“Not as Myself”: The Queen’s Voice in *Tempe Restored*

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“Consonant with the literary movement she provoked, Henrietta had not a jot of literary taste.” Thus Alfred Harbage, whose contempt for Queen Henrietta Maria’s aesthetic judgment has, until recently, typified scholarly discussions of her cultural influence.[1] Born in 1609, Henrietta Maria was daughter to the French king Henri IV and his queen consort Marie de Medici. Like other women in her family, Henrietta seems to have taken particular delight in acting, singing, and dancing. An avid spectator, producer, and performer, she also sponsored what seems to have been the first professional singer-actress on the English masque stage. When Henrietta Maria crossed the channel to become wife of Charles I and queen of England, what crossed with

1. Alfred Harbage, *Cavalier Drama: An Historical and Critical Supplement to the Study of the Elizabethan and Restoration Stage* (New York: Modern Language Association, 1936), p. 14. For similarly dismissive treatments of Henrietta’s influence on English drama, see Clifford Leech, *Shakespeare’s Tragedies and Other Studies in Seventeenth-Century Drama* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1950), pp. 178–79, and Jean Jacquot, “La Reine Henriette-Marie et l’influence française dans les spectacles à la cour de Charles Ier,” in *Cahiers de l’Association Internationale des Études Françaises* (Paris: Societé d’édition “Les Belles Lettres,” 1951), p. 151. Revisionist studies of Henrietta Maria include Erica Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and Court Entertainments* (Cambridge University Press, 1983); Sophie Tomlinson, “ ‘She that Plays the King’: Henrietta Maria and the Threat of the Actress in Caroline Culture,” in *The Politics of Tragicomedy: Shakespeare and After*, ed. Gordon McMullan and Jonathan Hope (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 189–207, and “Theatrical Women: The Female Actor in English Theatre and Drama 1603–1670” (Ph.D. diss., Darwin College, Cambridge University, 1995); Caroline Hibbard, “Translating Royalty: Henrietta Maria and the Transition from Princess to Queen,” *Court Historian* 5 (May 2000): 15–28; Stephanie Hodgson-Wright, “Beauty, Chastity and Wit: Feminising the Centre-Stage,” in *Women and Dramatic Production, 1550–1700*, ed. Alison Findlay and Stephanie Hodgson-Wright (with Gweno Williams) (London: Longman, 2000); and Karen Britland, “*Florimène*: The Author and the Occasion,” *Review of English Studies* 53 (2002): 475–83.

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her included a strong tradition of women's performance at court. Yet literary scholars have tended to ignore Henrietta's dramatic achievements, or to deride them as a decline from the Jacobean masque as perfected by Ben Jonson. Critics have been especially dismissive of two court performances that Henrietta sponsored and participated in during the early 1630s: *Tempe Restored* (a masque by Inigo Jones and Aurelian Townshend, performed in 1632), and *The Shepherds' Paradise* (a pastoral by Walter Montagu, performed the following year). Harbage, for example, describes *The Shepherds' Paradise* as "one of the worst plays in the language" and disparages not only its male author but also its female performers: "One cannot believe that these fragile-brained ladies of the court committed to memory such limitless stretches of opaque prose."[2] *Tempe Restored* is similarly seen to exemplify an alleged decline in Caroline drama due to Henrietta Maria's frivolous and naive literary tastes. The specific charge, articulated by Paul Reyher, E. K. Chambers, and Enid Welsford, is that *Tempe Restored* constitutes mere plagiarism, a badly reduced and fragmented version of its justly famous 1581 French source, *Le Balet Comique de la Reyne.*[3]

This essay argues against these assertions, showing ways in which *Tempe Restored* is both innovative and thematically coherent. To make this case, I take as my starting point work by a more recent generation of scholars who resuscitate masques as worthy of study on primarily ideological rather than aesthetic grounds. New historicists, for example, read masques as reflecting but also shaping early modern politics and political concepts such as the nature of kingship. Feminist critics, too, have become interested in queens' masques because this genre, unlike most others in England during this period, included women performers. Reading *Tempe Restored*, for example, Suzanne Gossett and Stephen Orgel draw attention to its use of women singers, a development never before seen in an English masque performed at the king's court and arguably an implicit challenge to the exclusion of

2. Harbage, p. 14.

3. See Paul Reyher, *Les Masques Anglais: étude sur les ballets et la vie de cour en Angleterre (1512–1640)* (Paris: Hachette, 1909), pp. 201–2; E. K. Chambers, *Aurelian Townshend's Poems and Masks* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), p. xvii; Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry and the Revels* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), esp. p. 225. See also Elizabeth Carrington Johnston, "The English Masque and the French Court Ballet, 1581–1640" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1964). Even Chambers, however, admits that Townshend's lyrics "are graceful, and quite adequate for their purpose" (p. xvii). David Lindley notes that *Tempe Restored* derives from the *Balet Comique* "but, apart from the opening entry of the Fugitive and the closing allegory, is not close to it in detail"; see his *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments, 1605–1640* (Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 260. Lindley does not comment further upon the differences between the English masque and its French source.

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women from London's all-male professional stage.[4] Focusing on the singer-actress who in *Tempe Restored* took the histrionic role of Circe, and noting that her name, "Madame Coniack," suggests French origins, Gossett and Orgel helpfully hypothesize this masque's debt to the gendered codes of performance operative in Henrietta Maria's native France.[5] Yet because such general claims provide no specific information regarding French performances familiar to Henrietta Maria either by reputation or through personal experience, they can only go so far in tracing and crediting her impact in England. Gossett, for example, acknowledges that "Jacobean methods for the inclusion of women in masques proved inadequate to the new queen," but concludes that Henrietta "did not worry much about allegorical significance. She was more concerned with amusing herself."[6]

This essay argues, by contrast, that *Tempe Restored*'s allegorical program cannot adequately be considered apart from its use of women singers, and that both must be understood in relation to Henrietta Maria's shaping influence. To best understand the artistry involved in *Tempe Restored*'s use of female singers, we will need a clear outline of gendered casting practices on both sides of the channel prior to this masque, as well as specific information regarding those French court ballets that provide precedents for the female characters and feminine allegorical personages found in *Tempe Restored*.

