
'The power of his commanding trident': Tethys Festival as royal policy

Anne Daye

On 31 May 1610, Prince Henry sailed up the River Thames from Richmond to Whitehall for his creation as Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester to be greeted by the Lord Mayor of London. A flotilla of little boats escorted him, enjoying the sight of a floating pageant sent, as it were, from Neptune. Corinea, queen of Cornwall crowned with pearls and cockleshells, rode on a large whale while Amphion, wreathed with seashells, father of music and the genius of Wales, sailed on a dolphin. To ensure their speeches carried across the water in the hurly-burly of the day, 'two absolute actors' were hired to play these tritons, namely John Rice and Richard Burbage¹. Following the ceremony of creation, in the masque *Tethys Festival or The Queen's Wake*, Queen Anne greeted Henry in the guise of Tethys, wife of Neptune, being discovered within a watery throne, embellished with dolphins and shells, surrounded by the rivers of Britain in the persons of Princess Elizabeth (Thames), Lady Arabella Stuart (Trent) and eleven others². 'Neptune' was, of course, James I, monarch over the united island and coastal waters of Britain, who had wielded 'the power of his commanding trident' to summon the 'solemn shews and triumphs' of the festival³. The creation of his first-born son as Prince of Wales was an opportunity for a major festival to celebrate the strength of the Stuart dynasty and the advantages of a peaceful reign, with the goal of gaining sufficient tax income through parliament to maintain that government. The thematic links between the river pageant and the masque are indicative of the overall planning of this festival: a scheme which has largely eluded scholars of Jacobean political history and culture. Close study of the masque from the perspective of dance history reveals the connections between apparently disparate events, while confirming the political function of the dance performance.

The festival cycle

I argue here that the festivals for the prince's entry into public life were inaugurated by his first bearing of arms in fighting at the barriers in January 1610 and completed by his debut in the masque *Oberon* in January 1611. Roy Strong proposes that the events of the week 30 May to 6 June were the central cycle driven by the prince's knowledge of Medici festivals⁴. Yet behind this lay the king's own grasp of the value of festival, derived from Catherine de Medici via his mother Mary Queen of Scots⁵. Extravagant realisation of spectacular festivals in both Scotland and England were always compromised by financial exigencies. Pragmatic solutions and many compromises have left a diffused imprint on history: there are no festival books to declaim the glorious symbolism to posterity as in Europe. Records survive, indicative of an overall scheme, yet interpreted within different disciplines by different scholars. For example, the valuable account of the creation ceremony by Pauline Croft dismisses the barriers and the masque of 1610 as 'a make-believe world' withdrawing from the real one of city, parliament and international diplomacy, thereby failing to acknowledge the representations of that real world in the metaphorical one⁶.

The events can be plotted in their sequence (Table 1)⁷. The cycle was launched in grand style with the three day celebration of *Prince Henry's Barriers*⁸. The event in Chester on St. George's Day was a spectacular street pageant,

culminating in horse races and running at the ring on the banks of the Dee. Both elements were traditional and firmly historicised in their presentation. While the prince is unlikely to have been present, the competitors must have been members of the gentry and nobility. The creation ceremonies themselves, including *Tethys Festival*, took place across eight days in London. Having travelled by road to Richmond, Henry made a triumphal entry into London along the Thames for the official reception by the City of London. The ceremony of creation took place before the whole parliament of lords and commons, gathered in the Court of Requests, observed by ambassadors and foreign guests, the nobility of England, Scotland and Ireland and the Lord Mayor of London with representatives of the guilds. The prince was escorted by the newly-created Knights of the Bath, while the principal statesmen of the day acted as his supporters with young noblemen to bear his train. The following night the queen presented her masque. The day after that Whitehall and the Thames resounded with the martial sports of tilting and a sea fight. The cycle of inauguration was rounded off with the masque *Oberon* on 1st January 1611. It is possible that New Year's Day, rather than the more usual Twelfth Night, was chosen to mark a circle of completion from Henry's debut in arms to his debut in dance.

In line with the report of the festivals for the prince's baptism in 1594, four of the texts for the events of 1610 were published within the year⁹. Only Jonson withheld his texts for the *Barriers* and *Oberon* until 1616 for publication in his complete works. Dependent on private enterprise in the absence of a royal imprimatur, the king must have been gratified by the prompt availability of the reports, and may have made plain his wishes in the matter. The crown was also dependent on dispersed funding for the realisation of the events of the festival. The creation ceremony itself could only go ahead once a loan had been secured from the City of London by 25 April 1610¹⁰. Parliament was then moved to assign the income for the prince's new household. The City of Chester mounted the festival to herald Henry's title as Earl of Chester. The City of London furnished the river pageant and marine battle¹¹. The families of the young men selected to be Knights of the Bath paid a levy of £38-6s-8d each for the ceremony, plus the far more extensive cost of the robes¹². The fifty-six challengers to the prince's barriers provided their own costume and accoutrements, their costs being £100 per day¹³, as did the tilters in June, furnishing a significant part of the spectacle. Although few financial records survive for the masque, it had become conventional for the masquers to pay for the ruinously expensive costumes themselves. This still left the crown with substantial outlay on events and hospitality in the royal palaces, the fireworks and ordnance, their own rich robes and the regalia for the prince's installation. Plans had been further constrained by the assassination of Henri IV of France in May, prompting the pragmatic decision for a river, rather than a road, procession as a safer procedure. This decision is viewed as restricting the presentation of the prince to the populace¹⁴, but there were in fact plentiful opportunities for the people to see him, with spectacular road and river processions, including the removal of the whole court from Greenwich to Whitehall with several hours of cannon fire, while the river and its banks were

