means of story-telling, illustrating special conditions or groups and imagining their

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<sup>120</sup> Bernadette Andrea, 'Black Skin, the *Queen's Masques*: Africanist Ambivalences and Feminine Author(ity) in the *Masques of Blackness and Beauty*', in *English Literary Renaissance* 29, 1999, pp. 246-81. Hardin Asand, 'To Blanch an Ethiop, and Revive a Corse': Queen Anne and The Masque of Blackness', in *Studies in English Literature*, 32, 1992, pp. 271-85. Kim F. Hall, 'Sexual Politics and Cultural Identity in *The Masque of Blackness*', in *The Performance of Power*, ed. Janelle G. Reinelt, Iowa City, Iowa, University of Iowa Press, 1991. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, 'Anne of Denmark and the Subversions of Masquing', in *Criticism*, 35, 1993, pp. 341-55, and Clare McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court*, New York, Manchester University Press, 2002, pp. 15-16, p.78.

<sup>121</sup> See Barroll's, 'The Stuart Masque and the Queenly Arts of Ceremony', in *Anna of Denmark, op. cit.* See also Barroll, 'Inventing the Stuart masque', in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

<sup>122</sup> For Barroll's discussion of *Blackness* in particular, see *Anna of Denmark, op. cit.*, pp. 99-104.

<sup>123</sup> Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, op. cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

past.<sup>125</sup> Patricia Parker and Barbara Fuchs use ‘romance’ for narrative strategies that disrupt linearity.<sup>126</sup> For us romance offers quests before end-reveals because it stretches out narrative and creates suspense and delay before resolution. Epic often presents a celebration of national foundation and assertion and martial struggle, whereas romance delights in adventure, frivolity and sensuality. Around James and Anna, as we will see, *Blackness* offers both epic and romance -- two reciprocally life-giving modes of experience. The masque offered Banqueting House and the court as a microcosm of British Empire and a destination, end-reveal, for the 12 Lady-masquers’ fictive journey. It also shows the masquers as exotic travellers and wanderers representing outsiders trying to reach their new nation. *Blackness* moulds its epic and romance into court reality, by staging them in an elongated sequence of welcoming gathering. Butler points out that when Anna and her retinue of ladies and dancers approach the court group in the Banqueting House, they are simply imitating real-life encounters in and around Whitehall.<sup>127</sup> *Blackness* when the new court was greeting outsiders of all kinds, from ordinary citizens, allowed by tradition to call on the new monarchs, to members of the English and Scottish aristocracy, to foreign ambassadors and other elite dignitaries. When James entered the Banqueting House before *Blackness* was performed he had with him similar figures, including ambassadors from Spain and Venice as well as Anna’s brother, the Danish Duke of Holstein.<sup>128</sup> *Blackness* effected encounter through the meanings floating through its proscenium arch as well as its gestural dances performed closer to the elite and the public. This staging gave life to the procedures of court growth then underway at Whitehall. Butler argues that *Blackness* assigned the Banqueting House as a ‘ceremonial space’ where the court’s new relationships and identity were ‘symbolically enacted.’<sup>129</sup> But in the end, there is no symbolism attached to the *Blackness* encounters. To suggest there is, implies that action in the masque assumes meanings as reference to realities outside its own limits and this suggests that

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<sup>125</sup> Thomas M. Greene, *The Descent from Heaven: A Study in Epic Continuity*, New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Press, 1963, and David Quint, *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton*, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1993.

<sup>126</sup> Barbara Fuchs, *Romance*, New York: Routledge, 2004, and Patricia Parker, *Inescapable Romance: Studies in the Poetics of a Mode*, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1979.

<sup>127</sup> Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>128</sup> See Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-81, and Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-15.

<sup>129</sup> Contemporary reports from the Venetian ambassador, Nicolo Molin, and Carleton respectively name all these special guests except Henry in *Ben Jonson, Vol. 10*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1950, p. 446, p. 448.

masques simply repeat meaningful experiences lived elsewhere in court. Yet, the Banqueting House and masque were full of political meaning and social enactment of power. No matter what dramas they staged, masques conveyed royal policies to the aristocratic audience. *Blackness* is an entertaining experience but it is highly symbolic. It is what it is meant to be: through the proscenium arch, masquers and court as well as the public create an experience of togetherness and social, political coherence. The masque lengthens this experience in showing quest wanderings and romance error. During this process, it exploits the hall's exclusivity, integrity, brilliance, and proximity to the royal Privy Lodgings. Thus the hall becomes a precise site of courtly inclusion and cohesion. The masque inserts into this cohesion the theme of Jacobean British Empire, expanding the court's coherence into coherence in space with a geo-political vision of Scots-English unity. The masquers contribute to this experience as they show 'racial' difference straight away while waiting on stage during the masque induction. But when they come down to the dance floor they assume status as representatives of romance, thus asserting their outsiders' claims to be included in the court and in the masque itself. With their performance, the masque contributes to making them elements of a community ideology.

### III.1.2 ‘What Land Is This?’: Politics of Inclusion and Cohesion or ‘Britannia’ As Heterotopian Space

The masque opening scene asserts an area of encounter and welcome *vis-à-vis* foreign outsiders coming from a different nation and continent and, hence, from a different culture and ‘race’<sup>130</sup>. It also announces an encompassing coherence for audience and masquers. The stage scene imitates a shoreline where the masquers momentarily stop after their long journey on a threshold of two apparently incompatible worlds and space. In its explicit juxtaposition of binary oppositions of cultures, ‘races’ and geographical territories and boundaries, *Blackness* presents a ‘landscape’ of the Jacobean Court and Nation through a representation of heterotopian sites that Foucault describes as ‘absolutely different’ (OS, 24).

One must bear in mind that, according to Foucault, these heterotopian spaces in their specificities are to be found in every society inasmuch as they contribute to the sense that they are outside of space since they could, in essence, be anywhere. Foucault maintains that ‘there is probably not a single culture in the world that fails to constitute ‘heterotopias’. He insists, furthermore, that ‘heterotopias’ obviously take quite varied forms, and perhaps not one absolutely universal form of ‘heterotopias’ would be found’ (OS, 24), there are some which are inevitably more consistent than others.

By creating contradictory textual spaces, these heterotopian sites allow Jonson to perform a negotiation of space, both national and imperial, effacing the common locus of space, upon which nationhood is only superficially founded, and thus posing questions on the notion of a unified British community and identity. In doing so, however, Jonson, at the same time, manages to broaden the notion of nationhood itself, envisaging a ‘new’ and more inclusive one based not only on geographical borders or territories but on the contradictory idea, to paraphrase James Joyce, that a nation is the same people living in the same place or also living in different places. This very definition of nationhood overcoming geographical boundaries and territories was James’s political vision upon which he intended to found ‘Britannia’ and the British Empire. To understand Jonson’s contradictory textual spaces, one needs to examine the

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<sup>130</sup> Since ‘race’ as a term is a problem-word, both as regards anthropology and epistemology. But as it was used in past epochs, which are areas of analysis in this dissertation, we will always put the term itself in inverted commas.

textual passages in which the concept and definition of ‘Britannia’ is to be found throughout *The Masque of Blackness*. By using Foucault’s writings on the ‘heterotopias’ between real places and impossible spaces, one could make sense of the paradoxes posited by the fact that the textual space of the masque provides us with no access to any possible, imaginable, or factual reality. I employ the unified notion of ‘heterotopias’ as presented in the first introductory chapter of this thesis to explain the apparent contradiction of places outside of all other spaces since they may create alternative and unimaginable configurations of spaces within the textual world of the masque.

The language of the outside manifests itself from the opening of the play and strives to portray and convey a sense of exteriority. This attempt and attitude are to be found in articulation in the relationships that Jonsonian masquers are shown to have with Foucault’s other spaces, which feature in the dramatic form. As these are places with the ability to draw individuals outside of themselves and their own subjectivities, these sites have the capability and power to open up external perspectives, somewhat similar to exile, from which the court, the performers and the onlookers can put under scrutiny and interrogate their own identities along with the notion of a unified ‘Britannia’. Of these ‘other spaces’, the ubiquitous one in *Blackness* is the mirror, the one and only point of intersection between Foucault’s categories of utopia and ‘heterotopias’ as explained in his heterotopology.

In fact, the masques opens with a perspective backdrop that shows a ‘vast sea’ and ‘horizon’ while a ‘cloudy night-piece’ and fills the upper stage (ll. 71-72, l. 77, Jonson’s italics) functioning as a mirror across the Banqueting House. Stage front offers imitation moving waves on mounted ‘greces’ carrying the seascape onto the full stage (l. 59) which can be considered an ulterior mirror reflecting the dramatic action as well as the two different contrasting political ideologies portrayed by Jonson in the play at first<sup>131</sup>. In the scene centre, Anna and her 11 ladies are found sitting in a very brightly lit shell which Jones constructed to fluctuate up and down as if it were a ship riding on sea waves. The mirror of water draws more focus to the masquers’s physical presences in the plot, functioning at the same time, as a reminder of the plot and as metaphor of the minds of its characters. The mirror is employed to describe Jonson’s representational project: it is a mirror of Europe and its history dating back millennia. The dramatist is

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<sup>131</sup> Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*



aware of the notion that art can be thought of as a mirror and he holds it up to the Jacobean court and its politics of colonialism and imperialism.

Professional performers stand by the shell. Left and right, sea-nymphs with torches are sat in groups of six on two sea-monsters. Before the shell, triton musicians and sea-maid singers sit as though seeming to float up and down in the sea. In front of all these characters, Niger and Oceanus ride on two great seahorses. Jonson directs that they 'advanced' once revealed (l. 39). The masquers wait glittering with colour but their pause suggests imminent advance. This scene suggests and implies court coherence affirmed with the dancers across the proscenium, i.e. coherence between court and public looking at themselves reflected in a looking-glass, an 'other space' in which they can see themselves in a self-reflexive commentary on the court. The idea of the mirror in *Blackness* not only symbolises Jonson's use of language but also constitutes an exterior perspective from which he can enact, and make coexist, two different contrasting realities. In Foucault's assertion, the mirror functions as a powerful heterotopia 'that is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place, several sites that are in themselves incompatible' (OS, 24). To elucidate this statement, he further explains that this principle represents a constant reflection of the representations of those inherently contradictory, 'simultaneously mythic and real' places permitting to reconcile them in 'other different space' opening up impossible configurations of spaces with the emergence of a language of the outside.

It must be noted that *Blackness* was both innovative and traditional also taking up an old masque conceit that masquers are foreigner outsiders coming to court. In *The Illusion of Power*, Orgel says that Jones' innovative proscenium arches and perspective scenes visually asserted absolutism. He thinks spectators were to experience masque illusions according to their rank and proximity to James. But such views obscure the fact that these innovations make the stage into a court space of welcoming encounter of inclusion of different cultures, 'races' and spaces<sup>132</sup>. Previous to *Blackness*, masques had often shown such conceits, e.g. Barbour argues that there was a well-established tradition for representing Blackness on the courtly stage. Barbour traces it back to the court masques for Henry VIII<sup>133</sup>. For example, in various Tudor masques the dancers were presented as foreigners outsiders who approached the court through the hall's

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<sup>132</sup> Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-15.

<sup>133</sup> Barbour, 'Britain and the Great Beyond', *op. cit.*, p. 141.

doors. They were accompanied by torchbearers and, with their glittering costumes, they supported the pretence that they were wanderers coming into the warmly-inviting hall from the cold outside world.<sup>134</sup>

In *Blackness* itself scene and its proscenium stand for the hall's doors. The stage offers the court a romantic, maritime vision of the night world outside framing on the threshold the foreign travellers who are about to enter. *Blackness* welcomes the masquers into the Banqueting House, thus calling attention to their outsider position and status and the court's own integrity. Accompanied by the tritons, the sea-maids on stage sing, 'Sound, sound aloud / The welcome of the orient flood / Into the west' (ll. 83-85). This song asserts the Banqueting House's architectural and social totality giving it a geographical specific position and suggesting it requires a welcoming ceremony to accept outsiders into the 'West', a kingdom where the orient flood must be rightfully welcome and dominated by negotiating the incorporation of their outsideness. Although it is a welcome, the song insists that the masquers and the court respect the differences that distinguish them so that while trying incorporation on the one hand it calls for distance differentiation and standing apart on the other hand. The song specifies and identifies that the masquers and Niger come from the 'orient', a global space, and are a 'beauteous race' that is 'black in face' and also 'bright / And full of life and light' (ll. 88-91). It sees and constructs the hall as 'the west' and asks the audience to be aware of their own whiteness, which separates them from the masquers' and Niger's blackness. The mirror acts as symbol for the seemingly contradictory facets of the dramatic action. In the mirror we find combined the opposing nations and 'races' present in the hall during the masque's performance. This is achieved by coalescing different spaces in heterotopian duality as a simultaneously real and unreal space. 'In the mirror,' says Foucault, 'I see myself there where I am not, in the unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives my own visibility to myself.' On the other hand, though, the mirror contests the reality of that which it reflects: 'From the standpoint of the mirror,' Foucault adds, 'I discover my absence from the place where I am since I see myself over there.' (OS, 24)

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<sup>134</sup> Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975, pp. 10-11, p. 23. The very first court masque of James and Anna's English reign featured this conceit. See Butler's description of *India* and *China Knights* in *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-68.

On the one hand, the mirror presents, during the performance of the masque, a familiar reflection of the reality of the Jacobean court while, on the other hand, it makes an affirmation of the colonial subjects' existence along with their territories through the 12 blackened lady-masquers in the very presence of the King.<sup>135</sup>

As stated, the masque treats this meeting as a pleasant event and lengthens it accordingly. Appearance has its effect on the court. On one hand, critics have observed and suggested that the masquers' costumes justify their inclusion in the Banqueting House while defining them as exotic figures of difference.<sup>136</sup> In their lavishness, Anna with her ladies dancers mirrors the court. Like James, Anna on stage sits in the centre of a spectacular company/colony which includes her dancers and the sea-nymph torchbearers to the left and right of the shell.<sup>137</sup> Thus both masquers and court recognise themselves as part of the royal court with their different retinues creating a diametrical polarity centred on the two royal foci present in the court space of Whitehall at the same time during the masque performance. Like the court the masquers' clothes are lavish in style and colour. As Jonson writes, they wear flowing gowns of:

*azure and silver; their hair thick and curled upright in tresses, like pyramids, but returned on the top with a scroll and antique dressing of feathers and jewels interlaced with ropes of pearl. And for the front, ear, neck and wrists, the ornament was of the most choice and orient pearl, best setting off from the black [of their painted skin] (62-67).*

It must not be forgotten, that this duality, always conveyed by the mirror, also constitutes a reaffirmation on Jonson's part of the traditional notion of the mirror as a symbol of mimetic art. However, it also suggests an alternative conception of this metaphor to obtain the ultimate effect of the mirror on the stage reflecting the hall and audience and, simultaneously, a mirror in the hall reflecting the stage and the performers/masquers. The mirror stage effect achieved is that of a kind of cracked vision in the mirror giving us a split image of the fictive reality of the masque and that of the reality of the surrounding court. The effect of the mirror in the mirror stage makes it possible that different spaces coexist, coalesce or contrast simultaneously in 'other

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<sup>135</sup> On this issue of the masque in performance see Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, op. cit.* For the discussion of texts in performance in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods see Stephen Greenblatt; *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England*, Berkeley, Berkeley University Press, pp. 94-128.

<sup>136</sup> Anne Daye, 'Torchbearers in the English Masque', in *Early Music* 26 (1998), pp. 246-62.

<sup>137</sup> See Daye: 'Providing escort after dark with torches or links was a routine part of life: a service carried out by household servants or as a matter of honour by a page or a gentleman for his superior', in 'Torchbearers in the English Masque,' *op. cit.*, pp. 248-49.

spaces'. It thus serves as the perfect allegory for 'Britannia's political, cultural, linguistic relationship with other nations and the colonies.

As well as mirroring the court in space, Anna and her ladies also meet the court's sartorial standards for inclusion that is included in the masque event. As Butler suggests, like court ladies, Anna and her dancers appear in precious materials.<sup>138</sup> They wear silver fabrics, feathers, and elaborate adornments of pearl. All of these decorations were made to look real and dazzling in the bright lighting.<sup>139</sup> Thus, the masquers resemble the court and announce their claim to membership in that restricted aristocratic ruling group.

Many critics suggest the masquers were off-putting in their black appearances and presentation and rather alienating than inclusive in their striking difference from the court. These critics always quote the 1605 comments from Dudley Carleton, who in a letter to Ralph Winwood wrote:

Their Apparell was rich, but too light and Curtizan-like for such great ones. Instead of Vizzards [masks], their Faces, and Arms up to the Elbows, were painted black, which was Disguise sufficient, for they were hard to be known; but it became them nothing so well as their red and white, and you cannot imagine a more ugly Sight, then a troop of leancheek'd Moors.<sup>140</sup>

In another letter, Carleton wrote to Chamberlain,

theyr apparel [was] rich, but too light and curtisan-like; Theyr black faces, and hands which were painted and bare up to the elbowes, was a very loathsome sight, and I am sory that strangers should see owr court so strangely disguised.<sup>141</sup>

For Carleton, the ladies' blackness was ugly as was their 'Curtizan-like' costumes. His comments resemble modern racist attitudes taking blackness as ugly and suggestive of immorality.<sup>142</sup> But his remarks were not typical of the court reaction. As Mary Floyd-Wilson, William Over, and Joyce Green MacDonald state, the masque was presented

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<sup>138</sup> See Andrea, 'Black Skin, The Queen's Masques', *op. cit.*, pp. 27-31, and Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>139</sup> Carleton wrote to Winwood, 'At the further end [of the hall] was a great Shell in form of a Skallop, wherein were four seats; on the lowest sat the Queen with my Lady Bedford' (in *Inigo Jones*, *op. cit.*, p. 89).

<sup>140</sup> Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>141</sup> Ravelhofer contends that masque costumes were always a hybrid of precious and imitation materials calculated to balance cost with visual brilliance under the scene's lights, in Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music*, New York, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 157-69. Carleton, quoted in *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, *op. cit.*, p. 89. For Carleton's assessment as representative of general courtly reaction, see Andrea, 'Black Skin, the Queen's Masques', *op. cit.*, p. 255.

<sup>142</sup> Asand, 'To Blanch an Ethiop and Revive a Corse', *op. cit.*, pp. 272-74, Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

when in England notions on blackness were different and undetermined. Ideas of blackness as different ethnicity comprised a different range of stances on ‘race’ and moral qualities. These ideological categories were not fixed views and very varied in flux. Floyd-Wilson notes that *Blackness* invoked an old humour-based theory of skin colour, associated with different climates and varying good and bad traits. In this system, Floyd-Wilson asserts blackness could also stand as a mark of nobility and intellectual superiority.<sup>143</sup> Over also points out to an apologia for blackness that Niger speaks later in the masque. Over notes that Jonson in *Blackness* refers to classical sources offering positive ideas of blackness. These opinions stand in contrast to the negative ideas apparently underlining Carleton’s comments.<sup>144</sup>

MacDonald sees in the masque an ‘experimental’ view and attitude of blackness that is owing to the wider culture and ideology starting in colonial expansion and namely initiating British colonialism. At the beginning of the early 16<sup>th</sup>-century, MacDonald claims that English culture saw blackness as simply an exotic form of difference that cannot be conceived and categorised. Later in the century, English writers gave it ‘a newly thematic status as a historical and moral phenomenon,’ which became to mean and signify blackness as a mark of ugliness, moral laxity, and other negative traits.<sup>145</sup> MacDonald links this development to the new material, financial, and ideological developments of the slave trade and colonialism. As England developed a commercial interest in exploiting ‘African resources and African bodies,’ MacDonald writes, ‘the impulse to write the moral origins of blackness gained a newly material impetus.’<sup>146</sup> Thus, England came to consider blackness an identity category and at the same time as a sign of immorality. In fact, in 1605, this shift was just beginning, whereas Carleton saw the ladies’ blackness as a performance of ugliness and sexuality, others will have seen it as exotic and positive. It is rather worrying that so many critics take Carleton’s verdict as representative. Bernadette Andrea tells that the masquers’ costumes were scandalous and subversive quoting Anna’s biographer, Ethel Williams, who claims that *Blackness* deeply harmed Anna’s reputation. As evidence, Andrea offers

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<sup>143</sup> Lewalski, *Anne of Denmark and the Subversions of Masquing*, *op. cit.*, pp. 344-45, and McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage*, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>144</sup> See Barbour, ‘Britain and the Great Beyond’, *op. cit.*, p. 130, and Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-1.

<sup>145</sup> Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, p. 135, and C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson, *Ben Jonson, Vol. 10*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1950, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

<sup>146</sup> Carleton, quoted in *Inigo Jones*, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

only Carleton's comments.<sup>147</sup> Butler, too, affirms that, 'Reports written by eye-witnesses amply demonstrate that the spectators were unable to decide whether to admire or be repelled by' the masquers' appearance.<sup>148</sup> Butler's affirmation about the masque is subtler than those that take Carleton for granted. Yet, it is also without foundation in historical records. As evidence, he quotes the commentary to be found in Herford, Simpson, and Simpson's *Ben Jonson*. But here, Carleton's letters are the only ones mentioning shock and disgust. Otherwise, this commentary only remarks on the masque's richness and the ladies' exotic, beautiful costumes <sup>149</sup>. For example, Vincent reports a report that the ladies were 'strangely attired' and describes their costumes in sharp detail. He knows they performed as black Africans but he takes them quite simply as richly dressed exotics.<sup>150</sup>

Given that the above reading offer us opposing views, I would suggest that the masque presents us with a unified vision of British nationality and subjectivity but one, which has been formed through identification with a mirror, and so it is underpinned by contradictory and unsustainable ways of thinking. Therefore, the reflected image in the mirror serves as metaphor both for the misrepresentation of the African nation by the British court and for the complicity of Jonsonian art with the new Jacobean vision of British imperial rule. Moreover, the coexistence of opposing nations and spaces in 'other spaces' allows, in the light of the Jacobean political agenda, for a 'reality' constructed by a proto-colonial Orientalised discourse.

Many critics claim the masquers had an alienating effect not related to 'race' but because of the break from conventions of aristocratic performance and behaviour. Carlton criticises Anna and her ladies for breaking traditional standards of dress on the masque stage. For him, the ladies' dresses are 'too light... for such great ones.' Similarly, their black paint is 'Disguise enough' in the absence of 'Vizzards' and it suits 'them nothing so well as their red and white.' Similarly, he regrets that 'strangers should

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<sup>147</sup> For discussions of blackness, see Andrea, 'Black Skin, The Queen's Masques', *op. cit.*, p. 281; Asand, 'To blanch and Ethiop and Revive a Corse', *op. cit.*, pp. 270-72; Beemer, 'Masks of Blackness, Masks of Whiteness', *op. cit.*, pp. 226-27; Floyd-Wilson, 'Temperature, Temperance, and Racial Difference', *op. cit.*, 208-09; Over, 'Alterity and Assimilation', *op. cit.*, pp. 43-46; and Siddiqi, 'Dark Incontinents', *op. cit.*, pp. 141-44. As Andrea and Hall note, too, Carleton's comments do not just evoke 'racist' attitudes toward blackness itself, but long-standing cultural tropes that held fair skin and blonde hair to be more beautiful than swarthy complexions and brunet hair, which could also be referred to as 'black.'

<sup>148</sup> Floyd-Wilson, 'Temperature, Temperance, and Racial Difference', *op. cit.*, pp. 183-86.

<sup>149</sup> Over, 'Alterity and Assimilation', *op. cit.*, pp. 45-47.

<sup>150</sup> MacDonald, *The Force of Imagination*, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

see ovr court so strangely disguised.’ In these comments, Carleton invokes a set of conventions for how ‘such great ones’—and, specifically, female ‘great ones’—ought to appear in the masque, on view for the court and its foreign guests. He implies that they should wear masks, traditional ‘red and white’ cosmetics, and costumes comprising the structured silhouettes, voluminous skirts, and opaque fabrics of conventional aristocratic fashion. When he wrote his comments Carleton did not perhaps think the ladies’ blackness was ugly in and of itself. Blackness was not his ultimate object of criticism. He really objected to the ladies’ costumes because they broke conventions of aristocratic dress and showed the court to disadvantage in the presence of foreigner dignitaries.

Orgel claims that Anna’s costume choice was a kind of inversion, like those typical of misrule or of Jonson invented antimasque. This critic is not interested in modern attitudes to ‘race’ but he insists that these masquers challenged and contradicted fixed standards of aristocratic performance. For him, as black Ethiopians, the ladies’ stage identities did not come up to or reflect their real social status.<sup>151</sup> Hardin Asand also suggests that Anna and her retinue proposed transgressive performance. For Asand, the masques should have shown aristocrats in allegorical personages so as to hide and idealise their living identities. In *Blackness*, Asand proceeds, Anna and her ladies used a mimetic but not allegorical type of personal presentation imitating an ensemble of ‘racial’ and exotic differences. For Asand, Anna was not only transgressive because she totally controverted the governing masque norms.<sup>152</sup> Her performance did not simply clash with and defy court standards for aristocratic performance and presentation but also interfered with the supporting allegories of the traditional masque.

The court response to this disruptive behaviour of the masquers on stage, reflected in other surfaces, also suggests an alternative conception of the mirror as a metaphor for art as if the masquers acquired an interiority as individuals and colonial subjects marked by the desire to project their own way of thinking as ‘Other’ outside their subjectivity. In doing so, in attempting to position themselves in alternative perspectives through the surface of a looking-glass, the lady-masquers and the Queen consort fail to see and show themselves in a recognisable self-version. This fact pushes them towards exteriority and it is linked to the mirror-like reflective surfaces in the

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<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>152</sup> Andrea, ‘Black Skin, *The Queen’s Masques*’, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

masque, reflections that demonstrate the desire on the masquers' part to resist conventional borders and boundaries. In the description of the sea as a mirror, they strive to occupy the place on the other side of the shoreline border, and they can look back at themselves, a movement like moving into exile. This action represents a desire to obtain an external perspective of their own state of affairs, their own standing, whether personal or pertaining to their nation.

The duality of the mirror may be seen as identifiable in the contrasting reactions to the masquers' exotic attires and it is also shown by the masquers' own reflection. In the mirror, and in the act of reflecting, we can find two different and contrasting referential systems that reveal much about the construction of the masquers' own identity, and thus the constitution of the narrative in the play. The mirror contributes to their sense of self and also provides confirmation of their fictive, constructed identity but the reflection prevents them from defining themselves by providing them with an external perspective of their own image. Simply put, they can see themselves as others see them, as if from a critical distance, in two places at the same time. The mirror in the masque can also be distorting so as to prevent Jonson's characters getting an easy identification with their own images. The way in which the mirror contorts into different dimensions, and into different contrasting identities, anticipates the final transformation that the masquers will undergo at the end of the performance. The heterotopian quality of the mirror allows us to understand the distortions that the mirror presents, to the court and the audience, in seeing the masquers where they are not, and seeing themselves as something that they are not, thus denaturalising their own image. They draw themselves out of themselves, allowing for the seemingly impossible spaces to coexist as 'other spaces' in another contextual space.

Though they write from very different historical viewpoints, Carleton, Orgel, and Asand all base their judgments on aristocratic court performance-rules that had never been fixed, generally applied or regularly repeated. In Tudor and Stuart courts, aristocratic performance was generally presented exactly how Asand assume i.e. as a high-flown idealizing allegory.<sup>153</sup> On the other hand, accepting Carleton's views for elevation and idealisation, one can find many exceptions to his standards. In 1510,

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<sup>153</sup> The biography Andrea cites is Ethel Williams, *Anne of Denmark: Wife of James VI of Scotland and James I of England*, New York, Prentice Hall, 1970.



Henry VIII and his male and female masquers appeared and acted as moors.<sup>154</sup> At the Stuart Scottish court, Mary appeared in a doublet and breeches, handing out daggers to male guests. This action effaces her gender.<sup>155</sup> At the Stuart English court, *Blackness* was probably not the only early Jacobean masque where ladies appeared as black Africans. For all of James's reign, aristocrats at times performed in the antimasque, presenting odd features to contrast with the main masque itself. To name two examples, we have *Hymenaei* and *The Irish Masque at Court*.<sup>156</sup> If Anna's performance in *Blackness* did not reflect her royal status, it did all the same repeat known precedents and it did provide a new precedent for the future masque performances. Anna never performed in blackface after the 1605 performance. However, she and her ladies went on performing in costumes that stressed their sexuality by showing their legs, shoulders, and breasts.<sup>157</sup> In *Blackness*, Anna did not break any old rules of court performance. She did not subvert the masque genre. As Barroll demonstrates, Anna renewed the form the form as a mode of self-fashioning which served herself as queen consort and her ladies masquers.<sup>158</sup>

Thus, one may consider the queen's costume choices as an innovative experiment in genre and self-display. Anna may, indeed, have anticipated reactions to her choices. This attitude takes up some post-colonial and feminist critics' views who state that Anna used blackness to assert her courtly centrality and cultural awareness.<sup>159</sup> Obviously, some observers also felt Carleton's disgust or other negative responses to the masquers. Yet, thinking of masques that preceded and followed *Blackness* and their reception, some of the new masque's audience likely as not took the masquers as exotics performing in the normal long-established aristocratic tradition, according to which royals and courtiers were allowed to take exceptional roles enacting difference while mirroring traditional roles. Judging from Carleton's and Vincent's opposite reactions, it is probable that the court and the audience reacted to the masquers with a wide variety

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<sup>154</sup> Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>155</sup> See Herford, Simpson, and Simpson's entry on *The Masque of Blackness*, in *Ben Jonson*, Vol. 10, *op. cit.*, pp. 445-55.

<sup>156</sup> Vincent, quoted in *Ben Jonson*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 10, *op. cit.*, p. 449.

<sup>157</sup> Orgel, *Jonsonian Masque*, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-28.

<sup>158</sup> Asand, 'To Blanch and Ethiop and Revive a Corse', *op. cit.*, pp. 270-76.

<sup>159</sup> In that masque, six ladies appeared as Moors with black cloth covering their heads and arms to simulate black skin (Andrea, 'Black Skin, *The Queen's Masques*', *op. cit.*, p. 263). Barbour reports on the same event, but mistakenly identifies Henry VII as the principal masquer, 'Britain and the Great Beyond', *op. cit.*, p. 130.

of opinions. For me, the outstanding point is that the masquers' blackness in appearance and their stage dresses held them apart from all the court without however alienating it.

The masquers and the court had a complex and splendid mirror and an equally complex and splendid foil.<sup>160</sup> *Blackness* works as though the masquers' ambivalence of status in the court is pleasing and it prolongs its initial meeting with the court. After the initial welcoming, Banqueting Hall audience knew the masquers would come down off-stage to dance but in this narrative there are two bits of information to be established before this final move i.e. why have the ladies arrived here? and where do they think they are?. Oceanus wants to know the ladies' purpose and Niger wants to know where they are. After almost 160 verses of conversation we get to the journey's reason and the destination. With this procedure the welcoming encounter is much stretched out as it takes place inside the proscenium arch. As in prose romance, this prolonging is a strategy of suspended expectation of waiting resolution. It gives masquers and court an extended moment to observe one another and feel socially coherent on both sides of the proscenium. Oceanus takes 14 lines to ask two simple questions:

*How and why have you come?*

*Be silent now the ceremony's done, And Niger, say, how comes it, lovely son, That thou, the Ethiop's river, so far east, Art seen to fall into th'extremest west Of me, the king of floods, Oceanus, And in mine empire's heart salute me thus? My ceaseless current now amazèd stands To see thy labour through so many lands Mix thy fresh billow with my brackish stream, And in thy sweetness stretch thy diadem To these far distant and unequalled skies, This squarèd circle of celestial bodies.*  
(ll. 95-106)

In asking his questions, Oceanus recounts the masquers' quest telling of their origin, travels, and present location. In reply, Niger explains how he and his daughters managed to travel to the Banqueting Hall -- but Oceanus still wants to know why and asks again 'what's the end of thy herculean labours Extended to these calm and blessed shores? (ll. 115-16) This conversation is romantic in both content and form. It tells of the masquers' search stretching out the simple dramatic action so as to hold back an essential clue to the masque's resolution. In doing so, it expands the meeting under the proscenium, permitting masquers, audience and performers to feel involved in a process of romantic meeting. Throughout this procedure, each group is a focus for the other while the masque asks them to think and feel about their own forms of sameness and difference. So romance expands spatial and social cohesion and coherence by stretching

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<sup>160</sup> McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage*, op. cit., p. 84.

out the encounter in dramatic place and action. Niger's second reply to Oceanus obtains the same result. After all, his answer is more or less direct. He explains,

*My daughters are especially beautiful because their black skin neither ages nor requires cosmetics. However, they came to revile their appearance when a group of poets disparaged their blackness and praised the beauty of white women abroad. I could not make them see their error or ease their distress. Then, one night, a vision appeared to them and told them to seek out a land where they would be able to have their appearance changed. In a riddle, the vision indicated that the land in question is ruled by a god-like sun king and has a name ending in '-tania.' We set off searching and have since visited three different countries with the requisite suffix—'Mauritania,' 'Lusitania,' and 'Acquitania'—but none of them turned out to be the right one (ll. 180- 82).*

In the end, Niger asks Oceanus and asks, 'What land is this that now appears to us?' (l. 185). The court knows that the land mentioned in the riddle must be England in Banqueting House. The court must take Niger's final question as *crux* in the masque. He needs an answer to the riddle so that the induction can continue and allow the masquers to come down from the stage and dance. But he takes over 80 lines to ask that question and, simultaneously, while explaining the black masquers' quest in terms that enact romance. At first, Niger seems to start answering Oceanus's questions about the 'end' of his 'herculean labours,' but he soon gets off the point. He declares his reasons for the journey 'To do a kind and careful father's part, / In satisfying every pensive heart / Of these, my daughters' (ll. 117-19). But then, he starts on an apologia for blackness. He claims that 'black' hair shows 'the perfect'st beauty' because 'no age can change, or there display / The fearful tincture of abhorred grey' (ll. 129-30).<sup>161</sup> Then he explains that British poets became envious of their extreme beauty and praised 'The painted beauties' of 'other empires' instead (ll. 138-40). In response, he goes on, the ladies 'wept... ceaseless tears' and 'charged' the Ethiopian sun 'With volleys of revilings' (ll. 152-56).<sup>162</sup> These movements in Niger's speech take up some 45 lines and it is by no means clear how they have anything to do with Oceanus's question. Only at their end will we get his answer when he tells us of the vision that sent the masquers on their quest. In other words, he delivers the crucial point that permits the masque to go on. At first, his speech seems to be many digressions that impede the masques progress. But

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<sup>161</sup> Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

<sup>162</sup> See *Hymenaei* and *The Irish Masque at Court* in *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, *op. cit.* Aristocratic antimasquers never performed in the grotesque costumes characteristic of antimasques danced by professionals, in 'Jonson's The Masque of Queens', in *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, *op. cit.*

Oceanus's questions, like Niger's discourses, expand the welcoming meeting between the masquers and the court. Moreover, he pleads strongly for ladies' inclusion in court. They are beautiful, he insists, and they want to assume the court's whiteness. He also invites onlookers to pay marked attention to the masquers' exotic differentness. For to Niger, their blackness means they are very beautiful in contrast to the 'painted beauties' of other countries -- which must refer to the women in the hall audience, wearing make-up of the fashionable 'red and white' cosmetics i.e. the very make-up Dudley Carleton wished to see on Anna and her ladies in place of their black skin-paint. Niger's account also enlivens the stage seascape by asking the audience to consider the sea as a phenomenon separating the masquers' from their exotic origins and nation. The sea as a 'mirror of water' also reflects the political notion of the imperial dominance of the British over the foreigner travellers coming from the colonial east. The broader implication, displayed throughout the masque's performance, is that of the control on the outer world by means of a British-controlled sea enacted by a play of mirrors. This mode of representation, serve to reinforce British hegemonic rule propagating the characterisation of the colonial subjects as racially and culturally different.

So Niger's speech gives the court plenty of time to think on the masquers' narrative diversity and identity difference. The moment of social inclusion and cohesion has still to come since we have not yet been told how the riddle will be solved with the consequent social acceptance of the masquers' eventually included in the Jacobean court.

At last, Niger tells us about the vision and the masquers' search – thus almost untying the Gordian knot. On the brink of the masque's dénouement, Niger tries to unite both masquers and audience on either side of the proscenium to bring coherence and incorporation by overstepping boundaries. Niger also asks audience and dancers to feel how they are close to mutual acceptance. The revelation begins: 'That they a land must forthwith seek / Whose termination, of the Greek, / Sounds –tania' (ll. 130-31). Then the account becomes direct. He explains that his daughters have 'three pryncedoms passed / That speak out –tania in their accents last': 'Black Mauretania,' 'Swarth Lusitania,' and 'Rich Aquitania' (ll. 178-82). At last, looking out of the proscenium, he wonders, 'What land is this?' (l. 85). The audience knows that the riddle's solution depends on Oceanus. If the masque is allowed to proceed we must hear 'Britannia'. But Niger has first to

narrate the facts of the masquers' quest and their arrival in the hall. He does not know what the audience knows i.e. that this court and this country are the solutions to the riddle and his quest. Meanwhile, we are all waiting for dancers and the masquers to come down from the stage and, as tradition has it, begin their enticing ballets and revels to satisfy the court's expectation. But speaking to the audience, Oceanus declaims: 'This land that lifts into the temperate air / His snowy cliffs is Albion the fair' (ll. 186-87). But Albion the old name for England does not solve the riddle although so Oceanus's answer is geographically accurate but does not meet the vision's instructions. Now he gets interrupted by Aetheopia, a black moon goddess who is enthroned in a silver pyramid, crowned with a 'sphere' of silver light, and framed by a faux night sky (l. 196). The goddess is asked for help by Niger: 'let thy particular grace / Shine on my zealous daughters: show the place / Which long their longings urged their eyes to see' (ll. 206-08). Aethiopia tells Niger, 'Thy daughters' labours have their period here, / And so thy errors' (ll. 211-12). She explains that she sent the masquers' vision and that the land it refers to is 'This blessed isle' of 'Britannia' (l. 224). Aethiopia praises 'Britannia' at length, and eventually identifies James as the 'sun' whose 'beams' can 'blanch' the nymphs white (ll. 231-33). Finally, she encourages the masquers to take to the dance floor, where 'Their beauties' will be refined in James's 'radiance' (ll. 237, 241, 243).

Thus, *Blackness* uses romance error<sup>163</sup> as a means to answer the court's and the masquers' desires for integration of different spaces and cultures. Oceanus offers a notable compliment to the court and hall. 'This land,' he declares, is a 'four thousand'-year-old empire ruled by 'Neptune's son,' i.e. James (ll. 188- 89). And Aethiopia sees 'Britannia' as 'A world divided from the world,' a coherent island empire apart from the rest of the world (l. 226). Oceanus and Aethiopia assert the court's coherence in contrast to the masquers. However, at the same time, they assert this 'Britannia' coherence so that it succeeds in integrating the masquers as accepted and welcome foreign outsiders. On stage, the black Aethiopia with her appearance adds to the the masquers' foreignness while she is asserting their claims to courtly inclusion. As their Ethiopian 'goddess,' she acts and functions as a striking confirmation of exoticism (l. 204). The goddess

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<sup>163</sup> Patricia Parker defines romance error as a device by which the reader is continually invited to 'see' a logical flaw in the narrative. In this case, the error is the geographical references the error. The references do exist and possess enough resonating power to extend its clue to enchantment and its error to the act of performing. See Parker, *Inescapable Romance*, *op. cit.*

confirms the dancers' and masquers' status as a splendid mirror of the court's brilliance. Her own costume and decorations are splendid and luminescent. They assert on the masque stage the very features of the masquers' costumes and appearance that connect them to the court.

### III.1.3 'Britannia' in the Banqueting House As Heterotopian Space

*Blackness* expands the welcoming meeting between masquers and court to achieve coherence and unity inside the hall. It does this by reinventing the hall space and its occupants as a microcosm of the British Empire. Aethiopia affirms this when she names the Banqueting House as 'Britannia'. She thus identifies the hall as the masquers' quest-end and names it as the local empire James wanted to create in unifying England and Scotland and Wales. In large geo-political terms as well, she has in mind the unity James wished to create between his Scots and English courtiers.<sup>164</sup> Aethiopia's speech is really the last move in a development that began with Oceanus's and Niger's initial discourses<sup>165</sup>. In this process, the singing and speaking figures on stage exploit the masquers' situation to assert the court's integrity in the Banqueting House. It is important to recognise the imperial identity that Aethiopia and others insert into the minds of the Banqueting House audience. Unquestionably, this declaration by Aethiopia that the court represents 'Britannia' amounts to an explicit demonstration of imperial power asserting control over the colonial territory.

All three of the Jacobean Banqueting House masques placed the courtiers present in narrative discourses of inclusion and intimacy with James. In 1605, however, the Banqueting House had historical associations and features that increased the chance of unifying James's new divisive Scots-English court. Elizabeth had built the Banqueting House for festivities celebrating her marriage negotiations with the Duc d'Alençon.<sup>166</sup> So for older members of James's court, the hall probably evoked frivolous as well as political occasions when the Tudors and court were on display to elite foreign guests. The proscenium stage may have surprised some courtiers as an innovation since its robust framing and depth were novel and unexpected – though some

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<sup>164</sup> See Antonio Correr's report on the masque, quoted in *Inigo Jones, op. cit.*, 205-206. Correr describes a curtain depicting the British Isles and motto expressing imperial unity. That curtain's function, then, was overtly political and ceremonial, while the one in *Blackness* seems like a less formal and more domestic form of interior decoration. See also Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, op. cit.*, pp. 74-116, and 'Inventing the Stuart Masque', *op. cit.*

<sup>165</sup> See, Jonson's scene description, in (*Inigo Jones, op. cit.*, pp. 193- 201). See Andrea, 'Black Skin, *The Queen's Masques*', *op. cit.*; Asand, 'To Blanch an Ethiop and Revive a Corse', *op. cit.*; Hall, 'Sexual Politics and Cultural Identity', *op. cit.*

<sup>166</sup> Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments*, New York, Yale University Press, 1999, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

Elizabethan masques had had scenery on an elevated stage at one end of the hall.<sup>167</sup> The stage's curtain also evoked the Tudors. Painted with a woodland hunting scene, it resembled a tapestry<sup>168</sup>, an artistic and decorative form that Henry VIII had especially favoured. Accordingly, it infused the Banqueting House with the memory and the feeling of Tudor royalty. Thus, the hall offered the Stuart's new Scots-English court an aesthetic experience of coherence in space and across time by enveloping the group in architectural and decorative devices reminiscent of Elizabethan and Henrician festivities. Inigo Jones had also invented the proscenium curtain to give the court an idea and feeling of domestic intimacy with their new monarch, James. In the Banqueting House, a cloth of state decorated the elevated platform where James was sitting thus stressing the Banqueting House interior as a ceremonial space of royal power. For centuries, tapestries had often depicted what Jones had painted on the curtain for *Blackness* i.e. wooded hunting scenes.<sup>169</sup> Hunting was James's favourite pastime, something he pursued with the Gentlemen of his exclusive Bedchamber staff<sup>170</sup>. Jones had chosen a subject that was both royal and domestic. It was a visual take on the hall's comforting warmth, its welcoming integrity, and its nearness to the king's Privy Lodgings (at the south end of the hall). It proposed the hall as a space of intimacy and experience between James and his court. James's formal entrance into the hall suggested that this space could unite the courtiers gathered there while also energising the court's hierarchical structure. James arrived in the hall in the company of Prince Henry, the Duke of Holstein, brother to Queen Anna and the King of Denmark, and ambassadors from Spain and Venice.<sup>171</sup> Following convention, they all sat very near James on the canopied state<sup>172</sup>. Their presence gave the hall a ceremonial centre, making the court hierarchy assembled there especially clear in its standings. James's presence also stressed the hall's character as a royal space where the court public could enjoy some

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<sup>167</sup> See Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>168</sup> Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty*, *op. cit.*, p. 3. Hunting was a pastime that allowed extreme privacy and intimacy between James and his male retinue. On hunting sojourns, James typically retired to a lodge far outside London and brought with him only his Bedchamber gentlemen and his Master of Horse—and, of course, the train of servants and attendants required to sustain their comfort while in the country. In Cuddy, 'The revival of the entourage', *op. cit.*, p. 194.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>171</sup> Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments*, New York, Yale University Press, 1999, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

<sup>172</sup> See, Jonson's scene description, in *Inigo Jones*, *op. cit.*, pp. 193- 201; and Cuddy, 'The revival of the entourage', *op. cit.*, p. 194.



intimacy with their new king and his foreign guests. The latter also offered the Scots and English courtiers an international audience before whom they could display their own social coherence around the new monarch.<sup>173</sup>

The masquers on stage insert an idea of imperial order into the court microcosm and into the architectural and social wholeness already to be felt in the Banqueting House. In their shining romantic presence, the nymphs form the visual and spatial context for the masque to promote the court and the Banqueting House as 'Britannia'. They are the figures of romance rendering the court a phenomenon with epic and imperial purpose. Their blackness is significant as non-British otherness and also as a suggestion of Scots-other identity. As Ethiopian nymphs, Anna and her ladies represent exotic Africans.<sup>174</sup> They also evoke a legend tracing Scotland's national origins back to Scota, the daughter of an Egyptian pharaoh. They offer the court a view of 'racial' difference and otherness that contrast with its own white coherence. They also represent the Scots that James had just introduced into court. Their romantic quest repeats the process of the Scots outsiders entering James's court. As the stage characters discuss the quest, they promote the court in imperial terms that culminate in Aethiopia's 'Britannia'. *Blackness* expresses significant socio-political phenomena in miniature, giving the court a chance to grasp its own local coherence in the Banqueting House expanded and asserted in imperial terms.

'We are all familiar', Foucault writes 'with the disconcerting effect of the proximity of extremes, or quite simply, with the sudden vicinity of things that have no relation to each other'. (OT, xvi) Incommensurability exists, rather in the effacing and eradication of site on which the meetings take place. Instead of the juxtaposition of different ordering systems, it is their existence 'without law or geometry' that gives 'heterotopias' the quality to comprise a multitude of incompatible worlds it describes.

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<sup>173</sup> On James's plan for union, see Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-124, and Cuddy, 'Anglo-Scottish Union and the Court of James I, 1603-25', *op. cit.*

<sup>174</sup> As Over points out, Jonson glosses these lines with a classical source, Diodorus Siculus's argument that 'Africans were the first humans' and thus longest-blessed with access to the sun's light. In Niger's interpretation, the nymphs' sun-darkened skin grants marks their immortality and enduring beauty in 'Alterity and Assimilation', *op. cit.*, p. 47. See also Jonson's note in the 'Appendix' of *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, *op. cit.*, p. 510. As Over observes, Jonson here draws on and revises classical sources that claim Africans revile the sun for making them black and desire white skin instead ('Alterity and Assimilation', *op. cit.*, p. 45). In Jonson's own notes, he cites Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Pliny (*Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, *op. cit.*, pp. 509-11). In Jonson's version, however, the ladies do not internalise a desire for whiteness on their own, but only in response to British poets.

There are also geographical references in the Jonsonian text, reminding the audience of British colonial ambitions, remembering that all maps are politically-charged representations of space. The act of mapping brings together a unified, all-embracing vision of different spaces, with their political, colonial, national and imperial coefficients, in 'other space', which simultaneously affirms and negates the visibility of space. Foucault writes that: 'Places of this kind are outside of all places even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality' (OS, 24).

The above process begins slowly and then accelerates as Niger, Oceanus, and Aethiopia name the hall more and more often and in geo-political terms. The descriptions of these sites exhibit elements of what Foucault calls his heterotopology, the principles that mark these spaces out as different from the spaces surrounding them. In the most literal sense, they exist apart from the court's 'landscaped' site at Whitehall; the Banqueting House is textually asserted by the innumerable thresholds entered and exited by the characters. 'heterotopias', 'says Foucault in 'Of Other Spaces', 'always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable' (OS, 26). In the masque, we find spatial references and deictics along with detailed topographical indications and descriptions linked to the mapped colonial nations. This textual material emphasises the unreality of the space they enclose.