The codes governing gendered casting in English masque and its French equivalent, the court ballet or *ballet de cour*, must be distinguished from those operative in plays, whether amateur or professional. As is often noted, in England prior to Henrietta Maria's arrival few if any women, much less queens, seem to have performed in plays on the professional or court stages. Women did appear on the English masque stage but almost exclusively as silent masquers in the stately main dances rather than in the more histrionic (and unruly)

4. Suzanne Gossett, "'Man-maid be gone': Women in Masques," *English Literary Renaissance* 18 (1988): 96–113; Stephen Orgel, *Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 6. See also Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), p. 4. More recently, Clare McManus has drawn our attention to the appearance of a young singer-actress—one Ann Watkins—in a 1617 masque performed for Anna of Denmark; this was not a Whitehall masque and did not include the king in its audience. See McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court 1590–1619* (Manchester University Press, 2002), esp. pp. 179–201.

5. On Madame Coniack's probable identity as a Frenchwoman of Henrietta Maria's chapel, see R. Booth, "The First Female Professional Singers: Madam Coniack," *Notes and Queries* 44 (1997): 533.

6. Gossett, pp. 103–4.

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antimasques.[7] In France by the second decade of the seventeenth century, by contrast, professional acting companies not only in the provinces but also in Paris had begun regularly to include women actors.[8] In amateur plays, moreover, especially pastorals, French royal women and female courtiers might speak or sing. About the exact nature of women's participation in the French equivalent of the English masque, the *ballet de cour* or court ballet, we have less information. Many queens' court ballet brochures or *livrets* remain unedited; contemporary documents, such as memoirs, letters, and financial records, remain largely untapped as sources of information about performance history; and even the most theoretically sophisticated dance scholarship remains almost entirely silent on the issue of women's involvement in the genre. What can be asserted, however, is that before the mid–seventeenth century Frenchwomen typically did not perform in kings' court ballets. Instead, royal and aristocratic women seem to have sponsored and danced silently in their own ballets, as did their English counterparts. The occasional *ballet de la reine*, however, included vocal performance by women of lower social status.

Against this background, we can begin to make sense of the interaction, in *Tempe Restored*, between Henrietta Maria and the masque's two female singers. The queen appeared in this instance as a silent dancer, in the role of Divine Beauty. Divine Beauty's chaste, ordered

7. Revisionist studies of women's participation in medieval and early modern English theater as actresses, gatherers, shareholders, and spectators include T. S. Graves, "Women on the Pre-Restoration Stage," *Studies in Philology* 22 (1925): 184–97; James Stokes, "Women and Mimesis in Medieval and Renaissance Somerset (and Beyond)," *Comparative Drama* 27 (1993): 176–98; Ann Thompson, "Women/'women' and the Stage," in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1500–1700*, ed. Helen Wilcox (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 103–5; Orgel, *Impersonations*, pp. 5–9; and S. P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies, eds., *Renaissance Drama by Women: Texts and Documents* (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 157–67, 173–75. On Anna of Denmark's impact on the more frequent and more varied participation of women in English masques after 1603, see Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 75–76; Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 15–42; Thompson, p. 106; Tomlinson, "Theatrical Women," pp. 28–73; Marion Wynne-Davies, "The Queen's Masque: Renaissance Women and the Seventeenth-Century Court Masque," in Cerasano and Wynne-Davies, eds., *Renaissance Drama*, p. 80; and McManus.

8. See Léopold Lacour, *Les premières actrices françaises* (Paris: Librarie Française, 1921), esp. p. 16; Rosamund Gilder, *Enter the Actress: The First Women in the Theatre* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), pp. 86–87; Eugene Rigal, *Le théatre français avant la période classique* (Paris: Hachette, n.d.), pp. 170–81; Germain Bapst, *Essai sur l'Histoire du Théatre* (Paris, 1893), pp. 177–78; and Michael Shapiro, "The Introduction of Actresses in England: Delay or Defensiveness?" in *Enacting Gender on the English Renaissance Stage*, ed. Vivana Comensoli and Anne Russell (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), pp. 177–217.

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movements are defined in part against their evil double: the disordered passions of Circe, communicated in performance through Madame Coniack's gestures and singing, her histrionic and vocal eruptions. Circe had famously appeared in the *Balet Comique* and was performed on that occasion by a woman actress: hence her appearance in *Tempe Restored* performed by one Madame Coniack.[9] In this respect, *Tempe Restored* borrows from the *Balet Comique*, replicating its Circe plot and similarly casting a woman as its temptress. But *Tempe Restored* further defines the queen's Divine Beauty in relation to another character named Harmony, performed by a woman named Mistress Shepherd. Neither Harmony nor Divine Beauty derives from the *Balet Comique.*[10] These characters do appear, however, in French court ballets performed by Henrietta and her mother, Marie de Medici. These court ballets, moreover, featured women's voices raised in celebration of beauty's harmonizing powers. *Tempe Restored* combines such motifs with the *Balet Comique*'s Circe plot, synthesizing French performance histories that Henrietta would have been familiar with both by reputation and as a spectator and performer in her own right. *Tempe Restored*'s flattering encomium to the queen is thus enhanced by a cleverly allusive specificity. Clever, too, is the overarching theme to which these allusions contribute: a defense of beauty instantiated in art but also in artful performing women.

* * *

The first female performer on *Tempe Restored*'s stage is Madame Coniack as Circe. When the masque begins, Circe holds tyrannical court over the vale of Tempe. In her "sumptuous palace," this beautiful temptress sits in her "chair of state" served by voluntary "vassals" and "subjects" whose love of pleasure transforms them into beasts.[11] Circe, to quote *Tempe Restored*'s prose allegory, "signifies desire" (line 316). She is also depicted as a queen, and the prose allegory names her as such (line 319). This queen, however, is not ruler so much as ruled: subject, that is, to her own passions. "When Circe had notice of her lover's

9. Balthazar de Beaujoyeulx, *Le Balet Comique*, ed. Margaret McGowan (Binghamton, N.Y.: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982).

10. Frances A. Yates sees *Tempe Restored*'s Harmony and the "Fourteen Influences of the Stars" as deriving from the *Balet Comique*'s emphasis on astrological influences. See "Poésie et musique dans les 'Magnificences' au mariage du Doc de Joyeuse, Paris, 1581," in Jean Jacquot, ed., *Musique et poésie au XVIe Siècle* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1954), pp. 241–64, esp. p. 256.