Table 1. Festival cycle for the coming-of-age of Prince Henry

Date	Event	Location	Author/Source
Prelude			
August 1594	Baptism of Henry, Duke of Rothesay	Stirling Castle	William Fowler A True Reportarie 1594
Entry into public life			
25 December 1609	Henry delivers challenge ceremonially for Barriers at court	Presence Chamber, Whitehall	Nichols p. 266
5? January 1610	Henry feasts all assailants and defenders		Nichols, p. 269
6 January 1610	<i>Prince Henry's Barriers</i> Henry's first bearing of arms	Banqueting House Whitehall	Jonson Published 1616
7 January 1610	Procession from Whitehall to St. James. Henry feasts king, Charles, Elizabeth, and whole court: prizes awarded, supper, play, banquet	St. James's Palace	Nichols, p. 283
23 April 1610	<i>Chester's Triumph in Honour of Her Prince</i> Procession, speeches, horse races, running at the ring and feast	City of Chester and banks of River Dee	Richard Davies & Robert Amerie, 1610 Nichols, pp. 290–306
30 May – 6 June 1610	<i>The Order and Solemnitie of the Creation...whereunto is annexed the Royall Maske...</i>	London	Daniel Price & Samuel Daniel 1610. Source for events below, except where indicated.
29? May 1610	King, Queen and whole court from Greenwich to London. Tower of London ordnance salutes for several hours. An exceptional occurrence according to Correr.	River Thames	Correr: Venetian ambassador
30 May 1610	Henry with lords by road from St. James to Richmond		
31 May	<i>London's Love to the Royal Prince Henrie</i> River pageant by Lord Mayor and companies escorting Henry from Richmond to Whitehall. Drums, trumpets and ordnance. Ceremonial escort by court to Privy Chamber for reception by king and queen	River Thames	Anthony Munday, 1610 Nichols, pp. 315–322
2 June 1610	Creation of Knights of the Bath: First stage	Durham House	
3 June 1610	Oaths sworn in chapel; procession to Whitehall for ceremony of knighting by king and service	Road; Great Hall and Chapel, Whitehall	
4 June 1610	Installation of Henry in Court of Requests at Westminster; feasts at Whitehall	River journeys between Whitehall and Westminster	
5 June 1610	<i>Tethys Festival: or the Queen's Wake</i>	Banqueting House, Whitehall	Samuel Daniel
6 June 1610 daytime	Tilting with spectacular devices between the lords	Tiltyard, Whitehall	
6 June 1610 night	Sea fight between Turkish pirate and merchant ships, defended by men-of-war, and fireworks and ordnance	River Thames	
1 January 1611	<i>Oberon, The Fairy Prince</i> Henry's debut in a masque	Banqueting House, Whitehall	Ben Jonson published 1616

thronged with people for the morning pageant and evening show¹⁵. No-one in London could have remained unaware of the celebrations heralded by the thunderous firing of ordnance and peals of bells¹⁶ at key stages throughout the week.

Thematic continuity and direction

While the decision to centre the festival on the river may have been a response to fresh fears of assassination by Catholic dissidents, the island realm of Neptune became an overarching theme. The germ of the idea is apparent in the setting of the equestrian sports on the banks of the river Dee in April, including the claim that Britain was beloved of Neptune. The London events based on the Thames, including the journeys between Greenwich, Whitehall and Westminster, have their most exquisite summation in the aquatic masque *Tethys*, when James was addressed directly as Neptune. The maritime theme had both a political and a personal resonance for the prince and his father. Henry's interest in the navy had matured from a childhood enjoyment of boats to an understanding of the importance of the navy to Britain's security, nurtured by Phineas Pett and Sir Walter Raleigh, and in the ensuing years he would take a managerial interest in reform of the navy, later continued by Buckingham, so that the navy was stronger by the close of James's reign¹⁷. On 24th September 1609, the royal family had been present at the launch of Henry's new ship, the *Prince Royal*, the largest built to date, designed by Pett. A contemporary threat to British fishing rights and trade came from the Dutch, whose success was prompting envy and concern amongst commentators. The Dutch had taken the opportunity of this special festival to reopen discussions over fishing rights in the North Sea¹⁸. Also represented in the masque, the necessity nevertheless for peaceful trade on the seas was the theme of the naval triumph on 6 June. Spectators saw a Turkish pirate ship (the traditional pagan enemy representing all such threats to British marine trade), supported by a castle, come close to defeating two merchant ships, until 'two men of warre happening then to be neere, made in to help and releevae their hard detrimēt'¹⁹. With a last minute rescue, in the spirit of a modern adventure film, the political message of the ready defence of a peace-loving island was robustly animated²⁰.

Another theme shared by several events is the celebration of youth, highlighting the promise of the young prince and his generation. In the Chester text, Davies delights in the achievement of the young actors who delivered all the speeches as boys 'of rare spirit and exquisite performance'²¹. Remarkably, a group of noble boys was assembled in the audience for the creation ceremony 'about the ages of nine or tenne yeares apeece', matching exactly the group of noble girls of the same age who danced in *Tethys*²². The masque personnel included six more noble youths as escorts for the final show. The Lesser Fays of *Oberon* were presented by noble youths, the first use of such a group in a court masque. A vigorous new generation was central to the dynastic message of *Tethys Festival*.

A strong sense of history characterised all the events. One motivation was to validate the Stuart dynasty and its continuity with the Tudor monarchy. Linked to this was the need to devise an authoritative creation ceremony, as there had not been such a one in living memory. Several different strands of the historical research undertaken by Cecil and the prince are traced by Croft²³. Both Munday and Daniel were re-

spected historians²⁴. Further, we can note that the Chester festival included an oration declaring the prince 'his birth-right, and magnificent Creation' as 'Prince of Wales, Duke of Rothesay and Cornwall, and Earl of Chester', indicating a firm grasp on the official line²⁵.