First, that space is simply 'the west' (l. 85), as opposed to the masquers' 'orient flood' (l. 84), then 'th'extremest west' (l. 98), then the very 'heart' of Oceanus's maritime 'empire' (l. 100). Next, Oceanus describes it as 'these far distant and unequalled skies' (l. 105), 'This squared circle of celestial bodies' (l. 106), and 'these calm and blessed shores' (l. 116). Later still, it is 'Albion,' an ancient 'empire' that crowns the ocean with 'snowy cliffs' amongst Oceanus's 'waves' (ll. 186-92). Finally, it is not 'Albion,' but 'Britannia', an ancient imperial 'style' that James has restored (ll. 224-25). It is 'The blessed isle' (l. 216), a nation that 'the triple world admires' (l. 219), 'A world divided from the world' (l. 226), and a 'diamond' set within the figurative 'ring' of the globe (ll. 228-30). In this eulogy, the entire audience shares in the British Isles' 'skies' and 'shores,' and their island status in a western position facing Europe, their sea-girt island. The masque offers these characteristics as signs of an already existing historically pre-established 'Empire'. It also exaggerates them into a myth of global centrality and admiration. 'Britannia's isles thus turn into a miniature and

microcosmic Blessed Isle in the Banqueting House, a far-flung western space of worldly transcendence and earthly paradise. As Richmond Barbour has put it, these rhetorical expressions suggest James's imperial ambitions and desire for Scots-English unity and for acquiring a central role in the new geo-political order of the early 17<sup>th</sup>-century colonial expansionism.<sup>175</sup> Barbour maintains that they are meant to reverse cultural anxieties that undermined James's imperial ambitions. Barbour also remarks that Britain had been an isolated western ultimate frontier of the Roman Empire and, centuries later, it joined Europe's intellectual, artistic, and mercantile renaissance. In the early 17<sup>th</sup>-century, it was slower than continental European countries in imperial ambitions. These facts, Barbour argues, made Britain suffer from political immaturity and cultural marginality. But *Blackness* re-organises and reverses all of these factors. According to Oceanus and Aethiopia, the western edge of Europe is not a periphery, but a space of mythical transcendence and Britain's island status does not cut it off from the world, but, instead, offers a special maritime centrality which makes it a focal point and gives it imperial, sea-bound integrity. For *Blackness*, Britain's ancient history does not show cultural marginality but is rather the sign of later empire. And with the masquers' arrival, it also becomes the end-point of an exotic quest. These assertions of empire directly involve the court's spatial experiences in the Banqueting House.<sup>176</sup> When Oceanus refers to 'these far distant and unequalled skies,' he points to the sky painted on the Banqueting House's ceiling.<sup>177</sup> 'Albion' and 'Britannia' necessarily encompass England and the British Isles, remembering that Jones showed shoreline of the British Isles on stage. When Oceanus points to 'these calm and blessed shores,' he indicates a space immediately present in the hall. When Aethiopia says 'the triple world admires' 'Britannia', she returns to a strategy that masques use to praise the court. Masques often

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<sup>175</sup> See Cuddy, Anglo-Scottish Union and the Court of James I, 1603-25, *op. cit.*

<sup>176</sup> Butler, Stuart Court Masque, p. 114; and Floyd-Wilson, 'Temperature, Temperance, and Racial Difference,' *op. cit.*, p. 201. Both Butler and Floyd-Wilson point out that the masquers' black skin paint also evoked the practice of body- and face-painting amongst the ancient Britons. Butler and Floyd-Wilson point up Jonson's debt to William Camden's 'Britannia', which traces the term Britain to 'the ancient origins of the prefix 'Birth,' which supposedly referred to the practice of body- and face-painting, and thereby earned the ancient Britons their name (Floyd-Wilson, 'Temperature, Temperance, and Racial Difference,' *op. cit.*, pp. 194-95). Anna and her ladies may very well have evoked this ancient British association, and the court would have seen an even more obvious reference to ancient British identity in the other figures on stage. Jonson reports that Oceanus was painted blue (l. 30) and that the tritons had blue hair (l. 40).

<sup>177</sup> Orgel and Strong report from a watercolor of the torch-bearing sea nymphs that their 'faces were painted blue' as well (*Inigo Jones, op. cit.*, l. 99)

present the hall and its occupants as worthy of global attention.<sup>178</sup> By so doing, they give meaning to the hall's social exclusiveness, its splendour and its architectural integrity. Aethiopia combines the geographical coherence of empire with the local, domestic architectural coherence of the Banqueting House. Like 'Britannia' itself, the hall is a space, a container bringing the court coherence, within the structure that attracts that admiration. The masque ties the court's theatrical as well as political idea of empire into their momentary sense of unity and containment altogether inside the Banqueting House. To put it another way, the masque exploits their momentary sense of containment and unity to involve them in a shared feeling of empire. Oceanus's and Aethiopia's demonstrative references to the hall are especially important in this regard because they foster community and shared affect.

*Blackness* displays referents that the whole court shares: the hall and its constituent spaces. Oceanus, Niger, and Aethiopia deploy their demonstratives to communicate curiosity, wonder, or pride about those spaces, and to identify them as microcosmic elements of the British Empire. Their *deixis* mixes and combines ideological tenets with a concrete realm of royal intimacy and courtly inclusion. This process remains geo- politically non-specific through most of the masque as Oceanus refers to generic points of spatial and national coherence, such as 'these calm and blessed shores.', along with identifications of the hall as an 'Empire,' thus avoiding controversial Jacobean notions of Scots-English union. Oceanus's emotional pointing is adulatory and ideologically reflects the Jacobean policies unchallenged. It binds the court's domestic sense of courtly inclusion and royal intimacy with a vague notion of sea-girt national grandeur, stressing England's obsession with itself as an island nation. In doing so, it creates a common and shared wealth of space-specific ideals, of which all courtiers had a clear understanding. Aethiopia uses this shared ideological knowledge when she utters the masque's most controversial, and ideologically-connoted term, reference for the hall, 'Britannia'. In the masque, the court's understanding of national

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<sup>178</sup> Molin and Carelton, quoted in *Ben Jonson, op. cit.*, p. 446, p. 448. Contemporary reports on other Jacobean masques always indicate that James came into the Banqueting House with important foreign guests and members of his family. They indicate, too, that such guests always sat with James on the state or nearby. Busino shows that the court was, indeed, a spectacle in and of itself for foreign visitors. As a member of the Venetian ambassador's retinue, he had to wait in the hall before *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* along with the rest of the court. During the 'two hours' wait,' he and his colleagues entertained themselves by looking around at the English and Scots ladies, assessing and commenting on their clothes (quoted in *Inigo Jones, op. cit.*, p. 282).

and imperial coherence in the Banqueting House is not just theatrical, rhetorical, or spatial but intensely physical as well. In modern theoretical terms, the masque ‘fashions’ ‘Britannia’ and the Banqueting House in that it creates a cohesive metaphor for both individual and group identity: defined location or containment in bounded space.

When Aethiopia affirms that Britain is a sea-bound empire, she uses precisely spatial boundedness as an embodied mechanism defining the subject, the individual and the group. Oceanus renders this powerful dynamic indicating ‘This squared circle of celestial bodies.’ Here, he blends the ‘squared’ structure of the hall with the metaphorical ‘circle’ of lavishly dressed bodies that sit before the stage in the Banqueting House. Oceanus, then, invites the court to conceive and perceive itself as a structured, ordered cosmos and, nationally, as a unified ‘Britannia’. When Aethiopia finally names the Banqueting House ‘Britannia’, she turns that space and the court into a retrospective source of dramatic narrative linearity and teleological coherence. The 12 nymphs-masquers’ travelling—from Mauretania to Lusitania to Aquitania—achieve the goal of their quest arriving at the Banqueting House. Aethiopia also reconsiders British history as an epic by suggesting that James has not imposed empire on his subjects, but rather restored England and Scotland and Wales to their ‘ancient dignity and style.’ James’s court is reminded of their own history of Scots-English division, a period of disunity, which is brought to an end by James. When the lady-masquers descend to dance with their audience in the microcosm of the hall, they re-affirm the court’s imperial experience in space by means of breaching real space with the inclusion of ‘unreal’ colonial space.<sup>179</sup> Conversely, the courtiers, inhabiting the physical space of the court, must accept that ‘Britannia’ incorporates outsiders crossing the proscenium. By bringing together different people, the court’s cohesion is put into relief. This fact explains the capacity of expansion to incorporate the new foreign members of the Nation and the Empire. By including foreign members, the Jacobean King gives both structure and progression to his political agenda, showing his intentions to his court.

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<sup>179</sup> Barbour, ‘Britain and the Great Beyond’, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-39. National union and harmony within the ethnically hybridised court were not unrelated. As Cuddy observes, James saw union emanating both from his person—he was a Scots born king of England, after all—and from his own household. He took pains to carefully insert his Scots entourage into the existing framework of the Elizabethan establishment and carefully balanced Scots and English appointments in every chamber of his household, except for the intimate Bedchamber. Cuddy argues, James the Bedchamber as an exclusively Scots entity in retribution for Parliament’s refusal to ratify union. See Cuddy, *Anglo-Scottish Union*, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-112.

Whiteness alone proves to be an insufficient principle for the masquers' acceptance. It is, in fact, the pure white 'Albion' that must allow 'Britannia', to absorb the ladies and, through James's powers, blanch them white. As 'Britannia', the court must feel itself, at least momentarily, as a 'racial' and ethnic hybrid, an entity made coherent by its ability to incorporate, rather than repel others. In this way, the masque combines the epic and imperial with the welcoming acceptance of foreigners, who are Britain's new colonial subjects, forming part of the British Empire being created by James I. By welcoming the ladies into the Banqueting House, the masque once again asserts the court's integrity by suggesting that it needs to negotiate the incorporation of foreign outsiders. The Banqueting House contains and enacts the court's status as a microcosm of 'Britannia', where the ladies have come to find the 'sciental' sun-king in Aethiopia's riddle.

Critics have stressed that the masquers' faux-blackness underlines and brings out the masque's imperial Jacobean agenda. Though it is a strong theme in *Blackness*, it must be noted that a spectacular transformation turning the ladies white would, in the end, have been an even stronger display of James's power. Jonson delayed the transformation to the following revels season, when Anna and her ladies were supposed to re-enact in their roles in a sequel, Jonson's own *The Masque of Beauty*. The following two revels seasons required wedding masques, however, and *Beauty* had to be delayed until 1608.<sup>180</sup>

Jonson prepared the sequel while he was creating *Blackness*. At the end of the masque, Aethiopia explains how the ladies will blanch themselves white. She says, 'yourselves, with feasts, / Must here remain the Ocean's guests,' and then instructs the nymphs to undergo a year-long bathing regimen that will turn their skin white (ll. 314-15). Afterward, Aethiopia tells the audience that the nymphs will come back to the Banqueting House and dance once more before the court. She declares, 'So that, this night, the year gone round, You do again salute this ground, And in the beams of 'yond bright sun Your faces dry, and all is done. (ll. 331-34). The miraculous skin-blanching transformation that Aethiopia had promised earlier is delayed for a year-long process that the ladies will undergo as the 'guests' of 'Britannia'. As Foucault suggests the 'heterotopias' begins to function at full capacity when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with traditional time' (OS, 26). And in this way, Jonson blends his and Anna's

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<sup>180</sup> See Orgel, *Inigo Jones*, *op. cit.*

plans for *The Masque of Beauty* into *Blackness*'s text and action. This fact allows us to reject the theses advanced by those critics who see only subversion or scandal in Anna's performance. Such critics tend to consider *The Masque of Beauty* not as a planned sequel but as a postponed act of correction in which Jonson and Anna make up for their alleged faux-pas in *Blackness* by offering the narrative coherence that the earlier masque hides, delays, withholds and lets foresee at the same time, and by acquiring a much more decorous form of queenly self-fashioning and self-display—there is no blackface in that masque, and the masquers appear in more conventional costumes. This view, though, is wholly untenable given the plans for *Beauty* that Jonson inscribes into *Blackness*. It also obscures the extent to which *Blackness* and *Beauty* show Jonson and Anna as artistic patrons and emergent principles of the masquing culture within the new Stuart court. By withholding resolution until the following revels season, Jonson and Anna respectively make a case for their continued centrality within the court's revels culture. This manoeuvre was riskier for Jonson than it was for Anna. As queen consort, Anna could continue dancing in masques regardless of *Blackness*'s success, and she could do so with or without a sequel to *Blackness*. But Jonson's status as a masque creator was not yet assured. Moreover, at the end of his first masque, he announces himself, and perhaps Jones along with him — as masque creator(s) for the following year's festivities. Jonson and Anna had different kinds of stake in this self-advertising process, but it reveals nonetheless that they were sensitive to romance and courtly community as key forms of experience within the masque event. It also suggests that they comprehended those experiences as a special province for Anna herself, rather than for James. Here, many critics like Barroll and MacManus might contest that the masque is less about constructing Anna as the leading principle to achieve group coherence and more about building a political independent centre opposed to the power of the King. Such critics, including Lewalski, insist that it is more about asserting kingly or queenly power. In this regard, if *Blackness* and *Beauty* are not celebrations of Jacobean imperialism, then they enable Anna to put herself at the centre of the court community by first subverting the masque form and displaying herself as a kind of self-made heroine of the antimasque. In retrospect, this argument suggests, *Blackness* points up Anna's claims of inclusion in *Beauty*, as an agent of contrast, during which she appeared as a white woman at the centre of a much more decorous and conventional

masque performance. Anna's performances in *Blackness* and *Beauty* do, indeed, contrast one another, but not in the extreme ways that have been suggested by some critics. As much as so they shed light on how Anna cultivated contrast as a means of self-display, they also show her working to sustain herself and her ladies as the nexus of a particular kind of courtly experience. Against and within claims and assertions of Jacobean power and empire, we have seen, *Blackness* is coherently structured around Anna as a host of exotic Ethiopian nymphs, dazzling costumes and visual ephemera, a narrative of maritime long journey, a beautiful and illusory seascape and shoreline, and, finally, hours and hours of social dancing. This is the subject-matters of romance, of courtly community, and of the masque itself as genre. The masque, after all, is an ephemeral opportunity for dances, revels and enjoyment that takes place within the more permanent structure of court hierarchy and royal power, all things that, in turn, inform the Banqueting House and the palace of Whitehall. At the very end of the masque, then, as the ladies are dancing their retreat into the scene, the masque offers one final assertion of Jacobean power while announcing yet another Anna-centred romance that will bring the masquers back the following year:

Back seas, back nymphs, but with a forward grace  
Keep, still, your reverence to the place;  
And shout with joy the favour you have won  
In sight of Albion, Neptune's son. (346-49)

On the one hand, this song expresses the realities of masque funding and royal power. James quite literally maintained 'the place' of the Banqueting House by paying for it, and his presence there made that space a realm of courtly 'reverence.' Similarly, because James funded the masque it was a very real act of 'favour' between James, Anna, and the rest of the court. But as the 'nymphs' leave the scene, they retain their marks of exotic difference and thus continue to hold out the promise of delayed resolution and return. As it concludes with a celebration of Jacobean power, then, the masque also opts to further dilate Anna's exotic romance across the coming year into the following revels season.



## III.2 Jonson's *The Masque of Beauty* As Imperial Heterotopian Space

### III.2.1 Nation and Empire in *The Masque of Beauty*

In the revels season 1607-1608, Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones were able to present, at last, in the Whitehall Banqueting House, *The Masque of Beauty* as a sequel to *The Masque of Blackness*<sup>181</sup>. As we have already discussed in this chapter earlier, in the first masque the Queen and her women-retinue appeared on stage with faces painted black<sup>182</sup> as the twelve daughters of Niger. Jonson's depiction of African people<sup>183</sup>, on the stage in Whitehall, was both anticipation and reflection of the cultural and economic changes created by the aims and appropriations of British colonialism as well as of the emerging Imperialist political agenda. In the early years of the reign of James Stuart, Britain was beginning to emulate the colonial expansionistic endeavours that other European countries, i.e. Spain, Portugal, France, and Holland, had undertaken in the early sixteenth century. Thus, Jonson's allegory of African daughters who travel to Britain to seek beauty and perfection by being 'blanched white' and, consequently, being assimilated with the British people served well the purposes of James I's display of power and the ideology of the greatness of the growing Empire. Through establishing

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<sup>181</sup> Ben Jonson, *The Queen's Masques: the Second Masque of Beauty* in *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, ed. Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1973, cited in the text by line number. *The Masque of Blackness* was performed on January 12<sup>nd</sup>, 1605 and its sequel *The Masque of Beauty* was only performed on January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1608.

<sup>182</sup> Most sixteenth-century descriptions of Africans by European sea traders and explorers were largely negative, with some exceptions. In *Beauty*, the threat posed by difference is erased by a simple white-out solution, and the African maidens, who are described by Niger in *Blackness* as 'the first formed dames of earth', remain in England as subjects indistinguishable from other native English people, no longer possessing the original color of human kind (Herford and Simpson, 1925, *Inigo Jones, op. cit.*, p. 7; pp. 173; p. 1; p.1389 hereafter all masque line references are from this edition. Confer Barker, A., 1978, *The African Link*, London, Frank Cass; A. G., Barthelemy, 1987, 'Black Face, Maligned Race: The Representation of Blacks' in *English Drama from Shakespeare to Southerne*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press; M. B., Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1988; R., Cowec, 1985, 'Blacks in English Renaissance Drama and the Role of Shakespeare's Othello' in D. , Dabydeen, ed., 1985, *The Black Presence in English Literature*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, pp. 124-145; Hall, K. F., 1995, *Things of Darkness. Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press; E. D., Jones, 1971 *The Elizabethan Image of Africa*, Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia; W. D., Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Towards the Negro, 1550-1812*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1968; J. G., Macdonald, *Women and Race in Early Modern Texts*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002; P., Stallybrass, 'Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed', in S. Snyder, ed., *Othello: Critical Essays*, New York, Garland, 1988, pp. 251-277; E. Tokson, *The Popular Image of the Black Man in English Drama, 1550-1688*, London, G. K. Hall, 1982.

<sup>183</sup> 'Racial' conceptions in Early Modern England developed with expanding mercantile enterprise and the growing presence of Non-European people.

an explicit 'racial' hierarchy, both *The Masque of Blackness* and *The Masque of Beauty* celebrated Britain's recent position of power as a world-class trader, trying to affirm itself as a geopolitical power on the *mappa mundi*, competing for economical assertion and political supremacy with the more established European trading nations.

In *The Masque of Beauty*, the daughters of Niger, who never returns to Britain since he embodies 'racial' otherness and had asserted a policy of exclusion in glorifying Blackness in the previous Masque<sup>184</sup>. The daughters of Niger were described as having already, before appearing on the stage erected in the Banqueting House, been transformed into white noblewomen by the 'scientall' power of King James. The alteration of black skin into white operated by the powers of Albion, the Sun-King of 'Britannia', which is a glorious personification of James I, the privileged onlooker seated in the king's box and the real focal point of the Hall. James also symbolised the Renaissance monarch who brings light to darkness. In fact, the African nymphs are 'healed' through a skin colour-change-- the two masques being an enacted evocation on stage of the long European tradition that associates the monarchy with powers for healing skin disorders -- hence the reiterated reference to the 'scientall king' previously in *Blackness*. In Jonson's Masques, James I thaumaturgically performs a catharsis, and a 'racial' inclusion, which brings a shared white identity to the Non-Europeans. This gesture bringing unity and coherence to the British Nation and to the rising Empire. Although intended to be represented the year after *Blackness*, *The Masque of Beauty*'s performance was delayed until 1608, due to the outburst of the plague in London and also to the need for other wedding masques Jonson was commissioned to create. The latter took place in the Christmas festivities of the two preceding years<sup>185</sup>. As Jonson informs his audience:

TWO yeares being now past, that her Maiesty had intermitted these delights, and the third almost come; it was her Highnesse pleasure againe to glorifie the Court, & command that I should thinke on some fit presentment, which should answere the former, still keeping the[n] the same persons, the Daughters of N i g e r; but their beauties varied according to promise, and their time of absence excus'd, with foure more added to their Number.

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<sup>184</sup> Most sixteenth-century descriptions of Africans by European sea-traders and explorers were largely negative.

<sup>185</sup> The wedding Masques were written by Jonson for the Earl of Essex in 1606, and for Lord Hay in 1607 respectively as annotated by Jonson himself in *Beauty*. However, in Jonson's 1616 *First Folio*, the playwright presents the masques together, indicating that they were two parts of the same dramatic entertainment. We consider the two masques as such, arguing that when analysed together they reveal evidence of a coherent strategy of representation of James' proto-imperialism and patriarchal discourse.

To which limitts, when I had adapted my inuention, and being to bring newes of  
them, fro[m] the Sea, I induc'd Boreas, one of the windes, as my fittest Messenger;  
(ll. 1-9)

It must be noted that, with the outstanding exception of Lewalski and Barroll, critics generally consider the text of *The Masque of Beauty* as overtly patriarchal, expressing the political ideology of James I, who insisted on being represented and seen as the *Pater Patriae* and the *Pater Familias* in his display of power. Orgel has considered *Beauty* as patriarchal on the basis of its glorification of James and its claims for his powers of transformation, arguing that 'Jonson [...] has devised a metaphor, James as the sun, to express the King's central position in the masque and a fiction within which the metaphor is true'.<sup>186</sup> The centrality of the political and ideological content of the Masque, the argument so well explained by Orgel, is fully declared in the opening lines of *Beauty*, spoken by the two main characters, the messenger Boreas and Januarius. Boreas asks: 'Which, among these, is Albion, Neptune's son?' (l.22)

I A N V A R I V S.

W<sup>H</sup>at ignorance dares make that question?  
Would any aske, who Mars were in the wars?  
Or, which is Hesperus, among the starres?  
Of the bright Planets, which is Sol? Or can  
A doubt arise, 'mong creatures, which is man?  
Behold, whose eyes do dart Promethian fire  
Throughout this all; whose precepts do inspire The rest with duty; yet commanding,  
cheare:  
And are obeyed, more with loue, then feare.(ll. 23-31).

Introducing James as the god-like sun is an expanded metaphor deriving from *The Masque of Blackness* - although it seems clear from the *incipit* of the play that in *Beauty* Jonson uses a far more hyperbolic poetic style. The analogy created with the metaphor of the Sun-God King immediately positions James at the centre of his vision of a unified nation, 'Britannia', and, simultaneously, portrays him as the founder of the British Empire – the Jacobean ruler as the centre of the universe, a cosmological and cosmographic metaphor embodying all the semantic values of Jacobean politics, which Jonson will deploy throughout the masque-text. In fact, the description of James as the Sun-God continues for several lines more but it can also be found in various passages in the second part of the masque. James is notably the figure described from the start as the

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<sup>186</sup> S. Orgel, 'Marginal Jonson', in David Bevington & Peter Holbrook, *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 140. See also, Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque*, Inigo Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-128.

sun which never sets<sup>187</sup>. Also Leah Marcus reaffirms Orgel's reading, arguing that a patriarchal ideal vision of the empire, and the embodiment of its ideological values, is the focal point of *The Masque of Beauty*<sup>188</sup>, since King James, the critic also notes, possesses the 'scientall' power to perform the magical rite 'to blanch an Ethiop and revive a corse' anticipated in the previous masque (*Blackness* l. 227). As for Martin Butler, he claims that the key-concepts of Jacobean imperialism, those of colonialism and integration, are thus foregrounded as his ultimate political ambition with the use of the word 'Britannia', a reference to James' desire to create a unified Great Britain.<sup>189</sup> In this critical perspective supported by the major modern critics on the Jonsonian masque, we may state that the opening lines describing James as 'Albion, Neptune's son' position him at the centre of the dramatic form as well as inscribing the King as the founder of the Nation and of the Empire in text and for the audience at White Hall.<sup>190</sup>

*The Masque of Beauty* narrative goes on with the messenger Boreas reminding the audience of the twelve Aethiopian Dames of the previous revels of *Blackness*:

*TO thee then, thus, & by thee, to that King,  
That doth thee present honors, do I bring  
Present remembrance of twelue Æthiope Dames:  
Who; guided hither by the Moones bright flames,  
To see his brighter light, were to the Sea  
Enioyn'd againe, and (thence assign'd a day  
for their returne) were in the waues to leaue  
Theyr blacknesse, and true beauty to receaue.( ll. 41-48)*

In *Blackness*, the elimination of perceptions of cultural difference by assimilation and inclusion in the Jacobean Court was successful, since the twelve African Daughters-nymphs of Niger, were willing to be changed into white noblewomen although the actual transformation was delayed with the announcement that it was to be completed only in its sequel, *The Masque of Beauty*, during the revels of the following year.

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<sup>187</sup> Reminding us of the notorious phrase 'the empire on which the sun never sets' that had been in use for some time for the Spanish Empire. Only in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century, it was also used to describe the British Empire. The reference to the Messianic King is to be found in Psalm 72:5-8 defined as: 'He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth as long as the sun and moon endure, throughout all generations'.

<sup>188</sup> Leah Marcus, 'Jonson and the Court' in Harp & Stuart, eds, *Ben Jonson, op. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>189</sup> Martin Butler, 'The Invention of Britain and the Early Stuart Masque' in R. M. Smuts, *The Stuart Court and Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 69-75. However, the text of the masque could be read as not entirely patriarchal but lending itself to a pro-female interpretation, one which is mirrored by the inclusion of specific female dancers from Anna's retinue. On this point, see Barroll, *op. cit.*

<sup>190</sup> On this point, see Edvige Pucciarelli, 'Il mito di Albione, insularità e identità nell'Inghilterra giacomiana', in *Polisemie dell'isola*, Franca Ruggieri, ed., Roma, Anicia, 2015, pp. 237-253.

In *Beauty*, Januarius announces that the nymphs' metamorphosis from Black to white has been completed but they have been delayed from returning to 'Britannia' for two years running where they are still expected to show themselves at Court:

*WHich they receau'd, but broke theyr day: & yet Haue not return'd a looke of grace for it, Shewing a course, and most vnfit neglect.*

*Twise haue I come, in pompe here, to expect Theyr presence; Twise deluded, haue bene faine With<sup>c</sup> other rites my Feasts to intertayne:*

*And, now the Third time, turn'd about the yeare Since they were look'd for; and, yet, are not here.(ll.49-56)*

Unfortunately the cause of their delay was due to the fact that four of their sisters had been imprisoned by Night, annoyed by the decision of the other twelve nymphs to change their black skin colour in favour of whiteness, forsaking blackness, Night's own colour, 'mad to see an Æthiope washed white,' (l. 68).

It becomes apparent that, instead of offering to the court audience theatrical visions that challenged Jacobean categories of 'race', political and economic power, and the Renaissance notion of gender, the Jonsonian masques seem to reaffirm such crucial and critical notions. But Jonson highlights the tensions challenging the Stuart myth, and even if he ultimately goes along with Stuart ideology, he also questions it. However, the threat posed by 'Otherness' is cancelled by turning white the colonial subjects so that the African women, who are described by Niger in *Blackness* as 'the first formed dames of earth', remain in Britain as assimilated subjects, not to be distinguishable from other native British people, forsaking their original colour and identity for integration with their new acquired nation and the Empire. By becoming white, by renouncing to their non-European identities, the African transmuted women attain more than European acceptability and acceptance—of paramount significance is the conversion of their 'Otherness' and their femininity, a change only enacted by the power of the British sovereign capable of transmuting them as far as of giving them a new national identity through 'His light scientiall is, and (past mere nature) / Can salve the rude defects of every creature'<sup>191</sup>. It is important to stress the fact that since Albion is identified as

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<sup>191</sup> Such transformations of identity, it must be said, occur also in Jonson's *Irish Masque at Court*, (1613) where it is clearly related to racial issue within the Kingdom of Great Britain. The debate focuses on the uncouth Celtic clothing and behaviour of the conquered Irish, who are transformed into acceptable Jacobean court dress and deportment (see, Herford and Simpson, 1925, *Vol. VII, op. cit.*, pp. 399-405). The Irish 'come a great [w]ay of miles to [see]' (l. 23) James, while they put on English garments to dance in courtly style. In the play's transformation scene, the colonised Irish nobles are changed during the playing of English court music, a regulative force that accompanies the alteration of their identities. This assimilative political power of music is rendered manifest in *Beauty*. As regard the uncouth Celtic

Neptune's son both in *Blackness* and in *Beauty*, the conversion and integration process is enhanced by the power of the ocean, a geographical image associated with England's maritime activity, which also allows the travels of the Blackamoors and their safe arrival on the British shores. As both groups approach James's realm by their own volition, 'Britannia' is their declared end-goal, the outward transformation of the Africans Ladies is followed by an inward conversion, with the intent of assimilation. In these masques, the transformation of human identity celebrates Albion's political centrality along with his centripetal force of integration, the ability to subsume all difference into its own power and ideology. When other cultures are so easily incorporated, Britain's aim of cultural expansionism and political imperialism become fully attainable and easily realisable as Jonson tries to demonstrate to the aristocratic audience in the Banqueting Hall.

*The Masque of Beauty* proceeds with Boreas explaining at length to the audience assembled in the hall, the ordeals the nymphs were subjected to during their long absence from British shores:

*IT was nor Will, nor Sloth, that caus'd theyr stay,  
 For they were all prepared by theyr day,  
 And, with religion, forward on theyr way:  
 When Proteus,<sup>d</sup> the gray Prophet of the Sea  
 Met them, and made report, how other foure  
 Of their blacke kind, (whereof theyr Sire had store)  
 Faithfull to that great wonder, so late done  
 Vpon theyr Sisters, by bright Albion,  
 Had followed them to seeke Britania forth,  
 And there, to hope like fauor, as like worth.  
 Which Night envy'd, as done in her despight,  
 And (mad to see an Æthiope washed white,  
 Thought to preuent in these; least men should deeme  
 Her coulor, if thus chang'd; of small esteeme.  
 And so, by mallice, and her magicke, tost  
 The Nymphes at Sea; as they were almost lost,  
 Till, on a Iland, they by chance arriu'd,  
 That floted in the mayne, where, yet, she had giu'd  
 Them so, in charmes of darknes, as no might  
 Should loose them thence, but theyr chang'd Sisters sight.  
 Whereat the Twelue (in piety mou'd, & kind)  
 Streight, put themselues in act, the place to finde;  
 Which was the Nights sole trust they so will do,*

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tradition and identity in Music see also Chapter 4 of this dissertation discussing the national and imperial character of Elgar's music.

*That she, with labor might confound them too.  
 For, euer since, with error hath she held  
 Them wandring in the Ocean, and so quell'd  
 Their hopes beneath their toyle, as (desperat now  
 Of any least successe vnto their vow;  
 Nor knowing to returne to expresse the grace,  
 Wherewith they labor to this Prince, and place)(ll.57-86)*

Night affirms that the mere appearance of their metamorphosed twelve sister-nymphs would set them free; but when the twelve, 'in piety mov'd and kind' (l. 79) came to their rescue facing Night, they were fooled and immediately imprisoned. The figure of Night, introducing an element of dissonance into the harmonious world picture of the Jacobean realm, because clearly challenges Albion's power display and overt dominance by attempting to prevent the black to white transformation. Niger and Night are defeated in the end because they insist upon the permanence of blackness in the court of James, challenging his authority and also the concept of seventeenth-century Europe, which regarded African identity<sup>192</sup> as transitory condition rather than enduring status.

Night's failure marks and allows for 'The glorious *Isle* [England]' to 'take place / Of all the earth for Beautie' (ll. 126-27). The image conveyed is one of British maritime, naval, and cultural power in the Jacobean period; it is a proleptic and prophetic metaphorising in poetic form of a longer history of the British Empire, which was on the rise, and in this context the displacement of other cultures became a necessity.

The narrative continues offering explanations of how the sixteen sisters were isolated from the rest of the world, being placed on a floating island and condemned to wander forever on the ocean. At this point a second messenger, Vulturnus, bearing signs he is from the East (l. 100) enters the stage announcing that:

*A gentler Wind, Vulturnus, brings you newes  
 The Ile is found, & that the Nymphs now vse  
 Their rest, & ioy. The Nights black charmes are flowne.  
 For, being made vnto their Goddesses knowne,  
 Bright Æthiopia, the siluer Moone,  
 As she was <sup>a</sup> Hecate, she brake them soone:  
 And now by vertue of their light, and grace,  
 The glorious Isle, wherein they rest, takes place  
 Of all the earth for Beauty. <sup>b</sup> There, their Queen  
 Hath raysed them a Throne, that still is seene*

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<sup>192</sup> See Ania Loomba, *Gender, Race and Renaissance Drama*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1989; Eldred D. Jones, *The Elizabethan Image of Africa*, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 1971; Karl Westhauser, 'Revisiting the Jordan Thesis: 'White over Black' in Seventeenth-century England and America', in *The Journal of Negro History*, 85, Summer 2000, pp. 112-122.

*To turne vnto the motion of the World,  
Wherein they sit, and are, like Heauen, whirld  
About the Earth, whilst, to them contrary,  
(Following those nobler torches of the Sky)  
A world of little Loues, and chaste Desires,  
Do light their beauties, with still mouing fires.  
And who to Heauens consent can better moue,  
Then those that are so like it, Beauty and Loue?  
Hether, as to theyr new Elysium, (ll.103-122)*

Aethiopia, the moon goddess, has freed the nymphs and they are on their way to Britain to join Albion's court and dance for James with their newly acquired beauty and grace as white noblewomen. Aethiopia must be immediately recognised as an assimilated representative of the court of Albion. In *Beauty*, Aethiopia's stage managing of the main action of transformation of the African ladies into white British noblewomen is a structural theatrical expression of the co-optation of non-European identity on the Stuart stage, whereas the narrative device used by Jonson of erasing Niger's dramatic importance in the sequel of *Blackness*, and of giving a central position to the dramatic character of Aethiopia and Queen Anna (personifications of alterity and geographical conquered territories both on stage and in the text in different ways) parallels and enacts the historical erasure or marginalisation of non-European identities. 'racial' integration has been performed by means of the King's powers and full assimilation with the court is to be enacted with the graceful dance to take place before James. James is here again referred to as 'Albion, Neptune's son' (l. 23). The floating island is described as physically attaching itself to Britain as to enact full merging with the British Nation, 'the glorious Isle', through a blending of topographical boundaries. There is a textual rendering of the new cartographic vision of the British Empire where the Masquers-nymphs, all sixteen of them reunited and blanched white in their new nation, are revealed (to the aristocratic audience of the Banqueting Hall) sitting upon the Throne of Beauty on the stage created in the Banqueting Hall seen as 'their new Elysium'. In *The Masque of Beauty* the Queen and her retinue of Ladies-Masquers embody 'Beauties to behold' (l.127), 'in flowry mazes walking forth' (l. 128), which now expect to see, great Neptunes Sonne/and love the miracle, which thyselfe hast done.', (ll.144-145). By this description, before appearing, they have already been assimilated with the court,



enacting what Barroll defines the function of inclusion of the Jonsonian Masque<sup>193</sup>.

The Masquers-nymphs perform very intricate dances accompanied by songs. The dances normally were very succinctly described in the printed masque-texts in Jonson's annotations, although they were a major component of the masque in performance<sup>194</sup>. Contrary to the general definition of the components of the Jonsonian, Masque, Barroll states that masques were divided into five parts, of which the printed masque-texts only constituted the First Part; Part Two was 'the measure', where the masquers danced alone coming down from stage to dance floor; Part Three was the 'taking out', where the masquers chose spectators from the audience to dance with them; in Part Four different spectators were selected to dance and finally, in Part Five, the masquers danced their final dance alone<sup>195</sup>. Jerzy Limon<sup>196</sup> argues that the masquers' dances were significant and were read as text in Jonson's time, while Clare McManus focuses her interpretation of the choreutic part of the entertainment on the implications of the dance-as-speech for these were silent performers. MacManus maintains that dancing 'was the courtly woman's primary point of entry to the masque form itself and its importance to the masque form cannot be overrated'<sup>197</sup>. Although both Barroll and MacManus underline the importance of the dancing in the genre, many masque-texts offer us very little information about the dances; many texts state as stage instruction simply 'they dance' without annotations. Due to this fact, it can be interpreted as highly significant that Jonson's highlights the importance of the different modes and complexity of the dances performed by Anna and her Ladies in *Beauty*. Jonson gives precise, detailed indications of the figurative importance embodied by the dances:

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<sup>193</sup> See the section devoted to the Jonsonian Masque form in chapter two of this dissertation. The other function of the Jonsonian Masque genre is that of exclusion.

<sup>194</sup> See chapter II of this dissertation dedicated to the Masque as a genre and the definition of the Jonsonian Masque.

<sup>195</sup> Barroll, *op. cit.*

<sup>196</sup> Jerzy Limon, *The Masque of Stuart Culture*, London, Associated University Presses, 1990, p. 23.

<sup>197</sup> McManus, *Women, op. cit.* p. 8. The importance of the dances is clear from the payment list for the last masque, which Anna commissioned, Jonson's Masque *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly* (1611). Jonson and Inigo Jones were each paid £40 for their parts in creating the masque: in contrast, Mr. Confesse 'for teaching all the dances' was paid £50, ten pounds more than the writer and designer, while a Mr. Bochan was given an additional £20 'for teaching the Ladies the footing of two dances'. Payment list (Rewards to the persons employed in the masque) for *Love Freed* quoted in Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson, Vol. X, op. cit.*, p. 529. McManus has looked at aristocratic dance as a way of understanding representations of gender in the court masque, see MacManus, *Writing Women, op. cit.*, pp. 18-59.

The[se] dancing forth a most curious *Daunce*, full of excellent device, and change, ended it in the figure of a *Diamant*, and so, standing still, were by the *Musitians* with a second *Song* (sung by a loud *Tenor*) celebrated. (ll. 270-273) [...] The *Song* ended; they *Daunced* forth their second *Daunce*, more subtle, and full of change, then the former; and so exquisitely performed, as the King's *Maiestie* incited first (by his owne liking, to that which all others there present, wish'd) requir'd them both againe, after some time of dauncing with the *Lords*.(282-287) [...] *Here, they daunc'd a third most elegant and curious Daunce, and not to be describ'd againe, by any art, but that of their own footing: which ending in the figure, that was to produce the fourth; January from his state saluted them, thus,*

The first reference made by the dramatist reads 'a most curious dance, full of excellent device, and change [which] ended [...] in the figure of a diamond' (ll. 282-5) while the second reads 'more subtle, and full of change than the former, and so exquisitely performed' (ll. 294-5). The third is a 'most elegant and curious dance [...] not to be describ'd again, by any art, but that of their own footing' (ll. 333-5). The dance acquires the form of self-fashioning for Anna and her retinue, a way of affirming their status and role in the Banqueting House as Masquers as well as noblewomen in James's court. The final dance is too sophisticated to be described in any way other than by the dance itself, reasserting full integration of the nymphs in the British people along with the reassertion of the centrality of Anna as Queen Consort, who then enacts a public submission to the patriarchal political power of James<sup>198</sup>. The dances can therefore be interpreted as displaying the considerable fame acquired by the Ladies-nymphs with their metamorphosis, now endowed with grace, ability and a more luminous beauty, at the same time presenting not only their physical skill but also their intellectual qualities such as memory, comprehension and judgment in the performance of the complicate footing required by their dances. It is worth noting that the song which precedes the most complex dance reads as follows:

Had those that dwell in error foul  
And hold that women have no soul,  
But seen these move; they would have, then Said,  
'Women were the souls of men'.  
So they do move each heart and eye  
With the world's soul, true harmony (ll. 328-33).

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<sup>198</sup> The laws of monarchical power in *Blackness* and *Beauty* appear as a programmatic aesthetic arrangement, purposely supporting categories that organise Jacobean world-reality. While the traditional dislocations taking place in the court masque, with its later Jonsonian antimasque elaborations to mark binary opposition and then final resolution of conflicts in the main masque, allowed for a degree of otherness to intrude upon orthodox discourse, in fact, it must be stated that alternative non-conforming views were delimited and tightly controlled within the corridors of Jacobean power. See Welsford, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-16; pp. 134-41. This control was applied in part by the system of court patronage and personal recommendation, which chose playwrights for court productions.

The emphasis falls on the words ‘error foul’ as these lines might come as a surprise<sup>199</sup> in the light of some critics’ assessment of the interpretation of this Jonsonian Masque as only overtly patriarchal and misogynist.<sup>200</sup> In our interpretation, the ordered rhythm and structure of the song’s lyrics, the final emphasis on the word ‘harmony’, stressed by juxtaposition with the ordered dances of the women and the ultimate message to the onlookers all serve to offer an image of the graceful, perfectly ordered world of ‘Britannia’, as Nation and Empire, presented and contained in the Banqueting Hall, thus reaffirming the metaphor of the cosmology, and inscribing this vision in Jacobean cosmography, is offered in the opening lines of *Beauty*. This association with harmony is also emphasised elsewhere in the masque. The Cupids encircling the women sitting on the throne are described as bringing harmonious love as they ‘strike a music of like hearts’ (ll. 323), while the harmonious dances support this symbolism. As D. J. Gordon pointed out, these are the ‘seeing’ cupids of Neo-platonic doctrines who were associated with higher love, in contrast to their blind brother, who signified earthly desires.<sup>201</sup> The Maquers dancing symbolise Beauty, incarnating the action of being in tune with the ‘world’s soul’ (ll. 333), indicating that their movement mirrors that of the turning earth, an image-metaphor strongly reinforced by the reference to ‘beauty’s sphere’ (ll. 364). Their graceful choreutic movements also mirror those of heaven: ‘And who to Heaven’s consent can better move/ Than those that are so like it, Beauty and Love’ (ll. 121-2). This image is poetically condensed, and linguistically built upon, in the last song: ‘Still turn, and imitate the heaven/ In motion swift and even’ (ll. 357-8). The semantic field of reference is that of cosmology, an ordered universe created by James with his political unifying vision of ‘Britannia’.

It must be stated that the concept of the ordered universe was central to Renaissance cosmology, and the ensuing vision of the movement of the universe as the

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<sup>199</sup> Lewalski, analysing the poetry of the masque, interprets *Beauty* as challenging James by representing female power in the broader context of the court. We would argue, however, that the images of harmony and grace, specific to these female dancers, reassert the patriarchal and cosmological metaphors set out from the *incipit* by Jonson. There is no evidence that Anna and her women were interested in changing the position of women in general.

<sup>200</sup> Renaissance thought asserted that women were intrinsically inferior to men, morally, physically and intellectually, and the general belief was that women were therefore naturally subordinate. Misogynist theory went so far as to argue that women lacked souls; the reasoning behind this was that while there is specific reference in the Bible to God breathing a soul into Adam, there is no mention of a soul being breathed into Eve. On this specific point, see *Ben Jonson, Vol. X, op. cit.*, p. 464.

<sup>201</sup> Gordon, *Imagery and Inigo Jones, op. cit.*, p. 130.

perfect dance of the spheres can be found throughout Renaissance literature<sup>202</sup>. It must be stressed in defending our critical reading of *Beauty* as patriarchal that according to the extreme misogynist theory, since only man had a soul, his alone could correspond to the soul of the universe. Hence, James, the *Pater Patriae*, is presented not only as the soul of the Nation and the Empire but also as the focal point of power and order of the new Brito-centric cosmology. Yet, in *Beauty* it is women who are portrayed as corresponding with the universe through their dancing: they mirror with their movements the movements of the celestial bodies. The emphasis on their dances as mirroring the ordered dance of the universe positions the Masquers with a higher level of intelligence and perfection in Neo-Platonic terms and this transforms any negative preconceptions associated with womanhood, although we must stress the unshakable centrality of James's role as the centre of this ordered universe and as the ruler of the spheres and of the Lands.

The graceful and ordered dances of Anna and her retinue as white noblewomen who have become a part of this British universe also counter the earlier anti-female trope of the black nymphs as trapped on the floating island, wandering aimlessly. The purpose of Anna's and her Ladies' is to oppose the idea of 'racial' inferiority of the black nymphs and this opposition is fully completed and enacted. The nymphs' wandering represented the instability of their status and reasserted their 'racial' inferiority compared to the British King's court of aristocrats and dignitaries. The black nymphs had to be subjugated and conquered both as women and as colonial subjects. The act of submission and integration is embodied by the dancing Masquers metamorphosed into white noblewomen, who are educated and stable as opposed to the wandering black nymphs. Of course, this wandering is never shown but only reported so that that later lasting impression of the transformed women on the stage of the Banqueting hall comes through with their aristocratic masquers' skill and grace rather than the black nymphs' original instability. The dances can be interpreted as a construction aiming at displaying the positive qualities of the Masquers, an aim which is further reinforced by Jonson's poetic text. Januarius, the central poetic speaker in the masque,

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<sup>202</sup> See E. M. W. Tylliard, *The Elizabethan World Picture*, London, Random House, edition 2011. In addition, Thomas Elyot, in his *Book, Named the Governor*, 1531, figured dancing as an imitation of 'the wonderful and incomprehensible order of the celestial bodies [...] and their motions harmonia!' Thomas Elyot, *Book, Named the Governor*, 1531, ed. Henry Herbert Stephen Croft, London, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1883, p. 218.

praises the nymphs for their grace, which is 'great, as is your beauty, dames' (ll. 338) and the ancient Greek poets are imagined composing for them 'to sing hymns in celebration of their worth' (ll. 130). Jonson writes at the end of the last dance: 'they danced their last dance, into their throne again: and that turning, the scene clos'd' (ll. 354-5). The throne set on the stage comes to a halt and stasis reigns contrasting therefore the movement present with the activities of dancing and singing. This fact was also due to practical reasons, since the Masquers had to descend from Jones's revolving stage (*machina versatilis*) onto the dance floor for the final revels. Moreover, if the stage and its theatrical devices became static, Jonson's poetry and also the choreography of the dancing would not be obscured by the magnificent scenery and spectacle created by the revolving stage or the moving Ladies, beautifully and colourfully clad.

Continuing and expanding the cosmological metaphor, the stage created by Jones, with its magnificent spectacle of pillars and arches, can also be read as further reinforcing the women's association with the higher powers of the universe. The stage throne was set upon a base of steps on which sat 'a multitude of Cupids' (l. 206), with two fountains, an orchard and maze behind and 'curious and elegant arbours' (ll. 209-10) to the sides. The throne and steps revolved in different directions, the hallmark of Jones's productions being the extensive use of the *machina versatilis*. The throne, on which the masquers sat, moved from east to west 'imitating that which we call *motum mundi*, from the East to the West' (ll. 226-7), the motion of the world. The steps 'had a motion contrary [...] with *Analogy ad motum planetarum* from the West to the East', (ll 230-1). At the end of the masque the ladies were seen again sitting on the revolving throne; therefore the final, and thus the most memorable, striking image of the masque was of the women in tune with the universe. *Beauty's* text and its staging work together to build a coherent meaning, stressing the positive qualities of the masquers and, along with other elements in the masque, revealing a related purpose, i.e. to present ideal images of the aristocratic ladies-masquers themselves as personification of Jacobean political values and embodiment of British identities at the end of the courtly entertainment. It is important to state the dichotomy existing between the characters Night and Aethiopia, the moon goddess. The two female figures embody two sides of female power: one evil, with 'charms of darkness', (l. 77) the other 'chaste' and 'virtuous' (l. 138), following the trite stereotype of patriarchy. As Aethiopia would have appeared painted black, the

binary opposition is somehow destabilized since it is Night who incarnates witch-like qualities, capturing the nymphs 'by malice and her magic' (l. 73). Night, a dark force, battles with Aethiopia for control of the nymphs, but is defeated:

The Night's black charms are flown'! For being made unto their Goddess known,!  
Bright Aethiopia, the silver moon,! As she was Hecate, she brake them soon (ll.  
121-4).

As Aethiopia frees the nymphs there is an assertion of one female power conquering another female power under the aegis of James, the male agency to whom the nymph submit both as women and as colonial subjects. It is Aethiopia who stage-manages the action (as she did in the prior *Masque of Blackness*), emphasising female agency and capability before accepting the King's rule with into complete integration with the British court at the end of the final dance.