11. *Tempe Restored*, lines 100, 87, 86, 273, in *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, ed. Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 2:479–503. Further quotations from *Tempe Restored* are cited parenthetically in the text by line number.

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escape," the masque's Argument explains, "it put her into a furious anger, and then into a lamentation or love passion" (lines 12–13). Indeed, Circe "comes forth" from her palace onto the stage "in fury for the escape of the young gentleman, her lover, and having traversed the stage with an angry look, sings to her lute" (lines 104–6). Her song is an expression of the abandoned woman's sorrow and anger. But as Circe's nymphs point out, such laments can do the sorceress little good: "Send not your sighs after a fickle mind / That sails the faster for such gales of wind" (lines 118–19). So instead, Circe calls out for diversion:

> Lead me abroad! Let me my subjects view!
> Bring me some physic! though that bring no health;
> And feign me pleasures, since I find none true.
>
> (Lines 121–23)

"Presently," the Argument tells us, "all the voluntary beasts under her subjection are introduced to make her sport" (lines 16–17). Circe's transformed lovers then gambol before her in a series of antimasques or entries, the central one being "3 apes, [and] an ass like a pedant teaching them prick-song" (line 137).

This episode at Circe's court constitutes an overarching antimasque, a world of disorder that will be put to right by the dances of the main masque and revels. Within that antimasque world, a queenlike Circe commands her own courtiers to perform masquelike danced entries for her pleasure. Through their grotesque cavorting and pantomimed prick-song, Circe's servants "strive to temper the distempered heart / Of sullen Circe, stung with Cupid's dart" (lines 127–28). But such debased imitations of courtly dance and song can only temporarily alleviate her symptoms rather than curing her disease, as Circe herself recognizes ("Bring me some physic! though that bring no health; / And feign me pleasures, since I find none true").

True pleasures do come, however, through a queen more powerful than this sorceress. Henrietta Maria, in the role of Divine Beauty, first appears above the stage, in the heavens, and then descends in a golden chariot to the musical accompaniment of the celestial spheres. According to the Highest Sphere:

> When Divine Beauty will vouchsafe to stoop
> And move to earth, 'tis fit the heavenly spheres
> Should be her music, and the starry troupe
> Shine round about her like the crown she wears.
>
> (Lines 218–21)

As shown by Inigo Jones's final costume designs, the astral qualities of the queen and her female masquers were reinforced, in performance,

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through visual iconography.[12] Thus attired, Divine Beauty and her "starry troupe" descended from the sky and proceeded to dance, implicitly correcting the exaggerated pantomimes previously performed at Circe's court. Her enchantments dissolved, the sorceress admitted defeat; and with her final words—"This matchless pair / I make my heir; / All I possess I here resign" (lines 288–90)—Circe voluntarily restored the glorious garden of Tempe to its proper rulers, the king and queen.

Bridging Circe's first exit from the stage and Divine Beauty's initial appearance in the heavens is the character of Harmony. Harmony's first words—"Not as myself, but as the brightest star / That shines in heaven, come to reign this day" (lines 155–56)—praise Divine Beauty's preeminence: among those celestial lights about to appear, the queen will be the brightest. They also declare Harmony's own identity "not as myself, but as the brightest star." The brightest star coming to reign that day is, as we have seen, Henrietta Maria as Divine Beauty. Harmony appears, that is, not as herself but as the queen. As a personification of harmonious music, to be more precise, Harmony is in fact the queen's voice.

Harmony and her choir go on to insist, moreover, that this voice must be heeded:

> Ladies lend us your ears!
> And let no lover's sigh be heard!
> Or suit, though just, be now preferred;
> A consort of the spheres
> Admits no whisper nor no sound
> But what is descant to their ground;
> Nor can we hold ye long,
> For there are stars to rise,
> That, far above our song,
> Are music to all eyes.
>
> (Lines 162–71)

12. See Orgel and Strong, eds., 2:501–3, figs. 242–44, "Divine Beauty and the Stars." Note in particular, on the design with the peaked bodice, the raylike bases and the short oversleeves cut like stars; the material powdered with stars for this skirt and for the bodice on the alternate costume; as well as the coronet or diadem of stars on each headdress. According to the description of the masquers' habits or costumes in the printed text, "the Queen's Maiesty's [habit] was in a garment of watchet sattine with stars of silver imbrodered and imbost from the ground, and on her head a crowne of stars . . . And the ladies were in the same manner. The stuff was rich and the form noble, and all suiting to the munificence of so great a Queen" (pp. 212–16). For additional verbal explication of these costumes, see Orgel and Strong, eds., 2:494, as well as Percy Simpson and C. F. Bell, *Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques and Plays at Court* (1924; reprint, New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), pp. 74–75.

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In the presence of the queen and her ladies, Harmony asserts, women in the masque audience should ignore all "lovers' sighs": the only "descant" that should exist side by side with Divine Beauty is that of Harmony and her choir. Harmony and the queen whose appearance she heralds thus jointly harmonize the desires of female spectators with the chaste pleasures of vocal and visual music. They also personify cosmic harmony more generally, an order characteristic of the music of the spheres and traditionally associated, by analogy, with political harmony and order.[13]

This was not Harmony's debut on the European court stage. Most famously, the character of Doric Harmony had appeared in 1589 Florentine *intermedii* celebrating the wedding of Ferdinand I to Christine de Lorraine, singing a prologue "from the Highest Spheres."[14] Yet Harmony had also appeared more recently alongside the young Henrietta Maria herself in Anne of Austria's 1623 ballet of Juno.[15] It was during a rehearsal for this performance, in fact, that Charles first saw his bride-to-be.[16] According to the ballet's *livret*, Henrietta on this occasion had danced the role of Iris, who together with "Harmonie, déesse d'instruments" (Harmony, goddess of instruments), took up the task of calling Juno down to earth from the heavens. Juno's role was performed by Anne of Austria, a queen whose beauty, the *livret* tells us, surpassed that of all other women, mortal and divine. In *Tempe Restored*, Henrietta once again appears alongside a character named Harmony, but this time as queen and Divine Beauty in her own right.[17] Harmony's appearance in this English masque thus doubly functions as encomium: not only are the words of Harmony's song flattering to Henrietta, but Harmony's very appearance in the masque alludes to prior performances in ways that emphasize Henrietta's now enhanced status, internationally, as not only daughter of France but also English queen.