In discussion of the masque, thematic continuity across events will be addressed, revealing not only how the masque was related to the whole but also how it was rooted in reality. The argument for thematic continuity raises questions concerning the overall direction and the degree of autonomous artistry on the part of the authors. While literary critics view the poet as taking the lead in his own sphere²⁶, historians identify the principal minister of state as authoritative. To some, the prince's role is crucial, to others the queen's²⁷. In these discussions, the king himself remains a shadowy figure, yet the clues for his direction of this and other festivals through the agency of the royal family, his entourage, ministers, court officials and court servants can be traced. I have argued strongly for the king's active pursuit of a masque policy in support of his political security, in line with the Medici and Valois model²⁸. *Tethys Festival* offers the opportunity to uncover traces of monarchical direction, and to propose that the ministers and artists who delivered the festival events were executing thematic commissions from the king, delivered to them through court agencies, rather than devising autonomous concepts of their own.

As made plain by Croft²⁹, the themes of the installation and the masque are testimony to the overarching supervision of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, chief minister of state to James I. As both Secretary of State and Lord High Steward to Queen Anne, he was well placed to negotiate the political and personal dimensions of the festival. Under his direction, research into the history of England led to the selection of the frugal Henry VII, rather than the profligate Henry VIII, as the principal Tudor predecessor to be evoked in the dynastic argument, reflecting an urgent need to negotiate the king's finances with parliament. The additional theme of the promotion of trade for a peaceful Europe was a policy agreed on between king and secretary.

Planning the masque

Bearing in mind that masques were conventionally performed in the Christmas season, in the long dark nights of winter, then the provision of a masque to a summer event is remarkable, and proof of the value placed by the king on the power of dance theatre as a political tool. While there was talk of the queen planning a masque for Candlemas or Shrovetide 1610, it did not materialise. Salvetti, the Florentine agent, and John Chamberlain, newsletter writer, were reporting by May 1610 that the queen was preparing a very lovely masque to honour the prince at his creation³⁰.

The performance had to respond to issues raised by *The Masque of Queens* of 1609, in which professionals from the public stage had performed as dancers in what became known as an antimasque, forming a contrasting prelude to the main masque by the queen and noble ladies. As a challenge to the decorum of the English court, the acceptability of this interpolated action was still in doubt. This is apparent from the statement in *Tethys* that the whole performance was delivered by 'personages of great state and honour' with 'none of inferior sort' to lower the tone³¹. For the first time, noble children were brought into the masque, so that Prince

Charles and a group of well-born girls danced the prelude, now dubbed an 'antemasque' by Daniel to clarify that it merely preceded the main masque. The success of this strategy led to an antemasque of noble youths as Lesser Fays in *Oberon*, but following an antimasque of satyrs performed by professionals. I argue that the advantage of animated and expressive dancing by professionals was essential to the king's vision of the masque as political tool. Indeed, the professional antimasque was accepted as an essential component from 1613³².

The Florentine and English correspondents make plain Queen Anne's involvement in planning the masque. We cannot know the specifics of her contribution, although consultation on the costumes is apparent from the surviving designs by Inigo Jones. The possibilities of the masque were also predicated on Anne's skill as a dancer. In 1610 she was joined by Princess Elizabeth and Lady Arabella Stuart whose personal skills would also have been a factor. The choice of the role of Tethys presented Anne as the wife of Neptune, adopting the persona of a naiad. While essential to the maritime theme, this role also aligned Anne with Queen Louise of France, whose leadership as a naiad, the epitome of virtue, in *Le Balet Comique* was well known to the royal family and their circles. The ballet had been mined for ideas in developing the Jacobean masque for several years, most recently for *The Masque of Queens*; one rationale for this, I argue, was the legitimisation of the queen as masque leader, which had also been problematic to the English court³³.

Henry had begun to investigate continental festival modes: the House of Fame for *The Masque of Queens* had been based on the design obtained by him from Italy, and Jonson dedicated a holograph text of the 1609 masque to Henry as a model of the genre³⁴. He had a central role presiding alongside James over *Tethys*, and an important, but unrecorded, dimension of the masque performance would have been his grace in dancing in the revels. The inclusion of Princess Elizabeth and Prince Charles as protagonists presented the whole royal family to the audience, in service to the dynastic theme. Princess Elizabeth was to have her own discreet debut in *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly* in 1611, launching her on to the international marriage market. The inclusion of Lady Arabella was also strategic, as she was currently a contentious figure of great interest to court correspondents. As the king's cousin, she had a claim to the throne, potentially a focus of treason: this situation was complicated by financial problems. She had been in prison following a dangerous romance with William Seymour, also a claimant to the throne. Recently released, the king's good intentions towards Arabella were now publicised by the masque role, indicating her status and availability for marriage. The king's tolerance was defied within weeks of the masque by a secret marriage between Seymour and Arabella, with serious consequences for both. With the failure of Anne to bear any living children in England, Arabella represented an English-born Stuart for the dynastic message of the masque³⁵.

The choice of Samuel Daniel as the poet of the masque was linked to the plans of the king and his minister. To contemporaries, Daniel was renowned both as a historian and as a poet. Between 1595 and 1609 he had written an eight-part series on the Wars of the Roses as a long poem, *The Civil Wars*. Published in stages across this period, the history had quickly become a source for other writers including Shake-

spere. Daniel's theme of the dangers of insurrection was of great interest to the new regime. At the end of the eighth book, he looked forward to the completion of the story up to the accession of Henry VII³⁶. It is suggested that Cecil prompted Daniel to embark on a prose history of the Norman Conquest, which eventually came out in 1618, paid for by Queen Anne³⁷. Daniel's research on the accession of Henry VII however was used in the masque, rather than completed in a book.

Daniel's position within the court as groom of the queen's privy chamber meant that he was the preferred poet for a masque to be performed entirely by the royal family and courtiers. We should also note that Daniel had little involvement with the public stage and was also a highly regarded lyric poet. He had produced a masque with his lutenist brother John for the Earl of Hertford to entertain the king and queen in September 1603, then wrote the second official masque of the new reign. A facility with music and song, as found in Thomas Campion, was another skill essential for the masque poet.