After being called Aethiopia throughout both masques, the moon goddess is at this point referred to as Hecate<sup>203</sup>, a goddess first mentioned by Hesiod, who saw her as a benevolent power over earth, sea and sky. Jonson expands the cosmological metaphor through the use of mythology. Jonson refers to Hecate in his annotations in *Beauty* as 'light-bearing Hecate', a clear reference in mythological descriptions to the torch she was supposed to carry. Jonson hints at Hecate's association with witchcraft without making it explicit<sup>204</sup>. Therefore, witchcraft is linked with both characters, Night and Aethiopia. However, as Aethiopia is portrayed in a positive way, as virtuous, and as a result her association of witchcraft with evil is destabilized and subverted, reasserting the dichotomy Black and white with inherent ideological values of 'racial', political and moral superiority. The centrality of the role of Aethiopia, established throughout the poetic text, is also achieved though her physical placement on the stage. She is positioned above the Throne of Beauty, as if overseeing the action, 'in a silver chariot,

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<sup>203</sup> Hecate derives from the Greek and means 'she who works her will'. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume 5*, Encyclopaedia Britannica, London, 1992, p. 793. After 5 BC, however, Hecate was represented as the powerful goddess of the underworld and witchcraft, sometimes conflated with Proserpina. Hecate is one of the aspects of the moon, which is commonly figured as a triple deity. The moon is represented by Cynthia in heaven, Diana on earth and Hecate in the underworld: 'as... Diana represent[s] the splendour of the night, so Hecate represents its darkness and terrors' see, Jenny March, *Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, Cassell, London, 1998), p. 179.

<sup>204</sup> However, this association would have been supposedly made by the aristocratic audience. The most convincing piece of evidence to link Jonson's use of the name Hecate with witchcraft can be found in another of his masques for Queen Anna, *The Masque of Queens* (1609). In the antimasque to *Queens*, 'the spectacle of strangeness', the Queen of the witches invokes Hecate as 'thou three formed star' (l. 233) and Jonson's notes to this masque make explicit Hecate's association with witches: 'she was believed to govern in witchcraft and is remembered in all their invocations'. See, Orgel, in *Inigo Jones, op. cit.*, 'Notes to Queen's', p. 81.

drawn by virgins, to ride in the clouds, and hold them greater light' (ll 233-4). Yet, it is Anna, seated below Aethiopia, who is said to have raised the throne, 'that still is seen/ To turn unto the motion of the world' (ll. 113-15). The placing of the Queen in this manner endows her with an actively creative and skilful power. The throne, incorporating nine female statues, personifications of virtues, wearing crowns -- with the moon goddess above and the sixteen masquers seated on it, becomes symbolic of exclusively white female rule and predominance, a visual statement reinforced by the poetry:

It was for Beauty that the world was made,! And where she reigns, Love's lights  
admit no shade (ll. 255-6).

As all the women sit on the throne<sup>205</sup>, this comment on female power applies directly to all of the female dancers, not just to the Queen. The costumes 'orange-tawny and silver, and green and silver' were also striking:

several-coloured lights [...] reflected on their backs [...] The habit and dressing [...] was [...] so exceeding in riches, as the Throne whereon they sat, seem'd to be a mine of light, struck from their jewels and their garments (ll 169-70; 247-55).

The combination of set, costumes and positioning therefore creates an image of female splendour and power. As a participant in the masque, Anna was physically present in a way that James, could never be -- spectator but always the focus of attention and perspective in the Banqueting House reinforcing his image as the centre of 'Britannia'. He could not play an active part in the 'mighty shows' due to his status. Januarius, in his last celebratory praise, calls him again the sun which never sets. However, immediately afterwards and thus reinforcing a polarity in the court and on stage, Januarius praises the women as: 'Beauty, at large brake forth, and conquer'd men' (ll. 353) dangerously negating the image of James's everlasting power. Jonson is reasserting the political and artistic power held by Anna at the Stuart Court. Anna was his patron and commissioned from him three Masques. In Jonson's own words explaining the genesis of the masque show that the Queen had had input into both its theme and content:

it was her Highness' pleasure, again to glorify the Court, and command, that I should think on some fit presentment, which should answer the former [i.e. *The*

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<sup>205</sup> The nine female statues 'represent[ed] the Elements of Beauty' (l. 160), and were: Splendour (which was also the role which Lucy Russell had played in *Blackness*), Serenitas (Clearness), Germinatio (Budding), Laetitia (Joy), Temperies (Temperance), Venustas (Loveliness), Dignitas (Merit) and Perfectio (Perfection). The ninth was Harmonia 'whose dressing had something of all the others' (l. 201) and whose seven crown jewels were emblematic of the seven planets and their spheres.

*Masque of Blackness*], still keeping them the same persons, the daughters of Niger, but their beauties varied, according to promise, and their time of absence excused, with four more added to their number. To which limits [...] I [...] apted my invention (ll 2-9).

The word 'command' and Jonson's comment that these instructions were 'limits' indicate that he was writing under orders as he had done previously for *Blackness*. Anna's actions, regarding this production, also suggest a desire to maintain control over the process asserting her active political role as Queen Consort, with her own household and retinue as well as making a statement as an artistic patron inside the Jacobean court. For this tendency of Anna to create an antithetical centre of royal activities for example, the Venetian ambassador reported that she prepared the masque 'at her own charges'.<sup>206</sup> Anna's involvement regarding the writing and production of *The Masque of Beauty* also led the French Ambassador to comment on 15<sup>th</sup> January 1608 that James was not master in his own house.<sup>207</sup> The Venetian ambassador called Anna 'the authoress of the whole'.<sup>208</sup> This is often dismissed by modern commentators as flattery - for example, Richard Dutton calls it a 'polite fiction'.<sup>209</sup>

Yet, Jonson's own words are testimony to the fact that Queen Anna was a co-creator of meaning and performance of the dramatic entertainment, but analysing its text, it appears clear that *The Masque of Beauty* is a celebration of James's power and ideological values. In the fact, James is exalted through hyperbolic language and his unionist policies are conveyed to the aristocratic audience by the emphasizing the role of a unified 'Britannia' and by stressing the integration of other cultures at home and abroad, while in terms of staging, the transformation of the women from black, the 'Other', into white can be read as patriarchal in its claims for James' political agenda. Yet the masque is also a textual site full of ambiguity, tension and multiple meanings. Moreover, analysing the text and spectacle with our searchlight on the dancing ladies-masquers reveals a dominant image of female power in a world governed by the moon in the first part of the masque, before they submit themselves to the rule of the British

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<sup>206</sup> Zorzi Giustinian, *Venetian ambassador to the Doge and Senate*, December 27<sup>th</sup>, 1607, SP (Ven.), /607/6/0, p. 76, in *Ben Jonson, Vol. X, op. cit.*, 76.

<sup>207</sup> French ambassador's report, January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1608 quoted in *Ben Jonson, Vol. X, op. cit.*, p. 456.

<sup>208</sup> Giustinian to the Doge and Senate, January 24<sup>th</sup> 1608, SP (Ven.). /607/6/0, in *Ben Jonson, Vol. X, op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>209</sup> Dutton, 'Introduction', *Ben Jonson, op. cit.*, p. 55. Lewalski, however, takes a stand affirming that Anna the 'authoress' of these masques. But despite this affirmation, Lewalski argues that Anna was 'not in any usual sense a third partner with Jonson and Inigo Jones' Lewalski, see *Writing Women, op. cit.*, p. 28.



monarch. *The Masque of Beauty* creates a polarity offering images of female influence in a court dominated by male figures with political power and authority before. This dichotomy is solved in the assimilation of 'impossible worlds and other spaces'. Thus creating a unified vision of nation and Empire -- through the intervention of the Pater Patriae, James I. In this perspective, the masque-text lends itself to our further reading and analysis which applies the concept of Foucault's 'heterotopias'.



### III.2.2 ‘Motum mundi from the East to the West’. Harmony of the Spheres As Heterotopian ‘Britannia’

As we have already seen in *The Masque of Blackness*, *The Masque of Beauty*'s opening scene announces an imminent encounter with foreign female outsiders coming from a different nation and continent and, hence, from a different culture and ‘race’. In *Beauty*, the announced return of the ‘Aethiope Dames’, who had been delayed, forecasts an inclusion of the female masquers, now turned white, and thus creates a structurally hierarchical, ideological coherence for both audience and masquers. The analogy between the two masques continues as the stage scene imitates a shoreline where the masquers momentarily stop after their long journey, lingering on the threshold of two apparently incompatible worlds and spaces. In its explicit juxtaposition of binary oppositions of cultures, ‘races’ and geographical territories and boundaries, *Beauty* embodies and enacts again a ‘landscape’ of the Jacobean Court and Nation through a representation of heterotopian sites that Foucault describes as ‘absolutely different’ (OS, 24).

*The Masque of Beauty* welcomes the masquers into the Banqueting House, thus calling attention to their outsider position and status and the court's own integrity. The stage's decorated backdrop offers the court a romantic, maritime vision of the night-world outside – framing the foreign travellers who are about to enter on the threshold of two spaces. This maritime vision of a ‘mirror of water’ reflects the political notion of the imperial dominance of the British Isles over the foreigner travellers coming from the colonial east, just as it did in *The Masque of Blackness*. The broader implication, displayed throughout the masque performance, is that of the control on the outer world by means of a British-ruled sea enacted in a play of mirrors. As we have already stated<sup>210</sup>, the heterotopian mirror acts as symbol for the seemingly contradictory facets of the dramatic action. In the mirror we find combined the opposing nations and ‘races’ present in the hall during the masque performance. This is achieved by coalescing different spaces in heterotopian duality in a simultaneously real and ‘unreal’ space. This mode of representation serves to reinforce British hegemonic rule, propagating the characterisation of the colonial subjects as ‘racially’ and culturally different -- from the

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<sup>210</sup> In the current chapter III when discussing *The Masque of Blackness*.

very onset of the dramatic action performed in the Banqueting House at Whitehall.

Since both in *Beauty* and in *Blackness* the opening scene and its proscenium are seen as the hall's entrance. We must add and stress here that the proscenium stage complicated the hall's uniformity by making the scene look like a spectacle intended only for James, represented in both of the masques analysed as the Sun-King, the centre of the Jacobean world picture, and the people sitting closest to him. This fulcrum of perspective is of particular importance in *Beauty* since it reinforces the cosmological and cosmographic conceit presented in the text. As we have also stated earlier, the spectator stage-view would always have been best for James and those sitting closest to him. Thus, the masque enacted its participants' inclusion within the courtly group while simultaneously mirroring the court hierarchy by regulating and limiting the audience's visual access to both stage's and scene's illusions performed. In this way, masques managed to offer James an exclusive form of entertainment taking place amidst a public court audience. In particular, for the onlookers in the far raked double-tiered seating arrangements of the hall, the king and the courtiers closest to him would have offered themselves as the fulcrum of attention, while the scene on stage seemed performed operating primarily for the royal circle.<sup>211</sup> Moreover, the presence of the state as the central focus of the audience's perspective would have suggested that any movement from stage onto the floor of the hall was intended as a hierarchical ritual transaction between subjects and monarch, as well as being an encompassing gesture of inclusion or exclusion between masquers and audience<sup>212</sup>. Thus, there were always different thresholds and boundaries within the Banqueting Hall's physical space. 'heterotopias', says Foucault in 'Of Other Spaces', 'always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable' (OS, 26). These overlapping and interpenetrating spatial dynamics were always active in the Banqueting House. In one way, the hall functioned as a containing, private-event space in which participants were a uniform collective group of high-ranking courtiers -- united by virtue of their

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<sup>211</sup> On the aspect of royal favour and social hierarchy at court, see Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography*, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-73. Butler also notes that the masque engages the very same spatial dynamics as the king's Privy Lodgings, only without the strong physical demarcations employed there. Just as some courtiers had stratified access to the chambers in the Privy Lodgings, so too were there stratified layers of centrality, experience, and access in the Banqueting House, see Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-57.

<sup>212</sup> See Butler chapter on 'Rites of Exclusion' in *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2008.

inclusion in the event and reminded in several visual and spatial ways of their coherence. The hall functioned as an access-space between the stage on the north side of the hall and the audience and royal state on the south side, which also marked the boundaries of the king's Privy Lodgings<sup>213</sup>. Seen in this way, the masque was always set up to stage and ritualise spatial transactions of approach and incorporation between principal dancers and the audience.<sup>214</sup> In this perspective, *The Masque of Beauty* asserts again the Banqueting House's architectural and social totality giving it a geographical specific position and suggesting the site demands a welcoming ceremony for accepting outsiders into the 'West', a kingdom where the 'East' must be rightfully welcome before being dominated, the Jacobean kingdom concerned with by negotiating the incorporation of their outsideness. Such transactions enabled the masque to construct the identity of the two parties involved and to merge them through the final revels, by affirming the coherence of the group through performance.<sup>215</sup>

The hall also functioned as a two-tier-event space, one in which the interaction between stage and audience could be rendered at the same time both private and public: the private tier taking place between the king, his retinue and the masquers. The descriptions of these sites of ritual interactions exhibit elements of what Foucault calls his heterotopology, i.e. the principles that mark these spaces out as different from the spaces surrounding them. In the most literal sense, these spaces exist as part of the court's 'landscaped' sites at Whitehall. Such 'other spaces' coexist and are asserted by the innumerable thresholds entered and exited both by the characters and by the courtiers. *Beauty* expands the welcoming meeting between masquers and court to achieve coherence and unity inside the hall. It does this by reinventing the hall space and its occupants as a microcosm of the British Empire.

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<sup>213</sup> On the function of the Presence Chamber and James' Privy Lodgings see Neil Cuddy, 'The Revival of the entourage: the Bedchamber of James I', in *The English Court from the War of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey, New York, Longman, 1987, pp. 185-191. See also N. Cuddy, 'Anglo-Scottish union and the Court of James I, 1603-1625', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 39, 1989, pp. 107-124.

<sup>214</sup> Such transactions could be a ceremonial welcoming for foreign visitors; a hierarchising encounter between two royal retinues; and the approach and supplication of a Presence Chamber by the courtiers. See Orgel, *op. cit.*, pp 18-25. See Janette Dillon for the discussion of this aspect of the Court life under James in *The Language of Space in Court Performance 1400-1625*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 7-8.

<sup>215</sup> Dillon, *op. cit.*, argues that social identity manifests itself through place and space but also configures or reconfigures this space. On the formation of social identity through space, see also J. E. Malpas, *Place and Experience: A Philosophical Topography*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2007.

Given that all maps are politically-charged representations of space, there are also geographical references in the Jonsonian masque-text, reminding the audience of British colonial ambitions. In *The Masque of Beauty*, we find spatial references and deictics along with detailed topographical indications and descriptions linked to the mapped colonial nations. This textual material emphasises the unreality of the space they enclose since the act of mapping brings together a unified, all-embracing vision of different spaces, with their political, colonial, national and imperial coefficients; this is an 'other space' which simultaneously affirms and negates the visibility of space. Foucault writes that: 'Places of this kind are outside of all places even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality' (OS, 24).

First, in *Beauty* the geo-topographical space indicated by *IANUARIUS* as simply 'BRITANIA' (l. 65) is opposed to the Ladies-masquers' '*on a Iland, they by chance arriu'd,/[...]That floted in the mayne*', (ll. 73-74); '*Them wandring in the Ocean*' (81); before *VULTURNUS* '*from the East*' (l. 100), announces that he:

*'brings you newes The Ile is found, & that the Nymphs now vse  
Their rest, & ioy. The Nights black charmes are flowne.  
For, being made vnto their Goddesses knowne,  
Bright Æthiopia, the siluer Moone,  
As she was <sup>a</sup> Hecate, she brake them soone:  
And now by vertue of their light, and grace,  
The glorious Isle, wherein they rest, takes place  
Of all the earth for Beauty. <sup>b</sup>. (104-112)*

Finally, the nymphs have reached 'Britannia', an ancient imperial nation that James '*Albion, Neptune's Sonne*', 'Britannia's *Sol*', has restored (l. 20). The Masquers are eventually part of 'The blessed isle' described in *Blackness* (l. 216), as a nation that 'the triple world admires' (l. 219), 'A world divided from the world' (l. 226), and a 'diamond' set within the figurative 'ring' of the globe (ll. 228-30). The entire audience participates with the foreign ladies who have been turned white on the British Isles' shores, and also in their island status in its western position facing Europe, in a sea-girt island. The masque offers these characteristics as signs of an already existing historically pre-established empire. It also exaggerates the presence of the nymphs into a myth of global centrality and admiration for coalescing these different and incompatible 'other spaces'. 'Britannia's' isles thus turn into a miniature and microcosmic Blessed Isle in the Banqueting House, a far-flung western space of worldly

transcendence and earthly paradise at the centre of which there is the Sun-King<sup>216</sup>.

As they affirm the masque's imperial energies, however, Anna and her ladies radically expand the court's options for experiencing the masque event. Before they descended, the masque used their suspended and dazzling approach as a fictive context against which to construct the court's imperial integrity and transcendence within the Banqueting House, around James. In this way, the masque showcased the hall itself as a source of stasis and permanence and it encouraged onlookers to conceive that space as a framework for their own supposed coherence. Now that the masquers are inside that space on the dance-floor, the hall functions as a protected realm of display of power, politics are rendered in spatial terms when the fictive shoreline of the nymphs' floating island merges into the imagined geographical 'other' space of 'Britannia' – as do the masquers themselves, with their lavish and exotic costumes, and their dancing's which makes the hall an imagined united British empire forward-moving in time. Thus, the masque showcases Anna and her masquers as organizing principles. When VULTURNUS sends the masquers out to dance he uses the event's language of imperial geographic coherence and epic grandeur. The geographical identifier for the dance floor, 'the shore', is significant because it marks again the threshold between the masquers and the court. In the masque-text, Jonson refers to the hall as 'Britannia' and describes it in the language of imperial integrity noted above.

As we have already mentioned, Clare McManus focuses her analysis on the textual implications of the dance-as-speech for the dancers, since the masquers being of course silent performers. As we have previously discussed, in *Beauty*, Jonson describes the various intricate dances with accuracy. The first detailed reference refers to '*a most curious dance, full of excellent device, and change [which] ended [...] in the figure of a diamond*' (ll. 282-5) while the second is described '*more subtle, and full of change than the former, and so exquisitely performed*' (ll. 294-5). The third is a '*most elegant and curious dance [...] not to be describ'd again, by any art, but that of their own footing*' (ll. 333-5). The dances are reported to be

*'so exquisitely performed' that 'the King's Maiestie incited first (by his owne liking, to that which all others there present, wish'd) requir'd them both againe, after*

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<sup>216</sup> Anne Daye also suggests that the masquers descending accompanied by their torchbearers for dancing would have literally enhanced the radiance of light around James in state, visually stressing and enlivening his status in the narrative fiction as sun king. See 'Torchbearers in the English Masque', *op. cit.*, p. 250.

*some time of dauncing with the Lords.*(ll. 292-297)

The Ladies-masquers will thus engage, on royal 'command', the men of the court in the dancing space and, in doing so, they will enter ideological and hierarchical unity of the court of 'Britannia' also visually. Of course, the ladies' descent from the stage in front of James's authority presents him with new female colonial subjects/objects on which he has worked his 'scientall' powers. The ladies on their island/ship have at first 'indent', enter the hall's 'shore', becoming topographically part of 'Britannia's' land without any signs of their 'native' Ethiopian 'graces' as they did in *Blackness*. The physical inclusion of the nymphs island/ship into England's shores creates a heterotopian site and a new cartographic 'unreal reality'. 'We are all familiar', Foucault writes 'with the disconcerting effect of the proximity of extremes, or quite simply, with the sudden vicinity of things that have no relation to each other'. (OT, xvi) Incommensurability exists in the effacing and eradication of site on which the meetings take place. Instead of the juxtaposition of different ordering systems, it is their existence 'without law or geometry' that gives 'heterotopias' the quality to comprise a multitude of incompatible worlds. Thus, when Jonson identifies the hall as a shoreline, he also identifies it as a comprehensive microcosm of 'Albion'. In contrast, at the very moment when the nymphs are descending and affirming the Banqueting House as a miniature of 'Britannia', the onlookers in the hall perceive their own court space as a liminal shoreline, as an 'other space'. Similarly, the masque itself identifies the hall's 'shore' as a final harmonious dancing space<sup>217</sup> and thus affirms imperial Jacobean royal power. In *Beauty*, in the complicated dances as well as in the final revels, the Ladies-nymphs perform homage, submission, and obeisance both to James and to his court. The ladies-masquers do not simply dance complex choreutic figures on stage and on the dancing floor in the hall. More specifically, the nymphs dance in a way that represents their internalised British whiteness, no longer being African 'native graces'. So 'these Beautys to behold' because in an heterotopian zone they have been completely assimilated to the British Isle's native aristocratic ladies of the Jacobean court. In this formulation, masque dancing does not just express royal power, but also compels everyone participating and watching to recognise and react to that power.

For Orgel, of course, the masquers' descent to the dance-floor is supposed to be the

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<sup>217</sup> Confer Ravelhofer, *Early Stuart Masque*, op. cit., pp. 157-69.



moment when the masque-event fully incorporates the court into the life of its dramatic fiction. In general, such coherence is Orgel's test for the masque's formal success. Accordingly, he claims, it ought to coincide with the resolution and show of royal power that Aethiopia had promised in *Blackness* and that has now been performed. At stake for Orgel is the masque's power as an assertion of absolutism, its capacity to involve the court in an affirmation of Jacobean authority.<sup>218</sup>

In the Banqueting House, an elevated and framed stage separated the scenes from the audience, rather than displaying them in a space that was fully open to and contiguous with onlookers. In these ways, the masque's spatial set-up recreated that hall's public-private position in Whitehall. The king sat at the centre of the hall's southern end, at a point in the hall closest to his own Privy Lodgings. Hence, yet again, we must underline the centrality of James's role as the centre of this ordered universe and as the ruler of the spheres and of the Lands. James sitting in state is presented to the court audience not only as the soul of the Nation and the Empire but also as the focal point of power and order in the new Brito-centric cosmology.

The masque audience stood alongside him, against the southern wall of the hall and to either side of him, against the eastern and western walls.

And the masque's stage sat at the most public, northern point in the hall, directly in front of the entrance leading out to the Court Gate and, from there, to the public Whitehall Highway. The Banqueting House in Whitehall, where it ran north to south, was a public access point toward the cluster of increasingly private royal spaces along the Privy Gallery. In between these primary northern and southern spaces in the hall lay the carpeted dance floor<sup>219</sup> with no real material barriers or rails separating it from the seating degrees or from the stage. Accordingly, the dance floor looked like and functioned as a spatial access through the Banqueting House. It connected the more public, outward-facing northern end of the hall with the more private, the domestic southern end. For these reasons, the king's state made the dance floor, and the

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<sup>218</sup> We are referring to Orgel's groundbreaking reading of the perspective scenes and hierarchical seating in *The Illusions of Power*, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>219</sup> Clare McManus in *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court*, New York: Manchester University Press, 2002, pp. 100-11. And Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-90.

Banqueting House more generally, look like a royal audience chamber<sup>220</sup>. In such spaces, the primary and most meaningful object of attention and movement is the monarch in state, the centre of the Jacobean political universe. And in this spatial configuration, the court in the seating degrees functioned as a framing retinue for transactions between James and the stage, the two most compelling objects of attention.<sup>221</sup>

The monarch and his special guests, such as ambassadors and royal family members, were always the last people to enter the Banqueting House and the moment James sat down in the state marked the official start of a masque.<sup>222</sup> Accordingly, no spectators ever approached the monarch from any point in the hall, as courtiers could in the Presence Chamber. Instead, people only approached James from proscenium stage and dance floor, and these people were not spectators but principal dancers and the courtiers they took out as dance partners for the revels. Moreover, the access toward the state was not a simple hall floor or gallery, with avenues of access and retreat demarcated by rails, carpets, walls, or doorways, but an open floor intended for dancing. As such, it was a complicated route of access to the king because, in addition to leading toward the state, it was also a broad, open space intended for coordinated, multidirectional, social dancing<sup>223</sup>. Similarly, if the masque stage looked like an access point through which the masquers approached the monarch in state, then it was no simple threshold, but an elevated proscenium stage fitted with a splendid perspective scene and populated by fantastically-dressed figures inhabiting elaborate scenic machines. In its size and elaborateness, and in its profusion of speaking, singing, and moving figures, this stage could take the entire court as its mirror and object, as well as just James in his state<sup>224</sup>. The masque stage suggests and implies court coherence affirmed with the dancers across the proscenium, i.e. coherence between court and public looking at themselves reflected in a looking-glass, an ‘other space’ in which they

<sup>220</sup> See also Tom Bishop, ‘The gingerbread host: tradition and novelty in the Jacobean Masque’, *op. cit.*, p. 56, in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

<sup>221</sup> Butler offers precise descriptions of the Banqueting Hall and of Whitehall. We quote his accurate research. See Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-90. Butler notes that if the Banqueting House felt or looked like a presence chamber, it was not a straightforward one. Instead, the other spaces in the hall complicated and enriched this simple dynamic. *Ibidem*, p. 70.

<sup>222</sup> Confer Trumbull’s description of *Oberon*’s opening in *Inigo Jones*, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

<sup>223</sup> Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics*, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-65; Ravelhofer, *Early Stuart Masque*, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-63.

<sup>224</sup> See also Ravelhofer, *Early Stuart Masque*, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-69.

can see themselves in a self-reflexive commentary on the court. In *Beauty*, the idea of the dancing and the dance floor, as the dual heterotopian mirror not only symbolises but also constitutes an exterior perspective from which to enact, and make coexist, two different contrasting realities. In Foucault's assertion, the mirror functions as a powerful heterotopia 'that is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place, several sites that are in themselves incompatible' (OS, 24). Moreover, we must assert that the carpeted dancing floor constitutes and works in itself as a heterotopia. According to Foucault, the magic carpet, a wholly mythical invention, gives rise to the unreal world of which it is a part and leads to a kind of circularity of thought without resolution, giving coherence to the fictional narrative. Yet, in his radio lecture 'Les Hétérotopies', Foucault does trace the genealogy of this image back to reality. He describes the microcosmic quality of the ancient Persian garden, with four sections representative of the four parts of the world, before suggesting that 'if we consider that the oriental rugs were originally reproductions of gardens—in the strictest sense of the term 'winter gardens'—we understand the legendary value of magic carpets, rugs that roam the world'. (LH, 29) The mythical carpet, then, has its origins in the very real space of the Persian rug, and ultimately in the garden. The magic carpet is also known as a mythical device famed for its ability to traverse space and to create a collapse of temporality, hence the image of the magic carpet allows a negation of the spatial, temporal so that it can be used as a metaphor to create and represent alternative worlds folding together different period and localities. Thus, the figurative magic carpet brings the non-contiguous and non-continuous into conjunction with one another to recreate a fictional, epic world in which the history and the geography of contingent reality has been merged, reshuffled and re-imagined. Most pertinent to our consideration of the image of the magic carpet in *Beauty* is the magic carpet's duality as both content --in which the dancers inscribe and reflect the ordered Jacobean world picture -- and form – a map containing all the world and replicating it into a cartographic rendition of the Jacobean world. Such duality that makes the magic carpet a self-reflexive image. Moreover, as a device that traditionally permits instantaneous or rapid transit from one side of the world to the other, it creates the kind of incongruities that characterise the shifts of places, the overlapping of thresholds and the overstepping of boundaries. So the carpeted dancing floor in the Banqueting House is another heterotopian place and it features very prominently in the

Jonsonian Masques – with the mirror, the ship, the garden – and Foucault’s ‘heterotopias’ are of paramount importance as a critical tool for reading *The Masque of Beauty*.

As the ladies dance their initial ballet in torchlight, they make another striking visual claim to inclusion within the hall on the carpeted dancing floor.<sup>225</sup> Here, more than ever, the masquers are dazzlingly in-between figures, at first neither fully outside nor inside the courtly group. And their presence on the dance floor energises its very real status as a protected site for courtly interaction and final assimilation. This assimilation enacted in performing is only possible on the threshold of an ‘other space’ on the dancing floor.

The ordered dances of the ladies offer an image of the graceful, perfectly ordered world of ‘Britannia’, as Nation and Empire, presented and contained in the Banqueting Hall, thus reaffirming the metaphor of the cosmology. The inscription of this vision in Jacobean cosmography is offered in the opening lines of *Beauty*. The topographic vision of ‘Britannia’ on the heterotopian carpeted dancing floor conflates the multiple nations and creates a geographical integrity in the landscaped hall, shaping a new map of the empire, on a site, the Banqueting House, in which different ‘races’ and cultures as well as incommensurable and impossible spaces are superimposed and can thus coexist.

The Masquers’ dancing symbolises Beauty incarnating the action of being in tune with the ‘world’s soul’ (ll. 333), and thus it indicates that their movement mirrors that of the turning earth, an image-metaphor strongly reinforced by the reference to ‘beauty’s sphere’ (ll. 364). The semantic field of reference is that of cosmology, an ordered universe created by James with his political unifying vision of ‘Britannia’. The carpet can contain these impossible configurations of space introducing, rather than a geographical make-up of ‘Britannia’, the element of heterotopian incommensurability into the epic narrative of the masque-text. The dancing on the carpet posits a world picture of Jacobean ‘Britannia’ as the ordered universe mirroring the movements of the celestial bodies recreating the perfect dance of the spheres. The dances of the masquers mirroring the ordered dance of the universe appear to us woven into the spatial texture of the magic carpet, which allows for them to disregard geography and chronology and to represent the mingling of their different worlds and cultures though completely incompatible with one another, in the performative act of dancing in the Banqueting

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<sup>225</sup> As Ravelhofer observes, masque costumes were designed for this ultimate effect, to be captivating while moving under torch-and candlelight. In *Early Stuart Masque*, *op. cit.*, pp.157-184.

House before James/Sol, the centre of the universe.

Continuing and expanding the cosmological metaphor, at the end of the masque, the ladies are seen again sitting on a revolving throne; therefore the final, and thus the most memorable, striking image of the masque is of the nymphs in tune with the Jacobean universe. The throne, on which the masquers sat moved from east to west 'imitating that which we call *motum mundi*, from the East to the West' (ll. 226-7), the motion of the world. The heterotopian site of the carpet, is a space where

'things are 'laid', 'placed', 'arranged' in sites so very different from one another that it is impossible to find a place of residence for them, to define a common locus beneath them all, a network in which each point is distinct, distant from even its closest neighbours, and has a position in relation to every other point in a space that simultaneously holds and separates the all'<sup>226</sup>.

The carpet is a placeless place par excellence and it is a clear indication of heterotopia reserved for individuals in a state of biological crisis or change. The magic carpet as 'heterotopias' loses the geographical markers and thus this sense of placelessness persists throughout the intricate dances and revels on the 'other space' on the dancing floor, the liminal space between the two incommensurable worlds still made different and separate from one another. This sense of unanchored reality is tied paradoxically tied to the ostensibly 'real' places in the hall. As Ravelhofer shows, such dancing involved its participants in bonding and offering onlookers opportunities to feel embodied sympathy with the dancing group i.e. two physical mechanisms for courtly unity and coherence<sup>227</sup>.

As well as mirroring the court in space, Anna and her ladies also meet the court's sartorial 'standards for inclusion' reflecting them, although magnified, since the performers and Masquers were identifiable for the audience for their spectacular artificiality. As Butler suggests, like court ladies, Anna and her dancers appear in precious materials.<sup>228</sup> They wear silver fabrics, feathers, and elaborate adornments of pearl. All of these decorations were made to look real and dazzling in the bright lighting.<sup>229</sup> Appearance has its effect on the court. On one hand, critics have observed

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<sup>226</sup> Foucault, *The Thought of the Outside*, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

<sup>227</sup> Ravelhofer, *Early Stuart Masque*, *op. cit.*, 149-56. Also see Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-78.

<sup>228</sup> See Andrea, 'Black Skin, *The Queen's Masques*', *op. cit.*, pp. 27-31, and Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>229</sup> In this context of temporal, it is doubly significant that the torchbearers should enable onlookers to dwell on the masquers' splendid costumes. In addition to making hybridised claims to the ladies' insider and outsider status before their assimilation, those costumes are meaningful because their appearance is a

and suggested that the *Beauty's* masquers' costumes justify their inclusion in the Banqueting House while defining them as previous exotic figures of difference now assimilated to the British-born female aristocrats.<sup>230</sup> In their lavishness, Anna with her ladies dancers mirror the court. Like James, Anna on stage sits in the centre of a spectacular company/colony, another heterotopian site, which includes her dancers and the torchbearers to the left and right of the Throne of Beauty.<sup>231</sup> Thus both masquers and court recognise themselves as part of the royal world with their different retinues, creating a diametrical polarity centred on the two royal foci present in heart of the political court space of Whitehall during the masque performance. Thus, the masquers resemble the court and announce their claim to membership in that restricted aristocratic ruling group in the Banqueting Hall. Thus, when the ladies finally descend to dance the revels, they affirm the court's imperial experience in space by entering it. As we said, *Beauty's* text and its staging work together to build a coherent meaning to present ideal images of the aristocratic ladies-masquers themselves as personifications of Jacobean political values and the embodiment of British identities at the end of the courtly entertainment. The audience must witness its realm incorporating outsiders through the proscenium. This is the moment in which the court's cohesion expands to incorporate the new members, whose whiteness proves to be a sufficient principle for their inclusion. 'Britannia' can absorb the ladies and as 'Britannia' the court must experience itself, momentarily before full assimilation takes place, to be considered as a 'racial' and ethnic hybrid, a Nation and Empire made coherent by its ability to expand and incorporate at the same time. In a powerful way, the masque is also a performance of the court status as a microcosm of 'Britannia' and as a display in space of the Jacobean geopolitical and cosmological vision. At the end of its incorporative revels, when courtiers and masquers have been dancing together for hours, the masque offers up its most articulate and elegant expression of their complex spatial relationship, both with one another, with the masque event, and with the Banqueting House. Again, the hall

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one-time phenomenon performance. Accordingly, when the torchbearers help the masquers show off their splendid costumes, they also invite spectators into a visual experience of the event's material 'unreal reality'. In the midst of the revels, Jonson and Jones build these romantic strains of courtly into the masque's dramatic narrative by reactivating the outsider-insider tension that was so fruitful earlier in the event before the resolution of dichotomies in the Banqueting house' dancing floor. See Anne Daye, 'Torchbearers in the English Masque', in *Early Music* 26, 1998, pp. 246-62.

<sup>230</sup> Anne Daye, 'Torchbearers in the English Masque', in *Early Music* 26, 1998, pp. 246-62.

<sup>231</sup> See Daye, 'Torchbearers in the English Masque', *op. cit.*, pp. 248-49.

would have looked and felt largely contiguous and uniform, but the further away courtiers sat from the dance floor the less likely they were to be invited to dance, both because their distance put them at a physical remove from the dance floor and because the distance marked lowly socio-political status. In this way, as much as the dance floor's openness and centrality reminded the audience of the eventual unification of the hall's constituent spaces but its centrality and the physical impediments between it and the more peripheral onlookers would also have emphasised the fact that unification was a transaction intended primarily for the monarch and the high-ranking courtiers, the most active participants in the royals retinues.

## **IV Elgar's *The Crown of India* As a Space of Imperial Rhetoric**

### **IV.1 The Political and Musical Context of Elgar's *Masque: The Crown of India***

#### **IV.1.1 Nationalism in English Music at the Turn of the 20<sup>th</sup>-Century**

Walker Connor's definition of nationalism<sup>232</sup> as an emotional attachment not to one's state or country's but rather to one's ethno-national group reminds us of Joyce's definition that 'a nation is the same people living in the same place or also living in different places'<sup>233</sup>, which serves well our discussion on the nationalistic and imperialistic notions to be found in Edward Elgar's music and, of foremost interest to the present study, in his masque *The Crown of India* (1912, *Opus* 66) with the libretto of Henry Hamilton.<sup>234</sup> In fact, the masque was composed to commemorate the 1911 Delhi Durbar, a court ceremony held for the crowning of George V as Emperor of India. The 'Imperial Masque' was the result of collaboration between Elgar and the librettist Henry Hamilton and it proved to be incredibly popular with critics and audience alike when it was premiered at the London Coliseum Theatre in 1912. The masque was a celebration of the British Raj through patriotic music, which was appropriate to this special period in English history.

Nationalism in music has been interpreted culturally by many music critics rather than politically and it has been seen a concept depending on different and changing ideas of ethnicity. As Connor notes, ethnic feelings, sharing kinship and a common ancestry are, evoked by symbols and metaphors while poetry and music all also operate at a non-rational level. It must be said that critics are unanimous in affirming that the ambition of furthering the national character of English music never descended into the realm of active political propaganda in England, as opposed to what

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<sup>232</sup> Walker Connor, 'Beyond reason: the nature of the ethno-national bond', in *Ethical and Racial Studies*, Vol. 16. No.3 (1993), pp. 373-389, p. 5.

<sup>233</sup> James Joyce, *Ulysses*, ed. Hans Walter Gabler et. al., New York and London, Garland Publishing, 1986. U 12.1421-128, as it is customary, we cite by episode and line number.

<sup>234</sup> On Hamilton, later on in this chapter. The collaboration between Elgar and Hamilton was new, imposed on Elgar by the impresario of the Coliseum Theatre, Oswald Stoll, and it remained a *unicum*. It is very different from the kind of close cooperation that existed between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones for the creation of masques in early Stuart times.



happened in Germany by contrastive analysis, although British musical critics did want contemporary music to reflect British character and feeling; they believed that England possessed its own national music creativity and its own distinctive expressive forms. Hughes and Stradling, in particular, declare that as the early as the 1870s a worry about the increasing power of a unified Germany made a national music a 'political necessity'.<sup>235</sup> Although the government gave measured support to the foundation of, first, the National Training School for Music (NTSM) and, later, the Royal College of Music (RCM), its contribution and involvement was limited. Both music critics and musicians alike pleaded for a State school of music and an English national opera for the cultivation of a national music as a means of overcoming a sense of national failure within their specific field rather than as a political necessity. Neither does the claim, made in a speech enlisting support for the foundation of the Royal College of Music, that a national music would strengthen ties with the colonies and was a political necessity, prove to have any substance; it would be a pointless exaggeration to suggest that national music had become important as a tool for expanding the political ideology of Empire.<sup>236</sup>

Another explanation offered for an increased interest in a national music is the threat to British commerce coming from the industrial growth of Germany and the United States of America. It is rather surprising to connect the growth of musical nationalism to a controversial idea of British economic decline<sup>237</sup> -- though economic competition with Germany did persist, of course. Not unnaturally, technical education took precedence over music. At the level of government, Britain's old policy of distancing and isolating itself from continental rivalries was under strain in the 1890s. Opinions varied as to which continental power, France, Russia or Germany, constituted the greatest threat or which was the most promising ally in supporting England policies as well as commercial enterprises.<sup>238</sup> As regards Germany, realists demanded a strong militant military state in the nation's best interests but many saw Germany, an example

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<sup>235</sup> Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Manchester, Manchester University Press, pp. 22-43.

<sup>236</sup> Hughes and Stradling, *op. cit.*, *Ibidem*, p. 30. Native English music was sharply criticised at ceremonial official imperial occasion.

<sup>237</sup> Weiner 1981 attributes the decline to anti-industrial attitudes amongst the middle classes. Dintenfass (1992) attributes the decline to unmodernised working practices. Rubinstein (1994) argues that British strength lay in commerce, which prospered, rather than industry, which declined.

<sup>238</sup> Searle *A New England? Peace and War 1886-1918*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2004, pp. 259-ff. France (in Africa) and Russia (in Asia) posed greater threats than Germany until after 1900.

to follow, although it was the most likely antagonist.<sup>239</sup> Instead, the idealists asserted their faith in free trade and democracy and were struck by the impressive cultural and artistic standing of Germany. Michael Kennedy<sup>240</sup> thinks that the ‘peacemakers’ had no understanding of the basic, fundamental differences between English and German.<sup>241</sup> However, cultural relationships were not broken off; Germans seemed to admire Burne-Jones, Beardsley and English domestic architecture; and admiration for German music in Britain remained unaltered<sup>242</sup>.

We must also consider English musical nationalism as part of a wider phenomenon of cultural nationalism and the search for, or construction of, national identity.<sup>243</sup> Creighton<sup>244</sup> proposed a synergy between the English national character and the national institutions to achieve a national musical identity along the national identity. The English had always shown a desire to do their own things in their own ways and this trait was fundamental to the national character, which both formed national institutions and was formed by them:

the great product of England is not so much its institutions [...] as it is the individual Englishman, who is moulded by all these influences, and is the ultimate test of their value.<sup>245</sup>

This notion of national character as a formation from personal traits and preferences was at the basis of debates about a national music.

Krishan Kumar affirms that English nationalism was a late development in contrast to the growth of nationalism in Europe, and when it did arrive, it took on a cultural, rather than a political shape.<sup>246</sup> According to Kumar, by 1900, the British Empire imperial confidence was declining while nationalism in Europe had developed into a belief that each nation had a ‘national soul’, which manifested itself in its language, culture, folklore. Instead, what led an English (as opposed to a British) nationalism to emerge was the birth and rise of Irish, Scottish and Welsh nationalisms,

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<sup>239</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 261-2.

<sup>240</sup> Michael Kennedy, *Portrait of Elgar*, second edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.

<sup>241</sup> France and Russia were the enemies and Germany an ally. In later novels by the same author, Germany was the enemy.

<sup>242</sup> Nicholas Temperley, ‘Xenophilia in British Musical History’, in Bennet Zon, ed., *Nineteenth-century British Music Studies, Vol.1*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 1999, pp. 3-19, p. 50.

<sup>243</sup> See Jeremy Dibble, ‘Grove’s Musical Dictionary’, in Harry White and Michael Murphy, eds., *Musical Constructions of Nationalism*, Cork, Cork University Press, 1989, pp. 33-50, pp. 33-4.

<sup>244</sup> Mandell Creighton, *The English National Character*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1896, p. 63.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibidem.*, p.7

<sup>246</sup> G. R. Searle, *A New England? Peace and War 1886-1918*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2004, pp. 600-1.

all three with a ‘Celtic’ content. Kumar suggests that a specifically English cultural nationalism arose as a response to these: England, too, could claim to have a ‘national soul’. This soul, according to the historiography of the period, was proposed as ‘Anglo-Saxon’ – traits that distinguished it from the artistic, emotional and unreliable Celts.

For Kumar, cultural nationalism in music came to the fore and truly emerged as English ‘folk mania’ and led to the celebration of the pastoral landscape of England.<sup>247</sup> Jan Marsh views the 1890s folk music revival as cultural interest in the land, in opposition to industrialism and the ‘ugliness’ of the degenerate urban life. Folk-song collectors worked in the countryside (for them the music of the people did not include songs from factories, industrial areas and cities).<sup>248</sup> Peter Mandler has argued that the ‘swooning nostalgia for the rural past’ that emerged around the turn of the century was confined to ‘a small, articulate but not necessarily influential avant-garde (or, rather, a *derrière-garde*)’<sup>249</sup> although, for most of the population, the culture was distinctly urban: ‘populist, commercial and present-minded’.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 175–218.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 200.

<sup>249</sup> Peter Mandler, *The English National Character*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2006.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 133–ff.

### IV.1.2 Imperialism in Elgar's Music

The last twenty years of the nineteenth century saw the British Empire expanding rapidly and imperial issues were frequently in the news.<sup>251</sup> The desirability or not of imperial expansion had long been a matter of political dispute politicians and political commentators, but supporters of the Empire made many efforts to spread interest and pride by means of imperial exhibitions, ceremonial occasions, magazine articles and novels.<sup>252</sup> Roy Porter argues that this propaganda did not have a profound effect and the population as a whole was not much interested in the Empire.<sup>253</sup> Music journals included the Empire in their coverage of events abroad. British conductors undertook tours in 1888 (Cowen, Australia) and 1903 (Mackenzie, Canada). Mackenzie's tour was widely reported in the *Musical Times* his concerts consisting entirely of British music.<sup>254</sup> Music and imperialism most obviously intersected on ceremonial occasions, as Jeffrey Richards observes.<sup>255</sup> Richards accepts the Stradling-Hughes account of the EMR, but finds its outcomes (which he defines as a continuing of Handel and Mendelssohn oratorio tradition, a nostalgic 'Merrie England' and a fascination with Celtic mysticism) irrelevant to the expression of imperialism. For him Elgar was the authentic musical voice of imperialism and argues that Elgar's imperialism was in the same line of Kipling's, which saw the spread of British values as a powerful form for achieving good in the world. Richards is strongly against the 'revisionist' interpretation of Elgar made in the 1960s when imperialism began to have a bad reputation, which tainted his value and reception.

David Cannadine asserts that the parallel of state ceremonies and EMR, was simply a coincidental event.<sup>256</sup> Namely, such a statement configures, and allows, such

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<sup>251</sup> Peter Mandler, *The English National Character*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2006.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 133-ff.

<sup>253</sup> Roy Porter, *London- A Social History*, London Hamish Hamilton, 1994.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>255</sup> Jeffrey Richards, 'General Editor's Foreword', in Johnson Lowerson, *Amateur Operatics: a Social and Cultural History*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2001.

<sup>256</sup> David Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: the British Monarchy and the Invention of Tradition, circa 1820-1977' in Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger, Terence eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 120-138, p.130.

occasions to be overt 'festivals of native talent'.<sup>257</sup> While such ceremonies might have offered an opportunity to perform English music, David Wright points out that the Coronation of Edward VII in 1902 included much foreign music than Victoria's in 1838.<sup>258</sup> The British music for the coronation of King Edward VII celebrations was nearly all church music not only offering the Elizabethan Thomas Tallis and Orlando Gibbons but also the contemporary Stainer, Stanford and Parry between two programmes of orchestral music, along with Elgar's closing 'Imperial March'.<sup>259</sup> The choice of these programmes was apparently made by the King himself, apart from Elgar, English orchestral composers had little impact on the Hanoverian reigning dynasty at that time.

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<sup>257</sup> Peter Mandler, 'Against 'Englishness': English Culture and the Limits to Rural Nostalgia, 1850-1940', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Sixth Series, Vol. 7*, 1997, pp. 155-175, p. 160.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 161.

<sup>259</sup> See Martin Pugh, *State and Society: British political and Social History, 1870-1992*, London, Edward Arnold, 1994, pp. 101-ff.

### IV.1.3 Elgar and the British Literary Tradition

Kennedy devoted a great and detailed scholarly work to the analysis of the role played by literature in Elgar's personal life and music. This section attempts to offer a short, albeit effective, summary of the major literary influences on Elgar; these were an inspiration for his compositions throughout his life as a composer. The literary influences on Elgar's music are our direct concern in respect of the direct interest the sources might show for his 'Imperial Masque' we will analyse in the next chapter.

In his *Portrait of Elgar*, Michael Kennedy writes:

[...] Elgar was probably one of the most widely read men of his time, with a brilliantly retentive memory. The literary allusions and quotations in his Birmingham lectures would do credit to a professor of English literature.<sup>260</sup>

He writes on the subject as an answer to the article by Edward J. Dent, professor of music at Cambridge, published in German in Adler's *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*<sup>261</sup>, in which Dent, with reference to a statement translated from that German article, asserts that Elgar 'possessed little of the literary culture of Parry and Stanford'<sup>262</sup>. Elgar was very sensitive to such remarks since he suffered from a sense of social and cultural inferiority and, at the time of the critical assessment, he thought public interest in his music was in decline. The Dent article, with its disparaging assessment of Elgar's work, implying that his music and that the composer himself, were vulgar and uncultivated as well, devoid of any literary and artistic values. In Dent's definition, the music was 'overemotional and not entirely free from vulgarity'. Such criticism seemed to confirm the decline of English music as an accomplished, ineluctable fact.<sup>263</sup> But since then critics have supported that thesis made by Kennedy in support of a revaluation of Elgar's culture and musical achievements and values as well as Elgar's importance in the British music canon. For the love of clarity, one must note that Dent was neither fair nor courteous in his article but the controversy has been aggravated unnecessarily by a confusion of German vocabulary in the English translation. Brian Trowell, in his major

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<sup>260</sup> Michael Kennedy, *Portrait of Elgar*, second edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982, p. 317.

<sup>261</sup> Adler, Guido (Ed.), *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, Zweiter Band, Hans Scheider, Tutzing, 1961, pp. 1045-1046.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 318-310. And see J. F. Porte, *Sir Edward Elgar*, London: Kegan Paul, 1921.