13. On Stuart associations of architectural and musical beauty with skillful government, an art similarly dedicated to harmonious order and proportion, see R. Malcolm Smuts, "The Political Failure of Stuart Cultural Patronage," in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 168.

14. James M. Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 152.

15. *Le grand Balet de la Reyne, dancé au Louvre le 5 mars de l'an 1623*, also entitled *Les Festes de Junon la Nopcière: Ballet pour la Reyne* (Paris, 1623).

16. Jacquot, "La Reine Henriette-Marie" (n. 1 above), pp. 129–30.

17. In 1625, the year of Henrietta Maria's marriage, Boisrobert's verses for the *Ballet de la Reine d'Angleterre* had already celebrated Henrietta Maria as Juno, goddess of the air, united with Charles, a god with empire over the sea. It is not clear that this ballet was ever performed due to the mourning period for James I. See Marie-Claude Canova-Green, *La Politique-spectacle au grand siècle: les rapports franco-anglais* (Paris: Biblio 17 [Papers on French Seventeenth-Century Literature], 1993), p. 243.

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But what are we to make of Harmony's personation, in *Tempe Restored*, specifically by a woman singer? Harmony personified appears nowhere in the *Balet Comique*, and we have no information, to my knowledge, regarding the gender identity of Harmony's performer in the 1623 ballet of Juno. For the 1589 Florentine *intermedii*, however, we know conclusively that Harmony's part had been performed by the professional singer Vittoria Archiliei.[18] Henrietta Maria's mother, Marie de Medici, had attended this event as a privileged spectator, and once Marie became queen of France, she in turn actively sponsored performances at the French court by internationally famous Italian singer-actresses such as Isabella Andreini and Francesca Caccini.[19] Marie de Medici had also employed a skillful diva in at least one of her own court ballets, the iconography of which is directly relevant to *Tempe Restored*.

Entitled *Le Ballet de la Reyne Representant la Beauté et ses Nymphes* [*The Ballet of the Queen Representing Beauty and her Nymphs*], this court ballet is described in one contemporary memoir as "le plus beau, et le dernier aussi, qu'elle [Marie] a dansé" [the most beautiful, and the last also, that the queen danced].[20] Particularly remarkable, it seems, was the Naiad's song performed during this ballet by one Angélique Paulet (later a famous *précieuse*).[21] Appearing in the role of a Naiad seated on a dolphin, Paulet prophesied the arrival at court of Beauty and her nymphs (Marie de Medici and her ladies); these goddesses, her song claimed, would bring "meilleures loix" [better laws] to those who "bruslent d'une ardeur profane" [burn in profane love]. Indeed, from these "si chastes examples" [models of chastity], courtiers otherwise enslaved by Cupid's tyranny would learn how to "se reformer" [reform

18. Saslow, pp. 39, 52–53, 62, 152.

19. On Marie de Medici's personal involvement in bringing to France internationally famous professional women singer-actresses such as Isabella Andreini and Francesca Caccini, see W. L. (David) Wiley, *The Early Public Theatre in France* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 22–24; Gilder (n. 8 above), p. 31; I. A. Schwartz, *The Commedia dell'Arte and Its Influence on French Comedy in the Seventeenth Century* (Paris: H. Samuel, 1933), pp. 47–49; Anne MacNeil, "The Divine Madness of Isabella Andreini," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120 (1995): 195–215, "A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Woman," *Musical Quarterly* 83 (1999): 247–79, and "Music and the Life and Work of Isabella Andreini: Humanistic Attitudes toward Music, Poetry, and Theater during the late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1994); and Doris Silbert, "Francesca Caccini, Called La Cecchina," *Musical Quarterly* 32 (1946): 50–62.

20. François de Bassompierre, *Journal de ma vie. Mémoires du Maréchal de Bassompierre*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1870), 4:223.

21. On the legendary nature of this performance by Paulet, see Henri Prunières, *Le Ballet de Cour en France avant Benserade et Lully* (1914; reprint, Paris: Éditions Lanore, 1982), pp. 108, 190.

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themselves].[22] Thus praised in song, Marie de Medici as Beauty then entered to lead her nymphlike ladies in a "chaisne" or chain, a geometric dance form involving interlacing lines and serpentine patterns.[23] A sung air introducing this dance further emphasized the reforming effects of such movements:

> Nos esprits libres & contents
> Viuent en ces doux passe-temps,
> Et par de si chastes plaisirs
> Bannissent tous autres desirs.[24]
>
> [Our free and happy spirits
> live in these sweet pastimes,
> and through such chaste pleasures
> banish all other desires.]

This récit explained further that it was "plustost avec cet art"—that is, the art of dancing in weaving motions in and out—that Beauty and her nymphs could successfully avoid the arrows aimed at them by a tyrannical Cupid.

Like this 1609 ballet, *Tempe Restored* tells a story of queenly beauty and its centrality to statecraft. For such a theme, *Tempe Restored* also could easily have drawn on Anna of Denmark's 1608 *Masque of Beauty*, a performance that, according to Barbara Lewalski, depicts female beauty harnessed allegorically in service to royal and national concerns.[25] But Henrietta Maria and her collaborators were also likely to have been familiar with Marie de Medici's famous ballet of Beauty and its availability as a model for imitation by other royal women. Jones and/or Townshend may have had firsthand knowledge of Marie's performance: early in 1609 Townshend was in France with Lord Herbert, while in the spring of that year Jones was in Paris on diplomatic business.[26] This ballet's verses also circulated widely in print via the 1609 *Recueil des vers* but also in later poetry compilations and books of court

22. *Recueil des vers du balet de la Reyne représentant la Beauté et ses Nymphes, dansé le 31 janvier 1609* (Paris, 1609), p. 3.