As Inigo Jones designed the set and costumes for all three productions, he was in a position to maintain continuity. In 1610 he did not hold a regular court position: there was no post available for a masque designer. James was only able to slot him into a salaried and pensionable position in 1611 as Surveyor to Henry's new household. Meanwhile Jones depended on the direct patronage of the king and queen. In the summer of 1609, Jones had been sent to France to deliver letters to the English ambassador in Paris and to escort Cecil's son Viscount Cranborne to the south of France³⁸. The main motive was undoubtedly to allow Jones to become better acquainted with French ballet production and to enrich his grasp of French visual culture, with forthcoming masques for the coming of age of both the prince and the princess in mind. The results of his journey are clearly evident in the designs of *Tethys*, *Oberon* and *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly*. Six of his costume designs for the 1610 masque have survived, but no sketches for the scenery. However, Jones provided detailed verbal descriptions of the principal features of the set to the published text. Jones's authorship is courteously acknowledged by Daniel: 'which I will likewise describe, in the language of the architector who contrived it, and speaks in his own mestier to such as are understanders and lovers of that design'³⁹. The extensive work of the numerous artisans under his direction are hinted at in two surviving bills: one from Christopher Shaw, the queen's embroiderer for a further £55 for her costume and shoes following Jones' instructions: 'waved about like a river, and on the banks sedge and seaweeds all of gold', and one from Thomas Henshawe, silkman for £1071-5s for gold and silver lace⁴⁰. These bills are a sobering reminder of where the real costs lay for a masque.

The musicians for the masque are not named in any record, and no music can be identified amongst the surviving scores. The text makes clear that there were five songs in four parts to twelve lutes, music for four choreographed dances, and the revels dances. There were three marches forward to the state, all requiring music, and the climactic march was accompanied by 'loud music', in other words the resonant music supplied by the court trumpeters and sackbuts. The two changes of scenery were accompanied by loud music. There were only four lutenist/singers holding a court place at

the time: Simon Merson (who was bought a new lute in May 1610), Robert Hales, Philip Rosseter and Robert Johnson⁴¹. The court's musical forces were increased with the establishment of the Prince's household from June 1610. This included eight further lutenist singers, so it seems likely that the twelve lutenists needed for the masque comprised the four from the king's establishment and the eight entering service with the prince: John Myners, Jonas Wrench, Thomas Day, Thomas Cutting, John Sturt, Thomas Ford, Edward Wormal, Mathias Johnson⁴². Both Alfonso Ferrabosco and Nicholas Lanier were in post: their record for composing songs for other masques makes one or both likely candidates for involvement in *Tethys Festival*. Ferrabosco had been acknowledged as a collaborator in the invention of *Hymenai* reminding us that the musicians were involved at an early stage⁴³. Both Robert Johnson and Thomas Lupo (violinist) set instrumental music for masques in this period, and there is no reason to suppose this was not their duty again. As Holman explains on evidence from other masques, the basic dance music was probably devised by the choreographer then set by an instrumentalist⁴⁴.

The identity of the choreographers is not given either. As with the musicians, the usual suspects are found in the regular salary lists. Thomas Giles specialised in the choreographed dances for the main masques 1606–1613 and had been Prince Henry's dancing master since 1605. Jeremy Herne, the choreographer for the antimasque of witches in 1609, was in post, so may have been used for the antemasque of *Tethys Festival*. A link with *Tethys* is that Herne was paid for teaching Viscount Cranborne (Cecil's son, trainbearer to the prince) 'against the Maske when the Prince was installed'⁴⁵, therefore preparing the teenager for participation in the revels. A significant figure is Jacques Bochan, also known as Jacques Cordier, dancing master of the French court, who was in service to James I. He was renowned for perfecting the technique of royal and noble clients. He had been paid by the Prince between July 1608 and May 1609, presumably adding French finesse to the tuition of Giles. He is also linked to *Tethys Festival* by a fee from Arabella Stuart for coaching paid in June 1610⁴⁶. As the most senior dancing tutor, Thomas Cardell was to hand to nurture skill and queenly decorum.

Within the text of *Tethys Festival* it is possible to discern the various thematic strands that are woven into a unified production. The main argument came from the king and his principal minister Robert Cecil, in consultation with the queen and the prince to ensure a suitable vehicle for herself and her ladies in making honour to the occasion. The artists of the masque would then have assisted in developing this, according to their metier (as Daniel put it), and no doubt adding to and refining the plans in consultation with their superiors under the command of the Lord Chamberlain Thomas Howard, who also supervised the creation ceremonies. The published text reveals that Daniel was responsible for one long and three short speeches, plus the lyrics for five songs; the remainder comprises the account of the action and design. Daniel's role can be characterised as the librettist for the masque, articulating the ideas he had been given into a sequence supported by spoken or sung words. Contrary to literary discourse, it cannot be assumed that he devised the whole action, but rather that he was part of a production team. We have no hints of an individual as executive director, as

with all such collaborative ventures of the early modern period. However, there were at least three people controlling events on the night: Jones for the team of scene shifters and Howard for the audience and general conduct of the occasion. I suggest that a third controller was the choreographer who was best placed, according to his metier, to co-ordinate the musicians, the court dancers (both masquers and audience) and the speakers.

