
*The Spanish Ambassador and Samuel Daniel's
Vision of the Twelve Goddesses: A New Document
[with text]*

Recent scholarship has explored how masques and court entertainments combined playful diversion with more weighty matters, sometimes registering tensions and sources of conflict while conforming nonetheless to the protocol that the festivities complimented and praised the most important member of the audience, the monarch.¹ But above all the masque was an event, as well as, subsequently, a published representation as a text—the form in which it must be experienced today. The masque is particularly interesting because it was an occasion when the court staged itself: in new historicist formulations it was power as “illusion” or “display,” whereby the privileged audience participated in the enactment or rehearsal of a political world in which they themselves played a part.² Masques, then, were always more than the texts that survived into print. Fortunately for scholars

We would like to thank the archivists at the Archivo General de Simancas for their assistance, the staff of Gladstone's Library, Flintshire, where it was completed, and the Spanish Government's financial support by funding the Proyecto I+D+i Libros, viajes, fe y diplomacia: interpretación y representación del intercambio cultural entre España e Inglaterra en la Edad Moderna. FFI2009–10816.

1. See, e.g., Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603–1642* (Manchester, 1981); *The Court Masque*, ed. David Lindley (Manchester, 1984); *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts*, ed. J.R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge, Eng., 1993), and *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge, Eng., 1998); Clare McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court (1590–1619)* (Manchester, 2002); Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music* (Oxford, 2006); and Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (Cambridge, Eng., 2008).

2. See Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1975), and Leonard Tennenhouse, *Power on Display: The Politics of Shakespeare's Genres* (London, 1986).

their elite status sometimes contributed to the survival of important information, such as the names of participants or eyewitness accounts.³ In what follows we present a previously unknown document that sheds new light on the early stages of the peace negotiations between England and Spain following James's accession, and the circumstances surrounding the performance of Samuel Daniel's *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* in January 1604. This material consists of a dispatch from the Spanish ambassador to Philip III, comprising a letter and a text of the masque, the performance of which occasioned a diplomatic crisis that underscored James's, but most significantly Anna of Denmark's, determination to secure peace with Spain.

Among the ambassadors sent to celebrate the accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne in 1603, perhaps the most important, in terms of his mission and the long-term ramifications of its outcome, was Juan de Tassis, Conde de Villamediana. For the King of Spain's representative was the first to be presented at an English court in almost twenty years⁴ for negotiations that would bring to an end hostilities between the two nations. James's desire to make peace with Spain was deeply controversial, and his entire reign would be dogged by suspicion that he was excessively "pro-Spanish," a suspicion that the Spanish Match fiasco⁵ did little to assuage. Villamediana's dispatch to Philip III, now held in the state archives in Simancas, make clear the political maneuverings occurring early in James's reign.⁶

3. Of course in some cases the venues themselves have survived; see, e.g., John Astington, *English Court Theatre, 1558-1642* (Cambridge, Eng., 1999), pp. 35-74.

4. In January 1584 Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, was declared persona non grata for spying and plotting against Queen Elizabeth, and was ordered to leave the country within two hours.

5. On the proposed royal marriage, see Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven, 2003). On Thomas Middleton's stage satire at the Globe and the political and diplomatic context, see, e.g., *A Game at Chess*, ed. T.H. Howard-Hill (Manchester, 1993); *Middleton's "Vulgar Pasquin": Essays on 'A Game at Chess,'* ed. T.H. Howard-Hill (London and Toronto, 1995); Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge, Eng., 1989); and *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works*, gen. ed. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford, 2007), pp. 865-73.

6. For a succinct summary of the political context, see Peter Holbrook, "Jacobean Masques and the Jacobean Peace," in ed. Bevington and Holbrook, *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, pp. 67-87, esp. pp. 69-70.

Villamediana landed at Dover on September 1, 1603, together with a company of almost one hundred men.⁷ According to a contemporary Spanish account, the party was greeted with admiration by the populace, not least because of the scale of the operation.⁸ Due to a severe outbreak of plague, however, he could not be received by the King, and so instead embarked on a tour across the south of England that took him from Dover to Canterbury, Rochester, London, Maidenhead, Henley, Oxford, and Southampton, before finally being received by James at Winchester (where he attended a masque) a month after his arrival.⁹ In the light of what was to follow, Villamediana's concern while at Dover, that the French ambassador already had the King's ear, was prescient.¹⁰ France was strongly opposed to the prospect of an end to a war that had suited it, fearing peace would strengthen both England and Spain at her expense. There was a symmetry at work: James "understood how vital it was to English interests that Spain and France, traditional enemies, should remain at enmity."¹¹ The initial contacts between England and her erstwhile enemy were then carried out in an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and diplomatic maneuvering that caught the eye of contemporary observers. When the plague eased, allowing the court to return to

7. Where dates are Continental style, as is the case of the Spanish documents examined here, this will be indicated.

8. This account, *Relacion muy verdadera del Recebimiento y Fiestas que se le hizieron en Inglaterra a Don Juan de Tassis, Conde de Villamediana, Embaxador extraordinario de su Magestad del Rey Don Felipe tercero nuestro Señor, para el Nuevo Rey Iacobo de Inglaterra* (Sevilla, 1603–1604), was written in two parts and published sequentially; it was clearly designed to publicize Villamediana's visit and emphasize how well he was received in England.