<sup>263</sup> Michael Allis, 'Elgar and the art of retrospective narrative', in *The Journal of Musicological Research*, 19 (2000), pp. 289-328.

contribution to the book of essays edited by Raymond Monk under the title *Edward Elgar: Music and Literature* <sup>264</sup> stress quite rightly that 'Bildung' not 'Kultur' is the word used in the German original, and 'Bildung' should be translated as 'instruction', 'schooling' or 'education'. That he, Elgar, lacked formal 'schooling' or middle-class 'education' Elgar himself admitted in a speech given on 6 April 1931, when his friend from boyhood, Hubert Leicester, was made a freeman of Worcester:

What was done for us? Scarcely anything. Hubert Leicester and myself only had three years at a preparatory school. Think of that... I will tell you this: that on the whole of my musical and general education only £60 was spent... We must not forget that home influences were at work to make us, if I may say so, the men we are. Somehow we won through. That is owing simply to the home influence, not to any help from scholarships or anything like that, by simply having the desire to do as well as we could.<sup>265</sup>

Michael Kennedy's book offers us an insight of how Elgar was a model of self-education, with all the sense of inferiority and vulnerability that often mark the self-educated but no one should accuse Elgar of lacking culture as he was, in a way, an embodiment of it; so much so that he has become an expression of the English national culture up to our days.

Two extracts help us to establish the relationship existing between Elgar and literature; the first comes from an interview by Robert Buckley, published on 31 July 1896 when the Elgars were living in Malvern:

[...] the composer revealed himself as a book enthusiast... a haunter of the remoter shelves of the second-hand shop, with a leaning to the rich and rare. In the sitting room was a grand piano, in the study a smaller instrument, surrounded by books, and books, and more books [...]<sup>266</sup>

Elgar's eccentric taste in 'the remoter shelves of the second-hand shop', and 'a leaning to the rich and rare' are faithfully described as his tendency to the eccentric is consistent with the reading habits of the self-taught, where choice and preference of the readings are not directed by academic tradition or institutional curriculum.

The second excerpt is taken from a letter he wrote in 1932 to Frances Colvin, wife of Sir Sidney Colvin. Sir Sidney, the biographer of Keats, was the friend of a whole host of nineteenth-century writers and poets, which included Ruskin, Rossetti, Browning, Meredith, George Eliot, Henry James, Robert Louis Stevenson and Joseph Conrad. Elgar writes in his letter that:

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<sup>264</sup> Raymond Monk ed., *Edward Elgar: Music and Literature*, Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993, pp. 25-26.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 35. See Percy M. Young (ed.), *Letters of Edward Elgar*, London: Geoffrey Bles, 1956.

<sup>266</sup> Robert Buckley, Percy M. Young (ed.), *Letters of Edward Elgar*, London: Geoffrey Bles, 1956.

When I write a big serious work e.g. *Gerontius* we have had to starve and go without fires for twelve months as a reward: this small effort [So many true princesses, a memorial ode to Queen Alexandra, words by John Masefield] allows me to buy scientific books I have yearned for and spend my time between the Coliseum and the old bookshops [...]

<sup>267</sup> His mother passed on to him a love of poetry, and literature, a love of books in general, and Elgar was grateful to her for all his life, paying to his mother a public tribute in 1905, when Elgar became a freeman of Worcester, stating that: 'Many of the things which my mother told me I have tried to carry out in my music.'<sup>268</sup> Literature was for Elgar a direct inspiration for his music as it is proved by the texts he set to music, e.g. Newman's *The Dream of Gerontius*, and the *New Testament Oratorios*; by the frequent quotations from poems he used on scores either in the manuscripts or in their final published form; by the many literary quotations that are to be found in Elgar's letters; by the bulk of literary texts he considered setting to music at various stages of his musical career but which, for various reasons, remained unrealised compositions: intended works he had considered include an opera based on Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and an opera for Chaliapin, the famous world-known opera singer, based on *King Lear*.<sup>269</sup>

Many of Elgar's compositions are inspired by literary works and themes, e.g. *Arthur* of 1923, and the sketches for the *Third Symphony*. Elgar showed interest in the Arthurian cycle in prose and poetry, also in connection with the works of Tennyson, because his mother not only instilled a love of poetry, but also that she passed on to him a deep love of the romantic ideal of chivalry to be found expressed in these literary works, and in the novels of Sir Walter Scott. King Arthur and the chivalry theme fascinated Elgar also because he was influenced by the music of Wagner, which had impressed Elgar very much in Bayreuth. *Tristan and Isolde* is the work specifically related to Tintagel and Cornwall. Tristan, or Sir Tristram, King Mark, and Iseult are characters in the Arthurian cycle, and at the end of the last movement of his *Second Symphony*, Elgar pays Wagner homage with two chords evoking Tristan and Tintagel. Other nineteenth-century poets who were set by Elgar and who, besides Tennyson, took the Arthurian legends as their inspirational subject-matter, include Matthew Arnold whose *Tristram and Iseult* appeared in 1852, Swinburne (*Tristram of Lyonesse*, 1882),

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<sup>267</sup> Raymond Monk ed., *Edward Elgar: Music and Literature*, Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993, p. 40.

<sup>268</sup> Raymond Monk ed., *Edward Elgar: Music and Literature*, Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993, p. 50.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 51.



and Laurence Binyon, whose summer holiday in Cornwall in 1899 produced Tristram's End. Strictly linked to the Elgar's interest in Walter Scott's novels, we find Jean Froissart (c.1337–1410) as a source of inspiration for his music; since Froissart's medieval knighthood chronicles were Scott's basis for the historical setting for *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805).<sup>270</sup> This fascination for the Middle Ages and its chivalric code and heraldry, influenced by his literary readings, led Elgar to compose, in 1890, his first highly appreciated orchestral score, the *Froissart overture*.<sup>271</sup> The *Froissart overture* has possibly also Scott's novel *Old Mortality* as a direct source, since, quoting Michael Kennedy:

John Graham of Claverhouse speaks of his enthusiasm for Froissart's historical romances with their loyalty to kingship, pure faith towards religion, hardihood to the enemy, and fidelity to woman.<sup>272</sup>

We witness general tendencies on the critics' part to associate literary sources or associations as the source of inspiration for Elgar's musical imagination and very often the literary tradition he refers to his associated to particular person and a particular place, e.g. the combination of literary themes and of precise places (Careggi, Florence, Venice and Tintagel) in conjunction with the composition of his *Second Symphony*. In general critics tend to state that it is the interaction and interplay of all of these elements—literary source, person, place—that produce Elgar's finest music.<sup>273</sup>

In 1899, during the Boer War, Elgar himself suggested to Sir Walter Parratt, then Master of the Queen's Music, that he (Elgar) set to music for the occasion Rudyard Kipling's Diamond Jubilee poem, *Recessional*; to those more prejudiced against Elgar's patriotic music, it might seem an inevitability that the Empire's laureate should be set by the 'Empire's bandmaster' but the collaboration between the two iconic artistic representatives of British imperial ideology had to wait before coming to fruition years later when Elgar, in 1924, composed the music for poems by Kipling for the British Empire Exhibition.

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<sup>270</sup> Besides the *Third Symphony Sketches*, other compositions present themes from chivalry tradition, e.g. in *Op. 87 The Severn Suite*. The titles of some of the movements in this late work, 'Worcester Castle', 'Tournament' and 'Cathedral' recall the *Froissart Overture*, his interest in chivalry, and perennial associations with beloved places. Raymond Monk ed., *Edward Elgar: Music and Literature*, Aldershot, Scholar Press, 1993.

<sup>271</sup> See Robert Anderson, *Elgar and Chivalry*. Raymond Monk, ed., *Edward Elgar: Music and Literature* Aldershot, Scholar Press, 1993.

<sup>272</sup> See Michael Kennedy, *Portrait of Elgar*, second edition, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1982, p. 48; Raymond Monk, ed., *Edward Elgar: Music and Literature*, Aldershot, Scholar Press, 1993.

<sup>273</sup> Robert Anderson in his *Elgar and Chivalry*, Rickmansworth, Elgar Editions, 2002.

Truth be told, the most nationalistic and imperialistic compositions Elgar wrote are the two of the *Pomp and Circumstance marches, No. 1 in D major and No. 2 in A minor*<sup>274</sup> with the words of Benson and one might say that Benson's text out-Kiplinged Kipling (who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1907) in expressing the imperialistic political views of the time. *Land of Hope and Glory* was considered as the alternative national anthem.

The 1901 composition of the first of the *Pomp and Circumstance* marches coincided not only with a new phase of British nationalism but also coincided with an upsurge of Irish nationalism in politics and art known as the *Celtic Revival*, a traditional literary theme that had always fascinated Elgar so much so that he wrote the incidental music for a play produced at the Gaiety Theatre, Dublin, *Grania and Diarmid* by W. B. Yeats and George Moore, a play based on Irish legends. Elgar's music had so appealed to George Moore, that the latter then tried later unsuccessfully for years to convince the composer to write a full-scale opera based on the *Grania* subject.

It must be mentioned that notwithstanding his refusal to act as Elgar's librettist on various occasions and their standing at opposite poles politically, the friendship between George Bernard Shaw and Elgar was genuine and it grew out of admiration for each other's work. Elgar was later much indebted to Shaw, of course, for it was Shaw's advocacy which led to the BBC commissioning the *Third Symphony* and thereby reigniting the composer's creative flame. Their artistic connection, through the medium of the Malvern Festival, founded by Barry Jackson for the production of Shaw's plays, lasted all their life. When he died, Elgar was working on the long-delayed opera, *The Spanish Lady*, based on Ben Jonson's play *The Devil is an Ass*. The librettist was Barry Jackson, so although the opera was unfinished at Elgar's death, here was another outcome of the Malvern Festival.<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> The title, *Pomp and Circumstance* is taken from Act III, Scene iii of Othello. An opera based on Shakespeare's Forest of Arden comedy *As You like It* was a music project never completed by Elgar. There is only a sketch in existence marked 'Touchstone' surviving. The Shakespeare subject that was realised was orchestral, *Op. 68*, the symphonic study *Falstaff*, based on the two parts of *Henry IV* and on *Henry V*.

<sup>275</sup> Jerrold Northrop Moore, *Edward Elgar: A Creative Life*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1987.



#### IV.2.1 Elgar's 'Imperial Masque': *The Crown of India*, 1912

The music for *The Crown of India* was written in the early months of 1912 as commissioned work from the music-hall impresario Oswald Stoll.<sup>276</sup> The music would accompany an 'Imperial Masque' with libretto by Henry Hamilton.<sup>277</sup> Sir Oswald Stoll commissioned Elgar to compose the music for the celebration of the coronation of King George V as Emperor of India that would form part of a larger entertainment in the Coliseum Theatre in St. Martin's Lane in early January 1912. This was one of Elgar's less complicated commissions; it was a well-paid encomiastic piece, which was a great success at the first performances at of the two-week run of shows at the Coliseum - playing over 50 times during its first and only run. Elgar's 'Imperial Masque' worked as an extension of the British Empire bringing to the London stage the crucial political happenings behind all the pageantry for the crowing of George V as Emperor of India. At that time, the British public could not get enough of the Imperial spectacle, which since then suffered more or less a decline in popularity after the 1930s and that is neglected by public and critics alike nowadays.

In addition to the composition of the full orchestral score, Elgar was engaged as the chief conductor of the masque two daily performances at the London Coliseum for two weeks. The production of the masque was lavish and it was devised by Stoll as part of a music-hall programme, involved shows as different as mime, pantomime and music for the celebration of King George V's Delhi Durbar of December 1911<sup>278</sup>. This event

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<sup>276</sup> Sir Oswald Stoll owned theatre chains in Britain and he is reputed to have transformed the music-hall entertainments into a more socially acceptable entertainment of multi-class appeal drawing more audience to the theatres. The standards found in his halls far exceeded that found in the music hall elsewhere in England. The London Coliseum, which he opened in 1904, became an attraction for the middle class rather than the working classes, who were further alienated by higher seat prices. See Felix Barker, 'The House that Stoll Built': *The Story of the Coliseum Theatre*, London, 1957, p. 72.

<sup>277</sup> Henry Hamilton, a minor playwright and writer of librettos, wrote a series of melodramas in the later years of the nineteenth century. At the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, he became one half of 'the Gilbert and Sullivan of melodrama' with his writing partner Cecil Raleigh. See W. J. MacQueen-Pope, *Theatre Royal, Drury Lane*, London, 1945, p. 292. Hamilton's libretto for the masque receives little or no attention in literature on the masque. In fact, the *Birmingham Daily Mail*, 12 March 1912, explicitly states the 'book' is only of secondary importance to the production, while other reviews fail to mention the libretto at all.

<sup>278</sup> The masque was presented as one of eleven entertainments, which made up the evening at the Coliseum Theatre, but the masque was the event people went to see. It ran about an hour and Elgar's music was what people expected of him: celebratory of the British Nation and Empire. Elgar was

had marked the climax of the only royal tour of India by a reigning King-Emperor and had caused much public excitement in England. It must be noted that the Durbar ceremony itself was an adaptation of a court ritual of the Mogul empire, an occasion at which the ruling princes would meet to discuss politics and legislative changes, and also, perhaps more significantly for the British at that precise time in their colonial history, to present themselves before their subjects in order to receive homage.<sup>279</sup> The Durbar ceremony was first devised and used as a tool for British colonial politics at the Imperial Assemblage of 1876. In preparing the event it was hoped that substituting British leaders for the princes would:

place the [Monarch's] authority upon the ancient throne of the Moguls, with which the imagination and tradition of [our] Indian subjects associate the splendour of supreme power!<sup>280</sup>

Thus, the 1911 Durbar offered the British another opportunity to demonstrate the loyalty, obedience and contentment of their subjects, as pictures and footage of the Indian princes offering, in deference, obeisance to the King and Queen were shown throughout the British Empire. This documentary film, 'With Our king and Queen in India', was one of the first ever made in colour and was released and distributed in England by February 1912.<sup>281</sup>

To listen to works such as Elgar's *The Crown of India* (Opus 66), it is necessary to accept that most of British nation believed in the Empire and in the concept of 'Empire' at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 2007, Dr. Nalini Ghuman wrote:

The masque is a fascinating work of imperialism: historically illuminating and often musically rich, it is nevertheless a profoundly embarrassing piece – a significant contribution to the orientalist India of the English imagination.<sup>282</sup>

The same critic also links *The Crown of India* with the great novel of the Raj, Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901) stressing the fact that both 'can be understood to be central to the high point of the Raj and in some ways to represent it.'<sup>283</sup>

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appointed King's Master of Music in 1924. See Felix Barker, 'The House that Stoll Built': *The Story of the Coliseum Theatre*, London, 1957, pp. 89-92.

<sup>279</sup> Lawrence James, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India*, London, 1997, p. 4.

<sup>280</sup> Letter from Lord Edward Lytton, Viceroy of India to Queen Victoria (21 April 1876), quoted in Bernard S. Cohn, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India', in *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 1983; reprinted Cambridge, 1992, pp. 187-188.

<sup>281</sup> Nalini Ghuman, 'Elgar and the British Raj: Can the Mughals March?' in Byron Adams (ed.), *Edward Elgar and his world* (Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 270.

<sup>282</sup> Nalini Ghuman, 'Elgar and the British Raj: Can the Mughals March?' in Byron Adams (ed.), *Edward Elgar and his world*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2007, p. 276.

<sup>283</sup> Nalini Ghuman, *Ibidem*, p. 276.





## IV.2.2 The Three Durbars' Ceremonies

Before analysing the Masque *The Crown of India*, our attention must be devoted to the cultural, political and royal issues which were the chief motivation of Stoll's commission, events strictly related to the Royal visit to India at the end of 1911. The Delhi Coronation Durbars (1877, 1903, 1911) were organised by the British as a means of demonstrating British power over the colony of India as well as a means of rendering manifest the close relationship that existed between the Raj and much of the Indian elite.

Arnold White in *Efficiency and Empire of 1900* clarifies how the British rule was felt at home at that time:

The British Empire is the greatest the world has ever seen, and being free from militarism is safe against decay. The British Army, though small, can do anything and go anywhere. One Englishman can beat two foreigners. We are the most enlightened people on the face of the earth. This reinforced the British view of the world which included a paternalistic control over India, their understanding that the King-Emperor really did rule over a quarter of the globe and that, on the whole, this rule was benign and appreciated by most of the King's subjects. In India this control was sustained through the careful management of the Princes, most of whom seemed to revel in British awards and titles which were given in return for a large amount of autonomy.<sup>284</sup>

However, by the time, of the royal visit in 1911 the first signs of deterioration in the relationship with locals at an institutional level were beginning to show creating difficulties in maintaining the British hold over India and more specifically, over the totality of the Indian subcontinent. That these emerging problems in the ruling of and in India were not apparent to the British public knowledge is demonstrated by the fact that Britons were fascinated with the royal visit to India of November 1911. This very fact encouraged Stoll to commission a piece of music informed with imperialistic values as a means of celebrating the royal imperial coronation event, trying to portray and represent Britain's view of what it thought India to be from the perspective of the United Kingdom theatre and national audience. Originally, a Durbar was conceived as a public audience given by a native Indian prince although no prince could have foreseen the grandeur of the Durbars, which were organised by their British masters that would have amazed most of the citizens of Great Britain, too. The first British Durbar was held in

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<sup>284</sup> *The Daily Telegraph*, Tuesday March 12, 1912.



1877 to celebrate the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India. The Durbar event was presided over by the Viceroy, the Earl of Lytton and by the time King Edward VII became Emperor in 1901, Lord Curzon had become Viceroy and he was responsible for the arrangement of the second Durbar which celebrated the new Emperor's accession to the title of Emperor of India. This was the most lavish of the three Durbars and it took place in 1903 and there was a widespread disappointment when the new Emperor did not attend the ceremony. King Edward, who had little interest or in the Empire at all, sent as his representative the Duke of Connaught. Plans were made for the visit of the new Prince and Princess of Wales (the future King George V and Queen Mary) to India; stirring disappointment in India again because there had been hope that the King-Emperor would have visited his eastern dominion himself. The Royal couple arrived in Bombay in 1905 and were received by Curzon, who had just resigned as Viceroy. The Prince and Princess of Wales stayed in India till 1906 visiting cities as far apart as Lahore and Madras and travelling as far as Burma. The future king acquired a deep knowledge and understanding of India customs and policies, preparing him for the Imperial visit that he was to make seven years later, an event which was created by the new King himself who strongly wanted to crown himself Emperor in Delhi. After much discussion, it was agreed that the King would not crown himself but 'appear wearing his crown and receive the homage of the Princes and rulers seated upon his throne'; it had, in fact, been decided that 'no man was entitled in law to remove the crown from out of the kingdom'.<sup>285</sup> So that a new crown, named the Imperial Crown, was ordered and created specifically for the imperial coronation to take place in India. In *A Glimpse of Empire*, Jessica Douglas-Home offers a detailed presentation of the Durbar which took place in 1911 in Delhi:

"The Mall", "Princes Road" and "King's Way", where all the principalities and powers of India were assembled into a single place – the Viceroy and his council, lieutenant-governors and chief commissioners, Hindi and Muslim princes, ruling chiefs, men from the plains, men from across the border, from Bombay to Calcutta from Peshawar to Madras, Sultans from Arabia and the regions near Aden – all with their own retinues and troops.<sup>286</sup>

Joyce Hooper, described what she saw in a letter to her aunt:

There was this huge amphitheatre filled with roughly 100,000 people of

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<sup>285</sup> Harold Nicolson, *King George the Fifth*, London, Constable & Co Ltd, 1952, p. 169.

<sup>286</sup> Douglas-Home, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

which 50,000 were troops, but in spite of this mass of people,

the two central figures were the King and Queen sitting in their robes and the King in his crown in the shamiana (a pavilion), while all the ruling chiefs of India, the Governors of the Provinces made their obeisance to him. The colours were glorious, the Chiefs were dressed in gold and jewels, nearly every man in the place wore uniform, the troops were a mass of red. While in the background as a sort of setting to the whole thing was the native populace, in different coloured turbans so that they looked like great beds of flowers.<sup>287</sup>

The Emperor and Empress travelled by train from Bombay to Delhi where they were met by Lord Hardinge who was accompanied by three of the grandest princes of India, including the elderly Maharana of Udaipur who then refused to take part in the official Durbar ceremony since he did not intend to pay formal homage to a foreigner ruler. After these first ceremonies of greeting the King-Emperor, the royal procession, followed the Viceroy and his retinue, at the Delhi Gate and, as they arrived there, the Emperor and Empress were received with a 101 gun salute. Both wore their coronation robes from the Westminster Abbey ceremony, held seven months earlier. Escorted by ten young princes the Imperial couple made their way to the shamiana. First the Colonial officials paid homage to their sovereigns and then

the Durbar sprang into life, as one by one the princes and ruling chiefs, resplendent in gorgeous clothing and priceless jewels, made obeisance to their Emperor<sup>288</sup>

after the homage of the Indian princes being paid, the Emperor and Empress reached the elevated platform built within the Durbar pavilion from which a Herald proclaimed in English and, strangely enough in Urdu not in Hindi, the Coronation of the Emperor George V. Returning to the shamiana, the platform, the King made his first official announcement on the Indian colony under his rule, proclaiming the annulment of the partition of Bengal along with his decision to change capital of India, declaring Delhi the new capital and forsaking Calcutta, which had been the capital of India for two centuries.

As shown, this Durbar was an enormous and grandiose event. Although it may have lacked the glamour of Curzon's Durbar, it was considerably larger and a well-planned tribute, with accurate organised details, to the power and wealth of the new Emperor of India. It must be stressed that Britain's control over India would not have succeeded for so long without this relationship being encouraged and developed over centuries and although the Empire in the east might have come into being through trade

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<sup>287</sup> Douglas-Home, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>288</sup> Douglas-Home, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

and war (often against the French and previously against the Dutch) rather than a deliberate policy of territorial acquisition, by the time Queen Victoria became Empress attitudes had changed significantly. It is not difficult to believe that the imperial feelings expressed in the libretto by Hamilton for the *The Crown of India* reflected the opinions of the average Briton, i.e. how the common British citizen felt about Empire and its inherent philanthropy, at the moment when George V ascended to the throne of England and was crowned the new Emperor of India.

The London press reported with accurate precision the event and it is not a surprising fact that the articles which appeared in the papers attracted the full attention of Oswald Stoll. Stoll was known as one never to hesitate about seizing an occasion of creating a potentially successful show so much so that Stoll wrote to Elgar early in January 1912 offering the composer to compose the music for an 'Imperial Masque' to be performed at the Coliseum in celebration of the recent Durbar ceremony, attended for the first time in India by the newly crown Emperor George V.



### IV.2.3 Commission and Composition of the Text and Score

Stoll's invitation and timing was warmly welcomed by the Elgars who had moved into a larger and more expensive estate in Severn House on 1 January, and were in need of substantial financial income. Elgar was presented with a challenging proposal from the outset of the composition by the imperial sentiments, expressed in rather bombastic terms, and by the structure devised by the librettist Henry Hamilton, a playwright of little distinction but known to the general public who appreciated his overt ways of presenting the imperial powers and achievements, also expressed in philanthropic terms, of Britain. George Bernard Shaw, as a music critic, publicly, and mercilessly, ridiculed Hamilton's work from what he proposed for *The Crown of India*. As Robert Anderson stresses Hamilton:

concentrated on the King-Emperor's pronouncement that the Indian capital should henceforth be Delhi, rather than Calcutta [...] There is far too much of this political business.<sup>289</sup>

Hamilton tries to portray royal power in the representation of the two cities when he writes the argument between Calcutta and Delhi. The latter invokes the support of four of the greatest Moghul Emperors from the ancient Indian past (Akbar, Jehangir, Sha Jihan and Aurangzeb) to recreate an imperial ascendancy and a righteous claim to be the capital of the Indian colony of Britain, as she makes her case for remaining the nation's capital<sup>290</sup>. It must be noted that Elgar renders in music this imperial patriotic sentiment in the 'March of the Mogul Emperors'. *The Crown of India* re-enacted on the London stage the events of the Delhi Durbar. The rule of the King-Emperor is celebrated and everyone involved seems to be happy in kneeling before him in a colourful and exotic manner intended, as it was also intended by the organizers of the Durbar which took place in Delhi, to fascinate and draw the general public to the theatrical rendering of the official ceremony performed at the Coliseum.

Actresses impersonated the two Cities and India, staging the urban topography of India, along with other actors and actresses acting as Agra, Benares (Varanasi), Mysore, Haidarabad, Lucknow, Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Allahabad and Gwalior along

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<sup>289</sup> Robert Anderson, 'Foreword' to *The Crown of India*, London, Elgar Society Complete Edition, 2004, p. vii.

<sup>290</sup> Point to be discussed in the last chapter of this thesis analysing the text by Hamilton.

with the Mogul Emperors, John Company (the colloquial name for the East India Company), St. George representing England, The King-Emperor George V, The Queen-Empress and Lotus, a royal Herald. Mother India presented all her twelve daughters to the new King-Emperor George V on stage paying him deferential homage.

Generally, the primary reason for questioning *The Crown of India*'s musical artistic value is attributed the very fact that Elgar was paid a large amount of money for the encomiastic music commission. However, it must be said that if Elgar had not fully ideologically supported the musical artistic project, his famed moral integrity and his deep concern with his public image would have prevented him from participating in the project. It is quite clear that throughout his career he had no qualms at all about refusing well-paid commissions if they did not align with his beliefs. We should mention that *The Crown of India* was the only music commission for a stage performance that he actually accepted before the First World War.<sup>291</sup> It seems then that from the available sources we possess that the Elgars had no real reservations about the masque composition and with the ideology it expressed through the highly patriotic and imperialist libretto Hamilton wrote for the performance. This statement is further confirmed in the light of Elgar's decision to record two movements of his music for the masque and, above all, the fact that he accepted to conduct the suite at the 1912 Three Choirs Festival, and later, in 1924, he worked again on the suite rearranging, for public performance, three numbers for the British Empire Exhibition at, the newly constructed for the occasion, Empire Exhibition Palace, which later became Wembley Stadium. However, one must also note that other factors contributed to Elgar's desire to be involved with the composition and to promote the work. It is important to stress that *The Crown of India* for Elgar was a real breakthrough in his career since the commission not only gave him the kind of commercial success he had been looking, and striving, for but also confirmed him as the royal composer of the Empire. The masque offered and provided definitive evidence of the great popularity of his music and of his growing status as one of the most famous national composer of his time. For Elgar, who had suffered from deep feelings of social inadequacy and cultural inferiority,

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<sup>291</sup> Those who offered him operatic or theatrical librettos included Thomas Hardy, Laurence Binyon, Sir W. H. Gilbert, the Duke of Argyll, and Harley Granville-Barker. See K. E. L. Simmons, 'Elgar and the Wonderful Stranger: Music for The Starlight Express', in *Elgar Studies*, edited by Raymond Monk, Aldershot, 1990, p. 143.

this involvement in yet another occasion for royal celebration must have been felt and seen as a career breakthrough that helped build his confidence as a composer. With the commission also financial stability came along, social middle-class status and security while he also was receiving the widespread recognition and commendation for his music that he had been craving for a longtime. It was expected that a middle-class gentleman of his era would fully support the monarchy and establishment, a support which Elgar displayed by dedicating works to members of the royal family, by his involvement with royal occasions (most notably Queen Victoria's 1897 Jubilee and the coronations of Edward VII and George V), and in his role as Master of the King's Music. His participation in *The Crown of India* was another way of showing his loyalty to the Crown, and of demonstrating the national and imperialistic beliefs and values he so revered.<sup>292</sup> Though much has been written about the reformation of the English musical canon in the years following the First World War, and the effect that it had on the story of Elgar's reception<sup>293</sup>, it is always important to underline the fact that for the critics wishing to present Elgar as the quintessential English composer, the master of the symphony and other highly regarded genres of abstract music, his ceremonial and imperial works posed a considerable problem, being inseparably bound up with pre-War confidence and imperial display of power and strength. There has also been a general reluctance to accept in full that Elgar could have supported imperial policies, in an attempt to make him more in line with the tastes and beliefs of the late twentieth-century ideologies and sensibilities. Many critics have come to the conclusion that Elgar wrote imperialist works only to align himself with the prevailing attitudes and political beliefs of his era, rather than to reflect any personal complicity with the dominant imperialist ideology of the last first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The result of these critical assessment of his work has resulted in seriously confusing judgments of avoidance, justification and apology for the political stances as expressed in some of his compositions with the outcome of neglecting or erasing these embarrassing pieces of

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<sup>292</sup> See Meirion Hughes, 'The Duc D'Elgar: Making a Composer Gentleman', in *Music and the Politics of Culture*, edited by Christopher Norris, London, 1989, pp. 41–68; and Michael Kennedy, 'Elgar the Edwardian', in *Elgar Studies*, edited by Raymond Monk, Aldershot, 1990, pp. 107–117.

<sup>293</sup> In this regards, see especially John Gardiner and Jeremy Crump, 'The Identity of English Music: The Reception of Elgar 1898–1935', in *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880–1920*, edited by Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, London, 1986), pp. 164–190. For evidence of the effect of this reformation on the music of Vaughan Williams, see Alain Frogley, 'Getting its History Wrong': English Nationalism and the Reception of Ralph Vaughan Williams', in *Music and Nationalism in Twentieth-Century Great Britain and Finland*, edited by Tomi Mäkelä, Hamburg, 1997, pp. 145–155.

patriotic music, as in the case of *The Crown of India*. The latter became critically presented as without significance or musical importance- this attitude was due to postcolonial embarrassment over England's imperialist past. Nevertheless, Elgar's music for the masque offers a worthy insight into both his personal life and his political imperialist beliefs. He did not deny the imperialist aspects of the production he was involved in but he referred to it as an 'inoffensive thing', fact highly indicative of his ease with its ideological basis and propagandist aspects. Evidence of Elgar's own views on the composition are to be found in his correspondence. He concluded a letter to his close friend Edward Speyer: 'I am so sorry I cannot come to you—but I must finish the Masque—which interests & amuses me very much.'<sup>294</sup>

To Alfred Littleton at Novello, he wrote:

The Masque is going to be very gorgeous and patriotic... I shall write the music at once & it will not interfere with the other thing [i.e. The Music Makers]—I think you will like the idea.<sup>295</sup>

The most revealing letter about his attitude towards the masque is the one that was sent to Frances Colvin in response to her congratulations on the première at the Coliseum in which he affirms that it is 'an inoffensive thing and some of the music is good!'<sup>296</sup>

It is surprising then, given the popularity experienced by the work and Elgar's positive attitude towards it, to find that Michael Kennedy dismisses it entirely in his biography, stating Elgar himself 'viewed it quite frankly as a potboiler', and that over an hour of music was "'cooked up" from discarded sketches' in the space of a few months.<sup>297</sup> Similarly, negative and strong disparaging remarks are to be found in the majority of the literature on Elgar, and it has become accepted practice to disregard the artistic, musical value of *The Crown of India* following the claim made by Percy Young that it 'filled Elgar with some alarm on account of its political emphasis.'<sup>298</sup> Such assertions all tend to distance the composer from the imperialist politics informing the work and have been supported by the thorough and careful selection of evidence to their case. The revealing quotation from Elgar's letter to Frances Colvin is normally quoted

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<sup>294</sup> 20 January 1912; Jerrold Northrop Moore, *Edward Elgar: Letters of a Lifetime*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1990, p. 241.

<sup>295</sup> 8 January 1912; Moore, *Elgar & his Publishers: Letters of a Creative Life*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1987, ii, p. 760.

<sup>296</sup> Moore, *Edward Elgar: Letters of a Lifetime*, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

<sup>297</sup> Michael Kennedy, *Portrait of Elgar*, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

<sup>298</sup> Michael Kennedy, *Portrait of Elgar*, *op. cit.*, p. 252.



in published source until recently in the books by Jerrold Northrop Moore's *Edward Elgar: Letters of a Lifetime* and by Robert Anderson's *Elgar and Chivalry*, where the whole letter is eventually given.<sup>299</sup> Before, it had been usually without this first sentence, leading thus to imply, rather misleadingly, that Elgar's only interest in the work was financial:

When I write a big serious work e.g. *Gerontius* we have had to starve & go without fires for twelve months as a reward: this small effort allows me to buy scientific works I have yearned for & I spend my time between the Coliseum & the old bookshops: I have found poor Haydon's Autobiography—that which I have wanted for years [—] & all Jesse's Memoirs (the nicest twaddle possible) & metallurgical works & oh! All sorts of things—also I can more easily help my poor people [his sisters and brother, and their families]—so I don't care what people say about me—the real man is only a very shy student & now I can buy books—Ha! Ha! I found a lovely old 'Tracts against Popery'—I appeased Alice by saying I bought it to prevent other people seeing it—but it wd. make a cat laugh. Then I go to the N[ational] Portrait Gallery & can afford lunch—now I cannot eat it. It's all very curious & interesting & the people behind the scenes are so good & so desperately respectable & so honest & straightforward—quite a refreshing world after Society—only don't say I said so. My labour will soon be over & then for the country lanes & the wind sighing in the reeds by Severn side again & God bless the Music Halls! Love to you both Edward

The first rehearsal took place on 26 February for Elgar had worked on the score fervently, finishing it just on time for the first performance on 11 March. Elgar himself was conducting the masque at the Coliseum twice a day for the first two weeks before handing the baton over to the Music Director of the Coliseum, Alfred Dove. *The Crown of India* was inserted between series of variety acts and shows and never has the word 'variety' been more fitting as the show began with an orchestral overture and there followed 'gymnastic equilibrists', 'Dramatic and Burlesque impressions', a ventriloquist, a comedian, a solo harpist, a one-act play by J M Barrie, *The Twelve Pound Note* and a 'Neapolitan Chanteuse' who began the second half just before *The Crown of India* was performed. Rather oddly, during the interval, Wagner's Overture to *Tannhäuser* was played and, after Elgar's masque, a one-act pantomime took the stage before presenting (what was the focal point of attraction to the general public) the Bioscope of the film (motion picture) of the Durbar celebration events which took place in Delhi. It is to be considered the first and biggest political news-reel event to date to use the movie as a vehicle of propaganda able to reach a vast audience across the

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<sup>299</sup> Moore, Edward Elgar, *Letters of a Lifetime*, op. cit., p. 242; Robert Anderson, *Elgar and Chivalry*, op. cit., p. 311.

Empire. After a dramatic race to get the footage back to England, it was distributed to cinemas across the country and where it played to fully-booked theatre-houses, including the Coliseum in London for a long time.<sup>300</sup>

Contrary to the critics had believed previous to the performance, the production turned out to be an enormous success for Elgar and the Coliseum was sold out for two weeks. Elgar's orchestral score contribution accompanying the masque was just over sixty minutes of music, consisting of seven orchestral numbers (including the 'Dance of Nautch Girls', 'Warriors' Dance', and the 'Entrance of 'John Company)'), two songs, and six pieces of melodrama. The music proved to be immediately immensely popular with audiences of the time and with the press alike, the latter frequently citing it as the most exciting aspect of the production performing at the Coliseum. *The Daily Telegraph's* headline described it as a 'Gorgeous Spectacle' stating that 'the warmest praises must go to Mr. Percy Anderson, who has designed the costumes and scenery – the latter painted by Mr. Philip Howden – and contrived for the two tableaux of the masque a colour-scheme of rare opulence and splendour.'<sup>301</sup> Further on, *The Daily Telegraph's* critic referred to Hamilton's 'smoothly-flowing verse'. *The Daily Telegraph's* critic praised Elgar's music only as 'Gorgeous Spectacle' and this fact worried Elgar who saw the need of further cuts to the text while continuing to conduct twice daily, reducing the text considerably even after the first performance, and tried to convince Oswald Stoll to proceed with ulterior cuts. Nevertheless, in spite of his personal desires, Elgar had to live with Hamilton and his idea of the invented dispute on stage between the Cities of Calcutta and Delhi as they discussed their claim to mother India as to which should be, in the end, the new Capital of the Indian colony under the rule of George V. It must be said that the Daily Express also stated after the première on 11 March 1912: 'It was Elgar's day. It was Elgar's triumph... Truly The Masque of India is the production of the year.'<sup>302</sup>

On 26 March, just three days after Elgar had fulfilled his contractual obligation, both he and Alice were back at the Coliseum for the evening performance, conducted by the Coliseum's musical director Alfred Dove. This indicates that they both had an

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<sup>300</sup> Stephen Bottomore, '“Have You Seen the Gaekwar Bob?": Filming the 1911 Delhi Durbar', in *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 17 (1997), pp. 309–345.

<sup>301</sup> *The Daily Telegraph*, Tuesday March 12 1912

<sup>302</sup> *The Daily Telegraph*, Tuesday March 12 1912.

interest in the work beyond what was required under the contract terms of the commission. Elgar's *Crown of India* music was not just part of a transient curiosity, forgotten (like the libretto) at the end of the run of the production.

It must be stressed that the great success enjoyed by Elgar's masque was also largely due to the accessibility of his music offered to the general different social strata present in the Coliseum audience. The Coliseum was one of the leading 'variety theatre house' in the Capital with a very large seating capacity (all the performance were fully booked during the two-week-run of the show from the official Durbar celebration) and a policies of keeping prices affordable also to the working-classes along with the middle-classes. Elgar's masque's accessibility and its outreach to a vast public of so different social composition was unthinkable at the times of the Stuart masques' performances and it marks one of the great asymmetries to be considered when comparing two different theatrical phenomena performed 300 hundreds years apart.

Of course, it is obvious that Stuart Court Masques were never written or imagined to be performed for a mass audience like the one that attended the London Coliseum. The Jonsonian Jacobean Masques in the early 17<sup>th</sup>-century were a lavish form of dramatic entertainment containing spoken verse and music conceived as a form of display of royal political power and as a means of praise for the monarch himself. These purposes are shared by Elgar's early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Masque. The difference between them lies in their differing specific audiences. In the Jacobean times, access to the Court was regulated by strict hierarchical and highly political established conventions – *decorum*-undergoing policies of limited invitation only for the attending elite. This kind of emphasis on status and wealth made the Jacobean masque inaccessible to the general public. During the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century, access to the public theatre was determined only by ticket price hence made possible for people belonging to different social classes.

It appears to have found enduring popularity, at least for the remainder of Elgar's life: arrangements for piano and brass band were made shortly after its completion, and five orchestral movements were published as a suite by Boosey & Hawkes later in 1912. More indicative of the work's status is the number of live transmissions on BBC Radio in the years before Elgar's death. The suite, or parts of it, were broadcast a total of one hundred and two times during in the final decade of Elgar's life – during the period October 1923 to February 1934, the latter the year of

Elgar's death -- thus remaining very much in the repertoire of the station's performers, it was much appreciated by BBC radio audiences, and establishing a place in the emerging broadcast canon (the suite was broadcast no fewer than 102 times).<sup>303</sup>

Furthermore, a recording of two movements of the suite, the 'March of the Mogul Emperors' and 'Warriors' Dance', made under Elgar's baton by the London Symphony Orchestra in 1930 at the composer's own suggestion, sold well.<sup>304</sup>

Understood in this socio-economic and political context, *The Crown of India* supports the contention of Raymond Williams who suggests that:

from at least the mid-nineteenth century, and with important instances earlier, there was this larger context [the relationship between England and the colonies, whose effects on the English imagination 'have gone deeper than can easily be traced'] within which every idea and every image was consciously and unconsciously affected.<sup>305</sup>

Williams has a telling grasp of the historical situation that can be found in Elgar's masque. As Williams points out, it is difficult to ascertain the strength and depth of Empire mythology in the British consciousness during the late Victorian and Edwardian times. In our chapter v, which is to follow, we will attempt to demonstrate how the rapport between England and its colonies is embodied and represented in the work by Hamilton and Elgar and how their artistic creations help the public's attitudes towards Empire.

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<sup>303</sup> Ronald Taylor, 'Music in the Air: Elgar and the BBC', in *Edward Elgar: Music and Literature*, edited by Raymond Monk, Aldershot, 1993, pp. 351–55.

<sup>304</sup> John Gardiner, 'The Reception of Sir Edward Elgar 1918–c.1934: A Reassessment', in *Twentieth-Century Music*, 9 (1998), p. 381. This statistics is far from representative of the tastes of the general public, as records were still too expensive for the majority of the population at this time.

<sup>305</sup> Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City*, New York; Oxford University Press 1973, p. 165. Quoted by Edward W. Said in his *Culture and Imperialism*, London, Vintage, p. 98.



## V Elgar's Masque *The Crown of India* 1912 As Imperial Heterotopian Space

### V.1 Musical Analysis of *The Crown of India*: Places of the British Empire

After the success of 1912 two-week's performances at the Coliseum, *The Crown of India* was never performed on stage again in its entirety. The entire score was only published as a piano-vocal version by Elgar's friend Hugh Blair during the composer's lifetime and only Elgar's orchestration of 'The Crown of India Suite' and 'The March of the Mogul Emperors' survives since, sadly, the original complete orchestral score<sup>306</sup> was lost in the 1960s. In 2007, the Elgar Society commissioned an orchestration of the piano score from Anthony Paine. This version was recorded by the BBC Philharmonic and Sir Andrew Davis in 2007 (Chandos).

As far as the score of the piano version is concerned, it must be duly noted that contemporary music critics have devoted little or no attention to the *The Crown of India* in respect to the broader context of Elgar's music literature. This critical neglect can be understood as symptomatic of a deep sense of 'disquiet' felt by the contemporary community of intellectuals and artists authors over the imperialist sentiments expressed in the literary text of the masque so much so that, despite its popularity at the time, *The Crown of India* has been considered as almost unimportant and negligible by biographers, historiographers of music and musicians alike. Subsequently, this neglect is no doubt due to the by now unacceptable imperialist ideology inherent in the libretto. In fact, the *Masque* takes a political stance, its propaganda forcefully embracing the cultural and political ideologies predominant in that political period. The libretto, then, stresses this vision of Great Britain as an agent of civilization through its imperial rule over the colonies, an attitude and an overt support which, seriously aggravated by racial overtones of the lyrics of Henry Hamilton's libretto, leave contemporary critics with a sense of unease and irritation -- so that even Elgar's musical composition has suffered

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<sup>306</sup> We have already discussed the issue of the lost orchestral score in chapter IV. It is important to mention that in 1918, a version of the complete orchestral score arranged for military band by Franck Winterbottom (1861-1930) -- an American composer and conductor. It was published by Hawkes & Sons, no. 390, London. Ltd. Denman Street, 1918.

from nearly complete neglect as critical appreciation and interest<sup>307</sup>.

Our aim in this section of the present thesis is to re-evaluate and re-examine both the text and the music<sup>308</sup>, trying to offer a critical reading and understanding of the work as a unity in the context in which both parts were composed and performed -- so as to shed critical light on tradition of the masque as a form of political panegyric -- a form which, after almost three centuries, stems directly from the Jonsonian masque. The textual analysis will be also conducted by applying Foucauldian categories of 'heterotopias' in order to bring together the simultaneously 'real' and 'unreal' impossible different places, with Britain, the mighty coloniser, and India, the colonised subcontinent, juxtaposed, unified and brought to life in an 'unreal other space' where differences are played out or merged, and where impossibilities of place and time are subverted or included. The British, long-established as a superpower in the East, and India the subjugated colony, are enacted, staged and performed, with their inherent political ideologies, both as colonised and as coloniser. The masque moves them into this 'other place', i.e. the Coliseum theatre gives life to the ideological, political values of King George V's England in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century in the visionary encounter, almost a confrontation, renders the then 'present state' of India an epideictic, even didascallic, political allegory.

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<sup>307</sup> It is significant that Henry Hamilton, the librettist chosen by Stoll for *The Crown of India* does not appear in *The New Grove Music and Musicians Dictionary*, Stanley Sadie, John Tyrrel, eds., Oxford, Oxford University Press, 200. See also *Grove Music Online* in *Oxford Music Online*, [www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com). We have already anticipated we scant information on the subject in the previous chapter IV on Elgar's music. Henry Hamilton wrote a series of melodramas in the later years of the nineteenth century, At the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, he became one half of the Gilbert and Sullivan of melodrama' with Cecil Raleigh as his standing writing partner and collaborator, see W. J. MacQueen-Pope, *Theatre Royal, Drury Lane*, London, W. H. Allen, 1945, p. 292. For the record, those who offered operatic or theatrical librettos for the Masque included Thomas Hardy, Laurence Binyon, Sir W. H. Gilbert, the Duke of Argyll, and Harley Granville-Barker; in this regard, see K. E. L. Simmons, 'Elgar and the Wonderful Stranger: Music for The Starlight Express', in *Elgar Studies*, edited by Raymond Monk, Aldershot, 1990, p. 143.

<sup>308</sup> As we have already said, Sir Oswald Stoll commissioned the music from Elgar. Stoll is widely credited with transforming music hall into a more socially acceptable entertainment of multi-class appeal. His insistence on scrupulously clean acts meant the standards in his halls far exceeded those found elsewhere. The London Coliseum, also known as 'the Variety Theatre', which he opened in 1904, became an attraction for the middle class rather than only the working classes as was customary at the time for this kind of theatrical entertainment. It must be stressed that the working classes were further alienated by higher seat prices (due to the increased interest that the middle classes took in these shows). As already mentioned, for a detailed discussion on the Coliseum and its audience see Felix Barker, 'The House that Stoll Built': *The Story of the Coliseum Theatre*, London, 1957, p. 72.





### V.1.1 Edward Elgar's Incidental Music for the 'Imperial Masque' *The Crown of India*

Edward Elgar's incidental music for the 'Imperial Masque' for *The Crown of India*, consisting of seven <sup>309</sup> orchestral numbers, two songs, and six pieces of melodrama. While the *Masque* was a great success with the critics and popular with the public, since then, as we have already said, it has been neglected as a musical production – and even in the form of '*The Crown of India Suite*' later created by Elgar possibly as a reaction against the imperialist libretto, which contains lines like:

And happy Britain/That above all lands /Still there she conquers counsels not  
commands [...] /who spread her empire not to get but give/And free herself bids  
others free to live'(18)<sup>310</sup>

The general idea expressed in the libretto, and in Elgar's music itself, is that Indian music and culture was when compared with the European tradition, including English tradition.<sup>311</sup>

In a letter to Lady Elgar by an old friend and musician<sup>312</sup>, he stated of the work's undoubted popularity and musical worth but we are also struck by its acceptance of contemporary imperial attitudes. It contains references to the 'organised music' stirring the Indians' 'barbaric blood'.<sup>313</sup> Moreover, the letter expresses the opinion that colonial peoples were incapable of writing music with a unified structure -- whereas European music was considered to be controlled and disciplined.

As Sharon Hamilton, has noted:

According to Victorian thought, European music like European society, worked precisely because it was ordered and systematic, it was everything which 'native' music – and by extension 'native society' – was not'. *The Crown of India* is full of indications that Elgar used Orientalist tropes when composing: the *Masque* constructs a binary opposition of East and West: India represented by pseudo-Oriental chromatic melody and harmony while Britain is illustrated by ceremonious diatonic invention.<sup>314</sup>

At this point, we must try to gain a true insight into Elgar's own beliefs and

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<sup>310</sup> Henry Hamilton, *The Crown of India: an Imperial Masque*, London, Enoch, 1912, 18.

<sup>311</sup> Cowgill, Rachel, Rushton, Julian. *Europe, Empire, and Spectacle in Nineteenth-Century British Music*, Routledge, London, 2006.

<sup>312</sup> Letter from Nicholas Kilburn to Lady Elgar in 1912, Elgar Birthplace, EBML. 9210. Elgar's Letters.

<sup>313</sup> Julian Rushton, *op. cit.*

<sup>314</sup> Sharon Hamilton, 'Musicology as Propaganda in Victorian Theory and Practice', in *Mosaic: A Journal of Interdisciplinary Study of Literature*, 31, 1998, pp. 35-56, p.53.

ideologies<sup>315</sup> since Elgar's life and works are also an expression of an ideology of Empire commonly acknowledged and shared in this period. We must bear in mind that his beliefs were built upon a political vision entirely in accord with the dominant imperialist doctrines of his time. Moreover, with his music for *The Crown of India* Elgar was making a conscious effort, willing to confirm to the general audience, themselves enmeshed in the imperialist credo, as 'nation' and 'the people', his own personal ideology was completely identical with the national vision of Empire. In fact, he was trying to give musical voice and artistic expression to what they believed in. Through a short composition meant to articulate structurally and culturally, Elgar wants to represent, through long-established musical tropes, a summa these political doctrines both national and imperial.