Tethys Festival

Tethys Festival was structured as three shows according to Daniel's account. The first was centred on Prince Charles as an antemasque. The second formed the main masque led by the queen supported by her daughter and the king's cousin, featuring three ensemble dances. The third was a marching masque headed by Prince Charles, Queen Anne and Princess Elizabeth. At the heart of the whole, between the second and third dances of the main masque came the revels, the important sequence of social dances which drew members of the audience, no doubt led by Prince Henry, into the imaginary world. The structure was designed to give maximum prominence to the principal theme of the masque: the security of Britain under the Stuart dynasty represented by a strong reigning monarch partnered with a fruitful queen, the promise of a virtuous heir in the first-born son, and the continuance of the line in a healthy second son, a marriageable daughter and a female blood relative. The rightful claim of the Stuart line was signalled through references to the Tudor dynasty, while the united realm of the island of Britain was evoked in sea and land imagery. James's mission for peace was further symbolised throughout the work, notably in the reference to the fishing trade with the Dutch. The royal protagonists were escorted by gentlemen 'known of good worth and respect'⁴⁷, who delivered the speeches in the place of professionals. In personnel, this was the most exclusive of all the Stuart masques. Not merely a family occasion, as stated by Butler⁴⁸, but an assertion of dynasty, indicated by the opening statement of the festival account:

'...to settle in the hearts of his loving Subjects a lively impression of his Royall care for continuance of the happy, and peacefull Government of this land, in his issue and posterity...'⁴⁹

The audience first saw an emblematic frontispiece framing the curtain. On one side stood the figure of Neptune (symbolising James) with a Latin motto referring to the peaceful arts of government and on the other side loomed the figure of Nereus, the god of fishermen and sailors, with the word 'industria'⁵⁰. The figurative arch, on view throughout the performance, reminded the audience of the immediate and pressing realities of government that were being presented in allegorical form in the masque: the imperative of peace for profitable trade and industry. The curtain presented a dark cloud sprinkled with stars: a reference to the constellation of past monarchs in *Prince Henry's Barriers* of January, when Arthur 'discovered as a star above' had spoken in validation of the lineage of Prince Henry⁵¹.

The curtain was drawn to loud music to reveal the first scene representing the port of Milford Haven: the Welsh harbour where Henry VII had landed to unite England under Tudor rule, a trope of continuity with the previous dynasty lifted from the creation themes. With a calm sea and ships

both at anchor and passing in and out, the scene immediately established the theme of prosperous peace. This was Inigo Jones's first proper perspective scene for a masque, novel in its realistic detail. To a song to twelve lutes, Prince Charles (aged 10) entered through this scene as Zephyrus, accompanied by eight ladies of the same stature as nymphs of the fountains and escorted by two tritons, the gentlemen speakers. With a flowery robe and garland, Zephyrus represented the land (Figure 1), while the naiads evoked the freshwater streams; alongside the sea-green tritons, the group, as claimed in the lute song, stood for the islands and seas of Neptune's realm⁵². The youth of the group chimed with the presentation of Anne, Elizabeth and Arabella as sources of new life. In a lengthy speech, Zephyrus was introduced as the messenger of Tethys, bringing gifts to the king and the prince his brother⁵³. The triton explained that Tethys had recently been in Cambria where she had heard of the investiture of the prince and so summoned her rivers to meet in Milford Haven and prepare to honour the occasion. The historical significance of the port was declared. On her behalf, James was presented with a trident, underlining his role as Neptune, while Henry was given a scarf and sword as Meliades (Soldier of God), the chivalric persona he had adopted when fighting at the barriers. The scarf symbolised amity and union, being embroidered with a map of the island of Britain. The presentation of the sword 'not to be unsheathed but on just ground' reiterated the central act of the creation ceremony when the letters patent were read by the Earl of Salisbury and Henry girded with the ceremonial sword⁵⁴. In their service of dedication the Knights of the Bath had also offered their swords in turn to the altar, and then redeemed them with a gold coin, an act of dedication to just use of the weapon. Paid for by Queen Anne, it is likely that the same fine jewelled weapon was used both in the ceremony and the masque⁵⁵. Finally, the triton assured Henry that ample trade will flourish within the bounds of the British realm, as Nereus will 'turn fish to gold'⁵⁶.

At this point a circular dance by Zephyrus and the eight girls formed the antemasque. We are indebted to an eyewitness account for further detail of the dance:

'This done the Duke returned to his former Place in the midst of the Stage, and the little Ladies performed their Dance to the Amazement of all the Beholders, considering the Tenderness of their Years and the many intricate Changes of the Dance which was so disposed that which way soever the Changes went the little Duke was found to be in the midst of these little Dancers. These light Skirmishers having done their devoir, in came the Princesses...'⁵⁷

While this eyewitness was clearly impressed by the performance, he also reveals that Charles himself did not really dance but maintained a position at the centre of the circular figuring. Having suffered from rickets as an infant, he was a very late developer physically, and may have lagged behind the girls in proficiency. His inclusion in the performance shows James's wish to reassure the court and the diplomatic community of the boy's increasing vigour to strengthen the dynastic claim of an heir in Henry and a spare in Charles. In conversation with the Venetian ambassador in January, James had drawn his attention to the promise of the Duke of York, and Correr had replied that he rejoiced in 'his daily advance in qualities of mind and body'⁵⁸. The circle, while being an



Figure 1. Zephyrus

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attractive and conventional dance pattern, in this context would also form an emblem of circular time and dynastic continuity. The same device was adopted for the dance of the Lesser Fays in *Oberon*, introduced by speech and song playing on the eternal round of dynastic inheritance⁵⁹. The pattern of the dance in *Tethys* was reiterated in a circular play of lights that followed to cover the transition to the next scene: 'three circles of lights and glasses one within another, and came down in a straight motion five foot and then began to move circularly'. These lights repeated the stars of the curtain to symbolise eternity and the circle of life. Later, Henry will be addressed as: 'bright star, the guidon (flag) of this state'⁶⁰.

The second scene revealed Tethys and the river nymphs in a great aquatic throne, scintillating with light and water. Described in Jones's own words, this was the first use of an apotheosis to glorify royalty. Anne and Elizabeth were seated within a glittering grotto surmounted by an elaborate fountain of three layers in which dolphins, tritons, sea horses, fishes, scrolls, leaves, masks, seaweed and shells intertwined to form myriad orifices for gushing water. That the effect was of multiple streams of running water is clear from the text. The water imagery, combined with cherubs, would have spoken directly to the audience of birth, fertility and the female essence. The notion of British rivers flowing into the seas served the political message of the union of England, Wales and Scotland into Britain, and at a deeper level the unifying power of peaceful rule. The twelve other masquers

sat in four adjacent niches of rustic work to form a contrast with the main throne, thus concentrating this water imagery on the queen and the princess.