9. *Relacion*. The plague of 1603 was particularly virulent; for an account of its impact on playhouses, see Leeds Barroll, *Politics, Plague, and Shakespeare's Theater: The Stuart Years* (Ithaca, 1991), pp. 70–116. Ian Munro, "The City and its Double: Plague Time in Early Modern London," *English Literary Renaissance* 30 (2000), 241–61, states that "In 1603 plague killed one in five Londoners in the space of a few months. Over thirty thousand died and thousands more fled the city, causing London virtually to stop" (241). On the Winchester masque, Ernest Law remarks merely that "a masque of some sort, of which no detailed account is extant, was acted before the Court and the Spanish ambassador." See *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses, a Royall Masque*, by Samuel Daniel, ed. Law (London, 1880), p. 7. Martin Butler does not mention the presence of the Spanish ambassador but quotes from Anne Clifford's diary: "there was much talk of a masque which the Queen had at Winchester, and how all the ladies about the court had gotten such ill names that it was grown a scandalous place, and the Queen herself was much fallen from her former greatness and reputation she had in the world" (p. 128).

10. "The Spanish Ambassador, impatient at the delay of his audience, the French Ambassador being continually at Court," *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1603–10*, p. 40.

11. Holbrook, p. 69.

London, the rivalry between Villamediana and his French counterpart, Christophe de Harlay, Comte de Beaumont, spilled over into the Christmas and New Year festivities.¹²

The apparently petty quarrels between ambassadors in the early modern period were and are of interest to commentators, contemporaries finding much amusement in gentle (and not so gentle) lampoons. Charles I's Master of the Revels, Sir John Finet, defined the genre with *Philoxenis* (1656), his collection of anecdotes glossed on the title-page as "Some Choice Observations touching the Reception, and Precedence, the Treatment and Audience, the Punctillios and Contests of Foreign Ambassadors in England."¹³ It was a tradition that would become particularly associated with Spain in the figure of the notorious Conde de Gondomar in the second half of James's reign. But what appeared trivial often concerned diplomatic protocol.¹⁴ The question of etiquette was bound up with the exercise and pursuit of power and influence, and neither the behavior of ambassadors nor the jokes at their expense were anything other than political, as all concerned recognized. So, when the Spanish and French ambassadors clashed at James's court there was a great deal at stake.¹⁵

Dudley Carleton's description of these events makes much of this rivalry, and scholarly accounts of the episode have tended to focus on the comedic aspects of the ambassadors' behavior; but this is to miss the political implications of such apparently inconsequential matters.¹⁶ No doubt Carleton, a budding diplomat who would accompany the Earl of Nottingham to Spain to ratify the peace treaty in 1605, was fully aware of the politics surrounding what he called the "brabbles amongst our ambassadors" (p. 53). The matter came to a head over the planning of two masques as part of the court's Christmas celebrations. Although ostensibly intended to commemorate the new reign, the festivities were overshadowed by the King and Queen's overtures of peace, which in

12. Beaumont's mission to the court of James I lasted from 1602 to 1605.

13. See *Ceremonies of Charles I: The Note Books of John Finet, Master of Ceremonies, 1628-1641*, ed. Albert J. Loomie, S.J. (New York, 1987).

14. Jean Hotman's *The Ambassador* (1603) includes a lengthy discussion about "presidencia," which he illustrates with the quarrels between France and Spain (among others). For a discussion of the significance of protocol, see William Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach," *The Journal of Modern History* 52 (1980), 452-76.

15. Such clashes between French and Spanish ambassadors dated back to 1459 and lasted well into the seventeenth century; see Roosen, 462-63.

16. See *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, 1603-1624: Jacobean Letters*, ed. Maurice Lee, Jr. (New Brunswick, 1972).

turn produced political tensions both domestically, within the court, and among the various ambassadors. What brought these tensions into play was not only the masques themselves but the activity behind the scenes that threatened to prevent their staging altogether.

ii

For the first Christmas of the new reign elaborate celebrations were planned. Letters by contemporaries attest to the scale and cost of the proposed festivities: both Dudley Carleton and Sir Thomas Edmonds record the parallel arrangements for two masques, one to be performed by the “younge Lordes and chief Gentlemen,” the other by the Queen and her ladies; while Lady Arabella Stuart’s letter of December 18 reports that the late Queen’s wardrobe was to supply garments to be used for the new Queen’s masque.¹⁷ Carleton provides an eyewitness account of both the gentlemen’s and the Queen’s masques, as well as information on the quarrel between the French and Spanish ambassadors. The controversy was a familiar one: the question of precedence and favor, signaled by the issuing of invitations to the ambassadors. But it was compounded by the backlog of events caused by the plague.¹⁸ Both Beaumont and Villamediana recognized that attendance at the Queen’s masque was more prestigious than an invitation to the gentlemen’s masque because Queen Anna herself would be participating. And Anna, it soon became apparent, was the key player in the promotion of the peace.¹⁹ The problem arose because all concerned realized that each ambassador could attend one but not both of the masques.