Our personal attitude challenges the prevalent contemporary critical position in the assessment of Elgar's overall achievement. Some modern critics are embarrassed and troubled by the strong link existing between his work and the imperialist regime of George V's Great Britain. Attempts to modify this negative approach have brought into question his other orchestral works which could be judged to link his political stances evermore explicitly in line to the general beliefs of late Edwardian, pre- First World War England. Few music critics have dared to negate Elgar's musical and artistic value<sup>316</sup> apparent in masterpieces such as his *Enigma Variations*, the *First* and *Second Symphonies*, and the violin and cello concertos not to speak of his oratorio *Gerontion*.

*The Crown of India* score provides us with significant understanding and insights into his personal imperialist beliefs, and clarifies aspects of some of the misunderstandings that have surrounded the critical debate about his ideological values since the late 1930s in pre World War II Britain which was already in those years a declining imperial power that was to lose its greatest colony in the East after the War, in 1947, when India was granted full Independence.<sup>317</sup>

Elgar expresses his imperialistic sentiments and views in his music for the masque by rendering the binary opposition of East and West through the juxtaposition

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<sup>315</sup> Michael Kennedy, *Portrait of Elgar*, 1987, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

<sup>316</sup> See also Byron Adams, ed., *Edward Elgar and His World*, *op. cit.*

<sup>317</sup> For other challenges see Bernard Porter, 'Elgar and the Empire: Music, Nationalism and the War', in *Oh, My Horses! Elgar and the Great War*, edited by Lewis Foreman, Rickmansworth, 2001, pp. 133–74, and the chapter on Elgar in Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and Music: Britain 1876–1953*, Manchester and New York, 2001.

of an ‘orientalised style’ of composing to represent India and an overtly ‘ceremonial pomp’ music to represent St George-England and the King-Emperor George V.<sup>318</sup> Elgar’s music for the masque, with its dialectic of musical styles, really possesses the same simplicity of idea and ideology of Colonialism as ‘mission’ (Kipling’s ‘white man’s burden’ is not far).<sup>319</sup>

When viewed as part of the contemporary ideological matrix, Elgar’s treatment of the Orientalist subject of *The Crown of India* reveals sympathy with the dominant imperialist tropes of the period. Musically, the East is portrayed as weak and indecisive, the West as bold and powerful, assertive in major mode against the chromaticism in the minor tonality of the Orient.

This polarity is nowhere more evident than in the music of the two marches—the ‘March of the Mogul Emperors’ and ‘The Crown of India March’. The ‘March of the Mogul Emperors’ appears in the First Tableau, as Delhi summons the ancient Emperors to testify to her greatness. The stage directions indicate the spectacle of the procession as the Emperors enter, ‘each attended by a retinue of courtiers, guards, &c.’.<sup>320</sup> To match this striking scene, Elgar created an *animato*, with relentless drive and changing rhythm. Perhaps he was playing a musical joke on the Emperors with the use of this tempo, to which it is impossible to march properly so that it forces an uneven, clumsy stride. One might suggest even that Elgar composed the march to force the

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<sup>318</sup> See especially John Gardiner and Jeremy Crump, ‘The Identity of English Music: The Reception of Elgar 1898–1935’, in *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880–1920*, edited by Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, London, 1986, pp. 164–190. For evidence of the effect of this reformation on the music of Vaughan Williams, see Alain Frogley, ‘Getting its History Wrong’: English Nationalism and the Reception of Ralph Vaughan Williams’, in *Music and Nationalism in Twentieth-Century Great Britain and Finland*, edited by Tomi Mäkelä, Hamburg, 1997, pp. 145–155.

<sup>319</sup> The term ‘imperialism’ requires some in-depth definition in this section, since its meaning has altered over time. As anticipated earlier, in the nineteenth century, imperialism possessed a clearly defined, policy-driven agenda to expand the Empire and maintain control over its constituent parts both in the North-American territories and in the Indian subcontinent and in the Australian territories (not to mention South Africa, where the Boer War posited a clear threat to British imperial in Africa). In the light of postcolonial contemporary writings, however, pride of place must be given to the works of Edward Said since he deals directly with literary analysis relative to our following analysis and discussion of Elgar’s Masque. Said has claimed that the very term ‘imperialism’ has become almost indefinable, ‘a word and an idea today so controversial, so fraught with all sorts of questions, doubts, polemics, and ideological premises as nearly to resist use altogether.’ Here, the term is used in accordance with Said’s definition to mean the ‘practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory.’ In Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, London, 1993, p. 3 and p. 8. The term becomes ideologically rather than politically defined in Said’s theoretical framework. Our aim is to use Said’s insights and also integrate his views with a more political discourse when possible.

<sup>320</sup> See also on this matter Elgar’s letter dated 8 January 1912; Moore, *Elgar & his Publishers: Letters of a Creative Life*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1987, ii, p. 760.

Mogul Emperors to demonstrate their inferiority in ‘race’, education and manners. Thus, their lack of choreutic skills were put on show to suggest their political incompetence as compared to the British imperial political and cultural values.

Corissa Gould asserts that the march is a ‘musical expression of the common Orientalist tropes’<sup>321</sup> so much so that Elgar, to stress the opposition, devised and composed a noble, sombre orderly march for the ‘civilised West’ to show British supremacy through the music. The prevalent Orientalist trope of the time proposed by the composer was one of the central justifications in reaffirming the rights of Western domination. With this trope, the unchanging ancient old barbaric, unmannered and unpolished East is denied any modernity or progress. It is seen as without grace or artistic development throughout the millennia; it follows that so that without the West’s intervention it would have remained a land uncivilised without grace or power.<sup>322</sup> Thus Rudyard Kipling, an almost exact contemporary of Elgar and an imperialist poetic voice, wrote that if the British were to leave India, the country would dissolve into ‘one big cockpit of conflicting princelets’ within six months.<sup>323</sup> It was this perceived aspect of the, uncivilised, uncouth nature of the Indian people that Elgar aimed to portray in his incidental music – the Indian Moguls despite their best attempts to march cannot quite manage the dignified imperial stride in respect of the civilised British King-Emperor.

The music critic Nalini Ghuman expresses this very view in her assessment of the Elgar’s masque stating that:

The masque is a fascinating work of imperialism: historically illuminating and often musically rich, it is nevertheless a profoundly embarrassing piece – a significant contribution to the orientalised India of the English imagination. We might hear it, in some ways, as the realization of British imperialism’s cumulative process: the control and subjugation of India combined with a sustained fascination for all of its intricacies.<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>321</sup> Corissa Gould, ‘An Inoffensive Thing: Edward Elgar, The Crown of India and Empire’, in Clayton and Zon, eds., *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire*, Ashgate, Aldershot, UK, 2007, p.15. See also Clayton and Zon, eds. ‘Introduction’, *op. cit.*, p.5. See also ‘Elgar’s New Masque’, *Daily Telegraph*, 24 February 1912; ‘Sir Edward Elgar’s Masque’, *The Times* 12 June 1912.

<sup>322</sup> See Meirion Hughes, ‘The Duc D’Elgar’: Making a Composer Gentleman, in *Music and the Politics of Culture*, edited by Christopher Norris, London, 1989, pp. 41–68; and Michael Kennedy, ‘Elgar the Edwardian’, in *Elgar Studies*, edited by Raymond Monk, Aldershot, 1990, pp. 107–117 and Moore, *Edward Elgar: Letters of a Lifetime*, *op. cit.*, p. 242; Robert Anderson, *Elgar and Chivalry* (Rickmansworth, 2002), *op. cit.*, p. 311.

<sup>323</sup> Quoted in Michael Kennedy, *Portrait of Elgar*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 252. See also Percy M. Young, *Elgar, O.M.*, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

<sup>324</sup> Nalini Ghuman, ‘Elgar and the British Raj: Can the Mughals March?’, *op. cit.*, pp. 249–285, in *Edward Elgar and His World (The Bard Music Festival)*, ed. By Byron Adams, Princeton, Princeton University

In the music, reminiscent of other famous Elgarian marches<sup>325</sup>, the wind, brass and percussion play a prominent role in the ‘March of the Mogul Emperors’, the music becomes incessant in rhythm and takes on a rather ferocious quality that propels the movement forwards<sup>326</sup>. The incessant rhythms suggest the volatility of the Indians, with the syncopated motive of the first theme becoming an unrelenting *ostinato* behind the more lyrical second theme and towards the end of the movement, a new *ostinato* figure begins which was the leading-note but avoids resolution and this gives the orchestral texture a disquieting and insistent dissonance, as minor chords close the movement.

The musicologist Corissa Gould affirms that:

Elgar apparently sympathetic with the imperialist ideology inherent in the libretto is demonstrated by more than his written comments on the work; he also endorses it on the musical level. In his score, he renders the binary opposition of East and West through juxtaposition of a quasi-Oriental style of writing to represent India with ceremonial pomp to represent St. George and the King.<sup>327</sup>

‘The Crown of India March’, composed for the imperial procession of functionaries, soldiers, courtiers, and of course the Emperor and Empress, appears to be in stark contrast to the preceding dissonant march. It contains the stately pomp one might expect Elgar to produce in response to such a stately imperial parade also remembering that the composer had already written an ‘Imperial march’ and a ‘Coronation Ode’. The sliding chromaticism of the previous march disappears and the music is dominated by the major mode throughout. The difference in tonality makes a strong contrast to the minor mode of the ‘oriental’ march.<sup>328</sup> Both Ghuman and Gould fail to recognise that Elgar’s ‘The Crown of India March’ is deeply influenced by the chromaticism and tonality of Rimsky-Korsakov’s ‘The Song Of India’ (1861), which Rimsky-Korsakov later developed in a complete opera entitled *Sadko* (1891). Elgar, in his composition, derives the Oriental soundscape and stately pomp directly from the great Russian composer and uses it to set the mode and tone for the celebration of the

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Press, p. 278. It must be noted that Ghuman’s and Gould’s are the only two scholar contributions devoted to Elgar’s masque existing in the literature on the composer.

<sup>325</sup> Elgar’s unaffected love of English ceremonial music resulted in him drawing inspiration from i.e. Meyerbeer and Verdi and others, to compose marches all his life: from independent pieces like the *Pomp and Circumstances Marches* or for particular occasions, *Imperial March* 1897; *Coronation March* 1911; and *Empire March* 1924.

<sup>326</sup> See also Byron Adams, ed., *Edward Elgar and His World*, *op. cit.*

<sup>327</sup> Corissa Gould, ‘An Inoffensive Thing: Edward Elgar, The Crown of India and Empire’, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

<sup>328</sup> Corissa Gould, ‘An Inoffensive Thing: Edward Elgar, The Crown of India and Empire’, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

British Empire.<sup>329</sup>

Once this opposition is asserted, Elgar proceeds with it to confirm the imperialist attitudes in the libretto which have been exemplified by the contrasting marches: 'The Crown of India March', which had been diatonic for British officials against 'The March of Mogul Emperors', an apparent parody of Indian culture with a 3/2-- a time inappropriate for a march, crude orchestration and sudden modulations and at the end a trumpet *ostinato* with a shocking dissonance. The military suggestions in the text are also overtly expressed in Elgar's music: the fanfare theme of the opening is taken up during the song and will serve also as the start of 'The Crown of India March'. One must stress that, whereas the song accompaniment contains these military suggestions, Elgar seems not very attentive to the word setting.<sup>330</sup> Elgar also includes here a rendition of the chorus of the song 'The Rule of England', offered as an interlude, thus emphasising repeatedly the 'honour and righteousness' of English rule in overt terms. Moreover, it is important to declare here that this repetition does not feature in the libretto at this point and it was, one supposes, Elgar's own idea to add it as an explicit reaffirmation of the sentiments he wished to portray in the music and convey to the audience of the Coliseum in London. One must underline, in addition, that the binary opposition of musical styles is incessantly maintained throughout Elgar's music for the masque: India's music is constantly in the minor mode, Britain's is always in the major; India's is largely chromatic in contrast to Britain's diatonicism; India's rhythmic volatility contrasts with the regular rhythms of the West. Having established this musical style and mode, Elgar is able to use these musical signifiers to reiterate the ideologies inherent in the libretto of Hamilton, even though, at the same time, the composer does not pay at times careful attention to the lyrics at times.

The music for the final scene of the composition reaffirms Britain dominant role

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<sup>329</sup> We are deeply indebted to Professor Geoffrey Charles Hutchings and to Maestro Alessandro Buffone for the insightful analysis they offered us during long and animated discussions throughout the last year. Their music expertise and generosity to share with us their knowledge rendered possible our present close-reading, and interpretation, of the score. Our grateful thanks go to them who rendered this chapter possible. The following pages are the result of the heated confrontations we had. We are the sole responsible for all the misinterpretations and faults that might be present in the text. All the merits go to Hutchings and Buffone.

<sup>330</sup> The orchestral score has been lost, only a piano score survives, which has been orchestrated by Thomas Payne, who also invented a version of the Elgar's *Third Symphony* from sketches the composer had left. The lack of the original score of the Masque means we do not know whether, as is probable, Elgar emphasised the martial feeling with brass and percussion. Music purists do not even consider Elgar's *Third Symphony* as his symphony.

in its rendition of a eulogy for imperial power: the theme is in the minor tonality, is always directly associated with India throughout the masque. The India theme in the minor chord is placed against the theme of ‘The Crown of India March’ in the relative major and so yet again, musically Britain overpowers the East and musically India is made to submit to her British rulers –once again faithful to the sentiment of the libretto. The general effect that Elgar wants to obtain with the marches is to represent aspiration and hope brought to India by British rule – in fact, this incidental music is a testimony to Elgarian imperialism and it expresses a political ideology he fully supported. *The Crown of India* marches are magnificent display pieces, apt for their time, and still of some worth, if they can be listened to without nostalgia for an imperial past remembering that Elgar’s march style can cause embarrassment if read and understood from our contemporary post-colonial critical theories.<sup>331</sup>

On this topic, Richards states that:

Elgar’s vision of Empire [...] is a vision of justice, peace, freedom, and equality, of the pax Britannica and of the fulfillment by Britain of its trusteeship mission, to see the countries in its charge brought safely and in due course to independence – a far from ignoble dream.<sup>332</sup>

The critic Lawrence James maintains that through the tonal qualities mirroring the power balance inherent in the masque’s text, Elgar provides a musical depiction of the imperial doctrine of the time, portraying the ‘foibles of Eastern people, their iniquities, their mindless autocracies, and their general inadequacy in the face of an easy Western superiority.’<sup>333</sup> The available evidence leaves no doubt as to Elgar’s imperial ideals and beliefs; the discomfort surrounding this work, and others with imperialist content, is entirely the result of later postcolonial generations attempting to relieve the guilt of what was revealed to be a morally questionable regime, motivated primarily by greed. This is where a crucial significance of the study of Elgar’s involvement with *The Crown of India* lies: the adherence to the ideology of his time and the presentation of it in the work by later music scholars provide an example of the fictional ‘story’ of Elgar’s career and his personal beliefs, investing and affecting not only awareness of Elgar as an individual, but also the perception of the prevailing attitudes of the early twentieth

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<sup>331</sup> For further discussions on Elgar’s marches, see McVeagh in New Grove in appendix 1 of this thesis. See Matthew Riley, *Edward Elgar and the Nostalgic Imagination*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009.

<sup>332</sup> Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and Music: Britain 1876-1953*, Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 2002, p. 51.

<sup>333</sup> John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, op. cit., p. 54.

century as seen through his biography: The scholars do not stress enough that the production and reception of imperial works then was not subject to the sense of immorality felt by postcolonial generations of our contemporary world. Exposed to a huge propagandist effort in the years between the Boer War and the First World War, an 'imperial consciousness' was manufactured in the minds of the Edwardian public extolling the virtues of Empire, both for coloniser and colonised, creating a sense of righteousness and pride that few thought to question.<sup>334</sup> It was not until after the First World War that this vision began to disintegrate. Hence the difficulty of putting Elgar in the right perspective.

By recapturing the innocent view of imperialism held by the majority of his contemporaries, a reading of Elgar's *The Crown of India* as a social text of the early twentieth century reveals and confirms many aspects of the mechanisms of British imperialist culture at that time. It does not mean to accept Colonialism but to put those years in perspective and to remain critical of what they defended. Elgar's work becomes a constituent of the ideological web which 'supported and perhaps even impelled' imperialism, and includes the 'notions that certain territories and people require and beseech domination, as well as forms of knowledge affiliated with domination.'<sup>335</sup> On a more local level, *The Crown of India* also opens a window on Elgar's ideology we have exposed, allowing one to see behind the constructed image of the composer and providing a starting point for a more honest and historically accurate reassessment of Elgar's life, devoid of the effects of the embarrassment and discomfort provoked by England's imperialist past.

It must be stressed that Elgar's Orientalism was an imaginative recreation of the idea of the Orient that was commonplace in Great Britain and in Europe at this time. The general public was acquainted with harmonies and rhythms and its typical music to represent the East. In contrast to the British imperial music style and mode, oriental music was interpreted entirely within a Western musical context with a dialectical mode meant to underline the differences between the two contrasting and opposing worlds, values and 'races' both in the East and in the West. As such, Elgar echoes the libretto's story of British dominance, observing India from a British viewpoint. In fact, the perspective given is only British and India is not allowed to speak for herself. For all its

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<sup>334</sup> Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*, London, 1994; reprinted 2001, p. 327.

<sup>335</sup> Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.



chromaticism and *ostinati* (by then old musical signifiers of Western musical depictions of the exotic), the ‘March of the Mogul Emperors’ is essentially a march in the form of Western art music, albeit, as we noticed, with an unusual tempo. The obsolete tropes used by Elgar’s oriental signifiers were not lost on contemporary commentators, some critics observing that with the use of such tropes, his music lost part of its characteristic individuality. The critic of *The Standard* wrote on 12 March 1912:

He seems to be handicapped by the fact that an Eastern subject has to some extent demanded Eastern idioms and this has not contributed to the exercise of that individuality of phrase and terminology that are so peculiarly his.<sup>336</sup>

However, the majority of audiences at the Coliseum would have been familiar with the conventions of Orientalism in music and their significance. The exotic was a highly popular subject in music-hall, theatre, songs, and salon pieces; musical comedies reinforcing standard Indian stereotypes were commonplace in the theatre tradition at the end of the nineteenth century, with productions such as *The Nautch Girls or the Rajah of Chutneypore*<sup>337</sup> first performed in 1891 at the Savoy Theatre London and running till the end of 1892: 200 performances; the show then toured the British provinces and colonies enjoying a great success of public and critics, (*The Nautch Girls* being the title of one of the first movement the masque).<sup>338</sup> By employing standardised techniques, music language and tropes, Elgar was communicating with the audience in terms that would have both appealed to them and been understood as representing the East. In addition, he was adhering to the propaganda made also by the press that the music was deliberately intended to be popular and for the secular stage.<sup>339</sup> It seems for Elgar, then, Orientalism was simply a tool for communication and representation commonly shared ideological values through music tropes that had become clichés. He felt no need to experiment further with the sense of ‘otherness’ and never appears to have considered that it might be used to further his own musical language or convey India in its own terms. Instead, he inserts in his musical suite the oriental tropes already accepted and fashionable, and the resulting music is ultimately, music of the Raj—of the Englishman abroad—composed in a setting no more exotic, as Lawrence James wrote in 1997, than

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<sup>336</sup> *The Times*, 12 March 1912. Moore, *Edward Elgar: Letters of a Lifetime*, op. cit., p. 242.

<sup>337</sup> With the libretto by George Dance, lyrics by Frank Desprez and music by Edward Solomon.

<sup>338</sup> Cited in John Eliot Gardiner, ‘The Reception of Sir Edward Elgar 1918–c.1934: A Reassessment’, in *Twentieth-Century Music*, 9, 1998. See also Ronald Taylor, ‘Music in the Air: Elgar and the BBC’, in *Edward Elgar: Music and Literature*, edited by Raymond Monk, Aldershot, 1993, pp. 351–55.

<sup>339</sup> Matthew Head, *Orientalism, Masquerade and Mozart’s Turkish Music*, London, 2000, p. 17. Andrew Lycett, *Rudyard Kipling*, London, 2000, p. 164.

Elgar's Hampstead home<sup>340</sup>. In the imperial counterpoint between centre and periphery, the critic John MacKenzie wrote in 1995, Elgar's work provided overwhelmingly dominant melodies.<sup>341</sup>

The relationship between imperialism, Orientalism and the East-West power balance has become familiar also to contemporary music critics from the writings of Edward Said. In his book entitled *Culture and Imperialism* (1994), Said emphasises that all Western discourse on the Orient, including art and music, is dominated by the East-West power display and balance – most notably he devoted a section to Verdi's *Aida*, set in Egypt, and there Said shows how the power of Western dominance is constructed, enacted and performed from a Western perspective. It is a pity that Said does not investigate other cultural musical phenomena.

To Said, *Orientalism*, defined as Western discourse on 'the Orient', is a regime of power inextricably linked to Imperialism and he seeks to demonstrate the centrality of Western culture in the rationalisation, justification and transmission of imperialist values, stating that 'culture is a sort of theatre where various political and ideological causes engage each other.'<sup>342</sup>

In doing so, Said warns us, his readers, to remain critical of the Imperialist discourses developed by the West to defend its political and cultural supremacy. Even though, in contrast to Said's position, John MacKenzie, in 1997, suggests that Elgar's Orientalism can have functions other than the political one; the critic states, for instance, that composers at the beginning of the twentieth century began to experiment with oriental ideas as a way of extending their musical language, a venture distinct from imperialist ideas.<sup>343</sup> In the case of music, it has been suggested by Head that 'sometimes, a musicologist works at a level of musical detail that can make Said's thesis of a binary opposition of Self and Other seem too broad to account for what matters most: the music itself'<sup>344</sup>.

Though of course accepting the opinion of Head, we cannot but agree with

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<sup>340</sup> Lawrence James, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India*, London, 1997, p. 4. See also Gardiner, 'The Reception of Sir Edward Elgar', *op. cit.*, p. 389.

<sup>341</sup> John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1984, p. 54. See also Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xv.

<sup>342</sup> John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1995, xiii-xix.

<sup>343</sup> Head, *Orientalism*, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>344</sup> Head, *Orientalism*, *op. cit.*, p.25.

Said's critical insights offered on Verdi for our current analysis of *The Crown of India*, and, making Said's affirmations our own, we might say that all regimes depicted in music should be approached with reference to 'the imperial process of which they are manifestly an unconcealed a part'.<sup>345</sup> In this critical perspective, the *Imperial Masque* is not only influenced by the East-West power relationships of imperialist regimes' ideologies, it is constructed to display the dominant power of the British-rule ideology and render it manifest as an inherent civilising factor as understood by British subjects at home and abroad – an attitude we may derive from the 'Courtly Music Panegyric', a form inherited directly from the Stuart period through the Jonsonian Masque.

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<sup>345</sup> Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, *op. cit.*, xiv.

## V.2 Henry Hamilton's Libretto for *The Crown of India* As Imperial Heterotopian Space

### V.2.1 Nation and Empire in *The Crown of India*

As we have previously underlined, the propagandist imperialist aspects of the 1911 Durbar, attended by the first time by the King-Emperor of Great Britain in Delhi, on the long-colonised Indian subcontinent, were carefully and very precisely transferred into the masque's libretto by Henry Hamilton in a straight-forward way<sup>346</sup>. So that the home audience, who had read eagerly in the newspapers about the ceremony that took place in the exotic distant 'other' space of the Empire, could easily understand and identify itself with the ideology and rhetoric Hamilton inserted in his libretto. Although such an audience could not relate to the ceremony's description in a real sense, of course, the public attending the performances at the London Coliseum could respond to an imaginary exotic far-fetched, far-flung unreal recreation of it. Hamilton's text is a visionary encounter, a successful hybridisation, between a simplified and effective version of both Indian history and mythology with the British history and tradition. It is an epic fantasy echoing and, at times, resembling the description of *romance* and Arthurian chivalric literature. The themes in the passage of the text referred to Saint George 'The Spirit of Chivalry', the personification of Britain embodying knightly canons. St George, who makes his entry accompanied by Tradition and Romance, introduced in the stage directions as personifications. This literary commonly-shared background, also known to the working-classes who enjoyed the shows, helped feed this ideological and political image of the Empire to the average general public of late Edwardian Britain. The matter of romance-chivalry literature with its topographical and cartographical vision, although itself an imaginative invention, or rather re-invention of exotic places that were part of traditional British imagery, was well adapted to

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<sup>346</sup> The only article devoted to the study of Hamilton libretto's for *The Crown of India* is that by Joe Pellegrino, 'Mughals, Music, and "The Crown of India" Masque: Reassessing Elgar and the Raj', in *South Asian Review*, 31.1, November 2010 pp. 13-36. It reports issues discussed by Kennedy and Richards on Elgar's attitudes to British imperialism. For our current dissertation, Pellegrino's article is of little use since the critic focuses on the cuts made by Elgar himself on Hamilton's text we have briefly anticipated in chapter IV. The in-depth discussion made by Pellegrino of the implications of the cuts is of little interest for our work since, despite Pellegrino's conclusions on the basis of the textual analysis he carried out, Elgar positive views of imperialism of the Raj in the score are never put under discussion by the two musicologists who have dealt with it.

describing and representing the subservient role attributed to the ‘uncivilised’ colony of India, with its simultaneously real and ‘unreal’ territory.

Moreover, the text was able to further the concepts of paternalistic philanthropic views, which the general public strongly believed in: views portraying the British rule, and functioning as a sort of evangelical, philanthropic civilising agent, defining the role the Empire had assumed over all its conquered territories. This political stance, shared by the government elite and the general public in Great Britain were everyday attitudes of the colonisers themselves in the colonised territories, common place beliefs for the colonised peoples of the Empire as well <sup>347</sup>; these are the colonial discourses of the time, which Edward Said in *Culture and Imperialism* and in *Orientalism* explains and exemplifies and critiques. Such were the ideological imperialist bases conveyed by Hamilton in his libretto.

The libretto of *The Crown of India* consists of two tableaux: the first, named *The Cities of Ind*, opens with the controversial announcement that the capital of India would move from Calcutta to Delhi; the second, is called *Ave Imperator* and concerns King George V’s visit to India; it is a re-enactment of the Durbar ceremony itself.<sup>348</sup> These two Tableaux serve the dramatic function offering us a historical background and assessment of the situation in India. It seems that the subcontinent is presented as a kingdom of peace and prosperity due to the intervention of Great Britain in establishing the *Pax Britannica*. ‘Britannia’/England is portrayed in terms of the Good shepherd who is capable of ensuring domestic tranquillity.

In the first tableau, Mother India (Ind) greets and welcomes her twelve most renowned Cities:

Cities of Ind I greet you!  
From old  
My daughters, in whose destinies enscribled  
Is writ my record.

This underlines the importance of the destinies of the personified cities of India, as recorded by historical and mythological accounts: and the insistence on a historical and

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<sup>347</sup> See also Kipling’s vision of the Empire as civilising agent originating from the cultivated West that we previously referred to in chapter four of this dissertation.

<sup>348</sup> In an attempt to win favour with their Indian subjects, it was announced at the 1911 Durbar that the state of Bengal, partitioned in 1905 by Lord Curzon in a ruling, which caused much civil unrest, and anti-British feeling, was to be reunited. However, the ensuing decision to move the capital from Calcutta—in Bengal—to Delhi proved to be just as unpopular with the Bengalis, it also hampered reconciliation between the Indians and their rulers.

mythological framework is a structural literary device used by Hamilton to write a new history of the British nation and of the Empire all inscribed in the European chivalric tradition.

The libretto is a powerful allegory of imperial British rule: the twelve most important cities of India personifying Indian ancient history and traditions, both cultural and political, as well as incarnating the economic and commercial values that were essential to the wealth of the empire and for which the cities were known to the general audience in Britain. The beginning of the libretto is dominated by feminine images of the geographical and cultural Indian references sharply contrasting with the inserted British male figures (real, mythical and mythological: (John Company, the colloquial name for the East India Company also referred to as 'H.E.I.C.S.' in the text; St, George representing England, the King-Emperor George V, and Lotus, a royal herald. Only at the end of the second tableau, the Queen-Empress Mary is mentioned accompanying the King as they both enter the Durbar in Delhi).

The libretto also posits dichotomies with the ideological, political values and attributes of Great Britain and those of India thus the text plays out the primary binary opposition between England and India. As a matter of fact, quite typically of colonial discourse, India is referred to in the libretto as Mother India, an old trope identifying the land as feminine, a 'feminine other', enforcing the British rule over a colonial territory also by means of a trite gendered representation and display of imperial male power.

In fact, Ind and her twelve unruly, argumentative and litigious daughters -- Agra, Benares (Varanasi), Mysore, Haidarabad, Lucknow, Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Allahabad and Gwalior – are portrayed as trying to resolve the dispute between Delhi and Calcutta, who are fierce antagonists, fighting about which is to be the seat of capital of the India. Each wants to become capital in order to reassert supremacy over India's other cities. Both Delhi and Calcutta claim an ancient lineage of imperial power and wealth; the cities dispute each other's merits and the inherent values each possesses to be the worthiest capital. But their discourses lack the rhetoric of a good ruler. Their quarrel appears to be from a result of personal antagonism rather than a concern with the administration of the common weal and rule over the subjects. They enact the stereotypical eastern undisciplined, uncouth ruler, unfit of their role and inept in administering justice over their subjects. This amounts to another stale trope in

representing the uncivilised colonial world.

**Ind**

Though true it is we lack two Cities here,  
And those our chiefest, fitly to complete  
Our conclave,  
At my right and left a seat  
Calcutta waits and Delhi; - not their want  
To slight our summons,  
Delhi her rights of old maintains, her new  
Calcutta; would the discord we might heal,  
Giving to both content.

As a matter of fact, the two most important cities in India are not yet present stressing the notion of eastern unreliability and lack of seriousness also in matters of political affairs. The delay to the summons, although Mother Ind reassures both the other Cities-Daughters and the public that she confides in them arriving soon, is a degrading assessment of the entire subcontinent. The audience is reminded of such negative cultural traits of the Indians to glorify the British civilising agency throughout the masque.

Moreover, Ind is unable to settle the dispute by herself, although she attempts to sedate the conflicts between Calcutta and Delhi several times and:

**India**

Calcutta, Delhi, give your quarrel pause  
And to your Suzerain submit your cause.

She sharply reprimands Calcutta, reminding her of the true royal attributes of a righteous and just ruler (anticipating the antinomy with the righteous rule of George V which is praised later both by Ind and St George). She underlines Calcutta's inadequacy as a sovereign city and endorses George V's choice to move the capital to Delhi:

**Ind**

Call it a truce,  
Calcutta, to these conflicts.  
Go, take thy seat of high estate  
And know, O Daughter! She who would be great  
Should first be gracious

Her two quarrelsome cities appeal against the King's decision after arguing on stage in the presence of all the other Indian cities. They evoke the decision of the coloniser in no uncertain terms:

**Delhi**

So let it be! To Ceasar I appeal!

**Calcutta**

And I commit my claim, Come woe, come weal!

And Ind reaffirms the righteous choice that will be made by the new King-Emperor, submitting herself as a continent and colony to his imperial rule in a submissive attitude, recognising the supremacy of the British monarch:

**India**

No woe waits either, nor defeat hath sting  
That follows on the fiat of a King.

Ind, faced with the impossibility of solving the fight by herself, resorts to calling for John Company and Saint George-England to settle the argument between her daughters of imperial lineage past and present, who represent both the commercial city of British rule, Calcutta:

Your pardon; but the cares  
Of council and of business, state-affairs  
Have kept me. Ever at my heels  
Stalks commerce, while my leisure Statecraft  
Steals.  
*I am the Capital!*

and the imperial seat of millenary dynasties, Delhi:

Stop!  
That place is mine.  
[ ]  
Mine! by every claim  
Of ancient right and usage,  
For Justice none can ever call too loud,  
And Right grows wrath where Parvenus wax proud.  
Calcutta! But Great Mother, to me grant  
Your pardon, if my courtesy seem scant;  
And you my Sisters, thus amend I make  
With due obeisance.  
[ ] Of might, not right:  
Great Ind and Cities, give me yor award.  
[ ] when I a Queen  
Enthroned for forty centuries had been!

Such imperial descendance, dating back millennia and forcefully reasserted in the libretto, offers a fitting analogy and a perfect metaphorical symmetry between the British and Indian nations and their histories, intertwining the ever --remembered ancient histories of national and imperial rule -- thus creating a mythical, mythological and historical framework for the British imperial rule of Hamilton's time:

where Ganges' sainted stream  
To lave thy feet and lap thy threshold pours  
Those waters which a pilgrim-world adores,  
Tyre knew thy traffic, Carthage owned thy state,  
And Prince and Paladin and Potentate  
About thee thine Imperial purple flung



Whe Babylon and Nineveh were young  
And Rome was yet to be.  
In Peace and War,

There is another analogy at stake rendered in the text. It is one suggested by the myth of imperial Roman lineage in Britain, referred to by Mother India in the lines above; yet another intertwining of history past and present to create a direct link between the reigns of James I and George V with their mythical version of imperial Roman descent, a narrative created by Geoffrey of Monmouth. This was a prophesy fulfilled by the ascendance to the throne of James I -- according to Stuart historiographical and ideological propaganda.

Delhi claims her age-old traditions and history justify her right to supremacy and calls on the emperors of the Mogul dynasty to testify to her greatness thus again reinforcing the historical and mythical intertwining framework of historical references:

**Delhi**

But from my chronicles alone I cull  
Four names whose splendours nothing shall annul,  
Four Emperors of that Dynasty Mogul  
Which was my diadem and now shall be  
My witness. Shades august, remember ye  
The days of Old! That Delhi whom ye made  
Your own and loved here, calls on you for aid;  
Akhbar the wise, Jehangir, Shah Jahan,  
Aurangzebe, foremost in my glories' van.  
Once more to vouch me yours unto this last  
Come, oh ye mighty ones from the Past.

In contrast, Calcutta cites her current commercial and artistic success, and calls on the British East India Company for endorsement:

**Calcutta**

My answer is 'To-day'!  
Where she conjures up the past  
I call the Present –  
A strenuous Yesterday, a strong To-day  
Are better than an aeon of decay,  
Behold *me* throned upon thy shores, O Ind,  
Where to my footstool wafted by each wind  
There come every nation to my quays,  
Peaceful Armadas out of all the seas;  
Harbour a hum and highways all a-throng  
With commerce and with traffic, *these* belong  
To me. So much for 'To-day'.  
Nor is my 'Yesterday', though it be brief,  
Or blank or blazonless that holds in fief  
The deeds of Britain's grit and gallantry.  
Now foremost do I call – 'John Company'!

That from thy London Counting-House mad'st  
 War  
 Or Peace with Princes. Thou whose Standards  
 bore  
 Thy magic letters 'H.E.I.C.S.'  
 Through many a stricken battles's storm and  
 stress  
 To triumph.

Calcutta stresses her importance as a city of commerce and wealth, which hosts the headquarters of the East India Company, financial core of the empire; its economic supremacy is essential to the wealth of Britain. And the audience was well aware of the repercussions at national and imperial level of the activities of 'John Company'—Hamilton exploits this aspect demagogically and appeals to the public success through his explanation of rhetorical propaganda.

When no decision is reached by the cities themselves, Delhi defers to St George 'as the spirit of English Chivalry'. St George declines to offer judgment, instead suggesting that the King-Emperor, who is on his way, should make the ruling. Invoking the King's intervention is an overt act of submission to his political and colonial power, yet again reasserting the dichotomy East/West; Ind, Mother India, like the rest of the 'East', is portrayed as 'aberrant, underdeveloped, inferior and incapable of defining itself'<sup>349</sup> requiring 'the West' to civilise and order it. The East's inability to take decisions or act wisely reinforces the discourse of western supremacy

#### **St George**

Cities of Ind, on England's Saint that call,  
 Think ye the choice of Chivalry can fall  
 On one there comes  
 In whom my spirit lives – in whom my name  
 Is crowned! Let him your rival dignities assess  
 As arbiter, and his right hand redress  
 Your honours' balance.  
 Lotus (re-enters suddenly)  
 Tidings mighty Ind,  
 Across the sundering seas thine Emperor  
 Comes with his Consort.

The narration of St George refers to chivalric literary traditions and prompts the idea of a modern quest taken up by George V to reach the Far-East lands of his realm to grace the Indian subcontinent with his honour and justice. In the Masque's fiction and in reality with the Durbar, the King-Emperor George V has travelled by sea with his

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<sup>349</sup> Shelley Walia, *Postmodern Encounters: Edward Said and the Writing of History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 38.

Queen-Empress consort to India to assert his role of ruler. This is an inversion of what happens in the Jonsonian texts: the act of visiting the colony, reassert the colonial dominion and re-enacted the conquest of India -- in reality in Delhi and symbolically on the Coliseum stage. The new Emperor is portrayed performing a modern chivalric quest furthering British patriarchal rule and geo-politics. The visit can also be seen as the act of a colonial civilising agent. Post-colonial critics nowadays would think his wandering in exotic territories suggests his representation of British imperialism and his support for new colonial expeditions presented in an allegorical manner.

The King's choice of Delhi is, of course, portrayed as being entirely endorsed and welcomed by the Indians, despite contrary evidence from contemporary accounts. Both India, Delhi and Calcutta and St George proclaim the virtues and legitimacy of imperialist policy, often in the crude, explicitly rhetorical language of imperialism:

**Ind**

And happy Britain – that above all lands  
 Still where she conquers counsels, not commands!  
 See wide and wider yet her rule extend  
 Who of a foe defeated makes a friend,  
 Who spreads her Empire not to get but give  
 And, free herself, bids others free to live,  
 To all of her dominions East and West  
 She sends her sons, she gives them of her best,  
 No aliens, but to found across the foam  
 A newer Motherland, another Home.  
 Unfurl the flag of England, fling it wide  
 O'er half a world to float! – and this its pride,  
 And this the might of those beneath it met,  
 That, as the sun upon it ne'er doth set,  
 So, welded into one her Peoples pray  
 With heart and voice – 'God grant it never may'  
 'God and the Right' – so stands our motto still, -  
 And while its soul fires Britain's work and will,  
 Still Liberty the borders shall enlarge  
 And lift the banners of the British Raj!

Britain represents the values of liberty, right, and welfare to the peoples subjected to her rule – these values are expressed in the paternalistic language of imperialistic propaganda. The personification of England and the values it represents conveys the attributes of kingly power over the subjugated feminine exotic territory; the British Raj incarnates the soul of Britain trying to render the themes and *topos* of chivalric literary tradition in the masque so as to assimilate and include the old and the new, the East and the West in a grandiose and pompous narration in which histories of the nations, of the

colonised and the coloniser, as well as that of the empire are strictly intertwined.

And St George uses the colonial language of conquest to assert superiority of 'race' and supremacy of power:

(11) **St George**

Wherever England flies her flag  
O'er what her sword hath won,  
Her claim to keep, to rule, to reap,  
She rests on duty done,  
Her title strong, no tyrant brag  
Of frowning fort, nor fleet,  
But Right upheld and rancor quelled,  
And Wrong beneath her feet.  
Lift aloft the Flag of England!  
Hers it is to lead the Light,

These attitudes in the rhetorical speeches of St George stand as open imperial propaganda as well as vehicle for unifying group experience under British sway in the Indian colony, -- thus ideologically moulding the Indian ruling classes, educated by the British and put to serve in Indian institutions. This created a colonial social organisation and culture that mirrored the British structure at home.

The first tableau draws to a close with India's unequivocal reassertion of the altruistic nature of Britain's rule:

And happy Britain—that above all lands  
Still where she conquers counsels not commands.  
See wide and wider yet her rule extend  
Who of a foe defeated makes a friend,  
Who spreads her Empire not to get but give  
And free herself bids others free to live.

This is followed by one of the main songs of the work, 'The Rule of England'. Sung by St George, the text reinforces the righteous and dutiful notion of British rule that propaganda tried to instil in the home British population:

Lift aloft the Flag of England!  
Hers it is to lead the Light,  
Ours to keep her yet the King-Land,  
Keep her ancient Honour bright,  
Her manhood ever glorious Her  
Valour still victorious,  
Lift aloft the Flag of England,  
Break the Wrong and make the Right!

In the masque India is depicted as the feminine 'Other' contrasting with the male 'Fatherland' so reaffirming the antinomy on which the text is based; in fact, the masque offers an almost simplistic demonstration of Said's theories of the East/West colonial

discourses with the East is portrayed as ancient and unchanging, but most of all in need of Western intervention in order to progress. Such features were maybe inevitable seeing that Hamilton's libretto is nothing but imperialist propaganda. The altruistic, paternalistic attitude of the Raj in India is explicitly conveyed by the text. For instance, take this chorus from the Song 'The Rule of England':

Lift aloft the Flag of England!  
Hers it is to lead the Light  
Ours to keep her yet the King-Land,  
Keep her ancient Honour bright,  
Her manhood ever glorious  
Her Valour still victorious,  
Lift aloft the Flag of England,  
Break the Wrong and make the Right! (19)

This Song by St George (tenor) accompanied by the chorus, is placed at the end of the Masque's First Tableau. The text is full of masculine rhetoric, 'her manhood ever glorious', intending to recall military and chivalric feelings. Some of the Song's phrases might be taken as an expression of imperial dominance expressed through a sexual rhetoric of the woman's submission, yet again a stale *topos* of colonial discourse enforced by metonymic use of male attributes in the text:

Oh, Sons of Merry England born!  
Oh, Knights of good St George,  
Still may your steel from head to heel  
Be bright from Honour's forge  
Still be your blades for England worn,  
Dear Land that hath no like!  
*And for her fame and in her Name*  
*Unsheathe the sword and strike.* (20)

A strong contrast as text and music to this song is 'Hail Immemorial Ind', a hymn of praise to India sung by Agra, one of the daughters of India.

**Agra**  
When East to west to one attuned, entwined  
Uplift thy throne empearled.  
Oh Lotus of the World!  
Oh, Immemorial Ind

This functions as reminiscence of a glorious imperial past now overcome by the righteous rule of an enlightened and just Emperor, bearer of civilisation and progress to the Indian subcontinent.

India welcomes the arrival of George V in encomiastic tones stressing the divine and mythical superiority of the Sun-Emperor, to whom the peoples of India submit in admiration and amazement:

**India**

23 Hail Festal Hours from out of the Ages drawn  
To peerless blossom! Never yet east dawned  
Auspicious herald to a day so dear,  
So deep, so long desired;  
Thunder, ye cannon, play your clamorous part!  
The volleyed homage of a People's heart  
Outvoices you:  
He comes! He comes! Upon our dazzled eyes  
The Sun of Britain and of Ind doth rise

Describing the Emperor symbolically as the Sun of Britain, bearer of freedom, peace and justice, a Sun-God of ancient times, the text offers us another direct symmetry with the description of James I in Jonson's masques. The description of George V uses the same Jonsonian rhetorical devices. The general effect is that of a kingly display of power, which renders George V's presence on stage a spectacular, political and social symbol able of representing both the nation and the Empire symbolically.

The invocation and panegyric to the Sun-God is repeated in the text:

17

**India**

The splendor of thy light  
Our day ennobles and redeems our night.  
Goal of our hopes, Protector of the poor,  
Beneath thine aegis India rests secure.  
Thou not on one thy presence dost bestow  
But on *all* lands that fealty to thee owe.  
Wherever lifts thy standard to the breeze,  
Thy foot has fallen. Not by mere decrees  
The burthen of thine empire dost thou bear,  
But by desert and deed. Along the air  
Thy stirring 'Wake up, England!' lingers yet  
Dull sloth to whip and dear resolve to whet,  
Imperial pilot, still, thy Ship of State  
To safeguard, waking early, watching late; by thy reveille roused, thine  
every realm  
*Must* 'wake' and work whilst thou art at the helm!

Mother India presented all her twelve daughters, all exotic feminine eastern characters, to the new King-Emperor George V on stage paying him deferential homage just as Oceanus in Jonson's *Masque of Blackness* presented his twelve daughters to James I Stuart, the *Pater Familias* of Britain. The text offers the final deferential homage of India recounting the ceremony of the Delhi Durbar:

26 10a **The Homage of Ind**

(*To the Emperor*)

Gracious Sire,  
In whom our eyes behold our hearts' desire,

Sum of our wealth and Chart of all our ways,  
 Low at thy feet thy loving India lays  
 Her loyal homage.  
*[India ascends the dais of the Emperor and Empress and pays them  
 homage.]*  
 Now, O Sire, I pray  
 Thy gracious leave accord me mine array  
 Of Princes at thy footstool to present,  
 That wait to do thee worship reverent;  
 Each of a lineage that from age to age  
 To Ind hath given sovereign, soldier, sage;  
 And all before thy throne to bow the knee,  
 In heart, in voice, in homage one with me!  
*[The Princes and their retinues pass before the throne, each each doing  
 homage.]*

The deferential homage of India blends narrative strategies celebrating martial imperial power, righteousness as the divine right of kingship, the role of valiant soldier and commander. All the princes and the peoples of Indian colony owe fealty like ancient vassals of chivalric times to their British Emperor. The language of epic and romance infiltrates the imperial colonial rhetoric offering the masque with ancient tropes and *topoi*, in the Coliseum as a microcosm of British Empire. This suggests more symmetry and analogy with the Jonsonian masques analysed in chapter three of this dissertation. The allegorical representations of India and Britain in Hamilton's libretto, mould reality and imaginative narrative constructed as a sequence of welcoming and gathering on stage. This narrative is another analogy with the two Jonsonian masques hitherto analysed, which presented the audience and the King with the female foreign-travellers arriving from the East. In *The Crown of India* the descriptive allegorical narrative is a simple imitation of real-life encounters in Delhi at the coronation Durbar, where the new court was greeting outsiders of all kinds, from ordinary citizens, to members of the British and Indian aristocracy together with ambassadors, national and foreign, and other elite and dignitaries.

The symmetries and asymmetries with the Jonsonian masques previously analysed become apparent from the beginning of the Hamilton text: the binary opposition East/West is maintained but the weaker role of the colony is rendered by the feminine aspect of Mother Ind in contrast to the male role of Oceanus in the Jonsonian texts. We must stress that this is still the binary oppositional rendering of Britain, and its colonial subjects but it is rather a diametrical gendered opposition compared to the Jonsonian *The Masque of Blackness* and *The Masque of Beauty*: where we find

Oceanus, father figure to his twelve docile and well-behaved daughters. In contrast, in Hamilton's narrative, we have a mother figure, Ind, weak politically as advocate for the worth and values of her twelve unruly and uncivilised daughters; the latter are portrayed and seen in sharp contrast to the coloniser King-Emperor George V and England-Saint George as though they stood more in need of male discipline and imperialist dominion.

When performed at the Coliseum, *The Crown of India* staging gave life to the ceremonial procedures, which took place in Delhi, bringing it to the general British public as a re-enactment of an encounter, which gave a home meaning, in performance, to the British Raj. The ceremonial space and the court's new relationships and identity were symbolically enacted and thus the action in the masque assumes meanings as reference to realities outside its own limits; it suggests that the masque simply repeated meaningful experiences lived elsewhere. The masque is yet again a full political meaning and social enactment of power. The entertaining experience, both allegorical and metonymical, creates an experience of togetherness and social and political coherence -- the masque lengthens this experience in showing the quest for conquest and reassertion of colonial dominance on the exotic territory of the Indian subcontinent: the London Coliseum becomes a precise site of courtly imperial inclusion and cohesion and it inserts into this cohesion the British Raj, expanding the court coherence into coherence in space with geopolitical vision of the Empire's unity. The personifications contribute to this experience as they show 'racial' difference very clearly on stage. In fact, the characters assert their outsiders' claim to be included in the Raj as colonial subjects submitting fully to the imperial power of the British Emperor with their performance. The masque contributes to making them primary personifications of a community ideology.

#### **India**

25

'Incessu patuit Imperator' – Slow  
And stately come he!  
Blow till ye waken Fame and bid her lips  
Acclaim that day she never shall eclipse.  
Now let her fanfare to the world proclaim  
'George, by the Grace of God, of that great name  
The Fifth – of those three Kingdoms that enring  
One realm, one royalty – Great Britain – King!  
And of Dominions broader born of these,  
Of all those greater Britains overseas  
Yet again – King! – defender of the Faith!



Emperor of India! –  
*[after the Imperial Procession India approaches the dais]*

It is blindingly clear that Hamilton had no qualms about these political biases and its propagandist aspects; his empathy with the imperialist ideology of his time, underlining the libretto, presented to the audience of the Coliseum theatre no doubt fully endorsed.