In realising this design, Jones drew on specific models. A primary inspiration was the moving fountain of three layers for Queen Louise in *Le Ballet Comique*, that old-fashioned pageant cart now rendered in a fixed perspective structure. The design and workings of the throne were developed from knowledge gained by Jones on his visit to France in 1609, combining the water features of the gardens of the Louvre, Chambord and the Loire chateaux, with theatrical engineering acquired from the stage machinists of the French court. To this compendium of influences must be added the structure created by Salomon de Caus in 1609 for Anne at Somerset House: a fountain depicting Apollo and the Nine Muses sitting on Mount Parnassus, with four rivers impersonated at the foot⁶¹.

The masquers' habits (Image 2⁶²) were 'all embroidered with maritime invention' in sky blue, silver and gold⁶³. They descended from the throne in single file, executing a meandering march to animate their representation of the flowing rivers, bearing golden urns containing flowers. Once again, the entirety of Neptune's realm of land and water was presented. To the soft music of twelve lutes and twelve voices, they approached the Tree of Victory which was placed at the right hand side of the king's throne for a ceremony of presentation. As a bay tree, it symbolised the peaceful truce after war, and was also reminiscent of the Tree of Life in Paradise, from which four rivers flow to the four corners of the world. Referred to as Apollo's tree in the accompanying song, it also referenced the ceremony of 1584 when James was presented with a golden laurel tree to honour him as Apollo⁶⁴. The ceremony at the Tree of Victory conveyed a composite symbol of James paired with Anne as peaceful sovereigns and founts of new life and hope to the country. The lady masquers then embarked on their first and second masque dances, interspersed by two songs. We have no evidence on which to make proposals about the choreography of these dances, except the possibilities inherent in the number fourteen for various geometric figures. When at rest the ladies sat beneath the Tree of Victory while the songs expressed their joy in making this devotion. The second song is considered one of Daniel's most successful lyrics, now often anthologised. It states that this beautiful spectacle is transient, but that reflection can deepen understanding: 'When your eyes have done their part/Thought can length it in the heart'⁶⁵. Here the king was reminding the audience that the pleasure of the spectacle is a small part of its importance, but that the allegorical meaning is to be examined and understood. The song also communicates the king's concept of the masque as no more than an illusion for allegorical purposes, given weight through being presented by identifiable individuals from his close circle: in the language of the song, the pleasant but ephemeral shadows were cast by living bodies. The third show would animate this concept.

The masquers then went forward to invite gentlemen of the audience to dance with them. After the opening measures by the whole company, a lengthy sequence of couple dances would have ensued, each pair under close scrutiny for their mastery in galliards and corantos. The record of Lord Cranborne's dancing lessons suggests that other young noblemen from the installation ceremonies may have partnered the naiads. Now the audience saw Prince Henry the heir, a



Figure 2. A nymph

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capable dancer, taking a prominent part in the revels, and possibly too Prince Charles who had been drawn into the revels of *The Masque of Queens* the previous year as partner to a young girl. Although a social ball, the revels provided the opportunity to showcase vigorous youth in the spirit of the whole festival.

After the revels, the naiads reassembled to perform their third and final dance, which resolved into a processional retreat towards the aquatic throne, followed at a distance by Zephyrus and the two tritons. This was a conventional ending, signalling the completion of the whole, but on this occasion, the masquers suddenly vanished while a flash of lightning caused the rearguard escort to halt. A triton now explained that Mercury would appear to summon Tethys and her rivers back but disinvested of their disguises and in their own form. He went on to address the audience directly as 'great peers, the ornaments of power' urging them to wait for this delightful but truthful transformation⁶⁶. Mercury then descended from above to summon Prince Charles and six

young noblemen to escort the queen back again. Charles had not yet made an exit, while the young men arose from the audience, it seems. As they did so the scene changed to the sound of loud music, revealing the queen and her ladies unmasked within a beautiful grove. This formed the third show of the whole masque, as the ensemble marched once more towards James and Henry, forming a procession of twenty-one royal and noble individuals. The spectacular descent of Mercury with fire and fireworks had also been a special feature of the Chester event, followed later by his speech concerning the significance of the pageant.

The sudden disappearance and fortunate reappearance of the lady masquers copied the action of *Le Balet Comique*, as does the role of Mercury in restoring them to the king's presence. In the ballet the naiads had disappeared as a result of the enchantment of Circe, and reappeared through the agency of Mercury summoning the forces of virtue to defeat the sorceress. However, there was no fictional plot in *Tethys* or any hint of supernatural intervention, but instead a reminder that the performers had taken on a role through which they had offered imagery and symbolism in a particularly vivid and memorable manner. The triton's words again emphasise the pretence of the masque, and the greater beauty of reality and nature. The procession of the masquers in their own form, unvizarded, was a grander and more formal version of the usual public unmasking that James always insisted on, to demonstrate that the illusion was temporary and that there was no pretence at creating magic.

A complex pattern of number symbolism is evident throughout the performance and the text. This had been a recurrent practice of James during his reign in Scotland and England, having been used, for example, in 1594 for the festival for Henry's baptism. He must have relished its deployment throughout the text of *Le Balet Comique*, and expected his educated audience to follow the patterns woven by Daniel, Jones and probably the choreographer and composer into *Tethys' Festival*⁶⁷. A significant feature is the dominance of three and its multiples, as in the division of the masque into three shows, the three masque dances and the three children of James and Anne. Three can symbolise the married couple in that one represents the male and two the female. The antemasque dance was presented by Charles and eight girls, making nine: not only a multiple of three but a reminder that Henry would be the IX of that name on his accession. Daniel numbers the masquers as nine representing English rivers, plus four representing Welsh rivers, with the queen presiding as Tethys. The three songs are presented by twelve lutenists. Another significant number on this occasion was five for the royal family. In the aquatic throne there were five niches, one for the queen and princess and four for the other ladies in groups of three.