23. On the early dance form of the *chaîne* or *hay* and its relation to geometric dance forms in later Grand Ballets, see Mark Franko, *Dance as Text: Ideologies of the Baroque Body* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 26, and "Geometrical Dance in French Court Ballet," *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Conference of the Society of Dance History Scholars* (Riverside, Calif.: Dance History Scholars, 1986), pp. 23, 30, n. 40.

24. *Recueil des Vers du Balet*, p. 6.

25. Lewalski (n. 7 above), pp. 34–35.

26. Townshend was in France in 1608 and returned to England in January 1609 (Chambers [n. 3 above], p. xv). On Jones's diplomatic mission to France in 1609, see John Peacock, "The French Element in Inigo Jones' Masque Designs," in *The Court Masque*, ed. David Lindley (Manchester University Press, 1984), pp. 149–68, esp. p. 150.

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airs. Growing up at the French court, Henrietta Maria likely would have heard about this magnificent 1609 production.[27] She most certainly was a spectator at a performance of a later ballet with the same title. In Paris in 1618, nine years after Marie de Medici's ballet of Beauty, another brochure was published entitled *Vers Pour Le Ballet De La Reine, Représentant la Beauté & ses Nymphes.* Presumably these verses were written for an adaptation of Marie de Medici's earlier ballet, this time with her daughter-in-law Anne of Austria in the starring role. According to the 1618 verses, in this second ballet of Beauty the French queen directed her ladies, dressed as nymphs, in an ordered dance symbolizing the "nouvelles loi[s]" that she, another chaste Diana, imposed on spirits who would otherwise burn in profane love. Henrietta Maria was at court during the period of this ballet's performance; she is very likely, then, to have been one of its spectators and therefore to have seen firsthand the process whereby a younger royal woman might resurrect and appropriate in support of her own queenly authority court ballet iconography previously associated with Marie's most famous production.

It is thus quite possible that in Marie de Medici's court ballets as a whole and her 1609 ballet of Beauty in particular Henrietta Maria and her masque collaborators had useful models for the promotion of women's court performance. Erica Veevers has convincingly traced in Henrietta Maria's English masques as a whole the rhetoric of Devout Humanism, a type of *préciosité* fostered at Marie de Medici's court. Devout Humanism conceived an important role for women as intermediaries or conduits to God through their embodiment of certain Neoplatonic qualities, namely, Love, Virtue, and Beauty. Taking this French tradition a step further, Veevers argues, Henrietta's masques often present the queen as embodying the Idea of Beauty, leading the souls of her husband and her subjects to a deeper contemplation of

27. Henrietta Maria may also have been quite literally exposed to this ballet in utero. Lestoile records that the queen put on "son balet magnifique" on the last day of January 1609, not only at the Arsenal but also at the lodging of Queen Marguerite. See his *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1719), 2:263. Héroard also mentions in an entry for January 31, 1609, that the Dauphin was given a new outfit "pour aller après souper à l'Arsenal, y voir danser le ballet de la Reine." See *Journal de Jean Héroard, sur l'enfance et la jeunesse de Louis XIII (1601–1628)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1868), 1:381. According to Bassompierre's memoirs, Marie de Medici began rehearsing a ballet on January 16 of this year (*Journal de ma vie*, 1:213–14). In an entry written in March, 1609, however, Bassompierre writes: "Le ballet de la reine se dansa le premier dimanche de caresme." The first Sunday of Lent 1609 was March 8 (1:223). Henrietta Maria was born November 26, 1609; if Bassompierre's note dating this second performance is correct, Marie de Medici would have been approximately three weeks pregnant with Henrietta when she danced this ballet.

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God.[28] Identified by Veevers as having been rooted in the theological and intellectual programs of Devout Humanism, the themes of female beauty that occupy *Tempe Restored* are less easily dismissed out of hand as vapid and naive. Equally important, however, is the fact that Henrietta's embodiment of Beauty in *Tempe Restored* also quite specifically recalls her mother's devout humanist *stage* rhetoric. In Marie's 1609 ballet of Beauty, as we have seen, Marie and her ladies were famously praised in song by a woman. So twenty-three years later, Henrietta Maria's praises were sung by Mistress Shepherd. And just as Marie had appeared in 1609 as beauty with a capital *B*, a goddess whose ordered dancing provided a model for chaste pleasures by which lustful courtiers could reform themselves, so too in *Tempe Restored* it is Marie's daughter who in the role of Beauty—Divine Beauty no less—descends to earth and, through the chaste pleasures of courtly dance, dissolves Circe's lustful enchantments.

Tempe Restored, therefore, synthesizes plots, iconographies, and casting choices from court spectacles associated directly with Henrietta Maria and/or female members of her immediate family. The result is a thematically coherent, unified allegorical message regarding the moral and spiritual force beautifully embodied in queenly dancing. To convey this message, moreover, *Tempe Restored* employs not only the silent dancing of elite female masquers but also the sound of women's voices, a phenomenon new to Caroline masque but not, as we have seen, to Italian *intermedii* and French court ballet.

Seemingly unprecedented not only in England but also on the continent, however, was the dynamic in *Tempe Restored* by which the voice of an otherwise silent queen was heard—in another woman's song. As we have seen, Harmony's first words—"Not as myself, but as the brightest star . . . come to reign this day"—paradoxically announce themselves as belonging not to the character and performer who physically utters them but instead to her queen. This moment, I suggest, relies on a conceit whereby the coordinated dance lines measured by Henrietta Maria and her ladies represented visually that branch of music known to Renaissance humanist theorists, following Boethius, as *musica mundana*. On this view, universal harmony or cosmic music encompassed a set of celestial spheres, bearing along with them the constellations in a vast, harmonious dance of perfectly proportioned ratios.[29] In its

28. See Veevers (n. 1 above), pp. 2–3, 150–209.

29. I borrow this phrasing from John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry, 1500–1700* (Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 24–25, 39. As Hollander succinctly explains, cosmic music in the late sixteenth century was actively imagined in relation to practices of courtly dancing. For further explication of this idea in connection with French court ballet (including the *Balet Comique*), see Franko, *Dance as Text*, pp. 32–51. Other useful discussions of Renaissance musical humanism

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ultimate perfection, this cosmic harmony could not usually be perceived by human senses. But when in *Tempe Restored* the queen and her ladies "vouchsafe to stoop / And move to earth" from the heavens (lines 218–19), thus making themselves perceptible to mortals, their silent dancing instantiates visually, for the masque audience, the otherwise transcendent music of astral bodies in motion: Divine Beauty and her starry troupe are, as Harmony's text tells us, "music to all eyes." Peter Walls has noted in numerous masques devised by Inigo Jones during this period the implicit idea that "beauty is harmony made visible."[30] I would further specify that this idea of harmony made visible in beauty specifically underpins *Tempe Restored*'s otherwise paradoxical assertion of identity between Mistress Shepherd's Harmony and Henrietta Maria's Divine Beauty. The queen's visually striking appearance as Beauty, in other words, renders her the visible instantiation of the same cosmic harmony made perceptible to human ears in Mistress Shepherd's song.