## V.2.2 ‘When East to West to one attuned, entwined’. ‘Britannia’ in the London Coliseum Theatre As Heterotopian Space

As we have previously discussed, the public attending the performances at the London Coliseum could identify with the imperialist ideology and rhetoric which were transferred into the masque’s libretto, starting from the imaginary exotic far-fetched, far-flung ‘unreal’ recreation of the 1911 Durbar, which had taken place in the distant ‘other’ space of the Empire. As a matter of fact, the masque helped ‘feed’ the ideological and political image of this imperial space to the average British home-public -- with the masque’s topographical and cartographical re-invention of the exotic places of the colony of India then represented as simultaneously real and ‘unreal’ territory. Hence, we come to Foucault’s geographical and architectural notion of ‘heterotopias’, i.e. places, which are, as we have stated throughout this work, locatable in real places, but at the same time are outside of all space. The heterotopian simultaneous constitution of two contradictory spaces, the real and the mythical, makes such spaces at once both a perfect microcosmic analogy of the libretto’s wider universe, and privileged locations where such spatial disjunctions can occur i.e. in the heterotopian sites of the theatre, the mirror and the carpet/map. In this sense, the three masques analysed in this dissertation share analogies of content and symmetries of structure. In fact, *The Crown of India*’s opening scene also presents an encounter on stage with foreign female outsiders coming from a different nation and continent and, hence, from a different culture and ‘race’, and momentarily stopping on the threshold of two apparently incompatible worlds and spaces. In its explicit juxtaposition of binary oppositions of cultures, ‘races’ and geographical territories and boundaries, *The Crown of India* embodies and enacts, just like the Jonsonian masques we have previously considered, a ‘landscape’ of the British Nation and Empire through a representation of heterotopian sites that Foucault describes as ‘absolutely different’ (OS, 24). This visionary welcoming encounter with outsiders in *The Crown of India* also works as a ‘mirror’—as it did in *The Masque of Blackness* and in *The Masque of Beauty*--reflecting the political notion of the imperial dominance of the British Isles over the foreigner travellers coming from the colonial east. And yet again, the broader implication, displayed throughout the masque’s performance, is that of the British control over the outer distant colonial world.

Moreover, the meeting onstage predicts the inclusion of the female personifications of the Indian Cities-Daughters of the Empire and of Mother Ind within minds of the audience at the London Coliseum Theatre. Through the act of summoning and naming the Cities, Mother Ind lists their origins, their histories, individual worth and purpose, locating them spatially and geographically at the core of the Empire on the stage of the London Theatre. This first meeting in the Coliseum represents an extended moment in which both performers and onlookers dwell, visually and physically, on the threshold of assimilation and inclusion on either side of the proscenium, creating a structurally hierarchical, ideological coherence for both the British audience and the represented sub-continental colony as a microcosm of the Empire.

The audience must thus witness the incorporation and assimilation of the outsiders on-stage. This is the moment in which the Empire's cohesion expands to incorporate the new members. But before full assimilation can take place, 'Britannia' must experience itself as an ethnic hybrid, a Nation and an Empire made coherent by its ability to expand and incorporate at the same time.

By recalling India's imperial forbears, Mother Ind expands the encounter happening across the proscenium, allowing both the onlookers and the Indian Cities impersonated by the singers to identify themselves as active actors of the Empire, all agents playing different roles in a process of a dramatized meeting for assimilation. In fact, the description rendered by Mother Ind offers a fitting analogy and a perfect metaphorical symmetry between the British and Indian nations and their histories, with their intertwining ancient histories of national and imperial rule, thus creating a mythical and historical framework for British imperial rule. All the while, each group is a focal point for the other and the masque invites them to dwell on their respective forms of sameness and difference. Thus, the masque magnifies their spatial and social coherence by extending their coming-together in the dramatic action. The stage offers the onlookers a romantic vision of the world outside the British Nation and frames the foreign travellers who are about to enter the threshold of two spaces, calling attention to their outsider position and status, while reaffirming the Empire's own integrity. The masque stresses the ability of the British Raj to assimilate the East into the West in a grandiose epic narration in which the histories of the nations, of the colonised and the coloniser, as well as that of the Empire, are strictly intertwined. In this perspective, *The*

*Crown of India* asserts the Coliseum Theatre as a geopolitical and topographical centre of the British Raj, also in the felt need for a welcoming ceremony to accept outsiders into the 'West', a kingdom where the 'East' must be rightfully welcomed contained and dominated by negotiating the incorporation of its outsideness/outsiderness.

Such transactions enabled the masque to construct the identity of the two parties involved and to merge them, by affirming the coherence of the group through performance. These spatial interactions exhibit elements of what Foucault calls 'heterotopias', i.e. the principles that mark these spaces out as different from the spaces surrounding them. In the most literal sense, these spaces exist as part of the Empire's 'landscaped' sites at the Coliseum. These 'other spaces' coexist and are asserted by the innumerable thresholds entered and exited by the characters-singers on stage in achieving coherence and unity inside the hall. This unity is only created by reconfiguring the Coliseum as an 'other space' in which its occupants can perceive and see themselves as a self-reflexive commentary on the British Raj. Thus the masque staged implies an imperial coherence between singers-performers and public looking at themselves across the proscenium as if they were both reflected in a looking-glass.

As we have already stated, the Foucauldian heterotopian mirror acts as symbol for the seemingly contradictory facets of the dramatic action by coalescing different spaces in its heterotopian duality as a simultaneously real and 'unreal' space. In the mirror we find combined the opposing nations and 'races' present in the hall during the masque's performance. Thus, the masque enacts the participants' inclusion within British society at the very centre of the Empire, while simultaneously mirroring the imperialist ideology embodied by the audience in the Coliseum Theatre through the spectators' visual access to the scene's illusions performed on stage. As a matter of fact, 'heterotopias', says Foucault in 'Of Other Spaces', 'always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable' (OS, 26). These overlapping and interpenetrating spatial dynamics were also active within the Coliseum's physical space. In a way, the hall functioned as a containing, private-event space in which participants were a uniform collective group of British loyal subjects -- united by virtue of their inclusion in the event and reminded in several visual and spatial ways of their coherence. This process takes place since the dual heterotopian mirror not only symbolises but also constitutes an exterior perspective from which two different

contrasting realities are made to enact and coexist. In Foucault's assertion, the mirror functions as a powerful heterotopia 'that is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place, several sites that are in themselves incompatible' (OS, 24).

There are also geographical references in the libretto, along with detailed topographical indications and descriptions linked to the mapped colonised Indian nation, reminding the audience of British colonial territories. Remembering that all maps are politically-charged representations of space, this textual material emphasises the unreality of the space they enclose -- since the act of mapping brings together a unified, all-embracing vision of different spaces, with their political, colonial, national and imperial coefficients. This unification happens in 'other space', which simultaneously affirms and negates the visibility of space. Foucault writes that: 'Places of this kind are outside of all places even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality' (OS, 24). Moreover, the physical inclusion on stage of the Indian Cities (in their existence 'without law or geometry') into 'Britannia' creates a heterotopian site -- a new cartographic 'unreal reality' -- that allows one to conceive the Coliseum as comprising the multitude of incompatible worlds described and enacted by the masque. 'We are all familiar', Foucault writes 'with the disconcerting effect of the proximity of extremes, or quite simply, with the sudden vicinity of things that have no relation to each other' (OT, xvi). The entire audience perceives the hall as a protected realm of display of power in a fictive geographical 'other' space of 'Britannia'. Inside the Coliseum, the theatre is capable of coalescing these different and incompatible 'other spaces', and onlookers are encouraged to conceive of that space as a framework for their own supposed coherence.

Thus, the *Crown of India* as a whole constitutes a heterotopian world, with its two contradictory Nations-Empires now merged into the British Raj ostensibly occupying exactly the same space. The British Empire, rather than being exclusively located in the libretto's impossible cosmology -- topography and cartography violating the tenets of geometry-- is placed, 'emplacé' in Foucauldian terms, in a spatial incommensurability. This vision of incommensurable space has also reified in more localised roots. It is a space defined as being both in particular exact places that make up the landscape described in the epic fictional world of the libretto and in the 'landscaped' performing space of the London Coliseum stage and Theatre at the same

time. It is a spatial divide, with its geometrical and topographical anomaly, that represents the intrusion of a different world into the onlookers' sense of reality, leading to a different mode of perception and consciousness of this 'other space'. The space enacted on the stage is flawed by numerous inconsistencies and impossibilities. The fact is that the topographical referents are in a quite different place and are always wandering into an 'other space' continually suggested in the repeated performance when they are slid into another dimension -- at a geographical, historical and political level. Throughout the narrative the characters personifying places metamorphose into the real British place and space of the Coliseum, where they become visually assimilated to the British Nation and Empire. The performance on the stage functions as a reflection of the libretto's central theme. The masque itself works as a mirror characterised by projecting the material worlds existing apart from each other into a unified and unifying geopolitical transcendent prototype of the British Empire. The performance is the rendering, through the duality of the Foucauldian mirror, of a metaphysical realm of 'Britannia' in the Coliseum. The ordered world of 'Britannia', as Nations-Empires merged into the British Raj, is contained in the Coliseum as cartographic representation, a map that conflates multiple nations ostensibly occupying the exact same space and creating also a geographical integrity in the 'landscaped' hall. The theatre-stage, itself imaginatively conceived as a map of the Empire, becomes a site where different 'races' and cultures are merged in incommensurable and impossible spaces, thus reinforcing a political unifying vision of 'Britannia'.

Explaining the heterotopian quality of the carpet, Foucault states that:

The traditional garden of the Persians was a sacred space that was supposed to bring together inside its rectangle four parts representing the four parts of the worlds (OS, 25).

According to this Foucauldian description, the map can also be seen and interpreted as a carpet, which can contain these impossible configurations of space, introducing, rather than geographical precise referents -- the element of heterotopian incommensurability into the narrative epic of the masque-text. The map/carpet as heterotopia loses the geographical markers constituting a place of placelessness (OS 24-25), allowing spectators to disregard geography and chronology and to conceive and represent the mingling of their different worlds and cultures, though completely incompatible with one another, by their foregrounding in the masque's narrative. The foregrounding of the

fictional 'other worlds and other spaces' allows the onlookers to perceive them as real entering their own reality. As we have already stated, according to Foucault, the magic carpet, a wholly mythical invention, gives rise to the unreal world of which it is a part, donating coherence to the fictional narrative.

As we have seen in chapter III analysing Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* and *The Masque of Beauty*, Foucault considers the carpet/map a privileged space from which to imagine a transcendental other world. The placeless quality of the map creates the kind of disturbances in space that Hamilton uses to characterise the simultaneously real and 'unreal' world of his libretto. By suggesting a strange configuration of space in the mapped colony, the personifications of India can be in two places at once, the most explicit localised articulation of the geometrical impossibility of place. The illusory quality of the map reflects the mingled realities of the colony and the Empire, like the mirror, in a strange double relationship to the text, as both a feature of the plot and one of its structuring principles. The map functions as a heterotopian space where the imperialist ideology and policies were symbolically enacted and thus the action in the masque assumes meanings as reference to realities outside its own limits. Through the map, the masque, by reasserting colonial dominance on the exotic territory of the Indian subcontinent, acquires a full political meaning as a social enactment of power ordering social and political coherence. The staging of this cartographical vision renders the London Coliseum a precise site of courtly imperial inclusion and cohesion and it inserts into this cohesion the British Raj. This way the London Coliseum Theatre became the microcosm of the British Empire.







## CONCLUSION

Our aim, in privileging the study and analysis of the masques in a cultural and historical perspective in such different epochs was dictated by our wish to expose how masque events, regardless of their particular different elements and different historical contexts, embodied ideological experiences of socio-political hierarchy and royal power. In fact, although the two literary-historical periods considered are chronologically and aesthetically 300 years distant from each other, this dissertation has tried to show that the Masque itself as a genre proved to be a useful analytical tool for exposing the surprising cultural and political similarities inscribed in the discourses by the three masques object of our critical analysis. In the study of the early 17<sup>th</sup>-century *The Masque of Blackness* and *The Masque of Beauty* by Ben Jonson and in early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Elgar's only masque *The Crown Of India*, we have found that the similarities of content consist in purveyance of historicised monarchical political power; of colonial dominance; and the concept of Empire as metaphorical representations of places rendered in geographical and cartographical terms.

We have also shown that the three texts investigated are linked by similarity of spatial textual structures and strategies for spatial political negotiations. The spatial analogy has offered our critical inquiry a theoretical framework in which to operate as well as a technical tool that provided us with an inherent methodology of literary analysis. Since the representation of places, in the three Jonson's and Elgar's masques we have examined, are rendered in metaphorical terms, the spatial categories in the three masques can be defined as 'literary elsewheres' depicting the imperial colonial space of 'Britannia' -- a metaphor for the British Empire reified in the spaces of performance of the dramatic entertainments. Hence, in our dissertation, Foucault's concept of 'heterotopias', has offered us the perfect critical and theoretical approach to textual interpretation. We have employed the notion of 'heterotopias', presented in the first introductory chapter of this thesis, as 'counter-spaces', i.e. 'places that are distinguished from one another, they are some somehow *absolutely* different from the others -- they are places opposed to all the others and they are destined to cancel the latter, to make up for them, to neutralise or purify them.' (LH, 25). This very definition of Foucault's concept of 'heterotopia' as 'other space' i.e. a kind of effectively enacted

utopia in which the real sites, or the 'other real sites' that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, or contested and inverted, have proved to be an invaluable theoretical framework for the textual analysis and interpretation of the three masque-texts we have examined.

As we have shown, Ben Jonson's early seventeenth-century *The Masque of Blackness* and *The Masque of Beauty* as well as the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century masque by Edward Elgar's *The Crown of India: an Imperial Masque*, can be interpreted as representations of sites which are 'outside of all places' and as places which constitute a 'simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space' in which they were created, allowing us to put them in a comparative perspective, drawing our attention, above all, to the striking ideological symmetries in content expressed by the masques discussed. However, of all the sites Foucault considers as one of his categories of '*heterotopias*' in order to explain the apparent contradiction of places outside of all other spaces -- since they are capable of creating alternative and unimaginable configurations of spaces -- the 'theatre' venues, where the three masques were performed, are the very place where the most powerful analogies between the texts, and the textual worlds, can be drawn and highlighted. The 'theatre' itself offers us a useful perspective through which to conclude our discussion on space, the ideological discourses, court identity and empire -- the latter's public perception and representation -- embodied in Jonson's and Elgar's masques. The theatres of the masque as sites of performance conceived as heterotopian places help understand the contradictory textual spaces where the notion of 'Britannia' is to be found and negotiated in the masques analysed.

As we have shown in our dissertation, the seventeenth-century Jonsonian masque was a complex poly-system genre, which expressed, in a multi-layered and multi-vocal form, political ideologies of the early modern Stuart court as theatrical event. The court masque, a seasonal festival, mirrored the cultural ideological texture of Jacobean society with its hierarchical and asymmetrical order. This mirroring encouraged the courtiers and the audience to perceive themselves as unified with, and reflected in, the entertainment performed on the stage of the Banqueting House. The hall was, in many ways, the masque and the court reified as place. In essence, the genre itself and the place of its ceremonial performance contributed to moulding the asymmetrical, social and ideological relations experienced by the courtiers around

James I, marking the hall as a realm of royal power and hierarchy. Moreover, masque-texts existed through their very enactment in front of, and interactions with, various social strata constituting the audience. They were above all complex events in active performance rather than just printings or manuscripts circulating in the aristocratic theatre of the court.

The Banqueting House itself can be seen and understood as an architectural arena that helped shape the group's social coherence and political relevance. This circulating function certainly was enhanced in the masque's performance, so much so that the hall has since become the emblem of James's reign and the monarch's contribution to English culture as well as the site from which James I intended to wield his kingship. The hall was in many ways an architectural culmination of the Jacobean masques themselves as a celebration of the court as a microcosm of 'Britannia'.

As we have analysed, in the Jonsonian masques of *Blackness* and of *Beauty*, the spatial dimensions and intersections define different aspects of power both at a concrete level – Nation and Empire – and at an abstract one – ideology. The issues of imperial expansion, political power and domination are dramatically compressed into spatial and geographical shifts and metaphors. Such metaphors are designed to reveal the complexity existing between the colonised lands and peoples who travelled from the far ends of the Empire to reach 'Britannia', the 'Blessed Isles'. The masques set boundaries between centre and periphery, inner and outer spaces and, above all, they epitomise the subalternity of the conquered land and the colonised subjects in relation to the Jacobean court. The powerful picture of the new political and cultural ambitions of Jacobean 'Britannia', which were emerging with the public image of James I, foreshadows England's role as agent of civilisation strongly highlighted by England's colonial pursuit at the time made clear the all-pervasive colonial rapacity that looked forward to British colonial rule of the first empire. Through the insistence on 'Britannia' as a reflection of the Jacobean political representation of the new monarch's ideals and practices, the Jacobean imperialist rhetoric of power and politics emerges fully in the representation of the public role of King James I in a cultural and literary show at court. Reading the Jonsonian masques in this Post-Colonial perspective sheds light on some aspects of the critical debates on subalternity, both cultural and geographical, as well as on the challenging problem of mapping and dominating the conquered subject in early

modern Jacobean era.

In a symmetrical way, the London Coliseum Theatre was, in many ways, both an enactment and representation of Elgar's masque and George V's court reified as place. In fact, we have demonstrated that the stratified audience in the London Coliseum could easily grasp, and identify itself with, the ideology and rhetoric imperialist aspects embodied by the imaginary Durbar represented, which, in reality, took place in an 'other space' of the Empire. As a matter of fact, the masque mirrored the ideological and political notion of the imperial dominance of 'Britannia' on the distant Indian colonial world.

In *The Crown of India*, we witness the same binary oppositions of cultures, 'races' and geographical territories and boundaries we have previously considered in the Jonsonian masques, showing us the same image of the show stage performance on London Coliseum Theatre as a microcosm of the Empire. All the three masques analysed combine epic, romance and empire with the court ability to assert the political imperial ideology of their times by means of negotiating the incorporation and assimilation of outsiders/subjects into the Banqueting House and the London Coliseum Theatre to recreate a microcosm of 'Britannia'.



## **APPENDICES**







# **Appendix A**

## **THE TEXTS**

## ***I. The Masque of Blackness by Ben Jonson***

This HTML e-text of Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* (1605) was created in 2001 by Anniina Jokinen of Luminarium. The text and footnotes were left unchanged. Costume sketches added August 10, 2010.

*Source text:*

Jonson, Ben. *The Masque of Blackness. The Works of Ben Jonson.*

Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Co., 1853. pp. 660-663.



Daughter of Niger



Torchbearer of Oceania



# THE MASQUE OF BLACKNESS

PERSONATED AT THE COURT AT WHITEHALL, ON THE TWELFTH-NIGHT, 1605.

*Salve festa dies, meliorque revertere semper.* — OVID.

THE honor and splendor of these Spectacles was such in the performance, as, could those hours have lasted, this of mine, now, had been a most unprofitable work. But when it is the fate even of the greatest, and most absolute births, to need and borrow a life of posterity, little had been done to the study of magnificence in these, if presently with the rage of the people, who, (as a part of greatness) are privileged by custom, to deface their carcasses, the spirits had also perished. In duty therefore to that Majesty, who gave them their authority and grace, and, no less than the most royal of predecessors, deserves eminent celebration for these solemnities, I add this later hand to redeem them as well from ignorance as envy, two common evils, the one of censure, the other of oblivion.

Pliny,<sup>350</sup> Solinus,<sup>351</sup> Ptolemy,<sup>352</sup> and of late Leo<sup>353</sup> the African, remember unto us a river in Æthiopia, famous by the name of Niger; of which the people were called Nigritæ, now Negroes; and are the blackest nation of the world. This river<sup>354</sup> taketh spring out of a certain lake, eastward; and after a long race, falleth into the western ocean. Hence (because it was her majesty's will to have them blackmoors at first) the invention was derived by me, and presented thus:

First, for the scene, was drawn a landtschap (landscape) consisting of small woods, and here and there a void place filled with huntings; which falling, an artificial sea was seen to shoot forth, as if it flowed to the land, raised with waves which seemed to move, and in some places the billows to break, as imitating that orderly disorder which is common in nature. In front of this sea were placed six tritons,<sup>355</sup> 6 in moving and sprightly actions, their upper parts human, save that their hairs were blue, as partaking of the sea-color: their desinent parts fish, mounted above their heads, and all

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<sup>350</sup> Nat. Hist. 1. 5. c. 8.

<sup>351</sup> Poly. Hist. c. 40, and 43.

<sup>352</sup> Lib. 4. c. 5.

<sup>353</sup> Descrip. Afric.

<sup>354</sup> Some take it to be the same with Nilus, which is by Lucan called Melas, Signifying Niger. Howsoever Pliny in the place above noted, hath this: Nigri fluvio eadem natura, quæ Nilo, calamum, papyrus, et easdem gignit animantes. See Solin. abovementioned.

<sup>355</sup> The form of these tritons, with their trumpets, you may read lively described in Ov. Met. lib. 1. Cæruleum Tritona vocat, &c.; and in Vir. Æneid. 1. 10. Hunc vehit immanis triton, et sequent.

varied in disposition. From their backs were borne out certain light pieces of taffata, as if carried by the wind, and their music made out of wreathed shells. Behind these, a pair of sea-maids, for song, were as conspicuously seated; between which, two great sea-horses, as big as the life, put forth themselves; the one mounting aloft, and writhing his head from the other, which seemed to sink forward; so intended for variation, and that the figure behind might come off better:<sup>356</sup> upon their backs, Oceanus and Niger were advanced.

Oceanus presented in a human form, the color of his flesh blue; and shadowed with a robe of sea-green; his head grey, and horned,<sup>357</sup> as he is described by the ancients: his beard of the like mixed color: he was garlanded with alga, or sea-grass; and in his hand a trident.

Niger, in form and color of an Æthiop; his hair and rare beard curled, shadowed with a blue and bright mantle: his front, neck, and wrists adorned with pearl, and crowned with an artificial wreath of cane and paper-rush.

These induced the masquers, which were twelve nymphs, negroes, and the daughters of Niger; attended by so many of the Oceaniæ,<sup>358</sup> which were their light-bearers.

The masquers were placed in a great concave shell, like mother of pearl, curiously made to move on those waters and rise with the billow; the top thereof was stuck with a cheveron of lights, which indented to the proportion of the shell, struck a glorious beam upon them, as they were seated, one above another: so they were all seen, but in an extravagant order.

On sides of the shell did swim six huge sea-monsters, varied in their shapes and dispositions, bearing on their backs the twelve torch-bearers, who were planted there in several graces; so as the backs of some were seen; some in purple, or side; others in face; and all having their lights burning out of whelks, or murex-shells.

The attire of the masquers was alike in all, without difference: the colors azure

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<sup>356</sup> Lucian in PHTOP. *Διδασ.* presents Nilus so, Equo fluviatili insidentem. And Statius Neptune, in Theb.

<sup>357</sup> The ancients induced Oceanus always with a bull's head: propter vim ventorum, à quibus incitatur, et impellitur: vel quia tauris similem fremitum emittat: vel quia tanquam taurus furibundus, in littora feratur. Euripid. In Orest. *Ὁκέανος ὃν ταυρόκρανος ἀγκαλαῖς ἐλίσσων, κυκλεῖ χθονά.* And rivers sometimes were so called. Look Virg de Tiberi et Eridano. Georg. 4. Æneid. 8. Hor. Car. lib. 4. ode 14, and Euripid. in Ione.

<sup>358</sup> The daughters of Oceanus and Tethys. See Hesiod. In Theogon. Orph. in Hym. and Virgil in Georg.

and silver; but returned on the top with a scroll and antique dressing of feathers, and jewels interlaced with ropes of pearl. And for the front, ear, neck, and wrists, the ornament was of the most choice and orient pearl; best setting off from the black.

For the light-bearers, sea-green, waved about the skirts with gold and silver; their hair loose and flowing, gyrlanded with sea-grass, and that stuck with branches of coral.

These thus presented, the scene behind seemed a vast sea, and united with this that flowed forth, from the termination, or horizon of which (being the level of the state, which was placed in the upper end of the hall) was drawn by the lines of prospective, the whole work shooting downwards from the eye; which decorum made it more conspicuous, and caught the eye afar off with a wandering beauty: to which was added an obscure and cloudy night-piece, that made the whole set off. So much for the bodily part, which was of master Inigo Jones's design and act.

By this, one of the tritons, with the two sea-maids, began to sing to the others' loud music, their voices being a tenor and two trebles.

## SONG.

Sound, sound aloud

The welcome of the orient flood,

Into the west;

Fair Niger,<sup>359</sup> son to great Oceanus,

Now honor'd, thus,

With all his beauteous race:

Who, though but black in face,

Yet are they bright,

And full of life and light.

To prove that beauty best,

Which, not the color, but the feature

Assures unto the creature.

*Ocea.* Be silent, now the ceremony's done,

And, Niger, say, how comes it, lovely son,

That thou, the Æthiop's river, so far east,

Art seen to fall into the extremest west

Of me, the king of floods, Oceanus,

And in mine empire's heart, salute me thus?

My ceaseless current, now, amazed stands

To see thy labor through so many lands,

Mix thy fresh billow with my brackish stream;<sup>360</sup>

And, in thy sweetness, stretch thy diadem,

To these far distant and unequall'd skies,

This squared circle of celestial bodies.

---

<sup>359</sup> All rivers are said to be the sons of the Ocean; for, as the ancients thought, out of the vapors exhaled by the heat of the sun, rivers and fountains were begotten. And both by Orph. in Hym. and Homer, // . §. Oceanus is celebrated *tanquam pater, et origo diis, et rebus, quia nihil sine humectatione nascitur, aut putrescit.*

<sup>360</sup> There wants not enough, in nature, to authorize this part of our fiction, in separating Niger from the ocean, (beside the fable of Alpheus, and that, to which Virgil alludes of Arethusa, in his 10. Eclog.

*Sic tibi, cum fluctus subter labêre Sicanos,  
Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam.*)

Examples of Nilus, Jordan, and others, whereof see Nican. lib. 1. de flumin. and Plut. in vita Syllæ, even of this our river (as some think) by the name of Melas.



*Niger.* Divine Oceanus, 'tis not strange at all,  
That, since th' immortal souls of creatures mortal,  
Mix with their bodies, yet reserve for ever  
A power of separation, I should sever  
My fresh streams from thy brackish, like things fix'd,  
Though, with thy powerful saltness, thus far mix'd.  
“Virtue, though chain'd to earth, will still live free;  
And hell itself must yield to industry.”

*Ocea.* But what's the end of thy Herculean labors,  
Extended to these calm and blessed shores?

*Niger.* To do a kind, and careful father's part,  
In satisfying every pensive heart  
Of these my daughters, my most loved birth:  
Who, though they were the first form'd dames of earth,<sup>361</sup>  
And in whose sparkling and refulgent eyes,  
The glorious sun did still delight to rise;  
Though he, the best judge, and most formal cause  
Of all dames beauties, in their firm hues, draws  
Signs of his fervent'st love; and thereby shows  
That in their black, the perfect'st beauty grows;  
Since the fixt color of their curled hair,  
Which is the highest grace of dames most fair,  
No cares, no age can change; or there display  
The fearful tincture of abhorred gray;  
Since death herself (herself being pale and blue)  
Can never alter their most faithful hue;  
All which are arguments, to prove how far  
Their beauties conquer in great beauty's war;

---

<sup>361</sup> Read Diod. Sicul. lib. 3. It is a conjecture of the old ethnics, that they which dwell under the south, were the first begotten of the earth.

And more, how near divinity they be,  
 That stand from passion, or decay so free.  
 Yet, since the fabulous voices of some few  
 Poor brain-sick men, styled poets here with you,  
 Have, with such envy of their graces, sung  
 The painted beauties other empires sprung;  
 Letting their loose and winged fictions fly  
 To infect all climates, yea, our purity;  
 As of one Phaëton,<sup>362</sup> that fired the world,  
 And that, before his heedless flames were hurl'd  
 About the globe, the Æthiops were as fair  
 As other dames; now black, with black despair:  
 And in respect of their complexions chang'd,  
 Are eachwhere, since, for luckless creatures rang'd,<sup>363</sup>  
 Which, when my daughters heard, (as women are  
 Most jealous of their beauties) fear and care  
 Possess'd them whole; yea, and believing them,<sup>364</sup>  
 They wept such ceaseless tears into my stream,  
 That it hath thus far overflow'd his shore  
 To seek them patience: who have since e'ermore  
 As the sun riseth,<sup>365</sup> charg'd his burning throne  
 With volleys of revilings; 'cause he shone  
 On their scorch'd cheeks with such intemperate fires.  
 And other dames made queens of all desires.  
 To frustrate which strange error, oft I sought,  
 Tho' most in vain, against a settled thought  
 As women are, till they confirm'd at length  
 By miracle, what I, with so much strength  
 Of argument resisted; else they feign'd:

---

<sup>362</sup> Notissima fabula, Ovid. Met. lib. 2.

<sup>363</sup> Alluding to that of Juvenal, Satyr. 5. Et cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem.

<sup>364</sup> The poets.

<sup>365</sup> A custom of the Æthiops, notable in Herod. and Diod. Sic. See Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 8.

For in the lake where their first spring they gain'd,  
As they sat cooling their soft limbs, one night,  
Appear'd a face, all circumfused with light;  
(And sure they saw't, for Æthiops<sup>366</sup> never dream)  
Wherein they might decipher through the stream,  
These words:

That they a land must forthwith seek,  
Whose termination, of the Greek,  
Sounds T A N I A; where bright Sol, that heat  
Their bloods, doth never rise or set,<sup>367</sup>  
But in his journey passeth by,  
And leaves that climate of the sky,  
To comfort of a greater light,  
Who forms all beauty with his sight.

In search of this, have we three pryncedoms past,  
That speak out Tania in their accents last;  
Black Mauritania, first; and secondly,  
Swarth Lusitania; next we did descry  
Rich Aquitania: and yet cannot find  
The place unto these longing nymphs design'd.  
Instruct and aid me, great Oceanus,  
What land is this that now appears to us?

*Ocea*. This land, that lifts into the temperate air  
His snowy cliff, is Albion the fair;<sup>368</sup>  
So call'd of Neptune's son,<sup>369</sup> who ruleth here:  
For whose dear guard, myself, four thousand year,  
Since old Deucalion's days, have walk'd the round

---

<sup>366</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 8.

<sup>367</sup> Consult with Tacitus, in vita Agric. and the Paneg. ad Constant.

<sup>368</sup> Orpheus, in his Argonaut, calls it Greek: Leukaion Cerson *Λευκαῖον χέρσον*.

<sup>369</sup> Alluding to the right of styling princes after the name of their pryncedoms: so is he still Albion, and Neptune's son that governs. As also his being dear to Neptune, in being so embraced by him.

About his empire, proud to see him crown'd  
Above my waves.—

*At this, the Moon was discovered in the upper part  
of the house, triumphant in a silver throne,  
made in figure of a pyramis. Her garments  
white and silver, the dressing of her head  
antique, and crowned with a luminary, or sphere  
of light: which striking on the clouds, and  
heightened with silver, reflected as natural  
clouds do by the splendor of the moon. The  
heaven about her was vaulted with blue silk,  
and set with stars of silver, which had in them  
their several lights burning. The sudden sight of  
which made Niger to interrupt Oceanus with  
this present passion.*

O see, our silver star!

Whose pure, auspicious light greets us thus far!  
Great Æthiopia goddess of our shore,<sup>370</sup>  
Since with particular worship we adore  
Thy general brightness, let particular grace  
Shine on my zealous daughters: shew the place,  
Which long their longings urg'd their eyes to see,  
Beautify them, which long have deified thee.

*Æthi.* Niger, be glad: resume thy native cheer.

Thy daughters labors have their period here,  
And so thy errors. I was that bright face  
Reflected by the lake, in which thy race

---

<sup>370</sup> The Æthiopians worshipped the moon by that surname. See Step. Greek: *περι πόλεων* *peri poleun* in  
voce Greek: *ΑΙΘΙΟΠΙΩΝ*. AITHIPION

Read mystic lines; which skill Pythagoras  
 First taught to men, by a reverberate glass.  
 This blessed isle doth with that T A N I A end,  
 Which there they saw inscribed, and shall extend  
 Wish'd satisfaction to their best desires.  
 'Britannia', which the triple world admires,  
 This isle hath now recover'd for her name;  
 Where reign those beauties that with so much fame  
 The sacred Muses' sons have honored,  
 And from bright Hesperus to Eous spread.  
 With that great name 'Britannia', this blest isle  
 Hath won her ancient dignity, and style,  
 A WORLD DIVIDED FROM THE WORLD: and tried  
 The abstract of it, in his general pride.  
 For were the world, with all his wealth, a ring,  
 'Britannia', whose new name makes all tongues sing,  
 Might be a diamant worthy to inchase it,  
 Ruled by a sun, that to this height doth grace it:  
 Whose beams shine day and night, and are of force  
 To blanch an Æthiop, and revive a corse.  
 His light sciential is, and, past mere nature,  
 Can salve the rude defects of every creature.  
     Call forth thy honor'd daughters then:  
     And let them, 'fore the Britain men,  
     Indent the land, with those pure traces  
     They flow with, in their native graces.  
     Invite them boldly to the shore;  
     Their beauties shall be scorch'd no more:  
     This sun is temperate, and refines  
     All things on which his radiance shines.

*Here the Tritons sounded, and they danced on shore,  
every couple, as they advanced, severally presenting  
their fans: in one of which were inscribed their mixt  
names, in the other a mute hieroglyphic, expressing  
their mixed qualities.<sup>371</sup> Their own single dance  
ended, as they were about to make choice of their  
men: one, from the sea, was heard to call them with  
this CHARM, sung by a tenor voice.*

Come away, come away,  
We grow jealous of your stay;  
If you do not stop your ear,  
We shall have more cause to fear  
Syrens of the land, than they  
To doubt the Syrens of the sea.

*Here they danced with their men several measures and  
corantos. All which ended, they were again accited  
to sea, with a SONG of two trebles, whose cadences  
were iterated by a double echo from several parts of  
the land.*

Daughters of the subtle flood,  
Doe not let earth longer entertain you;  
1 *Ech.* Let earth longer entertain you.  
2 *Ech.* Longer entertain you.

'Tis to them enough of good,  
That you give this little hope to gain you.  
1 *Ech.* Giive this little hope to gain you.  
2 *Ech.* Little hope to gain you.

If they love,

---

<sup>371</sup> Which manner of symbol I rather chose, than imprese, as well for strangeness, as relishing of antiquity, and more applying to that original doctrine of sculpture, which the Egyptians are said first to have brought from the Æthiopians. Diod. Sicul. Herod.

You shall quickly see;  
For when to flight you move,  
They'll follow you, the more you flee.  
1 *Ech.* Follow you, the more you flee.  
2 *Ech.* The more you flee.

If not, impute it each to other's matter;  
They are but earth, and what you vow'd was water.  
1 *Ech.* And what you vow'd was water.  
2 *Ech.* You vow'd was water.

*Æthi.* Enough, bright nymphs, the night grows old,  
And we are grieved we cannot hold  
You longer light; but comfort take.  
Your father only to the lake

Shall make return: yourselves, with feasts,  
Must here remain the Ocean's guests.  
Nor shall this veil, the sun hath cast  
Above your blood, more summers last,  
For which you shall observe these rites:  
Thirteen times thrice, on thirteen nights,  
(So often as I fill my sphere  
With glorious light throughout the year)  
You shall, when all things else do sleep  
Save your chaste thoughts, with reverence, steep  
Your bodies in that purer brine,  
And wholesome dew, call'd ros-marine:  
Then with that soft and gentler foam,  
Of which the ocean yet yields some  
Whereof, bright Venus, beauty's queen,  
Is said to have begotten been,  
You shall your gentler limbs o'er-lave,  
And for your pains perfection have:  
So that, this night, the year gone round,  
You do again salute this ground;  
And in the beams of yond' bright sun,  
Your faces dry, — and all is done.



*At which, in a dance, they returned to the sea,  
where they took their shell, and with this full  
SONG went out.*

Now Dian, with her burning face,  
Declines apace:  
By which our waters know  
To ebb, that late did flow.

Back seas, back nymphs; but with a forward grace,  
Keep still your reverence to the place:  
And shout with joy of favor, you have won,  
In sight of Albion, Neptune's son.

*So ended the first Masque; which, beside the  
singular grace of music and dances, had the  
success in the nobility of performance, as  
nothing needs to the illustration, but the  
memory by whom it was personated.*

	THE NAMES.	THE SYMBOLS.
1.	{ THE QUEEN { CO. OF BEDFORD.	EUPHORIS, AGLAIA, } A golden tree, laden with fruit.
2.	{ LA. HERBERT { CO. OF DERBY	DIAPHANE, EUCAMPSE, } The figure Isocaedron of crystal.
3.	{ LA. RICH { CO. OF SUFFOLK.	OCYTE, KATHARE, } A pair of naked feet in a river.
4.	{ LA. BEVILL, { LA. EFFINGHAM,	NOTIS, PSYCHROTE, } The SALAMANDER simple.
5.	{ LA. EL. HOWARD, { LA. SUS. VERE,	GLYCYTE, MALACIA, } A cloud full of rain dropping.
6.	{ LA. WORTH, { LA. WALSINGHAM,	BARYTE, PERIPHERE, } An urn sphered with wine.

*The Names of the OCEANIÆ were,*<sup>372</sup>

DORIS,	CYDIPPE	BEROE	IANTHE,
PETRAEA,	GLAUCE,	ACASTE,	LYCORIS,
OCYRHOE,	TYCHE,	CLYTIA,	PLEXAURE.

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<sup>372</sup> Hesiod in Theog.

## II. *The Masque of Beauty* by Ben Jonson

### *The Masque of Beauty*

CHARACTERS

of

Two royall Masques.

The one of BLACKNESSE,

The other of BEAVTIE.

*personated*

By the most magnificent of Queenes

**ANNE**

Queene of great Britaine, &c.

*With her honorable Ladyes,*

1605. *and* 1608.

*at White-Hall:*

and

Inuented by BEN: IONSON.

Ouid. —*Salve festa dies, meliorque reuertere semper.*

Imprinted at London for *Thomas Thorp*, and are to  
be sold at the signes of the Tigers head  
in Paules Church-yard.

The Masque of Beauty

Note: this Renaissance Editions text was transcribed by Risa S. Bear, June 2001, from the 1608 quarto (STC number 14761). Where the page is illegible in the source text, the Cambridge edition of 1941 has been consulted.



THE  
SECOND  
MASQUE.

*Which was of Beauty; was presented in the same  
Court, at WHITE-HALL, on the Sunday night,  
after the twelfth Night. 1608.*

Two yeares being now past, that her *Maiesty* had intermitted these delights, and the third almost come; it was her *Highnesse* pleasure againe to glorifie the *Court*, & command that I should thinke on some fit presentment, which should answeere the former, still keeping the[n] the same persons, the Daughters of NIGER; but their beauties varied according to promise, and their time of absence excus'd, with foure more added to their Number.

To which limitts, when I had adapted my inuention, and being to bring newes of them, fro[m] the Sea, I induc'd *Boreas*, one of the windes, as my fittest Messenger; presenting him thus.

In a robe of *Russet*, and *White* mixt, full, and bagg'd: his haire, and beard rough: and horrid; his wings gray, and ful of snow, and icycles. His mantle borne from him with wires, & in seuerall puffes; his feet <sup>a</sup> ending in serpents tayles; and in his hand a leaueles *Branch*, laden with icycles.

But before, in midst of the *Hall*; to keepe the State of the feast, and season; I had placed <sup>b</sup>*Ianuary*, in a throne of *Siluer*: His robe of *Ash-collour*, long, fringed with *Siluer*, a white mantle. His winges white, and his buskins; in his hand a *Laurell* bough, vpon his head an *Anademe* of *Laurell*, fronted with the signe *Aquarius*, and the *Character*. Who as *Boreas* blusterd forth, discouer'd himselfe.

a So  
*Paus. in  
Eliacis*  
reports  
him to  
haue, as  
he was  
carued in  
*arca  
Cipselli.*

B O R E A S.

b See,  
*Iconolog.  
di Cesare  
Ripa.*

W *Hich, among these is Albion, Neptunes Sonne?*

I A N V A R I V S.

*Hat ignorance dares make that question?  
Would any aske, who Mars were in  
the wars?  
Or, which is Hesperus, among the starres?  
Of the bright Planets, which is Sol? Or  
can  
A doubt arise, 'mong creatures, which is man?*

*Behold, whose eyes do dart Promethian fire  
Throughout this all; whose precepts do inspire  
The rest with duty; yet commanding, cheare:  
And are obeyed, more with loue, then feare.*

B O R E A S.

*Hat Power art thou, that thus informest me?*

W

I A N V A R I V S.

**D** *Ost thou not know me? I, to well, know thee  
By thy <sup>a</sup> rude voyce, that doth so hoarely blow,  
Thy haire, thy beard, thy wings, ore-hil'd with snow,  
Thy Serpent feet, to be that rough North-winde,  
Boreas, that, to my raigne, art still vnkinde.  
I am the Prince of Months, call'd Ianuary;  
Because by me <sup>b</sup> Ianus the yeare doth vary,  
Shutting vp warres, proclayming peace, & feasts, Freedome,  
& triumphes: making Kings his guests.*

*a Ouid. Metam.  
lib. 6. neere the  
end see—  
horridus ira,  
qua solita est  
illi, nimiumque  
domestica,  
vento, &c.*

*b See the  
offices, and  
power of Ianus,  
Ouid. Fast. I.*

B O R E A S.

**T** *O thee then, thus, & by thee, to that King,  
That doth thee present honors, do I bring  
Present remembrance of twelue Æthiope Dames:  
Who; guided hither by the Moones bright flames,  
To see his brighter light, were to the Sea  
Enioyn'd againe, and (thence assign'd a day  
for their returne) were in the waues to leaue  
Theyr blacknesse, and true beauty to receaue.*

*c Two  
marriages; the  
one of the  
Earle of Essex,  
1606. the other  
of the Lord  
Hay, 1607.*

**W** *Hich they receau'd, but broke theyr day: & yet  
Haue not return'd a looke of grace for it,  
Shewing a course, and most vnfit neglect.  
Twise haue I come, in pompe here, to expect  
Theyr presence; Twise deluded, haue bene faine With <sup>c</sup>  
other rites my Feasts to intertayne:  
And, now the Third time, turn'd about the yeare  
Since they were look'd for; and, yet, are not  
here.*

B O R E A S.

**I** *T was nor Will, nor Sloth, that caus'd theyr stay,  
For they were all prepared by theyr day,  
And, with religion, forward on theyr way:  
When P <sub>ROTEVS</sub>, <sup>d</sup> the gray Prophet of the Sea*

*d Read his  
description,*

Met them, and made report, how other foure  
 Of their blacke kind, (whereof theyr Sire had store)  
 Faithfull to that great wonder, so late done  
 Vpon theyr Sisters, by bright Albion,  
 Had followed them to seeke B R I T A N I A forth,  
 And there, to hope like fauor, as like worth.  
 Which Night envy'd, as done in her despight,  
 And (mad to see an Æthiope washed white,  
 Thought to preuent in these; least men should deeme  
 Her coulour, if thus chang'd; of small esteeme.  
 And so, by mallice, and her magicke, tost  
 The Nymphes at Sea; as they were almost lost,  
 Till, on a Iland, they by chance arriu'd,  
 That floted in the mayne, where, yet, she had giu'd  
 Them so, in charmes of darknes, as no might  
 Should loose them thence, but theyr chang'd Sisters sight.  
 Whereat the Twelue (inpiety mou'd, & kind)  
 Streight, put themselues in act, the place to finde;  
 Which was the Nights sole trust they so will do,  
 That she, with labor might confound them too.  
 For, euer since, with error hath she held  
 Them wandring in the Ocean, and so quell'd  
 Their hopes beneath their toyle, as (desperat now  
 Of any least successe vnto their vow;  
 Nor knowing to returne to expresse the grace,  
 Wherewith they labor to this Prince, and place)  
 One of them, meeting me at Sea, did pray,  
 That for the loue of my <sup>a</sup> O R Y T H I A,  
 (Whose very name did heate my frosty brest,  
 And make me shake my Snow fill'd wings, & crest)  
 To beare this sad report I would be wonne,  
 And frame their iust excuse: which here I haue done.

#### I A N V A R I V S.

*Ould thou hadst not begun, vnluckie Winde,  
 That neuer yet blew'st goodnes to mankind;  
 But with thy bitter, and too piercing breath,  
 Strik'st <sup>b</sup> horrors through the ayre, as sharp as death.*

**H**ere a second Wind came in, VVLTVRNVS, in a blew  
 coulored robe & mantle, pufft as the former, but  
 somewhat sweeter, his face blacke, and on his <sup>c</sup> head, a red  
 Sunne, shewing he came from the East; his winges of seuerall  
 coullors; his buskins white, and wrought with Gold.

#### VVLTVRNVS.

with Virg.  
 Geor. 4. Est in  
 Carpathio  
 Neptuni  
 gurgite vates,  
 Caruleus  
 Proteus.

e Because they  
 were before of  
 her  
 complexion.

f To giue  
 authoritie to this  
 part of our  
 fiction, Pline  
 hath a chap.  
 95. of his 2.  
 booke. Nat.  
 Hist. de Insulis  
 fluctuantibus. &  
 Card. lib. 1. de  
 rerum variet.  
 cap 7. reports  
 one to be in his  
 time knowne, in  
 the Lake of  
 Loumond, in  
 Scotland. To let  
 passe that of  
 Delos, &c.

a The daughter  
 of Erectheus,  
 King of Athens,  
 whome Boreas  
 rauish'd away,  
 into Thrace, as  
 she was playing  
 with other  
 virgins by the  
 floud Ilissus: or  
 (as some will)  
 by the  
 Fountaine  
 Cephisus.

b The  
 viole[n]ce of  
 Boreas, Ouid  
 excellently  
 describes in the  
 place aboue  
 quoted. *Hac  
 nubila pello,  
 hac freta  
 concutio,  
 nodosaq robora  
 verto, Induroq  
 niues, & terras*

LL horrors vanish, and all name of Death,  
 A Bee all things here as calme as is my breath.  
 A gentler Wind, Vulturinus, brings you newes  
 The Ile is found, & that the Nymphs now vse  
 Their rest, & ioy. The Nights black charmes are  
 flowne.  
 For, being made vnto their Goddesse knowne,  
 Bright Æthiopia, the siluer Moone,  
 As she was <sup>a</sup> Hecate, she brake them soone:  
 And now by vertue of their light, and grace,  
 The glorious Isle, wherein they rest, takes place  
 Of all the earth for Beauty. <sup>b</sup> There, their Queen  
 Hath rayسد them a Throne, that still is seene  
 To turne vnto the motion of the World,  
 Wherein they sit, and are, like Heauen, whirld  
 About the Earth, whilst, to them contrary,  
 (Following those nobler torches of the Sky)  
 A world of little Loues, and chaste Desires,  
 Do light their beauties, with still mouing fires.  
 And who to Heauens consent can better moue,  
 Then those that are so like it, Beauty and Loue?  
 Hether, as to theyr new Elysium,  
 The spirits of the antique Greekes are come,  
 Poets, and Singers, Linus, Orpheus, all  
 That haue excell'd in <sup>c</sup> knowledge musicall;  
 Where, set in Arbor made of myrtle, and gold,  
 They liue, againe, these Beautyes to behold.  
 And thence, in flowry mazes walking forth  
 Sing hymnes in celebration of their worth.  
 Whilst, to theyr Songs, two Fountaynes flow, one hight  
 Of lasting Youth, the other chaste Delight,  
 That at the closes, from theyr bottomes spring,  
 And strike the Ayre to eccho what they sing.  
 But, why do I describe what all must see?  
 By this time, nere thy coast, they floating be;  
 For, so their vertuous Goddesse, the chaste Moone,  
 Told them, the Fate of th'Iland should, & soone  
 Would fixe it selfe vnto thy continent,  
 As being the place, by Destiny fore-ment,  
 Where they should flow forth, drest in her attyres:  
 And, that the influence of those holy fires,  
 (First rapt from hence) being multiplied vpon  
 The other foure, should make their Beauties one.  
 Which now expect to see, great Neptunes Sonne,  
 And loue the miracle. which thy selfe hast done.