More arcane plays on number have been identified by Pitcher⁶⁸. The three circles of light descending five feet produced three to the power of five making 125, the number of years between the arrival of Henry VII at Milford Haven in 1485 and this year of Prince Henry's creation as Prince of Wales in 1610. The song to Zephyrus which opened the masque comprised stanzas with lines using three or five metrical stresses and in three pairs of rhymes. Pitcher points out that each of the three shows comprised tripartite sections of speech, song and dance. The final marching masque presented 21 persons, a multiple of three, who probably

marched in seven rows of three people, headed by Charles between Anne and Elizabeth, with each of the six youths between a pair of masquers. This summarises all the number play, including seven for the years of the king's rule in England, the 21 years of marriage between the king and queen, neatly referencing the themes of dynastic strength in their persons, and lending the fourteen previously visible in the group of naiads more significance. While Pitcher finds this number play ultimately sterile and limiting, he and other commentators fail to place it in the context of the ballet of 1581 or James VI and I's festival practice⁶⁹. As Daniel states, only later reflection with the text in hand would have revealed all these number plays.

Contrary to Pitcher's interpretation, the final show would have been a splendid finale to the whole, accompanied by loud music, as the group emerged from the scenic stage framed by the figurative arch, descended to the dancing floor and rejoined the audience for the banquet. Throughout the performance, protagonists had arisen from the audience, whilst the masquers themselves had formed an audience when resting from dancing. The English practice of keeping the social ball central within the theatrical show, contrary to the French practice of placing it after the ballet, further eroded the boundaries between art and reality. The return of the lady masquers in their own form was an important strategy by James I to reinforce the political relevance of *Tethys Festival*. The allegory of peace and fecundity was now tied down to the concrete world. It was not just an illusory fiction of demigods but the actuality of the queen and her children with the high-born wives and daughters of men of power embodying the message of the benefits of the king's rule.

It has become conventional to discuss *Tethys Festival* as a flawed or problematic work⁷⁰. Such views are contrary to those recorded at the time, of a 'glorious' outcome, even 'the greatest bravery that ever I saw in this or any other Court'⁷¹. Correspondents judged the masque in the context of the other events of the festival, as we should today. *Tethys Festival* was integral to the solemnization of the creation of Prince Henry, delivering the themes of the whole in an exquisite harmony of dance, music and design. Served by the ministers and artists of the enterprise, James spoke to the whole nation of lords, commoners and the populace, and to the world, of the well-founded security of a united kingdom.

Notes

- 1 *London's Love to the Royal Prince Henrie* 1610, in Nicols, J. *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Entries of James the First*, London, 1828, pp.315–323; Bergeron, D. M. *English Civic Pageantry 1558–1642*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, 1971, pp.94–96.
- 2 *The Order and Solemnitie of the Creation of the High and mightie Prince Henrie...Whereunto is annexed the Royall Maske...* John Budge, London, 1610. While Samuel Daniel was the author of the masque, the account of the festival was possibly written by Daniel Price, preacher before Prince Henry. References to the text of the masque are taken from Lindley, D. *Court Masques*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995.
- 3 Nicols, 1828, p. 319.