In England prior to Henrietta Maria's arrival, as previously noted, queens' voices were typically heard in neither plays nor masques. Yet according to late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century French standards of courtly decorum, a princess or queen might well speak or sing in a *pastorale* or *comédie*, though not in a court ballet. The reason for this distinction is not transparent. Yet we may observe that *ballet de cour* restrictions on royal women's speech and song seem less rooted in ideologies of gender than in those of class—for typically royal and aristocratic men, too, neither sang nor spoke in court ballets. The reason for this was that while court ballet was in some sense dramatic—there was always some plot or hinge, no matter how loose—the genre was designed, above all, to display royal magnificence in dancing, an art form unto itself. And at this stage in the history of court ballet, dancing, singing, and declaiming were conceived as separate performance activities within one overarching form.[31] Henrietta Maria's stage

include Yates (n. 10 above); D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (1958; reprint, Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1969); Gretchen Finney, *Musical Backgrounds for English Literature: 1580–1650* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1962); Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (University of Chicago Press, 1993); Walls (n. 4 above); and David Lindley, "The Politics of Music in the Masque," in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 273–95.

30. See Walls, pp. 206–20, esp. p. 215.

31. According to Victor Fournel, a court ballet's récits—discrete units of sung or spoken text—were performed "par des personages qui n'y dansaient pas" (*Théatre de la Cour: Ballets et Mascarades* [Paris, 1866], p. 174). On the necessary temporal and generic distinctions between music, dance, and poetry in French court ballet, see also Franko, *Dance as Text*, p. 43.

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career in England, therefore, upheld the prerogatives of royal women's performance with which she was most familiar, that is, French ones. She recited and even sang in plays, but never in masques—at least not literally. In *Tempe Restored*, Henrietta remains literally silent but figuratively vocal, "throwing" her voice, as a ventriloquist would do, through Mistress Shepherd's Harmony.

This device might profitably be read against what Elizabeth Harvey, discussing Renaissance English literature, has called "transvestite ventriloquism": the phenomenon by which male authors (and male performers) in the early modern period represented feminine speech, in the process often "foster[ing] a vision that tended to reinforce women's silence or to marginalize their voices when they did speak or write."[32] *Tempe Restored*'s ventriloquization of its queen's voice through Mistress Shepherd's Harmony at first seems to resemble this pattern: "Nor can we hold you long," Harmony and her choir sing, "For there are stars to rise / That, far above our song, / Are music to all eyes" (lines 168–71). Asserting the greater eloquence of the queen's silent, and hence more metaphysically perfect, dance performance, Harmony and her choir also emphasize the limited efficacy of their own, heard music.[33] Harmony's verses would thus seem to bolster prohibitions on female vocality operative in English masque as a whole.[34] On the other hand, Harmony's status as Divine Beauty's voice enables the queen to participate vicariously in the increasingly fashionable vocal virtuosity of women singers within court ballets, while at the same time not giving up that specifically kinetic virtuosity that more than any other performance mode within the masque genre marked the prerogatives of rule.[35]

32. Elizabeth D. Harvey, *Ventriloquized Voices: Feminist Theory and English Renaissance Texts* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 5.

33. See Walls, p. 217, who notes the similarly self-derogatory aspect of the sung text performed by the Highest Sphere and his chorus.

34. Indeed, James Knowles has argued that in this moment, regal silence becomes "a choice that stresses the queen's ultimately superior power above the mundane issues of body and voice" (I am grateful to Professor Knowles for sharing with me prior to its publication his essay "'Can ye not tell a man from a marmoset?': Apes and Others on the Early Modern Stage").

35. Lindley has written that Circe's bewitching song "enacts a subversive gesture that the work as a whole fails quite to subdue" ("Politics of Music," p. 288), while Sophie Tomlinson, building on this idea, asserts that Henrietta Maria, who in *Tempe Restored* is relegated to a mute, "comparatively static" performance, may not have been able to compete with the "spell cast by Circe's voice" ("Theatrical Vibrancy on the Caroline Court Stage: *Tempe Restored* and *The Shepherds' Paradise*," forthcoming in *Women and Culture at the Courts of the Stuart Queens*, ed. Clare McManus [Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003]). While similarly acknowledging the rhetorical and aesthetic impact of Madame Coniack/Circe's singing, I wish to emphasize the ways in which this masque's ventriloquization of the dancing Henrietta Maria's mute yet kinetic visual beauty through

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Henrietta's prerogatives and power as queen consort are, in fact, asserted emphatically throughout *Tempe Restored*, a point that becomes especially clear by comparison with her counterpart's more circumscribed, less efficacious role in the *Balet Comique.* In that court ballet, the French queen and her nymphs (Louise de Lorraine and her ladies) are literally rendered immobile by Circe's magic spells in the midst of their dance, and are released from their frozen state solely by the powerful gaze of the French king. In *Tempe Restored*, by contrast, Henrietta Maria is central to Circe's undoing. First, the masque's prose allegory makes clear that it is not the king alone but rather Henrietta and Charles together—the union of the queen's Divine Beauty with the king's Heroic Virtue—that induces Circe to "voluntarily deliver her golden rod to Minerva" (lines 342–46). Second, the masque's action has Henrietta Maria quite literally upstage the king to whom she is consort: Divine Beauty ravishes the masque's spectators with visual delight, particularly the pleasures of seeing their queen, in celestial garb, perform feats of kinetic virtuosity—descending from the heavens in a golden chariot to perform not just one but two dances. Within the performed action, the king remains immobile and passive; it is the descent and dancing of Henrietta Maria alone that acts as the visible agent of Circe's defeat.