Here, a Curtine was drawne (in which the *Night* was painted.) and the *Scene*  
 discouer'd. which (because the former was *marine*, and these, yet of necessity,  
 to come from the Sea) I deuisd, should bee an *Island*, floting on a calme water.  
 In the middst therof was a Seate of state, cal'd the *Throne of Beautie*, erected:  
 diuided into eight *Squares*, and distinguish'd by so many *Ionick piliasters*. In  
 these *Squares* the sixteene *Masquers* were plac'd by couples: behind them, in  
 the center of the *Throne* was a tralucent *Pillar*, shining with seuerall colour'd  
 lights, that reflected on their backs. From the top of which *Pillar* went seuerall  
 arches to the *Pilasters*, that sustained the roofe of the *Throne*, which was  
 likewise adorn'd with lights, and gyrlonds; And betweene the *Pilasters*, in front,  
 little *Cupids* in flying posture, wauing of wreaths; and lights, bore vp the

*grandine*  
*pulso.*

c According to  
 that of Vir. --  
*Denuntiat*  
*igneus Euros.*

a She is call'd  
 by  
~~Εκρη~~ Eurip.  
 in *Helena*,  
 which is  
*Lucifera*, to  
 which name  
 we here  
 presently  
 allude.

b For the more  
 full and cleare  
 vnderstanding  
 of that which  
 followes, haue  
 recourse to the  
 succeeding  
 pages; where  
 the *Scene*  
 presents it  
 selfe.

c So *Terence*  
 and the  
 Ancients calld  
*Poesy*, *Artem*  
*musicam.*

*Coronice*: ouer which were placed eight *Figures*, representing the *Elements* of *Beauty*; which aduanced vpon the *Ionick*; and being *females*, had the *Corinthian* order. The first was

## S P L E N D O R.

In a robe of *flame* colour, naked brested; her bright hayre loose flowing: She was drawne in a circle of clowdes, her face, and body breaking through; and in her hand a branch, with two<sup>[a]</sup> *Roses*, a *white*, and a *red*. The next to her was

## S E R E N I T A S.

In a garment of bright *skye* colour, a long tresse, & waued with a vayle of diuers colours, such as the golden skie sometimes shewes: vpon her head a cleare, and faire *Sunne* shining, with rayes of gold striking downe to the feete of the figure. In her hand a<sup>b</sup> *Christall*, cut with seuerall angles, and shadow'd with diuerse colours, as caused by refraction. The third

## G E R M I N A T I O.

In greene; with a *Zone* of golde about her Wast, crowned with *Myrtle*, her haire likewise flowing, but not of so bright a colour: In her hand, a branch of *Myrtle*. Her socks of greene, and *Gold*. The fourth was

## L A E T I T I A.

In a Vesture of diuerse colours, and all sorts of flowers embroidered thereon. Her socks so fitted. A<sup>s</sup> *Gyrland* of flowers in her hand; her eyes turning vp, and smiling, her haire flowing, and stuck with flowers. The fift

## T E M P E R I E S.

In a garment of *Gold*, *Siluer*, and colours weaued: In one hand shee held a<sup>t</sup> burning *Steele*, in the other, an *Vrne* with water. On her head a gyrland of flowers, Corne, Vine-leaues, and Oliue branches, enter-wouen. Her socks, as her garment. The sixth

## V E N V S T A S.

In a Siluer robe, with a thinne subtle vaile ouer her haire, and it: <sup>u</sup> Pearle about her neck, and forehead. Her socks wrought with pearle. In her hand shee bore seuerall colour'd<sup>x</sup> *Lillies*. The seauenth was

## D I G N I T A S.

In a dressing of State, the haire bound vp with fillets of gold, the Garments rich, and set with iewells, and gold;

a The *Rose* is call'd, elegantlie, by *Achil. Tat. lib. 2. the splendor φυτών ἀγλαιομα*, of *Plants*, and is euery where taken for the *Hieroglyphick*, of *Splendor*.

b As this of *Serenity*, applying to the *Opticks* reason of the *Rainbow*, & the *Mythologists* making her the Daughter of *Electra*.

r So *Hor. lib. i. Od. 4.* makes it the ensigne of the *Spring*.  
*Nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto, aut flore, terra quem ferunt soluta &c.*

s They are euery where the tokens of gladnesse, at all feasts, sports.



likewise her buskins, and in her hand a <sup>y</sup>*Golden rod*. The  
eight

## PERFECTIO.

**I**N a Vesture of pure *Gold*, a wreath of *Gold* vpon her head.  
About her body the <sup>z</sup>*Zodiack*, with the *Signes*: In her hand  
a  
*Compass* of gold, drawing a *circle*.

On the top of all the *Throne*, (as being made out of all these)

## HARMONIA.

**A** Personage, whose dressing had something of al the  
others, & had her robe painted full of *Figures*. Her head  
was compass'd with a crowne of *Gold*, hauing in it <sup>a</sup>  
seauen iewells equally set. In her hand a *Lyra*, wheron she  
rested.

This was the Ornament of the *Throne*. The ascent to which,  
consisting of sixe steppes, was couered with a <sup>b</sup> multitude of  
*Cupids* (chosen out of the best, and most ingenuous youth of  
the *Kingdome*, noble, and others) that were the *Torch-bearers*;  
and All armed, with *Bowes*, *Quiuers*, *Winges*, and other  
*Ensignes* of *Loue*. On the sides of the *Throne*, were curious, and  
elegant *Arbors* appointed: & behind, in the back part of the *Ile*,  
a *Groue*, of growne trees: laden with golden fruict, which other  
little *Cupids* plucked, and threw each at other, whilst on the  
ground <sup>c</sup> *Leuerets* pick'd vp the bruised apples, and left them  
halfe eaten. The Ground-plat of the whole was a subtile indented  
*Maze*; And, in the two formost angles, were two *Fountaines*,  
that ranne continually, the one <sup>d</sup> *Hebes*, the other <sup>e</sup> *Hedone's*: In  
the *Arbors*, were plac'd the *Musitians*, who represented the  
*Shades* of the old *Poets*, & were attir'd in a Priest-like habit of  
*Crimson*, and *Purple*, with *Laurell* gyrlonds.

The colours of the *Masquers* were varied; the one halfe in  
*Orange-tawny*, and *Siluer*: the other in *Sea-greene*, and *Siluer*.  
The bodies and short skirts of *White*, and *Gold*, to both.

The habite, and dressing (for the fashion) was most curious,  
and so exceeding in riches, as the *Throne* wheron they sat,  
seem'd to be a Mine of light, stroake fro[m] their iewells, &  
their garme[n]ts.

This *Throne*, (as the whole *Iland* mou'd onward, on the  
water,) had a circular motion of it[s] owne, imitating that which  
we cal *Motum mundi*, from the *East* to the *West*, or the right to  
δεξιῶν, the left side. For so *Horn. Iliad. M.* vndersta[n]ds  
by *Orientalia mundi*: by ἀριστερά *Occidental*. The steps,  
wheron the *Cupids* sate, had a motion contrary, with *Analogy*,  
*admotum Planetarum*, from the *West* to the *East*: both which  
turned with their seuerall lights. And with these three varied  
*Motions*, at once, the whole *Scene* shot it selfe to the Land.

Above which, the *Moone* was seene in a *Siluer* Chariot,  
drawne by *Virgins*, to ride in the cloudes, and hold them greater  
light: with the *Signe Scorpio*, and the *Character*, plac'd before

t The signe of  
temperature,  
as also her  
girland mixed  
of the foure  
*Seasons*.

u *Pearles*, with  
the *auncients*,  
were the  
speciall  
*Hieroglyphicks*  
of *louelinesse*,  
in *quibus nitor*  
*tantum & lauor*  
*expetebantur*.

x So was the  
*Lilly*, of which  
the most  
delicate Citty of  
the *Persians*  
was called  
*Susa*:  
signifying that  
kind of flower,  
in their tongue.

y The signe of  
*honor*, and  
dignity.

z both that, &  
the *Compass*  
are known  
ensignes of  
*perfection*.

a She is so  
describ'd in  
*Iconolog. di*  
*Cesare Ripa*,  
his reason of 7.  
iewells in the  
crown, alludes  
to *Pythagoras*  
his comment,  
with *Mac. lib.*  
2. *Som. Sci.* of  
the seuen  
*Planets* and  
their  
*Sphaeres*.

b The inducing  
of many *Cupids*  
wants not  
defence, with  
the best and  
most receiued  
of the *Antients*,

her.

The order of this *Scene* was carefully, and ingeniously dispos'd; and as happily put in act for the *Motions*) by the *Kings* master Carpenter. The Paynters, I must needes say, (not to belie them) lent small colour to any, to attribute much of the spirit of these things to their pen'cills. But that must not bee imputed a crime either to the inuention, or designe.

Here the loud *Musique* ceas'd; and the *Musitians*, which were placed in the *Arbors*, came forth through the *Mazes*, to the other Land: singing in this full *Song*, iterated in the closes by two *Eccho's*, rising out of the *Fountaines*.

*Hen Loue, at first, did mooue*

**W** *From out of Chaos, brightned.  
So was the world, and lightned,  
As now! Ecch. As now! Ecch. As now!  
Yeeld Night, then, to the light,  
As Blacknesse hath to Beauty:  
Which is but the same duety.  
It was <sup>g</sup> for Beauty, that the World was made,  
And where she raignes, <sup>h</sup> Loues lights admit no shade.  
Ecch. Loues lights admit no shade.  
Ecch. Admit no shade.*

Which ended, *Vulturnus* the Wind, spake to the *Riuer Thamesis* that lay along betweene the shores, leaning vpon his *Vrne* (that flow'd with water,) and crown'd with flowers; with a blew cloth of *Siluer* robe about him: and was personated by Maister THOMAS GILES, who made the *Daunces*.

V V L T V R N V S.

**R** *ise aged Thames, and by the hand  
Receiue these Nymphes, within the land:  
And, in those curious Squares, and  
Rounds,  
Wherewith thou flow'st betwixt the grounds,  
Of fruitfull Kent, and Essex faire,  
That lend thee gyrlands for thy hair e;  
Instruct their siluer feete to tread,  
Whilst we, againe to sea, are fled.*

With which the *Windes* departed; and the *Riuer* receiu'd them into the *Land*, by *couples* & *foures*, their *Cupids* comming before them.

Their persons were,

besides *Prop. Stat. Claud. Sido. Apoll.* especially *Phil.* in *Icon. Amor*, whom I haue particularly followed, in this description.

c They were the notes of *Louelinesse* and sacred to *Venus*. See *Phil.* in that place, mentioned.

d Of youth.

e Of pleasure.

f So he is faind by *Orpheus*, to haue appear'd first of all the *Gods*: awakened by *Clotho*: and is therefore call'd *Phanes*, both by him, and *Lactantius*.

g An agreeing opinion, both with *Diuines* and *Philosophers*, that the great *Artificer* in loue with his owne *Idwa*, did, therefore, frame the world.

h Alluding to his name of *Himerus*, and his signification in the name, which is *Desiderium post aspectum*: and more then *Eros*, which is onely *Cupido*, *ex aspectu amare*.

The QVEENE.  
 La. ARABELLA.  
 Co. of ARVNDEL.  
 Co. of DERBY.  
 Co. of BEDFORD.  
 Co. of MONTGOMERY.  
 La. ELIZ. GILFORD. La.  
 KAT. PETER.

La. ANNE WINTER. La.  
 WINSORE.  
 La. ANNE CLIFFORD.  
 La. MARY NEVILL. La.  
 ELIZ. HATTON. La.  
 ELIZ. GARRARD. La.  
 CHICHESTER.  
 La. WALSINGHAM.

The[se] dancing forth a most curious *Daunce*, full of excellent deuice, and change, ended it in the figure of a *Diamant*, and so, standing still, were by the **S** *Musitians* with a second *Song* (sung by a loud *Tenor*) celebrated.

*O Beauty on the waters stood,*

(When Loue had <sup>1</sup> *seuer'd earth, from flood!*  
*So when he parted ayre, from fire,*  
*He did with concord all inspire!*  
*And then a Motion he them taught,*  
*That elder than himselfe was thought.*  
*Which thought was, yet, <sup>k</sup> the child of earth,*  
*For Loue is elder then his birth.*

The *Song* ended; they *Daunced* forth their second *Daunce*, more subtle, and full of change, then the former; and so exquisitely performed, as the King's *Maiestie* incited first (by his owne liking, to that which all others there present, wish'd) requir'd them both againe, after some time of dauncing with the *Lords*. Which time, to giue them respite, was intermitted with [a] *Song*; first, by a *treble* voyce, in this manner.

**I** *F all these Cupids, now, were blind*  
*As is <sup>a</sup> their wanton Brother;*  
*Or play should put it in their mind*  
*To shoot at one another:*  
*What pretty battayle they would make*  
*If they their objects should mistake*  
*And each one wound his Mother!*

Which was seconded by another *treble*; thus.

*T was no policy of Court,*  
**I** *Albee' the place were charmed,*  
*To let in earnest, or in sport,*  
*So many Loues in, armed.*  
*For say, the Dames should with their eyes,*  
*Vpon the hearts. here. mean surprize.*

To which a *tenor* answered.

**Y** *Es, were the Loues or false, or straying;*  
*Or Beauties not their beauty weighing:*  
*But here no such deceit is mix'd,*  
*Their flames are pure, their eyes are*  
*fix'd:*  
*They do not warre, with different darts,*

i As, in the  
 Creation, he is  
 said, by the  
*Antients*, to  
 haue done.

k That is, borne  
 since the world,  
 and out of those  
 duller  
 apprehensions  
 that did not  
 thinke hee was  
 before.

a I make these  
 different from  
 him, which  
 they fayne,  
*cæcum*  
*cupidine*, or  
*petulantem*, as I  
 expresse  
 beneath in the  
 third song,  
 these being  
 chaste *Loues*,  
 that attend a  
 more diuine  
 beauty, then  
 that of *Loues*  
 commune  
 parent.

**A**fter which *Songs*, they danc'd *Galliards* and *Corranto's*; and with those excellent *Graces*, that the Musique, appointed to celebrate them, shew'd it could be silent no longer: but, by the first *Tenor*, admir'd them thus:

SONG.

**H** *Ad those, that dwelt in error foul And hold<sup>b</sup> that women  
haue no soule,  
But seene these moue; they would haue, then  
Sayd, Women were the souls of Men.  
So they do moue each heart, and eye,  
With the Worlds soule, true Harmonie.*

<sup>b</sup> There hath  
beene such a  
profane  
*Paradoxe*  
published.

**H** *Ere, they daunc'd a third most elegant and curious  
Daunce, and not to be describ'd againe, by any art, but  
that of their own footing: which ending in the figure, that  
was to produce the fourth; January from his state saluted  
them, thus,*

<sup>c</sup> The  
*Platonicks*  
opinion. See  
also *Mac. lib.*  
1. and 2. *Som.*  
*Scip.*

<sup>d</sup> For what  
countrie is it  
thinks not her  
owne beautie  
fayre, yet?

IANVARIVS.

**Y** *Our grace is great, as is your Beauty, Dames;  
Inough my Feasts haue prou'd your  
thankfull flames.  
Now vse your Seate: that seate which was, before,  
Thought stray'ing, vncertayne, floting to each shore,  
And to whose hauing euery Clime laid clayme,  
Each Land, and Nation vrged as the ayme  
Of their ambition, Beauties<sup>[d]</sup> perfect throne,  
Now made peculiar, to this place, alone;  
And that, by'impulsion of your destinies,  
And his attractiue beames, that lights the se Skies:  
Who (though with th'Ocean compass'd) neuer wets  
His hayre therein, nor weares a beame that sets.  
Long may his light adorne these happy rites,  
As I renew them; and your gracious sights  
Enioy that happinesse, eu'en to enuy, as when  
Beauty, at large, brake forth, and conquer'd m en.*

At which, they daunc'd theyr last *daunce*, into their *Throne* againe: and that turning, the Scene clos'd with this full Song.

SONG.

**S** *Till turne, and imitate the Heauen  
In motion swift and euen;  
And as his Planets goe,  
Your brighter lights doe so:  
May Youth and Pleasure euer flow.  
But let your State, the while,  
Be fixed as the Isle.  
Cho. {So all that see your Beauties sphære,*

*{May know the'Elysian fields are here.*  
Echo. *{Th'Elysian fields are here.*  
Echo. { *Elysian fields are here.*

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### III. The Libretto for *The Crown of India*, 1912, by Henry Hamilton

Printed in London, Enoch, 1912

(our transcription from the original printed text)

## ***THE CROWN OF INDIA***

An Imperial Masque in Two Tableaux

#### **Tableau I. The Cities of Ind**

**1      1a. Introduction**

(1)

**2      1b. Sacred Measure**

(2)

**3      2. Dance of Nautch Girls**

(3)

**4      2a. India greets her Cities**

(4)

*(India rises.)*

#### **India's Address**

Cities of Ind I greet you!

From of old

My daughters, in whose destinies enscrolled

Is writ my record:

Benares, Welcome, Eldest born, to thee,

Oh, dear among my daughters unto me!

Whom three-score centuries have set supreme,

Immutable, where Gange's sainted stream

To lave thy feet and lap thy threshold pours

Those waters which a Pilgrim-world adores.

Tyre knew thy traffic, Carthage owned thy state,

And Prince and Paladin and Potentate

About thee thine Imperial purple flung

When Babylon and Nineveh were young

And Rome was yet to be.

In Peace and War,

Thrice fained, thrice welcome.

Next to *thee*, Mysore,

With sandal sweet and brows all jewel-bound,

From thy Nilgiri Hills azalea-crowned



New come, all greeting!  
 Hail, O Haidarabad!  
 Macedon's Hero that for founder had;  
 Who art of conquerors the heritage  
 And home,  
 All hail, Lucknow! Who rebel rage  
 Dared and defied: a living glory yet  
 Thy Leaguer!  
 England never shall forget  
 But thrill to think on, to her latest day,  
 Thy stirring story of her sons at bay;  
 While memory wakens, sweeter than her merle,  
 The far, faint echo of thy bagpipe's skirl!  
 Bombay, Madras, one greeting! Though as twain  
 Ye rule my western and my eastern Main.  
 Whose argosies go down to every sea  
 Bearing your commerce.  
 Then, greeting.  
 Gwalior! Who upon the rock  
 Hast reared thy fortress at the years to mock,  
 And, girt with all thy dignities of yore,  
 Art proud with many palaces Lahore,  
 Golden with waving wheat the sun hath kissed.  
 As green thy rice-fields veiled in silver mist,  
 Allahabad, whose sacred rivers three  
 Thy fields make fertile as they hollow thee.  
 Be welcome! And oh, gentle Agra, thou,  
 Though last, not last in love, upon whose brow  
 Thy Shah Jahan his shining coronal.  
 The world's white wonder of the Taj Mahal,  
 Hath set, or like a pearl hath laid between  
 Thy hands to keep the memory green  
 Of her he loved, and gave Man's soul a sign  
 Of Death made luminous by Love divine.  
 Once more, oh, ye that hear and heed my call.  
 Most dear, most dutiful; - most welcome – all!

**5      3. Song (Agra). 'Hail Immemorial Ind!'**

**(5)      Agra**

Hail, Immemorial Ind!  
 O'er all the Orient throned,  
 That long thy sway hath owned,  
 Who shall thy rule rescind?

**Chorus**

Oh, Immemorial Ind!

**Agra**

May ev'ry wind to fan thy brow that blows  
Or far, or near,  
From Himalayan snows,  
From roses of Kashmir,  
From groves of tamarind,  
The world more sweet to make,  
In incense on thee to break.

**Chorus**

Oh, Immemorial Ind!

**Agra**

From out what Dark thy Dawn arose  
None knows:  
Behind thy veil close drawn  
Immeshed of gossamer and gold.  
Magic its warp and mystery its woof.  
Alone, alone, aloft, aloof,  
Thou didst behold  
The Dasa bow beneath the Arvan's sway:  
Brahma divine, Brahma, arise, and Siva dread.  
And then wast old that still art young today.

**Chorus**

Oh, Land of deed and dream  
By Ganges' sacred stream,  
Made holy and Supreme  
By Him thou hast revealed.

**Agra**

Oh, Land of deed and dream  
By Ganges' sacred stream,  
Lo! The new day begun  
Of thine aeonian Sun!

When East to West to one attuned, entwined  
Uplift thy throne empearled  
Oh, Lotus of the World!  
Oh, Immemorial Ind!

**Chorus**

Oh, Immemorial Ind!

**India**

- 6 Well dost thou say that East and West upbear  
The throne of Ind.  
This, then, the reason of my summons sent;  
For, know, ere long in radiance on our skies

The Sun of India shall himself arise.  
 Be yours, O Daughters! To prepare his way,  
 Though true it is we lack two Cities here,  
 And those our chiefest, fitly to complete  
 Our conclave,  
 At my right and left a seat  
 Calcutta waits and Delhi; – not their wont  
 To slight our summons.  
 Delhi her rights of old maintains, her new  
 Calcutta; would the discord we might heal,  
 Giving to *both* content.

**7      3a. Entrance of Calcutta**

**(6)**

**India**

The trumpets peal!  
 Whom do they herald thus with beat of drums?

**Lotus**

Great Ind! The City of Calcutta comes.  
 (*Calcutta has entered, attended by Commerce and Statecraft.*)

**India**

**8      Welcome Calcutta!**

**Calcutta**

Greeting, Mother mine!  
 And homage. Sister-Cities palatine,  
 My salutations!

**India**

Somewhat tardy ones!  
 ‘Late betters never’ as the proverb runs.

**Calcutta**

Late! Am I late? Your pardon: but the cares  
 Of council and business, state-affairs  
 Have kept me. Ever at my heels  
 Stalks Commerce, while my leisure Statecraft  
       Steals  
 I am the Capital!

**India**

Why, so thou art,  
 Lo! On my right hand there  
 Thy seat of honour, with its counter-chair  
 Upon my left for Delhi.

**Calcutta**

Delhi here?

And on thy left! I do not see her though.

Hath she departed – like her glories?

**India**

No.

Delhi – like thee – is late.

**Calcutta**

With less excuse.

**India**

Call a truce,

Calcutta, to these conflicts.

Go, take thy seat of high estate,

And know, O Daughter! She who would be great

Should first be gracious.

**Calcutta**

Mother, I obey,

And by thy sanction consummate my sway,

Kissing that right hand which thou giv'st to *me*.

I would that Delhi were but here to see,

With deference due, my merit overtop

Her antique state and all its stories!

9

**3b. Entrance of Delhi**

(7)

*(Delhi enters slowly, attended by Tradition and Romance.)*

**Delhi**

10

Stop!

That place is mine.

**Calcutta**

Thine?

**Delhi**

Mine! By every claim

Of ancient right and usage.

For Justice none can ever call too loud,

And Right grows wrath where Parvenus wax proud.

Calcutta! But Great Mother, to me grant

Your pardon, if my courtesy seem scant;

And you my Sisters, thus amend I make

With due obeisance.

**Calcutta**

Enough of sneers!

*I am the capital!*

**Delhi**

Of might, not right:  
Great Ind and Cities, give me your award.  
If to Calcutta freely you accord  
That Right hand scat which she from *me* hath  
    reft;  
Well! But I will no longer take the Left  
That hath been greatest. Only, when ye meet,  
For Delhi let there be a vacant seat,  
Of you not to crave  
My right, is to abandon.

**India**

You can waive  
Without abandoning your claim.

**Calcutta**

Give place;  
And learn to do it with a better grace.

**Delhi**

By Sacred Ganges! – *I* give place to *thee*!  
That would indeed an ignominy be!  
And wilt thou vaunt to *me* thy mushroom pomp  
Of new-made palaces? That wast a swamp  
One hundred years ago; when I a Queen  
Enthroned for forty centuries had been!

**Calcutta**

While *her* day is done.

**India**

None doubts thy day was splendid. Delhi, yet  
Upon the longest day the sun must set.

**Delhi**

When was it known the sun should set at noon?  
Mine is full mid-day. Mother, over-xoon  
For dusk to fall;  
Then give me hearing. *Weigh* my cause and *me*!

**India**

How say you, Daughters?

**Benares**

Mother, we agree

That Delhi should be heard of us.

**India**

And thou,  
Calcutta?

**Calcutta**

I am willing here and now  
To answer Delhi, and myself to plead  
My counter-cause before you.

**11      4a. Introduction**  
**(8)**

**India**

Then proceed.

**Delhi**

Ask of the ages, that to me belong,  
Ask of the Poets, whose undying song  
Hath hymned my glory.  
Hear Tradition breathe  
Her testimony; bid romance enwreath  
My name with roses such as only bloom  
(So rare their attar, poignant their perfume),  
Once, like the aloe, in a hundred years;  
Yet sheaves are in *my* garden! Lend your ears  
And hearken how the aisles of Time and Fame  
Reverberant re-echo Delhi's name  
But from my chronicles alone I cull  
Four names whose splendours nothing shall  
        annul  
Four Emperors of that Dynasty Mogul  
Which was my diadem and now shall be  
My witness.  
Akhbar the wise, Jehagnir, Shah Jahan,  
Aurangzebe, foremost in my glories' van  
Once more to vouch me yours unto this last,  
Come, oh ye mighty ones from out the Past!

**12      4b. March of the Mogul Emperors**  
**(9)**

**India**

13      Illustrious Emperors!  
India that knew thee great in peace and war  
Greet thee. Say, was she,  
Delhi, thy seat Imperial from of old?  
Since others claim her place to-day; behold  
Calcutta!

**Delhi**

Now, hear Calcutta's pleas;  
 And from her yester-tore command her bring  
 One famous conqueror, one single King,  
 One solitary legend mine to crown!  
 So! Let her lift gauntlet I fling down.

**India**

Speak Thou, Calcutta, 'tis challenge fair.  
 Thine to bring forward claims that may compare  
 With those of Delhi, and if not outweigh,  
 Yet equal them.

**Calcutta**

My answer is 'To-day'!  
 Where she conjures up the Past  
 I call the Present –  
 A strenuous Yesterday, a strong To-day  
 Are better than an aeon of decay,  
 Behold *me* throned upon thy shores, O Ind,  
 Where to my footstool wafted by each wind  
 There come every nation to my quays,  
 Peaceful Armadas out of all the seas;  
 Harbour a-hum and highways all a-throng  
 With commerce and with traffic, *these* belong  
 To *me*. So much for 'To-day'.  
 Nor is my 'Yesterday', though it be brief,  
 Or blank or blazonless that holds in fief  
 The deeds of Britain's grit and gallantry.  
 Now foremost do I call – 'John Company'!  
 That from thy London Counting-House mad'st  
     War  
 Or Peace with Princes. Thou whose Standards  
     bore  
 Thy magic letters 'H.E.I.C.S.'  
 Through many a stricken battles's storm and  
     stress  
 To triumph.

**14 5. Entrance of 'John Company'****(10)****Calcutta**

**15** Good John Company, reply  
 Shall Delhi be thy capital – or I?

**John Company**

I choose Calcutta!

**Calcutta**

I thank thee, John. And now thine Agents – ye  
That shook vast Ind – and the Pagoda-Tree!  
Come Clive, Come Monro,  
Come Warren Hastings, Cornwallis brave,  
And Wellesley and lake and Minto!  
Note thou, Lucknow, thy Lawrence in their list,  
And Havelock strong with Outram to resist  
The rebel rout that ringed thee round; and sweet  
The bagpipes' echo and the tramp of feet  
As Colin Campbell comes!  
Now let your acclaim my suit  
Endorse.

**All**

Calcutta!

**Delhi**

Not so!  
Hers the utility but mine the *soul*  
Of Ind! and Britain ever seeks accord  
With *that* in every land which owns her lord.

**16     5a Entrance of St George****Delhi**

Calcutta hath appealed to Britain's might,  
But Delhi will a worthier witness cite.  
Illuminant of England's arm and act,  
Spirit of England's chivalry compact,  
Thou that in Cappadocia's gloomy gorge  
Did'st beat the Dragon down – Appear,  
*St George!*

**St George**

Cities of Ind, on England's Saint that call,  
Think ye the choice of Chivalry can fall  
On one of you to leave the other bare?  
But one there comes  
In whom my spirit lives – in whom my name  
Is crowned! Let him your rival dignities assess  
As Arbiter, and his right hand redress  
Your honours' balance.

**Lotus** (*re-enters suddenly*)

Tidings mighty Ind,  
Across the sundering seas thine Emperor



Comes with his Consort.

**India**

- 17 Calcutta, Delhi, give your quarrel pause  
And to your Suzerain submit your cause.

**Delhi**

So let it be! To Caesar I appeal!

**Calcutta**

And I commit my claim, Come woe, come weal!

**India**

No woe waits either, nor defeat hath sting  
That follows on the fiat of a King.  
And happy Britain – that above all lands  
Still where she conquers counsels, not commands!  
See wide and wider yet her rule extend  
Who of a foe defeated makes afriend,  
Who spreads her Empire not to get but give  
And, free herself, bids others free to live,  
To all of her dominions East and West  
She sends her sons, she gives them of her best,  
No aliens, but to found across the foam  
A newer Motherland, another Home.  
Unfurl the flag of England, fling it wide  
O'er half a world to float! – and this its pride,  
And this the might of those beneath it met,  
That, as the sun upon it ne'er doth set,  
So, welded into one her Peoples pray  
With heart and voice – 'God grant it never may!'  
'God and the Right' – so stands our motto still, –  
And while its soul fires Britain's work and will,  
Still Liberty the borders shall enlarge  
And lift the banners of the British Raj!

- 18 **6. Song (St George). 'The Rule Of England'**  
(11) **St George**

Wherever England flies her flag  
O'er what her sword hath won,  
Her claim to keep, to rule, to reap,  
She rests on duty done,  
Her title strong, no tyrant brag  
Of frowning fort, nor fleet,  
But Right upheld and rancor quelled,  
And Wrong beneath her feet.  
Lift aloft the Flag of England!  
Hers it is to lead the Light,

**Chorus**

Ours to keep her yet the Kingland,  
Keep her ancient Honour bright,  
Her manhood ever glorious,  
Her Valour still victorious,  
Lift aloft the Flag of England,  
Break the Wrong and make the Right!

**St George**

Oh, sons of Merry England born!  
Oh, Knights of good Saint George!  
Still may your steel from head to heel  
Be bright from Honour's forge.  
Still be your blades for England worn,  
Dear Land that hath no like!  
And for her Fame and in her name  
Unsheathe the sword and strike!

**Chorus**

Lift aloft the Flag of England!  
Hers it is to lead the Light,  
Ours to keep her yet the Kingland,  
Keep her ancient Honour bright,  
Her Manhood ever glorious,  
Her Valour still victorious,  
Lift aloft the Flag of England,  
Break the Wrong and make the Right!

End of Tableau I

19     **7. Interlude**  
(12)

**Tableau II. Ave Imperator!**

20     **8a Introduction**  
(13)

21     **8b Warrior's Dance**  
(14)

22     **9. The Cities of Ind**  
(15)

**India**

23     Hail Festal Hours from out of the Ages drawn  
To peerless blossom! Never yet was dawn  
Auspicious herald to a day so dear.  
So deep, so long desired;  
Thunder, ye cannon, play your clamorous part!  
The volleyed homage of a People's heart  
Outvoices you;  
He comes! he comes! Upon our dazzled eyes  
The Sun of Britain and of Ind doth rise.

24     **10. March. 'The Crown of India'**  
(16)

**Chorus**

Lift aloft the Flag of England!  
Hers it is to lead the fight,  
Ours to keep her still the Kingland,  
Keep her ancient Honour bright.  
Her Manhood ever glorious,  
Her Valour still victorious,  
Lift aloft the Flag of England,  
Break the Wrong and make the Right!

**India**

25     'Incessu patuit Imperator' – Slow  
And stately come he!  
Blow till ye waken Fame and bid her lips  
Acclaim that day she never shall eclipse.  
Now let her fanfare to the world proclaim  
'George, by the Grace of God, of that great name  
The Fifth – of those three Kingdoms that enring  
One realm, one royalty – Great Britain – King!  
And of Dominions broader born of these,  
Of all those greater Britains overseas  
Yet again – King! – Defender of the Faith!  
Emperor of India! –  
(*After the Imperial Procession India approaches the dais.*)

26     **10a. The Homage of Ind**

(17)

**India**

The splendour of thy light  
Our day ennobles and redeems our night.  
Goal of our hopes, Protector of the poor,  
Beneath thine aegis India rests secure.  
Thou not on one thy presence dost bestow  
But on *all* lands that fealty to thee owe.  
Wherever lifts thy standard to the breeze,  
Thy foot has fallen. Not by mere decrees  
The burthen of thine empire dost thou bear,  
But by desert and deed. Along the air  
Thy stirring 'Wake up, England!' lingers yet  
Dull sloth to whip and dear resolve to whet,  
Imperial pilot, still, thy Ship of State  
To safeguard, waking early, watching late;  
by thy reveille roused, thine every Realm  
*Must* 'wake' and work whilst thou art at the helm!

*(To the Empress:)*

And Thou, Illustrious Lady of our Love,  
Crowned with delight and Sceptred with the Dove,  
Who to our swooning Indian beats dost bring  
The fragrant freshness of a Northern spring.  
The breath and beauty of some woodland way,  
A daisied meadow or an English – May!

*(To the Emperor.)*

Gracious Sire,  
In whom our eyes behold our hearts' desire,  
Sum of our wealth and Chart of all our ways,  
Low at thy feet thy loving India lays  
Her loyal homage.

*[India ascends the dais of the Emperor and Empress and pays them homage.]*

Now, O Sire, I pray  
Thy gracious leave accord me mine array  
Of Princes at thy footstool to present,  
That wait to do thee worship reverent;  
Each of a lineage that from age to age  
To Ind hath given sovereign, soldier, sage;  
And all before thy throne to bow the knee,  
In heart, in voice, in homage one with me!

*[The Princes and their retinues pass before the throne, each doing homage.]*

27

**11. The Crowning of Delhi**

(18)

**India**

The Majesty of Ind his will proclaims:  
Delhi to be his Capital he names:  
And, of his Empire, further makes decree

Calcutta shall the Premier City be.

**Chorus**

Delhi, Delhi!

Hail! Immemorial Ind,

By Ganges' sacred stream

Make Holy and supreme by Him thou hast  
revealed.

**28      12. Ave Imperator!**  
**(19)**

**India**

Now consummated is our hearts' desire,

Nor in the days to come may we aspire

To such another day as this whose grace

Hath set us with our Sovereign face to face.

'May the King live for ever!' – Nor in vain

We pray it, King, that ever shalt remain

A *living* Memory unto me and mine

Whose every heart this day thou makest – Thine.

'God save the Emperor! – Amen!'

**Agra**

God save the Emperor,

Hear now, as ne'er before, one India sing.

**Chorus**

Send him victorious,

Happy and glorious:

Long reign over us,

God save the King!

[End of Tableau II]

Henry Hamilton (1853 – 1918)



**IV. Edward Elgar's Score for *The Crown of India*, Opus 66,  
1912, Arranged for Military Band by Frank Winterbottom  
(1918)**

**Published by Hawkes & Sons, no. 390, London. Ltd. Denman  
Street, 1918**

**The Conductor's Part**

SUITE  
THE CROWN OF INDIA

## №1. a) INTRODUCTION

**EDWARD ELGAR, OP. 66.**  
Arranged for Military Band  
by Frank Winterbottom.

Fl. &amp; E♭ Clar.

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HAWKES & SON (London), Ltd. Denman Street, Piccadilly Circus, LONDON, W. I.

PARIS, 16 Rue Saunier, IX<sup>e</sup>

Printed by Hawkes & Son (London), Ltd., Leipzig.



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Conductor.

7

3

# b) DANCE OF NAUTCH GIRLS

**Allegretto. (♩=96)**

*poco rit.*

*a tempo*

**4** *a tempo*

**5**

Fl. & Eb Clar.  
Clarinet.  
1st Cornet.  
Horns (muted)  
2nd Cornet.  
1st & 2nd Bassoon.  
1st Tromb.  
2nd Tromb.  
Solo Bass.  
B.D. & Trgl.  
Solo & 1st Bb Clar.  
2nd & 3rd Clar.  
Horns (muted)  
Horns (ordinaire)  
Bassoons.  
Bass.  
S.D. (muted) ppp  
add 1st Oboe.  
2nd Clar. & Alto Sax.  
3rd Clar. & Ten. Sax.  
Oboe.  
1st Cornet.  
Horns (muted)  
2nd Cornet.  
1st Tromb.  
2nd Tromb.  
Bass.

## Conductor.

*poco rit.* *a tempo*

Solo & 1st Clar. *pp* 6 *tr.* 2nd & 3rd Clar. *ten.* Clar. *pp* 1st Cornet. Horns (muted) 2nd Cornet. *f* Solo & 1st Clar. 3 *f* 1st Bassoon. 2nd Bassoon. Solo Bass. B.D. & Trgl. 2nd Tromb. B.D. & Trgl.

*poco rit.* *a tempo*

Fl. Clar. *pp* 2nd & 3rd Clar. *ten.* Solo & 1st Clar. *p* 2nd & 3rd Clar. *p* *pp* Alto Sax. 1st Bass & staccato. *p* 2nd Clar. & Alto Sax. 3rd Clar. & Ten. Sax. S.D. (muted) *ppp* B.D. *ppp*

6

Oboe & 1st Clar. *pp* 2nd Cl. & Alto Sax. *pp* Horns. 3rd Cl. & Ten. Sax. *pp* Bassoon & Euph. *pp* Bass. *pp* Fl. & Eb Clar. Solo & 1st Clar. *pp* 2nd Clar. & 3rd Clar. *ppp* Bassoons. Bass.

Fl. Ob. & Eb Clar. *p* Cornets. *pp* 1st Tromb. *pp* 1st Bassoon. *pp* 2nd Bassoon. Solo Bass. Trgl. Horns. Euph. Bass.

7 Allegro molto. (♩ = 160)

*pp* 2nd & 3rd Clar. *ten.* Solo & 1st Clar. *ff* Clar. & Sax. *p* Cornets. *ff* Trombones & Trumpets. *p* Bass & Euph. *pp* Trgl. Basses. *pp* S.D. muted (Indian Drum) H. & S. 4983 Euph. & Bass. *f* *p*

## 5

H. &amp; S. 4983

## Conductor.

**Andante quasi recit. (♩ = 72)**

*mf* *f*

Cornets, Trumpets & Horns. Horns & Sax.

*ff* 1st Tromb.

*mf* *rubato* *p*

1st & 2nd Trombones, Cornets & Trumpets.

*mf* *f*

B. D. & C.  
Eb Gong roll  
a roll on Eb Tubular Bell  
can be substituted. Timp.

**2**

**Moderato. (♩ = 84)**

Flutes & Claris.

*pp*

1st Cornet.

*pp* 2nd Cornet.

1st Tromb.

*pp* 2nd Tromb.

Horns.

*pp* Euph.

Bass Tromb. *ff*

*pp* Timp.

*rit.*

Alto Sax. *mf*

1st Horn (muted) *pp*

(lunga)

2nd & 3rd Claris.

*pp* Solo Bass.

**3** **Tempo I.**

Bb Claris.

Fl. & Pico. 8va

*p* *accel.*

Glockenspiel.

Oboes

Cornets 8va *pp*

1st Horn (muted) *rit.*

1st Cornet.

2nd Cornet.

*pp* 1st & 2nd Tromb.

Horns (ordinaire)

2nd & 3rd Claris.

Trombones. 2nd Horn (muted)

*pp* Timp.

*pp* Euph.

Bass. Bass. Bass.

Cymb.

# Conductor.

7

**12**

1st & 2nd Clarits.

Fl. & 2nd Clarits. 8va

2nd Clar. Ob. & Eb Clar. 1st Clar. 8va lower.

Fl. Ob. & Eb Clar.

1st Bassoon & Ten. Sax.

Horns & Sax.

1st Bassoon & Ten. Sax.

Horns & Sax.

*dim.*

*p*

*fp*

*cresc.*

2nd Clarits.

Ob. & Eb Clar.

Horns & Sax.

Fl. & 2nd Clarits. 8va

Solo Clarits.

1st Clarits.

3rd Clarits. & 1st Bassoon 8va

2nd Bassoon & Euph.

*p*

*pp*

*pp*

**13**

Fl. & 2nd Clarits. 8va

Ob. & 1st Clarits. 8va

2nd & 3rd Clarits. & Alto Sax.

1st Clarits.

Fl. 8va

Eb Clar.

2nd & 3rd Clarits. & 1st Bassoon.

Euph. & Bass.

Horns & Bassoons.

Ob. & Alto Sax.

Euph.

*p*

*pp*

*pp*

*cresc.*

*pp* col 8va

*cresc.*

*f*

Solo & 1st Clarits.

2nd & 3rd Clarits.

1st Bass.

Alto Sax.

*p*

*p*

*p*

*pp*

*pp* col 8va

*rit.*

Solo Clar.

1st Clar.

1st Horn.

2nd & 3rd Clarits.

Alto Sax.

Euph.

Bass.

Timp. & Horns.

Ten. Sax.

Euph.

*pp*

*pp*

*pp*

*pp*

*pp*

*pp*

*pp*

H. & S. 4983

## Nº2. MENUETTO

H &amp; S 4082

# Conductor.

9

Alto Sax. Cornets. Trumpets. Cornets. Trumpets. Cornets. Trumpets. Cornets. Trumpets.

*ff* Euph. *ff* Tromb. *ff* Cymb. (ordinaire) Tambourine. Cymb. Tamb.

**15** *poco allargando* *a tempo* Clar. 4c. *ff* Horns. Cornets &c. *ff* Tromb. Bass col 8va Timp. S.D. B.D. & C. Trgl. Tamb.

*mf* *mf* *mf* Trgl. *ff* Cornets. *ff* Euph. & Bass. *ff* Bb Trp. & Horns 8va Tromb. S.D. B.D. & C.

**16** *Più mosso.* *ff* Fl. & Picc. Ob. Eb Clar. Solo & 1st Clar. Horns Sax & Baritone. *mf cresc. molto* Tromb. & Euph. S.D.

2nd time 8va. *ff* Cornets. Horns Sax & Barit. *mf cresc. molto* Tromb. & Euph. S.D. Bass. B.D. 1. 2.



**17**

Clars. &c. *ff*

Euph. &c. *ff*

Horns. *ff*

Cornets & Trumpets. *mf cresc. molto*

Tromb. *ff*

Bass. *ff*

S.D. *ff*

**18**

Fl. & Picc. 8va *ff*

Fl. & Clars. *p*

Ob. & 2nd Clar. *mf*

Fl. & Clars. *mf*

Ob. & 2nd Clar. *mf*

Fl. & Clars. *mf*

Ob. & 2nd Clar. *mf*

Fl. & Clars. *mf*

Ob. & 2nd Clar. *mf*

3rd Clars. & Bassoons. *p*

Horns. *mf*

B.D. *p*

Clars. &c. *f*

Cornets. *f*

Euph. *f*

Bass. *f*

Timp. *f*

Clars. &c. *ff*

Cornets. *ff*

Tromb. *ff*

S.D. *ff*

B.D. & C. *ff*

Timp. *ff*

**19**

Fl. Ob. & Eb Cl. *ff*

Solo & 1st Clars. *ff*

Cornets. *ff*

Trumpets. *ff*

2nd & 3rd Clars. *ff*

Alto Sax. *ff*

Bassoons & Ten. Sax. *ff*

Euph. *ff*

Cymb. *ff*

Tambourine. *ff*

Bass col 8va *ff*

Tromb. *ff*

Clars. &c. *ff*

Cornets. *ff*

Trumpets. *ff*

Tromb. *ff*

Bass. *ff*

Timp. *ff*



# Conductor.

11

Fl. Ob. & Eb Clar.

Fl. & Picc. & Eb Clar.

2nd & 3rd Claris.

Ob. & Claris.

Claris.

Horns & Saxophones.

Bass Tromb. & Euph.

Cymb. Tamb.

Cymb. hit with drum stick.

Alto Sax.

Cornets.

Trumpets.

Cornets.

Trumpets.

Cornets.

Trumpets.

Euph.

Tromb.

Tromb.

Tromb.

Cymb. (ordinaire) Tambourine.

Cymb. Tamb.

Cymb. Tamb.

20

poco allargando

sostenuto

Horns.

Tromb.

Bass col 8va

Timp.

Trgl.

a tempo accel.

rit.

Claris. &c.

Claris. &c.

Tutti.

Cornets & Trumpets.

Tromb.

Tutti.

Timp.

B. D. S. D. Trgl. & C. & Tamb.

## Conductor.

## Nº 4. INTERMEZZO

**Andantino.** (♩ = 76)

*pp* 1st Clarinet.  
2nd & 3rd Clarinets.  
Euph.  
Solo Bass.  
*ppp*

*p espress.* Solo Bb Clarinet.

*pp* Alto Sax.

*p* Solo Bb Clarinet.

**21**

*pp* *leggero* Oboe.  
Solo Clarinet.  
1st Clarinet.  
2nd Clarinet.  
3rd Clarinet 1st Bassoon.  
Euph. & Horns.  
S.D. (muted)  
Trgl. *ppp*

*largamente*

*a tempo*

*mf* Oboe & Solo Clarinet.  
1st Clarinet.  
2nd Clarinet.  
3rd Clarinet.  
1st Bassoon.  
*p*

*pp* 1st, 2nd & 3rd Clarinets.  
Solo Clarinet.  
1st Clarinet.  
2nd & 3rd Clarinets.  
1st Bassoon.  
*pp*

Conductor.

13

**22** Più lento.

Fl. Ob. Eb Clar.  
\* Alto Sax. 8va  
*pp*

*rit.*

Solo Clar.  
*pp*

Solo Tromb.  
*ppp*

S.D. (muted)  
\* Trgl. *ppp*

Obec.

*rit.*

*a tempo*

*rit.*

Eb Clar.  
*pp*

1st Clar.  
*pp*

2nd & 3rd Clarts.  
*pp*

2nd & 3rd Clarts.  
*pp*

Euph.  
*pp*

Alto Sax.  
*pp*

Horns  
*pp*

Solo Bass.  
*pp*

\* Gong roll.  
*ppp*

**23** *a tempo*

Flute 8va higher.  
Eb Clar. Solo Clarts. 8va lower

*ppp*

1st Clar.  
*pp*

2nd Clar.  
*pp*

3rd Clar.  
*pp*

Alto Sax.  
*pp*

1st Bassoon.  
*pp*

Alto Sax.  
*pp*

Trgl. *pp*  
B.D. *ppp*

Flute off

E.D. *ppp*

Solo Clarts.  
1st Bassoon 8va lower

*morendo*

Solo Clarts.  
*pp*

Bassoons.  
*pp*

Obec.  
*pp*

1st Clar.  
*pp*

2nd & 3rd Clarts.  
*pp*

1st Horn.  
*pp*

Alto Sax.  
*pp*

1st Horn.  
*pp*

Trgl. *pp*  
B.D. *ppp*

B.D. *ppp*

B.D. *ppp*

\*) A roll with Timp. sticks on C Tubular Bell, can has substituted.

## Nº5. MARCH OF THE MOGUL EMPERORS

**Moderato maestoso.** ( $\text{♩} = 92$ )

Clats in 8va.

Bassoons.

Saxophones.

2nd & 3rd Clats.

Bassoons & Saxophones.

Trombones.

Horns.

B.D. & C.

Timp. roll.

24 Fl. Ob. & Bb Clar.

Cornets.

Trombones & Horns.

Bassoons Saxophones & 2nd & 3rd Clats.

1st & 2nd Horns.

Picc.

*marziale*

Bb Trumpets & Herold Trumpets in Bb.

Eb Trumpets.

Trombones & Horns.

Fl. Oboe & Clats.

Euph. Bass.

25 **Pomposo.**

Clats. Oboes.

Trumpets off.

Horns.

Trombones.

B.D. & C.

Timp.

## Nº 3. WARRIORS' DANCE.

**Allegro.** (♩ = 66)  
8va Clarts. &c.

**ff** Cornets & Trumpets  
**ff** Cornets. Baritone & Euph.  
**ff** Trombones.  
**ff** Drums.  
Timp.

**mf** Cornets.  
**mf** Tromb.  
Trgl.  
Timp.  
**ff** Drum.

**mf** Cornets.  
**f** Cornets & Trumpets.  
Tromb.  
Timp.  
**mf** Trgl.  
Timp.  
**ff** Solo & 1st Clar. Cornets. Trumpets.  
2nd & 3rd Clarts. & Alto Sax.  
Bassoons. Euph. Cymb. Tambourine.  
Ten Sax.