- 4 Strong, R. *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance*. Thames and Hudson, London, 1986, pp. 159–160.
- 5 Daye, A. *The Jacobean Antimasque within the Masque Context: a Dance Perspective*, unpublished thesis, 2008, pp. 68–108.
- 6 Croft, P. 'The Parliamentary Installation of Henry, Prince of Wales' in *Historical Research* Vol. 65, 1992, p.192
- 7 The chart presents for the first time the sequence of events, combining the above sources and Chester below with those of *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Vol. 11, 1607–1610; Birch, T. *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales*. G. Faulkner, Dublin, 1760.
- 8 One of the three prizewinners at the barriers was the young Thomas Darcy, who died, like Henry, in 1612 and is buried in the church at Hengrave Hall. Birch, 1760, p.148.
- 9 In addition to the three covering the river pageant, the installation and the masque, *Chester's Triumph in Honour of Her Prince* by Richard Davies and Robert Amerie was published in London in 1610. It is reprinted in Nicols, pp.291–306. Nicols notes that a copy was bound with *London's Love* (p.315) indicating an attempt to link the two events.
- 10 Croft, 1992, p. 186.
- 11 Bergeron, 1971, p.94.
- 12 Nicols, 1828, p.345.
- 13 Birch, 1760, p. 148.
- 14 Tensions between the prince and his father are apparent in the record, giving rise to various interpretations as to the impact on the festival. Butler 2008, pp.173–194 is the most recent scholar to weigh up the evidence.
- 15 Birch, 1760, p. 153.
- 16 Payments at St. Margaret's, Westminster for peals of bells at the creation and the sea fight in Nicols, 1828, p.362
- 17 Strong, 1986, pp.57–60; Lockyer, R. *James VI & I*. Longman, London, 1998, p.174; Butler, M. *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, p.185.
- 18 Peacock, J. *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, p. 214; Butler, 2008, p.187.
- 19 Nicols, 1828, p. 323.
- 20 Bergeron, 1971, p. 96 does not link the sea fight to the Dutch issue, so comments that it lacks an allegory. The use of water pageants in court festivals, such as those during the celebrations for Princess Elizabeth's wedding to Frederick Elector Palatine in 1613, will be fully discussed in the forthcoming publication of autumn 2011: Shewring (editor) *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance*, Ashgate
- 21 Nicols, 1828, p.292.
- 22 Croft, 1992, p.189.
- 23 Croft, 1992, pp.179–183;
- 24 Pitcher, J. 'Daniel, Samuel (1562/3–1619), poet and historian', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7120>]; Bergeron, D. M. 'Munday, Anthony (bap.1560. d. 1633)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19531>]
- 25 Nicols, 1828, p. 294.
- 26 Butler, 2008; Pitcher, J. 'In those Figures which they Seeme: Samuel Daniel's *Tethys Festival*' in Lindley, D. *The Court Masque*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1984, pp. 33–46. .
- 27 Strong, 1986; Butler, 2008.
- 28 Daye, 2008; Courtney, A. *Court Politics and the Kingship of James VI and I*, unpublished thesis, 2008.
- 29 Croft, P. 'Cecil, Robert, first earl of Salisbury (1563–1612)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/articles/4/4980>].
- 30 Mc.Clure, N. E. (editor) *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1939, pp.293, 300; Orrell, J. 'The London Stage in the Florentine Correspondence, 1604–1618', *Theatre Research International*, 1978, 4, 3, p. 165
- 31 Lindley, 1995, p.64
- 32 Daye, 2008.
- 33 The allegory of the tale of Circe by Gordon, Scottish divine printed with the ballet text, made plain the virtuous nature of the naiad: McGowan, M. *Le Balet Comique by Balthasar de Beaujoyeulx, 1581*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, New York, 1982, pp.74v–76v; Daye, 2008, pp. 139–147.
- 34 Daye, 2008, p.112.
- 35 Akrigg, G.P.V., *Jacobean Pageant: the Court of King James I*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1962, pp.113–124; Marshall, R. K. 'Stuart [married name Seymour], Lady Arabella [Arbella](1575–1615), noblewoman and royal kinswoman', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/601>].
- 36 Rees, J. *Samuel Daniel: a Critical and Biographical Study*. Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 1964, p.122–146.
- 37 Pitcher, J. 2004, p.7.
- 38 Daye, 2008, p.169–170.
- 39 Lindley, 1995, p.60.
- 40 Designs and financial records in Orgel, S. & Strong, R. *Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court*. Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, 1973.
- 41 Ashbee, S. *Records of English Court Music IV*. Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1988.
- 42 Holman, P. *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court 1540–1690*. The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993, p. 198. As Birch 1760 (p. 161) notes, the prince's household was not settled until December 1610, so these appointments indicate prompt use of the opportunity to expand the court's musical forces.
- 43 Walls, P. *Music in the English Courtly Masque, 1604–1640*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1996, pp.33–34.
- 44 Holman, 1993, pp. 193–194.
- 45 Holman, 1993, p. 181.
- 46 Holman. 1993, p.175.
- 47 Lindley, 1995, p.64.
- 48 Butler, 2008, pp. 184–185
- 49 *The Order and Solemnitie*.
- 50 Lindley, 1995, pp. 232, n. 91, 56.
- 51 Orgel & Strong, 1973, p.160; Butler, p.179.
- 52 Designs for the costumes of the girl naiads, Zephyrus and tritons in Strong & Orgel 1973, pp. 197, 200, 201; song in Lindley, 1995, pp. 57–58.
- 53 Lindley 1995, pp. 58–59.

- 54 Lindley, 1995, p. 59; *Order and Solemnitie*.
- 55 Most commentators concur that the sword presented in the masque was the one listed in an inventory at the prince's death: 'a very rich cros sword all sett with Dyamants with chap richlie sett gevin by hir Majestie at his creation', printed in *Archaeologia*, Vol. 15, 1806, p. 18. Birch 1760, p. 151 records that the sword used in the masque cost £20,000. Croft 1992, pp. 190–191 proposes that this sword was part of the regalia for the installation ceremony. It seems likely that the same sword was used for both occasions, considering the cost. Butler 2008 pp. 74 and 390, n. 34 makes the intriguing suggestion that the weapon catalogued as 'Sword of Prince Henry' in the Wallace Collection is the one used in the masque, which would make it the sole artifact surviving from a masque performance. The sword is incised with the Prince of Wales feathers so it must have been designed for the installation or as a gift between 1610 and 1612, but it is not set with diamonds, so its association with the masque is uncertain.
- 56 Lindley, 1995, p.59
- 57 Finett in Birch, 1760. pp. 151–152. This author identified twelve girls rather than the eight given by Daniel.
- 58 *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Vol. 2, 1607–1610, p. 414.
- 59 Orgel, S. *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, Yale University Press, New Haven, p. 170.
- 60 Lindley, 1995, pp. 60, 64..
- 61 Leapman, M. *The Troubled Life of Inigo Jones, Architect of the English Renaissance*. Review, London, 2003, pp. 104–105; Peacock, pp. 77–79; Strong, p. 106.
- 62 Labelled as 'Tethys or a Nymph' in Orgel & Strong, p.190, the partially veiled breasts reference an unmarried woman. Therefore the design is for Princess Elizabeth and/or Lady Arabella Stuart, the only unmarried masquers.
- 63 Lindley, 1995, p. 61.
- 64 Shire, H. M. *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1969, p. 101. William Fowler, secretary to Queen Anne since 1589, had been a member of the king's bachelor poetic circle. According to Dunnigan, he had recently written several poems dedicated to Lady Arabella (Dunnigan, S. M. 'Fowler, William (1560/61–1612)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10015>]). He is likely to have been a further collaborator in devising the masque.
- 65 Lindley, 1995, p. 63.
- 66 Lindley, 1995, p. 64.
- 67 Daye, A. 2008, pp. 88, 146–147 Daye, A. 'Honneur à la Dance: a Choreographic Analysis of the Ballet Entries of *Le Balet Comique de la Royne*' in Ravelhofer, B. (editor) *Terpsichore 1450–1900* International Dance Conference, Institute of Dance Practice, Ghent, 2000, pp. 71–83.
- 68 Pitcher, 1984, pp. 33–46.
- 69 Strong 1986, p. 246, n. 50 is not convinced of Pitcher's analysis, while Butler 2008 ignores it.
- 70 Rees 1964, p. 148; Pitcher 1984; Strong 1986, p.157; Lindley 1995, p.231; Butler 2008, pp. 184–188.
- 71 Finett in Chambers 1923, p. 362; Carleton in Nicols, p. 362.