Only one year later, in the *Shepherds' Paradise*, Henrietta Maria would herself sing and speak when performing the role of Bellessa, a queen and another personification of beauty. Pastoral plays, then, gave her more scope for vocal virtuosity than even the most innovative queen's masque could do. Yet *Tempe Restored* moves Henrietta Maria as close to vocal performance as its genre possibly allows. It does not strictly break with the codes by which both English masque and French court ballet delimited elite masquers' voices. Within those codes, however, the use of a woman to personate Harmony means that the queen does not have to choose between singing and dancing. Instead, through a ventriloquization self-consciously imagined at the level of the text, Henrietta Maria has her cake and eats it too: the voiced but nonetheless chaste eloquence of Harmony's song and the mute elegance of Divine Beauty's patterned movements. The queen herself obeys the genre's injunctions against speech or song by royal women. But the queen's masque, incorporating Mistress Shepherd's song as a kind of queenly ventriloquism, is less clearly obedient.

Mistress Shepherd's singing Harmony enables Henrietta Maria to partially negotiate the very dilemma Tomlinson points us to. I am grateful to Professor Tomlinson for sharing her essay with me prior to its publication.

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Still, we might press further the question of why the queen's voice thrown through Harmony needs to be embodied in a female performer per se, and what difference this choice makes to the masque's meaning. One reason for this casting choice might be *Tempe Restored*'s insistent logic of allusion. Mistress Shepherd's Harmony in *Tempe Restored* no doubt alludes to Vittoria Archilei's famous 1589 performance, in Florence, as Doric Harmony. The interaction in *Tempe Restored* between Harmony and Divine Beauty, moreover, recalls that of the Naiad praising Henrietta Maria's mother in the 1609 ballet of Beauty. In this ballet, as in *Tempe Restored*, a queen is praised in song by a woman character—performed by a woman. Flattering allusion thus works overtime: at the level of the text but also at the level of the gendered bodies performing that text. But Harmony also needs to be personated by a woman for reasons specific to *Tempe Restored*'s own thematic logic: its allegory defending beauty and beauty's instantiation in women's artistry.

To get at this issue, let us first imagine what would have occurred had Madame Coniack, in the role of Circe, been the only female singer. Circe, like Henrietta Maria, is a queen. Circe also resembles Divine Beauty insofar as both are ravishingly beautiful.[36] The temptress, however, represents false beauty insofar as she encourages desire gone wrong: service to her is but "lust's easy trade" (line 92). If Circe were the only female character to sing in *Tempe Restored*, we would be left, on the level of the fiction, with a seductive sorceress as the only embodiment of women's singing. This difficulty would only have been compounded if Madame Coniack's had been the only vocal role performed by a woman singer, especially since the audience for this particular masque was likely to have been aware of all the performers' identities, including their gender identities. As Gossett has explained, English masques usually required their audiences to recognize the historical identities of aristocratic and royal masquers while ignoring the personal identities of professional singers, speakers, or antimasquers. Because royal and aristocratic masquers appeared on stage as allegorical versions of their best, most idealized selves, a masque's meaning depended on the audience recognizing the decorous conjunction between a masquer's fictional role and his or her social identity. Traditionally, audiences received consistent signals aiding them in interpreting the presence of elite masquers: these performers did

36. In Jones's words, "The [masque's] description of her [Circe's] person, of extraordinary beauty, and sweetness of her voice . . . and the beautiful aspect of her enchanted palace, glistering with gold and precious ornaments, [shows] that desire cannot be moved without appearance of beauty, either true or false" (lines 320–26).

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not speak or sing, and appeared in the main masque, never in antimasques. *Tempe Restored*, however, violates these clear distinctions.[37] Unlike the majority of English court masques, where women participated only as silent masquers, in *Tempe Restored* Circe's lines were sung out loud by Madame Coniack. The normal codes by which the Whitehall masque audience would have distinguished between silent women masquers and vocal male professionals thus would have broken down. Under these circumstances, as Gossett has argued, it would have been reasonable for the audience to look for the social identities of not just the masquers but also the professional performers, and to link all of those identities to the masque's meaning.

We are now in a position to posit what would really have been at stake had *Tempe Restored* used only one woman singer. The audience would likely have recognized the conjunction between Circe's gender and the gender of the singer-actress performing her. Given that Circe's character represents desire gone wrong, the masque would have seemed to naturalize what Linda Austern has outlined as the early modern period's all-too-ready equation of women's singing with lasciviousness.[38] So a binary opposition would have been created, or rather, upheld: a woman's voice may have been heard on the Whitehall masque stage, but its moral valence would only have reinforced notions that women's continence and chastity, seen as necessary for their harmonious participation in a patriarchal social order, could only be embodied in women's silence.

Given that Henrietta herself was well known to possess a fine singing instrument (which she liked to exercise), a masque that so easily equated female song with unrestrained passion might well have insulted its patron more than it flattered her. So the masque wisely disrupts such binarisms. First, *Tempe Restored* converts its Circe, much as Torquato Tasso had converted his Circean Armida, to the cause of marriage.[39] Once Henrietta Maria stoops to earth, dances, and is "seated under the state by his majesty" (line 259), Circe voluntarily cedes Tempe's rule to England's royal couple: "This matchless pair / I make my heir; / All I possess I here resign, / Thou hast thy will, and I

37. In *Tempe Restored*, as Gossett explains, this violation is present from the beginning of the masque's action. The very opening scene has a court page, Thomas Killigrew, performing a young gentleman favorite escaped from Circe's court. Courtiers should not speak in performance, but Killigrew does, and at length.

38. Linda Phyllis Austern, " 'Sing againe syren': The Female Musician and Sexual Enchantment in Elizabethan Life and Literature," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989): 420–49, and " 'Alluring the auditorie to effeminacie': Music and the Idea of the Feminine in Early Modern England," *Music and Letters* 74 (1993): 343–52.

39. See Melinda J. Gough, "Tasso's Enchantress, Tasso's Captive Woman," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001): 523–52.