**f** Fl. Picc. & Eb Clar.  
2nd & 3rd Clarts.  
Ob. & Clarts.  
**f** Horns & Saxophones.  
Cymb. Tamb.  
Bass Tromb. & Euph.  
Cymb. hit with drum stick.

14

# Conductor.

15

B.C. & C.  
\* Timp.

Oboes & 2nd Clar.  
2nd Cornet.  
Timp.

B $\flat$  Trumpets.

26

Cornets.

Horns.

Baritone.  
Euph.

Timp.

Tamb.

Gong & B.D.

Portamento.  
Fl. Ob. Clar. & Solo Cornet.

Cornets.

Trombones.

B.D.  
Cymb.

Gong & B.D.

27

Cornet.

Trombones.

Gong & B.D.

2nd Cornet 8va.

Cornets.

2nd Cornet 8va.

Trombones.

Cymb.

B.D.

S.D.  
Cymb.

H. & S. 4983

## Conductor.

28 Euph. S<sup>va</sup>  
Flute S<sup>va</sup>  
Horns.  
Trombones & Cornets.  
B.D.

Cornets.  
Trombones.  
Trumpets.  
Trombones.  
Trumpets.

Allargando.  
Flutes & Oboes.  
Horns.  
Bass.

29 *a tempo*  
Picc.  
1<sup>st</sup> Cornet.  
2<sup>nd</sup> Cornet.  
Tamb.  
S.D.  
B.D. & Timp.  
Trumpets.

Euph.  
Cymb.  
B.D.  
B.D.  
Herold Trumpets.  
Herold Trumpets.



Conductor.

17

30

*mf* Solo Cornets.

Barit.

Cymb.

Clarin. Saxoph<sup>ns</sup> & Baritone.

Horns.

*mf* Trombones, Clarin. & Bassoons.

Timp. & S. D.

31

Clarin.

*mf* Solo Cornet *p*

Horns, Bass<sup>es</sup> & Saxoph<sup>ns</sup>

*f*

3rd Horn & Baritone.

*f* sostenuto

Fl. Euph. Sva

*p* Cornets.

*mf* Cornets.

1st Tromb.

*mf*

B. D. & C.

32

*mf* Cornets.

*ff* Trumpets.

Horns.

*f*

Clarin. Sva

*ff* S. D. & Timp.

*ff*

Clarin.

*ff* Euph.

Flute

Cymb.

Cymb.

Cymb.

H. & S. 4983



## Conductor.

33 Herald Trumpets.\*) Right.

Piccolo. Oboe. Trombones. Wood. Horns. Saxophones.

Baritone. Basses.

*ff* S.D. B.D. Timp. & C.

*cresc.*

Left. Right. Left. Right. Left.

Cornets *p* *cresc.*

2nd Trombone. *mf* *cresc.*

S.D. B.D. Timp. & C.

34 Right & Left. Trumpets.

Cornets & Trombones.

Euph. Tamb. Timp.

*fff* Tutti.

*rit.*

Cornets, Trombones & Horns.

Clarin. Saxoph. Baritone.

Gong.

Timp. B. Dr. Euph. Bass.

& S.D. roll & Cymb.

B.D. & Timp. roll

\*) Note: When several Herald Trumpets are available they should be equally divided Right & Left of the Band & play alternately.

H. & S. 4983



# Appendix B



**From *The New Grove Dictionary of Music  
and Musicians***

Stanley Sadie, John Tyrrel, eds., Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004 edition.

## I. Edward Elgar's Complete Musical Works

For additional unpublished juvenilia and unfinished works see Kent (A1993)

Edition: *The Elgar Complete Edition*, 43 vols., ed. R. Anderson (London, 1981)

[E]

— Music for the proposed Elgar children's play, 1869 or 1871, unpubd; used in orch suites *The Wand of Youth*

*Grania and Diarmid* (G. Moore), 1901: Incidental Music, Funeral March, 'There are seven that pull the thread' (W. B. Yeats), song; Dublin, Gaiety Theatre, 21 Oct 1901  
ballet (after Rabelais), 1902–3, inc, sketches used elsewhere

*The Crown of India* (imperial masque, H. Hamilton), A, T, chorus, orch, 1912 [using part of *In Smyrna* and sketches from 1902 onwards]: 1a Introduction, 1b Sacred Measure, 2 Dance of Nautch Girls, 2a India greets her Cities, 3 Song: 'Hail, Immemorial Ind!', 3a Entrance of Calcutta, 3b Entrance of Delhi, 4a Introduction, 4b March of the Mogul Emperors, 5 Entrance of John Company, 5a Entrance of St George, 6 Song: 'The Rule of England', 7 Interlude, 8a Introduction, 8b Warriors' Dance, 9 The Cities of Ind, 10 March: The Crown of India, 10a The Homage of Ind, 11 The Crowning of Delhi, 12 Ave Imperator!; M. Beeley, H. Dearth, cond. Elgar, London, Coliseum, 11 March 1912; see also orchestral [Suite from *The Crown of India*]

*Carillon* (E. Cammaerts), reciter, orch, 1914; T. Brand Cammaerts, cond. Elgar, London, Queen's Hall, 7 Dec 1914; new text by L. Binyon, 1942

*Une voix dans le désert* (Cammaerts), reciter, orch, 1915, incl. song *Quand nos bourgeois se rouvriront*, S, orch; C. Liten, O. Lynn, cond. Elgar, London, Shaftesbury Theatre, 29 Jan 1916

*The Starlight Express* (V. Pearn, after A. Blackwood: *A Prisoner in Fairyland*), incidental music, melodrama and songs, S, Bar, orch [incl. music from *The Wand of Youth Suites*, 1907, 1908], 1915, unpubd; Songs: 1 To the Children, 2 The Blue-Eyes Fairy, 3 Curfew Song (Orion), 4 Laugh a little ev'ry day, 5 I'm everywhere, 6 Night Winds, 7 Oh stars shine brightly, 8 We shall meet the morning spiders, 9 My Old Tunes, 10 Dandelions, Daffodils, 11 They're all soft-shiny now, 12 Oh, think beauty, 13 Hearts must be soft-shiny dressed, duet; C. Hine, C. Mott, cond. J. Harrison, London,

Kingsway Theatre, 29 Dec 1915; nos.1, 2 and 9 pubd (1916); suite, pf (1916)

*Le drapeau belge* (E. Cammaerts), reciter, orch, 1916; C. Liten, cond. H. Harty, London, Queen's Hall, 14 April 1917

*The Sanguine Fan* (ballet, I. Lowther), 1917, unpubd; cond. Elgar, London, Chelsea Palace, 20 March 1917; *Echo's Dance*, arr. pf (1917) score ed. by D. Lloyd-Jones 2002

*The Fringes of the Fleet* (R. Kipling), 4 Bar, orch, 1917: 1 The Lowestoft Boat, 2 Fate's Discourtesy, 3 Submarines, 4 The Sweepers; C. Mott, H. Barratt, F. Henry, F. Stewart, cond. Elgar, London, Coliseum, 11 June 1917;

*Inside the Bar* (G. Parker), 4 Bar unacc, added 25 June 1917 [piano score 1917]

*Arthur* (incidental music, L. Binyon), unpubd: cond. Elgar, London, Old Vic, 12 March 1923; suite ed. A. Barlow, 1973

*The Pageant of Empire* (A. Noyes) 1v/SATB, orch. 1924: 1 Shakespeare's Kingdom, 2 The Islands, 3 The Blue Mountains, 4 The Heart of Canada, 5 Sailing Westward, 6 Merchant Adventurers, 7 The Immortal Legions, 8 A Song of Union;

*Empire March*, 1924; cond. H. Jaxon, Wembley Stadium, 21 July 1924

*Beau Brummel* (B. P. Matthews), incidental music orch, unpubd; cond. Elgar, Birmingham, Theatre Royal, 5 Nov 1928

*The Spanish Lady* (op. 2, Elgar, B. Jackson after B. Jonson: *The Devil is an Ass*), inc. 1929–33 [using music from *Beau Brummel*, and sketches for other works from 1878 onwards]; reconstructed by P. Young for concert perf, singers of Guildhall School of Music, City University Symphony Orchestra, cond. Cem Mansur, St John's Smith Square, London, 15 May 1986; staged by Cambridge University Opera Society, cond. Will Lacey, West Road Concert Hall, Cambridge, 24 Nov 1994

— 2 songs (1955), suite for str orch (1956) and vs (1994) ed. P. M. Young; E  
XLI

### **choral orchestral Works:**

*Spanish Serenade* (Stars of the Summer Night) (H. W. Longfellow), SATB, small orch, 1892 [arr. of part song]; cond. Rev. J. Hampton, Hereford, 7 April 1893

*The Black Knight* (J. L. Uhland, trans. H. W. Longfellow), sym. for chorus and orch, 1878–93, rev. 1898; Worcester, Festival Choral Society, cond. Elgar, Worcester, 18 April 1893

*The Snow; Fly, Singing Bird* (C. A. Elgar), SSA, orch, 1903 [arr. of part songs with chamber acc.]; London, Queen's Hall, 12 March 1904

*Scenes from the Bavarian Highlands* (C. A. Elgar, after Bavarian trad.), chorus, orch, 1895 [arr. of songs for chorus, pf]: 1 The Dance, 2 False Love, 3 Lullaby, 4 Aspiration, 5 On the Aim, 6 The Marksman

*The Light of Life (Lux Christi)* (E. Capel-Cure, after Bible), short oratorio, S, A, T, B, chorus, orch, 1896, rev. 1899; A. Williams, J. King, E. Lloyd, W. Mills, cond. Elgar, Worcester, Festival, 8 Sept 1896; E III

*Scenes from the Saga of King Olaf* (Longfellow, H. A. Acworth), cantata, S, T, B, chorus, orch, 1894–6; M. Henson, E. Lloyd, D. Ffrangcon-Davies, cond. Elgar, Hanley, Staffs, 30 Oct 1896

*The Banner of St George* (S. Wensley [H. S. Bunce]) ballad, 1896–7, St Cuthbert's Hall Choral Society, cond. C. Miller, London, 18 May 1897

*Te Deum, Benedictus*, chorus, org, orch, 1897; cond. G. R. Sinclair, Hereford Cathedral, 12 Sept 1897; also version with organ alone

*Caractacus* (H. A. Acworth), cantata, S, T, Bar, B, chorus, orch, 1898, some 1887 sketches; M. Henson, E. Lloyd, A. Black, J. Browning, C. Knowles, cond. Elgar, Leeds, 5 Oct 1898; E V

*The Dream of Gerontius* (J. H. Newman), Mez. T, B, chorus, orch, 1900; M. Brema, E. Lloyd, H. Plunket Greene, cond. H. Richter, Birmingham Festival, Town Hall, 3 Oct 1900; E VI

*Coronation Ode* (A. C. Benson), S, A, T, B, chorus, orch, 1902; 1 Crown the King with Life, 2 Daughter of Ancient Kings [True Queen of British Homes, substituted in 1911], 3 Britain, ask of thyself, 4 Hark, upon the hallowed air, 5 Only let the heart be pure, 6 Peace, gentle peace, 7 Land of Hope and Glory [using trio tune of Pomp and Circumstance no. 1]; A. Nicholls, M. Foster, J. Coates, D. Ffrangcon-Davies, cond. Elgar, Sheffield, 2 Oct 1902

*The Apostles* (Elgar, after Bible), oratorio, S, A, T, 3 B, chorus, orch, 1902–3; E. Albani, M. Foster, J. Coates, R. Kennerly Rumford, A. Black, D. Ffrangcon-Davies, cond. Elgar, Birmingham Town Hall, 14 Oct 1903; E VIII

*The Kingdom* (Elgar, after Bible), oratorio, S, A, T, B, chorus, orch, 1901–3, 1905–6; A. Nicholls, M. Foster, J. Coates, W. Higley, cond. Elgar, Birmingham Town



Hall, 3 Oct 1906; E IX

— *The Last Judgement* [projected title], orat, 1906–33, inc., material used in Symphony no.3 and Piano Concerto sketches

*O hearken Thou* (Intende voci orationis meae), off, chorus, orch, org; cond. F. Bridge, London, Westminster Abbey, 22 June 1911; also version with org alone

*Great is the Lord*, anthem, B, mixed chorus, orch, 1913 [arr. of 1912 work for B, SSAATB, org]

*The Music Makers* (A. O'Shaughnessy), ode, A, chorus, orch, 1912, sketches from 1902; M. Foster, cond. Elgar, Birmingham, 1 Oct 1912; E x, see also E xxxviii

*Give unto the Lord*, anthem, B, mixed chorus, org, orch, 1914; London, St Paul's Cathedral, 30 April 1914; also version with org alone

*The Spirit of England* (L. Binyon), S/T, chorus, orch:

1 *The Fourth of August*, 1915–17; R. Buckman, cond. A. Matthews, Birmingham, 4 Oct 1917

2 *To Women*, 1915–16; J. Booth, Leeds Choral Union, cond. Elgar, 3 May 1916

3 *For the Fallen*, 1915; A. Nicholls, Leeds Choral Union, cond. Elgar, 3 May 1916

complete: R. Buckman, cond. A. Matthews, Birmingham, 4 Oct 1917; E x; With proud thanksgiving, chorus, brass/military band/orch, 1920–21 [reworking of op.80/3]; Royal Choral Society, cond. Elgar, London, Royal Albert Hall, 7 May 1921; E x

#### **orchestral**

— *Humoreske* (a tune from Broadheath), c1867, unpubd; reproduced in Moore (B1984), 33

— early works, unpubd: *Menuetto* (Scherzo), 1878, re-copied 1930, unpubd; *Minuet*, g, 1878; *Introductory Overture*, inc. and song arrs. for the Christy Minstrels, 1878; *Symphony movt* [after Mozart: Sym. no.40], 1878, inc.; *Intonation no.2*, 1878; *Minuet* (Grazioso), 1879, lost

— *Air de ballet*, 1881; cond. A. J. Caldicott, Worcester Amateur Instrumental Society, 17 May 1881; arr. pf as *Pastourelle* (1903)

— *Pas redoublé no.2*, orch, 1881; cond. A. J. Caldicott, Worcester, Guildhall, 20 Feb 1882

— *Intermezzo moresque*, 1883; cond. W. C. Stockley, Birmingham, 13 Dec

1883

— *Suite*, D: 1 Mazurka, 2 Intermezzo – Sérénade mauresque (1883), 3 Fantasia gavotte, 4 March – pas redoublé (1882) [rev. as op.10]; cond. Elgar, Birmingham, 23 Feb 1888

— *Dances for Worcester City and County Pauper Lunatic Asylum*, Powick: sets of 5 quadrilles, *La Brunette*, *Die junge Kokette*, *L'Assom[m]oir* [re-used in *Wand of Youth Suite* no.2], all 1879; 5 quadrilles, Paris, 1880; 5 lancers, *The Valentine*, 1880; polkas: *Maud*, 1880; Nelly, 1881; *La Blonde*, 1882; *Helcia*, 1883; *Blumine*, 1884; first complete modern performance, cond. B. Collett, Powick Hospital, Sept 1988

*The Wand of Youth Suites nos.1–2* [incl. rev. of Broadheath Humoreske and childhood play music]: no.1, op.1a, 1907, 1 Overture, 2 Serenade, 3 Minuet, 4 Sun Dance, 5 Fairy Pipers, 6 Slumber Scene, 7 Fairies and Giants, cond. H. J. Wood, London, Queen's Hall, 14 Dec 1907; no.2, op.1b, 1907–8, 1 March, 2 The Little Bells, 3 Moths and Butterflies, 4 Fountain Dance, 5 The Tame Bear, 6 The Wild Bears [arr. of Powick *L'Assom[m]oir*], cond. Elgar, Worcester Festival, 9 Sept 1908

*Cantique*, small orch, 1912 [rev. of 1879 Andante arioso from *Harmony Music* 6]; London, cond. L. Ronald, Royal Albert Hall, 15 Dec 1912; also version for solo org and solo pf

*The Lakes*, ov., 1883, frags. unpubd

*Sevillana*, 1884, rev. 1889; cond. W. Done, Worcester, 1 May 1884

*Scottish Overture*, 1884–5, frags. unpubd

*Three Pieces*, str: 1 Spring Song (Allegro), 2 Elegy (Adagio), 3 Finale (Presto); unpubd, lost; ?rev as op.20; cond. E. Vine Hall, Worcester, 7 May 1888

Violin Concerto, ?1890, inc., destroyed [possible frag. of slow movt]

*Three Characteristic Pieces* [rev. of *Suite*, D], 1899: 1 Mazurka, 2 Sérénade mauresque, 3 Contrasts: The Gavotte ad1700 and 1900; cond. Elgar, New Brighton, 16 July 1899

*Sursum corda* (Elévation), brass, org, str, timp, 1894 [incorporates material from 1887 vn sonata sketch]; cond. H. Blair, Worcester Cathedral, 8 April 1894

*Salut d'amour* (Liebesgrüss), 1889 [arr. of 1888 piece for vn, pf]; cond. A. Manns, London, Crystal Palace, 11 Nov 1889

1 *Chanson de nuit*, 2 *Chanson de matin*, small orch, 1899 [arrs. of pieces for vn,

pf]; cond. Wood, Queen's Hall, 14 Sept 1901

*Froissart*, ov., 1890, rev. 1901; cond. Elgar, Worcester, Public Hall, 10 Sept 1890

*Serenade*, e, str, 1892 [?rev. of 1888 str pieces]; Worcester Ladies' Orchestral Class, cond. Elgar, 1892; Antwerp, 23 July 1896

*Minuet*, small orch, 1897 [arr. of 1897 pf piece]; cond. Elgar, New Brighton, 16 July 1899

*Three Bavarian Dances*, 1896 [arr. of nos. 1, 3 and 6 of Scenes from the Bavarian Highlands, SATB, pf]; cond. Manns, Crystal Palace, 23 Oct 1897

*Imperial March*, 1897; cond. Manns, Crystal Palace, 19 April 1897

*Variations on an Original Theme* ('Enigma'), 1898–9; cond. H. Richter, London, St James's Hall, 19 June 1899; with extended finale, cond. Elgar, Worcester Festival, 13 Sept 1899; E xxvii

*Sérénade lyrique*, small orch, 1899; St James's Hall, Ivan Caryll Orch, 27 Nov 1900; also version for solo pf

*Military Marches* ('Pomp and Circumstance') nos. 1–5: 1, D, 1901 [see also choral orchestral: *Coronation Ode* and solo vocal (with orch): *Land of Hope and Glory*] and 2, a, 1901, cond. A. E. Rodewald, Liverpool, 19 Oct 1901; 3, c, 1904, cond. Elgar, Queen's Hall, 8 March 1905; 4, G, 1907, cond. H. Wood, Queen's Hall, 24 Aug 1907 [see also solo vocal (with pf): *The King's Way*]; 5, C, 1929–30, cond. Elgar, London, Kingsway Hall [HMV recording session], 18 Sept 1930; no. 6, frag. c1930

*Cockaigne* (In London Town), ov., 1900–01; cond. Elgar, Queen's Hall, 20 June 1901

*May Song*, 1901; cond. Elgar, Worcester, 10 May 1902; also versions for solo pf and vn, pf

*Funeral March*, from *Grania and Diarmid* (1901); cond. Wood, Queen's Hall, 18 Jan 1902

*Enfants d'un rêve* [Dream Children], 2 pieces after C. Lamb, small orch, 1902; cond. A. W. Payne, Queen's Hall, 4 Sept 1902; also version for solo pf

*Introduction and Allegro*, str qt, str orch, 1905, sketches from 1901; cond. Elgar, Queen's Hall, 8 March 1905

*In the South* (Alassio), ov., 1904, sketches from 1899 and 1902, cond. Elgar, London, Covent Garden, 16 March 1904; extract for small orch, cond. G. R. Sinclair,

Hereford, 22 Nov 1904; see also solo vocal (with pf) [In Moonlight]

*Symphony no.1*, A, 1904, 1907–8; Hallé Orch, cond. H. Richter, Manchester, Free Trade Hall, 3 Dec 1908; E xxx, see also E xxxviii

*Elegy*, str, 1909; London, Mansion House, 13 July 1909

*Violin Concerto*, b, 1905, 1909–10; F. Kreisler, cond. Elgar, Queen's Hall, 10 Nov 1910; E xxxii

*Romance*, bn, orch, 1910; E. James, cond. Elgar, Hereford, 16 Feb 1911

*Symphony no.2*, E, 1909–11, sketches from 1905; cond. Elgar, Queen's Hall, 24 May 1911; E xxxi

*Coronation March*, 1911 [incorporating sketches from 1903 Rabelais ballet]; cond. F. Bridge, Westminster Abbey, 22 June 1911

*Suite*, from The Crown of India [from imperial masque: nos.1a, 1b, 2, 5, 8b, 7, 4]; cond. Elgar, Hereford Festival, 11 Sept 1912

*Falstaff*, c, sym. study with two interludes, 1913, sketches from 1902–3; cond. Elgar, Leeds, Town Hall, 1 Oct 1913; E xxxiii

*Carissima*, small orch, 1913; cond. Elgar, Hayes, Middlesex [HMV recording session], 21 Jan 1914; also version for solo pf

*Sospiri*, str, harp, org, 1913–14; cond. Wood, Queen's Hall, 15 Aug 1914

*Rosemary* [rev. of 1882 pf piece, Douce Pensée, also 1882 pf trio], 1915

*Polonia*, sym. prelude; cond. Elgar, Queen's Hall, 6 July 1915; E xxxiii

*Cello Concerto*, e, 1918–19; F. Salmond, cond. Elgar, Queen's Hall, 27 Oct 1919; arr. as va conc. by L. Tertis, 1929; Tertis, cond. Elgar, Queen's Hall, 21 March 1930; E xxxii

*Empire March*, 1924 [from dramatic work The Pageant of Empire]; cond. H. Jaxon, Wembley Stadium, 21 July 1924

*Civic Fanfare*, 1927; cond. Elgar, Hereford, 4 Sept 1927; rev. 1933 (1991)

*Minuet* (1929) [from incid music Beau Brummel]

*Severn Suite*, brass band, 1930, incl. sketches also of 1903; 1 Introduction (Worcester Castle), 2 Toccata (Tournament), 3 Fugue (Cathedral) [after Fugue, c, 1923 for kbd], 4 Minuet (Commandery) [after Promenade no.5, Wind qnt, 1878, and Harmony Music no.5, wind qnt, 1879], 5 Coda, pubd as scored by H. Geehl; test piece for Brass Band Championship, Crystal Palace, 27 Sept 1930; arr. for orch, 1930, cond.

Elgar, London, Abbey Road [HMV recording session], 14 April 1932; arr. I. Atkins as Organ Sonata no.2, op.87a

*Nursery Suite*, 1930: 1 Aubade [incl. hymn tune of 1878, Drake's Broughton], 2 The Serious Doll, 3 Busy-ness, 4 The Sad Doll, 5 The Wagon Passes, 6 The Merry Doll, 7 Dreaming-Envoy; cond. Elgar, London, Kingsway Hall [HMV recording session], 23 May 1931

*Soliloquy*, ob, orch, c1930–31 [from projected suite, orchd G. Jacob]; L. Goossens, cond. N. Gron, BBC TV, 11 June 1967 (1996)

*Mina*, small orch, 1932, orchd 1933; cond. J. A. Murray, EMI recording studio, 8 Feb 1934

*Symphony no.3*, 1932–3, inc., unpubd [some sketches pubd in Reed, 1936; sketches incl. material from other inc. works: The Last Judgement, Callicles, Arthur and Piano Concerto]; sketches elaborated A. Payne, 1993–7, cond. A. Davis, London, Royal Festival Hall, 15 Feb 1998; (1998)

*Piano Concerto*, sketches 1913–33, inc., unpubd [material used in *The Spanish Lady*]; Poco andante completed and scored for pf, str, by P. M. Young (1950)

### **choral, sacred Works**

Early works, unpubd: *Credo*, SATB, org, 1873 [on themes from Beethoven: Syms. nos.5, 7 and 9]; *Salve regina*, SATB, org, 1876; *Tantum ergo*, SATB, org, 1876; *Credo* in e, 1877; hymn tunes in C, G, and F, 1878 [in F pubd 1898 as Drake's Broughton, re-used in *Nursery Suite*], in E, 1880; *Brother*, for Thee he died, anthem, 1879, inc.; *Domine salvam fac*, motet, SATB, org, 1879; *Gloria*, SATB, org, 1880 [arr. of Mozart: Violin Sonata, F, k547: Allegro]; *O salutaris hostia*: F, SATB, org, 1880 (1898); E, SATB, org, 1880 (1899); A, 1v, org, 1882 [reproduced Buckley (B1904)]; *Benedictus sit deus pater*, SATB, str, org, 1882, inc.; *Chant for Stabat mater*, 1886; litanies etc.

*Four Litanies for the Blessed Virgin Mary*, SATB, 1886

1 *Ave, verum corpus* (Jesu, word of God incarnate) [orig. Pie Jesu], 1886–7, rev. 1902; 2 *Ave Maria* [Jesu, Lord of Life and Glory), c1887, rev. 1907; 3 *Ave maris stella* (Jesu, meek and lowly), c1887, rev. 1907

*Ecce sacerdos magnus*, chorus, org, 1888; Worcester, St George's, 9 Oct 1888; orchd 1893, unpubd

*Te Deum, Benedictus*, chorus, org, 1897; also orch version

*Lo! Christ the Lord is born* (S. Wensley, [H. S. Bunce]), carol, SATB (1908)  
[after Grete Malvern on a Rock, private Christmas card, 1897]

*O Mightiest of the Mighty* (S. Childs Clarke), hymn, 1902; cond. Frederick Bridge, London, Westminster Abbey, 9 Aug 1902

*Two single chants for the Venite*, D, G, 1907

*Two double chants for Psalms lxxviii and lxxv*, D, 1907 (2 further chants unpubd)

*A Christmas Greeting* (C. A. Elgar), carol, 2 S, male chorus ad lib, 2 vn, pf, 1907; cond. G.R. Sinclair, Hereford Cathedral, 1 Jan 1908

*They are at rest* (J. H. Newman), SATB, 1909; Windsor, Frogmore [Royal Mausoleum], 22 Jan 1910

*O hearken Thou* (Intende voci orationis meae), off, chorus, org, 1911; also version with orch

*Great is the Lord* (Ps xlviii), anthem, B, SSAATB, org, 1910–12; cond. Frederick Bridge, Westminster Abbey, 16 July 1912; with orch, 1913

*Fear not, O Land* (Bible: Joel ii), anthem, SATB, org, 1914

*Give unto the Lord*, anthem, B, mixed chorus, org, 1914; also version with orch

*I sing the birth* (B. Jonson), carol, SATB; cond. M. Sargent, London, Royal Albert Hall, 10 Dec 1928

*Goodmorrow* (G. Gascoigne), carol, SATB [early hymn tune]; cond. Elgar, Windsor, St George's Chapel, 9 Dec 1929

### **secular works**

*A Soldier's Song* (C. Flavell Hayward), male chorus, pf, 1884; Worcester Glee Club, 17 March 1884; repubd 1903 as *A War Song*; Royal Albert Hall, 1 Oct 1903

1 *O happy eyes* (C. A. Elgar), SATB, 1889, rev. 1893, 2 *Love* (A. Maquarie), SATB, 1907, 3 *My love dwelt in a northern land* (A. Lang), SATB, 1889–90; no. 3 cond. J. Hampton, Tenbury Musical Society, 13 Nov 1890

*Spanish Serenade* (Stars of the Summer Night) (H. W. Longfellow), SS, 2 vn, pf, 1892; orchd 1893

*The Snow; Fly, Singing Bird* (C. A. Elgar), SSA, 2 vn, pf, 1894; orchd 1903

*Scenes from the Bavarian Highlands*, chorus, pf, 1895; cond. Elgar, Worcester, 21 April 1896; orchd 1896

*To her beneath whose steadfast star* (F. W. H. Myers), SATB, 1899; cond. Elgar, Windsor Castle, 24 May 1899

*Weary wind of the west* (T. E. Brown), SATB, 1902; Morecambe Festival, 2 May 1903

*Five Part songs from the Greek Anthology*, TTBB, 1902: 1 *Yea, cast me from the heights* (anon., trans. A. Strettell), 2 *Whether I find thee* (anon., trans. A. Lang), 3 *After many a dusty mile* (anon., trans. E. Gosse), 4 *It's oh! to be a wild wind* (anon., trans. W. M. Hardinge), 5 *Feasting I watch* (Marcus Argentarius, trans. R. Garnett); London Choral Society, cond. A. Fagge, Royal Albert Hall, 25 April 1904

*Evening Scene* (C. Patmore), SATB, 1905; Morecambe Festival, 12 May 1906

*How calmly the evening* (T. Lynch), SATB, 1907

*Four Choral Songs*, SSAATTBB, 1907–8: 1 *There is sweet music* (A. Tennyson), 2 *Deep in my soul* (Byron), 3 *O wild west wind* (P. B. Shelley), 4 *Owls, an Epitaph* (Elgar)

*The Reveille* (B. Harte), TTBB, 1907; Blackpool Festival, 17 Oct 1908

*Marching Song* (Capt. de Courcy Stretton), SATB, 1908, Royal Albert Hall, 24 May 1908; arr. as *Follow the Colours*, 1v, male chorus ad lib, Royal Albert Hall, 10 Oct 1914

*Angelus* (Tuscan, adapted Elgar), SATB, 1909; Royal Albert Hall, 8 Dec 1910

*Go, song of mine* (Cavalcanti, trans. D. G. Rossetti), SSAATTB, 1909; cond. Elgar, Hereford, 9 Sept 1909

*The Birthright* (G. A. Stocks), 1914; boys' chorus, bugles, drums

*Two Choral Songs* (H. Vaughan), SATB, 1914: *The Shower*, *The Fountain*

*Death on the Hills* (A. N. Maykov, trans. R. Newmarch), SATB, 1914

*Two Choral Songs*, SATB, 1914: *Love's Tempest* (Maykov, trans. Newmarch), *Serenade* (N. M. Minsky, trans. Newmarch)

*Song of the Bull* (F. S. Hamilton), male vv, pf, 1914, unpubd

*The Windlass* (W. Allingham), SATB, c1914

*Big Steamers* (R. Kipling), unison vv, 1918

*The Wanderer* (Elgar, after Wit and Drollery, 1661), TTBB, 1923, De Reszke Singers, London, Wigmore Hall, 13 Nov 1923

*Zut! Zut! Zut!* (Richard Mardon [Elgar]), TTBB, 1923; De Reszke Singers,

Wigmore Hall, 13 Nov 1923

*The Herald* (A. Smith), TTBB, 1925

*The Prince of Sleep* (W. de la Mare), SATB, 1925

*Queen Alexandra Memorial Ode*: So many true princesses who have gone (J. Masfield), chorus, military band, 1932; cond. Elgar, London, Marlborough House, 9 June 1932

*The Rapid Stream* (C. Mackay), children's song, unison vv, 1932

*When Swallows Fly, The Woodland Stream* (Mackay), children's songs, unison vv, 1933; Worcester Schools Festival, 18 May 1933

### **solo vocal, with orchestra Works**

*Sea Pictures*, A, orch, 1899 [except no.2, which is rev. of song with pf, Love alone will stay, 1897]: 1 *Sea Slumber Song* (R. Noel), 2 *In Haven* (Capri) (C. A. Elgar), 3 *Sabbath Morning at Sea* (E. B. Browning), 4 *Where corals lie* (R. Garnett), 5 *The Swimmer* (A. L. Gordon); C. Butt, cond. Elgar, Norwich, 5 Oct 1899

There are seven that pull the thread (W.B. Yeats), 1v, small orch, 1901 [see dramatic: Grania and Diarmid]

*Land of Hope and Glory* (A. C. Benson), A, chorus, orch, 1902 [arr. from 'Pomp and Circumstance' march no.1 and Coronation Ode]; C. Butt, London, Royal Albert Hall, 21 June 1902; carillon obbl ad lib, 1927

*Pleading* (A. L. Salmon), 1v, small orch, 1908 [arr. of song with pf]

*Song Cycle* (G. Parker), 1v, orch, 1909–10: 3 *Oh, soft was the song*, 5 *Was it some golden star?*, 6 *Twilight* [1, 2, and 4 inc.]; M. Foster, cond. Elgar, London, Queen's Hall, 24 Jan 1910

1 *The Torch*, 2 *The River*, 1v, orch, 1912 [arr. of op.60 songs with pf]; M. Foster, cond. G. R. Sinclair, Hereford Festival, 11 Sept 1912

See also: dramatic: *The Starlight Express*, *The Crown of India*, *The Pageant of Empire*

### **with piano**

*The Language of Flowers* (J. G. Percival), 1872, unpubd

*The Self Banished* (E. Waller), c1875, unpubd

*If she love me* (R. C. G.), 1878, inc., unpubd

*A Phylactery* (J. Hay), c1885



*Is she not passing fair?* (C. d'Orléans, trans. L. S. Costello), 1886 (1908)  
*As I laye a-thynkyng* ('Thomas Ingoldsby' [R. H. Barham]), 1887  
*The Wind at Dawn* (C. A. Roberts), 1888; orchd 1912  
*Queen Mary's Song* (Tennyson), 1887, rev. 1889  
*A Spear, A Sword* (C. A. Elgar), 1892, lost  
*Loose, loose the Sails* (C. A. Elgar), 1892; Miss Simpson, Elgar, Malvern, Aug 1892, lost  
*Two Mill-Wheel Songs* (C. A. Elgar), 1892, unpubd [?absorbed in King Olaf]  
*Like to the damask rose* (S. Wastell), ?1892; C. Phillips, St James's Hall, 25 Feb 1897  
*The Poet's Life* (E. Bourroughs [S. Jewett]), 1892  
*A Song of Autumn* (A. L. Gordon), ?1892  
1 *Shepherd's Song* (B. Pain), 1892, 2 *Through the long days* (J. Hay), 1885, 3 *Rondel* (Longfellow, from Froissart), 1894; no.2, C. Phillips, London, St James's Hall, 25 Feb 1897; no.3, St James's Hall, 7 Dec 1897  
*Ophelia's Song* (W. Shakespeare), 1892, unpubd  
*Muleteers' Song*, 1894, unpubd  
*After* (P. B. Marston), 1895; *A Song of Flight* (C. Rossetti), 1895; H. Plunket Greene, L. Borwick, St James's Hall, 2 March 1900  
*Rondel* (The little eyes that never knew light) (A. C. Swinburne), unpubd; G. Walker, Elgar, Worcester Musical Union, 26 April 1897  
*Love alone will stay* (Lute Song) (C. A. Elgar), 1897; rev. as no.2 of Sea Pictures  
*Dry those fair, those crystal eyes* (H. King); London, Royal Albert Hall, 21 June 1899  
*Pipes of Pan* (A. Ross [A. R. Ropes]) 1899, orchd 1902; L. Blouvelt, London, Crystal Palace, 30 April 1900  
*Always and Everywhere* (N. A. Z. Krasinski, trans. F. Fortey), 1901  
*Come, gentle night* (C. Bingham), 1901; London, Royal Albert Hall, 31 Oct 1901  
*In the Dawn; Speak, Music* (A. C. Benson), 1902  
*Speak, my heart!* (Benson), 1903  
*In Moonlight* (Shelley) [arr. of Canto popolare from In the South], 1904

*Callicles* (M. Arnold), 1905, rev. 1913, inc.

*Pleading* (A. L. Salmon), 1908; M. Warrender, Elgar, Hereford, Nov 1908;  
orchd 1908

*A Child Asleep* (E. B. Browning), 1909

*The King's Way* (C. A. Elgar) 1909 [arr. from 'Pomp and Circumstance' march  
no.4]; C. Butt, Alexandra Palace, 15 Jan 1910

*The Torch; The River* (Pietro d'Alba [Elgar], after East European trad.), 1909–10,  
orchd 1912

— *The Merry-go-round* (F. C. Fox), children's song, 1914

— *The Brook* (E. Soule), children's song, 1914

— *Arabian Serenade* (M. Lawrence), 1914

— *The Chariots of the Lord* (J. Brownlie), 1914; C. Butt, Royal Albert Hall,  
28 June 1914

— *Soldier's Song* (H. Begbie), 1914; C. Butt, 10 Oct 1914; unpubd,  
withdrawn

— *Fight for Right* (W. Morris), 1916; G. Elwes, Queen's Hall, March 1916

— *Ozymandias* (Shelley), 1917, 2 versions, inc.

— *Liebesweh* (D. Wilcox), 1918, unpubd [used in *The Spanish Lady*]

— *It isnae me* (S. Holmes), 1930; J. Elwes, Dumfries, Oct 1930

— *Modest and Fair; Still to be neat* (Jonson) [both for *The Spanish Lady*];

ed. P. M. Young (1955)

#### **chamber and solo instrumental**

— 2 movts, ob, str qt, ?1875

— Adagio, C, vn, 1877; unpubd

— Reminiscences, vn, pf, 1877 (1997)

— wind qnt music (2 fl, ob, cl, bn), 1877–81:

Peckham March, 1877, unpubd

Harmony Music (Shed) 1–4, 1878 [no.3 inc.; no.4 based on frag. of Str Trio, C,  
1878]; ed. R. McNicol (1976)

*Promenades* 1–6, 1878: 1 Moderato e molto maestoso, 2 Moderato 'Madame  
Taussaud's', 3 Presto, 4 Andante 'Somniferous', 5 Allegro molto [rev. for scherzando in  
Minuet, Severn Suite, 1930], 6 Allegro maestoso 'Hell and Tommy'; ed. McNicol

(1976)

Andante con variazioni 'Evesham Andante', 1878; ed. McNicol (1977)

Adagio cantabile *Mrs Winslow's Soothing Syrup*, 1878; ed. McNicol (1977)  
Intermezzos 1–5, 1879: 1 Allegro moderato 'The Farmyard', 2 Adagio, 3 Allegretto 'Nancy', 4 Andante con moto, 5 Allegretto; ed. McNicol (1977) Four Dances: Menuetto, 1878, Gavotte 'The Alphonsa', 1879, Sarabande (Largo), 1879 [recopied 1933 for *The Spanish Lady*], Gigue, 1879; ed. McNicol (1977)

Harmony Music 5, 1879: 1 Allegro moderato 'The Mission', 2 Menuetto [rev. for Minuet of *Severn Suite*], 3 Andante 'Noah's Ark', 4 Finale; ed. McNicol (1977)

Harmony Music 6, 1879, unpubd: 1 Allegro molto [from orch piece *Intonation no.2*, 1878], 2 Andante arioso [rev. for *Cantique*, op.3], 3 Menuet and Trio, 4 Finale, unpubd

Harmony Music 7, 1881, unpubd: 1 Allegro, 2 Scherzo and Trio

— Allegro, ob qt, 1878, inc.

— Etude caprice, vn, 1878, ad lib pf acc. by W. Reed, 1940

— Fantasie, vn, pf, 1878, inc.

— Romance, vn, pf, 1878; Worcester, 20 Oct 1885

— Str Trio, C, 1878, inc. [used in Harmony Music 4], E xxxviii

— Study for Strengthening the Third Finger, vn, 1878, rev. 1920, facs. in *Daily Telegraph* (24 Dec 1920)

— Trio, C, 2 vn, pf, 1878, frag.

— Str Qt movts, 1878–88: B, 1878, inc.; a, 1878, inc.; d, 1878 inc. [proposed for *The Spanish Lady*]; G, 1879 [used in Harmony Music no.7]; d, 1888 [used in *Vesper Voluntaries*] also frags.; E xxxviii

— Two Polonaises, d, F [*Bolero in Spanish Lady*, E xli], vn, pf, 1879, inc.

— Study no.2, vn, 1879; further studies: a, 1879, d, 1881

— Fantasia on Irish Airs, vn, pf, 1881, inc.

— Fugue, f, inc., 1881; recopied for *The Spanish Lady*

— Menuetto and Trio, G, vn, vc, pf, 1882; facs. in Mitchell (A1990); E xxxviii; sketches used in *Rosemary*, pf, 1915

— Fugue, d, ob, vn, 1883

— 1 Idyll, 2 Pastourelle, 3 Virelai, vn, pf, 1884

- Gavotte, vn, pf, 1885
- Allegretto on G–E–D–G–E, vn, pf, 1885; Malvern, 27 March 1885
- Pf Trio, d, 1886, frag.; E xxxviii
- Duett, trbn, db, 1887; ed. R. Slatford (1970)
- String Quartet, 1887, destroyed
- Violin Sonata, d, 1887, inc. [? used in 1894 *Sursum corda*]
- String Quartet, d, 1888, inc.; 3rd movt Intermezzo arr. for org as no.3 of

#### Vesper Voluntaries

- Offertoire (Andante religioso), vn, pf, 1893 [signed Gustav Francke]
- Salut d'amour (Liebesgrüss), vn, pf, 1888; also versions for orch and solo pf
- 1 Mot d'amour (Liebesahnung), 2 Bizarrerie, vn, pf, 1889
- 1 Chanson de nuit, vn, pf, 1897, orchd 1899; 2 Chanson de matin, vn, pf, 1899 [rev. of earlier sketch], orchd 1899
- La capricieuse, vn, pf, 1891
- Very Easy Melodious Exercises in the First Position, vn, pf, 1892
- Etudes caractéristiques, vn (1892) [probably all composed earlier]
- May Song, vn, pf, 1901; also versions for orch and solo pf
- Andantino, vn, mand, gui, 1907, inc.; E xxxviii
- Sonata, e, vn, pf, 1918; W.H. Reed, Landon Ronald, London, Aeolian Hall, 21 March 1919
- String Quartet, e, 1918; A. Sammons, W.H. Reed, R. Jeremy, F. Salmond, London, Wigmore Hall, 21 May 1919; E xxxviii
- Piano Quintet, a, 1918–19; A. Sammons, W.H. Reed, R. Jeremy, F. Salmond, W. Murdoch, Wigmore Hall, 21 May 1919; E xxxviii
- March, pf trio [sketch for Empire March], 1924, unpubd

#### keyboard, piano

- Chantant, c, 1872, unpubd
- Hungarian (Melody), 1879, unpubd
- Melody, E, c1880, unpubd
- Douce pensée, 1882 [from Menuetto and Trio, pf trio, 1882]; orchd 1915 as Rosemary

- Griffinesque, 1884 (1981)
- Enina Valse, 1886, unpubd
- Laura Valse, 1887, unpubd
- March, D, 1887, unpubd
- Salut d'amour (Liebesgrüss), 1888; also versions for orch and vn, pf
- Presto, 1889 (1981)
- Sonatina, 1889, rev. 1930
- Minuet, 1897; orchd as op.21, 1897
- Variations on an Original Theme ('Enigma') [arr. from orch work]
- Sérénade lyrique, 1899; also version for orch
- May Song, 1901, also vn, pf/orch
- Skizze, 1901; Elgar, Ridgehurst, Herts., 17 Jan 1903; ed. J.N. Moore (1976)
- Enfants d'un rêve [Dream Children], 1902; also version for orch
- Concert Allegro, 1901; F. Davies, London, St James's Hall, 2 Dec 1901; (1982)
- Pastourelle (Air de ballet) (1903) [arr. of 1881 orch piece]
- In Smyrna, 1905; ed. J.N. Moore (1976)
- Carissima, 1913; also version for orch
- Falstaff: Two Interludes [from orch work] (1914)
- Rosemary, 1915 [from 1882, 1886 sketches]; also version for orch
- Echo's Dance (1917) [from ballet The Sanguine Fan]
- Adieu (1932)
- Impromptu, 1932, unpubd
- Serenade (1932)
- organ**
- Fugue, g, 1869, inc.; pubd in The Music Student (Aug 1916); E xxxvi
- Cantique, 1912 [rev. of 1879 Harmony Music 6]; E xxxvi; also version for orch
- Vesper Voluntaries, 1889: Introduction, 1 Andante, 2 Allegro, 3 Andantino [rev. from 1888 Str Qt], 4 Allegro piacevole, Intermezzo, 5 Poco lento, 6 Moderato, 7 Allegretto pensoso, 8 Poco allegro, Coda; E xxxvi

- Sonata, G, 1895; H. Blair, Worcester Cathedral, 8 July 1895; E xxxvi
- Cadenza for C.H. Lloyd: Organ Concerto, f; G.R. Sinclair, Gloucester, 7 Sept 1904; E xxxvi
- Piece for Dot's Nuns, 1906; E xxxvi
- Fugue, c, 1923 [orig. for pf, reworked for Severn Suite]; I. Atkins, Worcester Cathedral, 16 April 1925; E xxxvi
- Sonata [arr. I. Atkins, from Severn Suite]; E xxxvi
- Frags. E xxxvi

#### **carillon**

- Memorial Chime, 1923, unpubd; J. Denyn, Loughborough War Memorial Carillon, 22 July 1923; arr. org; E xxxvi

#### **arrangements, choral orchestral**

- The Holly and the Ivy*, 1898, unpubd; cond. Elgar, Worcester, 7 Jan 1899
- A. H. Brewer: *Emmaus*, 1901; Gloucester, 12 Sept 1901
- God Save the King, S, chorus, military band/orch, 1902
- J. S. Bach: *St Matthew Passion*, performing edn (1911), collab. I. Atkins; Worcester, 14 Sept 1911
- C. H. Parry: *Jerusalem*, c1922; cond. H. Allen, Leeds, 5 Oct 1922
- I. Atkins: *Abide with me*, anthem, 1923; Worcester, 2 Sept 1923
- J. Battishill: *O Lord, Look down from Heaven*, 1923; cond. Atkins, Worcester, 5 Sept 1923
- S. S. Wesley: *Let us Lift up our Heart*, 1923; cond. Atkins, Worcester, 5 Sept 1923
- H. Purcell: *Jehova, quam multi sunt hostes mei*, 1929; Worcester, 10 Sept 1929  
orchestral anthem, str, 1874, with orig. introduction, unpubd
- Adeste fideles, 1878, unpubd
- A. Corelli: *Andante largo from Concerto op.6 no.10*, small orch, 1878, unpubd
- G. F. Handel: *Ariodante: Overture, third movement*, 2 ob, str, 1878, unpubd
- R. Wagner: *Parsifal: Good Friday Music*, small orch, 1894, unpubd; Worcester High School 13 June 1894
- J. S. Bach: *St Matthew Passion: Two Chorales*, brass, 1911, unpubd; Worcester, 14 Sept 1911

J. S. Bach: *Fantasy and Fugue*, c, bwv537, Elgar's op.86, 1922, 1921; Fugue, cond. E. Goossens, London, Queen's Hall, 27 Oct 1921; Fantasy, LSO, cond. Elgar, Gloucester, 7 Sept 1922

G. F. Handel: *Overture*, d (from Chandos Anthem no.2), 1923; LSO, cond. Elgar, Worcester, 2 Sept 1923

F. Chopin: *Piano Sonata*, b: Funeral March, 1932; BBC SO, cond. A. Boult, EMI studio, 30 May 1932

### **solo vocal**

C. M. von Weber: *Oberon: O 'tis a Glorious Sight*, T, str, 1878, unpubd

M. V. White: *Absent yet Present*, vc obbl, 1885, facs. in Mitchell (1990)

C. H. Dolby: *Out on the Rocks*, vc obbl, 1885, facs. in Mitchell (1990)

Clapham Town End, folksong arr., 1v, pf, 1885, facs. in Mitchell (1990)

### **chamber and solo instrumental**

L. van Beethoven: *Violin Sonata*, op.23: Finale [abridged], wind qnt, 1878, unpublishedd

Leybach: *Solemn March*, wind qnt, 1878 unpubd

C. W. Buck: *Melody*, pf acc., 1885, facs. in Mitchell (1990)

V. Berard [G. F. Blackbourne]: *Berceuse–Petite reine*, vn, pf, 1886 (1907)

Arrs. of fugues, str qt; Christmas pieces, fl, str qt; see Kent (1993)

### **piano**

R. Schumann: *Overture, Scherzo and Finale: Scherzo*, 1883, unpubd

R. Wagner: *Tannhäuser: Entry of the Minstrels*, 1883, unpubd

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Violin Works', 342 only; E.J. Bellerby: 'Organ Sonata', 373 only; photographs etc.]

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