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have mine" (lines 288–91). But as soon as this transformation has been effected, Circe is summarily made to retire, never to be heard from again on *Tempe Restored*'s stage. Enter a second singer-actress, one Mistress Shepherd, to sing the role of Harmony. Like Madame Coniack, Mistress Shepherd is female, and she sings on the masque stage. Yet her character unambiguously personifies harmony and order, never an unrestrained passion that threatens this order. Through metaphor, moreover, Harmony's song is not her own but the queen's. By extension, then, queenly voices can be lustful, as was Circe's, but also categorically ethereal and chaste, as is Divine Beauty's Harmony.

* * *

We are by now quite far from the arguments of Reyher, Chambers, and Welsford with which we began, dismissals of this masque as derivative, unsophisticated, and incoherently fragmented at the levels of plot and theme. *Tempe Restored*, I have argued, innovatively synthesizes European performance precedents to achieve an allusiveness particularly flattering to its queenly patron. In so doing, it offers a unified, self-conscious allegory regarding the chaste powers of beauty, in art and in women. *Tempe Restored*'s casting choices, too, are consistent with, even central to, that allegorical meaning.

Numerous questions remain. The first has to do with what is at stake in this effort to resuscitate *Tempe Restored* on these aesthetic grounds. I have attempted to counter a subjective evaluation of art by initially considering the masque's ideological function, applying methods of literary criticism but also musicology and dance studies in order to focus on women's inclusion or exclusion in performance. A comparative study of women's participation in European court spectacle, however, takes us back to the level of the text's themes and allegories, which I have argued include the very issue of whether and how women should appear on the masque stage. The theme of a harmonizing female beauty, rooted in a theological program of Devout Humanism, seems intellectually complex rather than vapid. Moreover, in showing how a defense of women's chaste visual and vocal beauty unites this masque's allegedly fragmented scenes, my argument challenges neat assertions that *Tempe Restored* lacks thematic and dramatic unity. I myself am not convinced that it is unity and innovation, rather than fragmentation and imitation, that make good art; such criteria are certainly subject to debate, not only today but also in aesthetic theory from the early modern period itself.[40] The point, though, is

40. See Franko, *Dance as Text* (n. 23 above), pp. 63–107.

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that arguments about *Tempe Restored*'s lack of artistic merit do not stand even on their own terms.

Second, we might reasonably ask to what extent Henrietta Maria may be credited for the material and thematic developments I have traced in *Tempe Restored*. Malcolm Smuts has argued that in the creation of Caroline masques, "responsibilities remained so fluid that we cannot always know for certain who decided on the themes and symbols used in these spectacles: Jones alone, a team including Jones and others, or even the King himself."[41] The strong tradition of royal women's performance in France touched on in this essay suggests that to this list we must add the queen.[42] Given Henrietta's extensive prior experience as a performer at the Bourbon court, together with her probable knowledge of court ballets sponsored and performed by her own mother, this queen's role in shaping her own English masques must have been more extensive and incisive than has hitherto been explored. We can say this without merely positing her "authorship" in the narrow sense of that term, but rather by suggesting the general influence of her queenship on those artists, such as Jones and Townshend, whose job it was to create court panegyric favorable to their female patron.[43] For it is not only the queen's frenchified literary tastes as a cultural consumer but also her prerogatives and propensities as a performer that influenced *Tempe Restored*'s choice of dramatic subject and its use of not just one but two women singers. And it is primarily by emphasizing the shared qualities of Divine Beauty and Harmony, elite silent dancer and nonelite vocal singer, that this masque saves chaste beauty not only for frenchified English queens but also for those women singers they might employ to perform along with them.

The relentlessly personal nature of *Tempe Restored*'s flattering allusions to French precedents may thus go some way toward rescuing from charges of aesthetic and intellectual poverty not only this particular masque but also the larger cultural world of its performer-patron. My reading, however, only partly saves Henrietta Maria's masques from their tainted association with absolutist politics. Caro-

41. Smuts, "Political Failure" (n. 13 above), p. 170.

42. On the mutually productive artistic collaboration between Jones and Henrietta Maria, see also Peacock, "The French Element" (n. 26 above), and *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context* (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

43. On the question of queens as English masque "authors," see Marion Wynne-Davies, "The Queen's Masque: Renaissance Women and the Seventeenth-Century Court Masque," in *Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private, in the English Renaissance*, ed. S. P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), pp. 79–104.

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line masques have often been criticized by historians and literary critics for exemplifying, even exacerbating, the court's atmosphere of unreality insofar as they substituted flattery of the monarch for meaningful contact with the political nation.[44] If *Tempe Restored*'s flattery of its female patron works in part by allusions to familial and personal performance histories, as I have argued, this fact only reinforces notions of the masque as a genre that attempted to speak primarily if not exclusively to the world of the court, an elite audience "in the know." My reading of the relationship between Circe, Harmony, and Divine Beauty, moreover, partially reinforces new historicist arguments that masques, like other genres, include potentially transgressive voices only for the purpose of containing them. *Tempe Restored*, as we have seen, literally incorporates nonelite women's voices for what seems to have been the first time on the Whitehall masque stage. But these voices sound ultimately in order to glorify the queen, and to assert her absolute supremacy: women in the audience must listen only to Harmony's song ("ladies lend us your ears"), and that song's overarching purpose is to assert the queen's preeminence.

Yet this masque as a whole, by emphasizing the female consort's aesthetic, moral, and even political authority, may certainly be said to have shifted the balance of power within absolutist rhetoric, downplaying its most patriarchal features as articulated by Henrietta Maria's father-in-law, James I, a notorious misogynist who likened the king's prerogatives within the state to those of the father within the household. Monarchical rule is still absolute, but *Tempe Restored* represents that absolutist power as shared within the royal marriage, in novel ways. This is not an overthrow of patriarchal dicta by any stretch of the imagination. Women's chastity is still elevated against its evil double, women's disordered and disorderly passion. And the queen consort's power still depends on her social role as the king's wife, such that female rule remains inconceivable in and of itself. These limitations being fully acknowledged, it is also true that under Henrietta Maria's aegis the Caroline court produced a masque, *Tempe Restored*, that celebrated to an unprecedented degree the prerogatives of elite and nonelite women alike to participate centrally in the social, political, and increasingly theatrical functions of majesty.

44. For a summary of this view, see R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), p. 4.

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