As surviving accounts reveal, it was decided that Beaumont should be invited not to the second, more prestigious masque, but to the first, the gentlemen’s masque scheduled for January 1. But this caused such a furor that the Queen’s masque, originally scheduled for Twelfth Night, had to be put back two days, to January 8. In his letter of January 15 to John Chamberlain, Carleton writes that “the French

17. This letter is qtd. in Law, p. 9.

18. Leeds Barroll, “Inventing the Stuart Masque,” in ed. Bevington and Holbrook, *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, p. 123.

19. Even at this early stage Anna was in favor of promoting a Spanish match to advance the cause of peace; see Gustav Ungerer, “Juan Pantoja de la Cruz and the Circulation of Gifts,” *Sederi* 9 (1998), 62; and Holbrook, p. 69.

seems to be greatly discontented that he was flatly refused to be admitted to the last [i.e. the Queen's masque], about which he used unmannerly expostulations with the King and for a few days troubled all the Court; but the queen was fain to take the matter upon her, who as a masquer had invited the Spaniard as the Duke [of Lennox] before had done the French, and to have them both there could not well be without blood-shed" (p. 55). This was no exaggeration: the French ambassador was so angry at the perceived slight that he wrote to his master, Henri IV, threatening "at the hazard of my life to kill the Spaniard... at the feet of the king."²⁰ Villamediana's account, in his letter of January 20 to Philip III, reproduced below, corroborates Carleton's version but also offers a new Spanish perspective on the course of events.

As may readily be seen from the transcription and translation of this letter, the Spanish ambassador provides his King with a narrative of the circumstances surrounding the performance of the Queen's masque, beginning with a brief recapitulation of his previous letter and ending with the resolution of matters to his satisfaction. Not surprisingly, and not inaccurately, Villamediana emphasizes how much he is favored by James and particularly Anna, at Beaumont's expense. The letter recounts the crisis over the question of invitations and the ruse to coerce the Frenchman's attendance on January 1, so as to enforce his de facto exclusion from the Queen's masque; the delaying of the Queen's masque; and Anna's desire to insure that the Spanish ambassador is duly present on January 8. The text of the event itself that follows, and the reason for its inclusion in the diplomat's official dispatch, is then in part to be understood in the context of Villamediana's being favored over Beaumont, as the letter makes clear.

It is not an unbiased account. Unexceptionally, the Spanish ambassador's report is not only a description of his success in outmaneuvering his French rival but also self-promoting. Its value lies in its corroboration of what is known about these events from other witnesses, notably Carleton, and more significantly, in the insight it offers into Spain's perspective on the peace negotiations. While the content of the letter dovetails neatly with the gossipy accounts of ambassadorial

20. Beaumont's letter to Henri IV, January 23, in Mary Sullivan, *Court Masques of James I: Their Influence on Shakespeare and the Public Theaters* (New York, 1913), and cited in Alvin Kernan, *Shakespeare, The King's Playwright: Theater in the Stuart Court, 1603–1613* (New Haven and London, 1995), p. 46.

rivalry by Carleton and others, it provides a good deal more detail of what happened behind the scenes. In particular, the trick played on Beaumont, and the English lords' role in it, reveals the lengths to which both the Queen and her courtiers went to engineer, and make public, the court's expression of its favor for the Spaniard. Beaumont's anger was understandable.

Particularly striking is what the letter reveals about the role Anna played in these events. The Queen's promotion of court entertainment in the first decade of James's reign has only recently been recognized.²¹ But with this document it becomes clear that she is perceived to be the central figure driving the peace process prior to the formal opening of negotiations. (This would happen later in 1604, with the arrival of the Constable of Castile, once it was clear that the peace treaty was firmly on track.) Anna, Villamediana reports, is not only instrumental in insuring his presence at her masque, but the date of the event is moved to keep her promise, the Queen thus intervening personally when he complains about Beaumont's stratagem to be included in the masque. We have other evidence that she favored Villamediana: if for reasons of protocol she did not dance with the Spanish ambassador, she nonetheless made her approval of him clear to all by wearing a red favor on her dress, red being Villamediana's color.²² Undoubtedly the Spaniard benefited too from his counterpart's boorish behavior at court, and he recounts with relish that James apparently makes it clear that he will not tolerate the Frenchman's attempts to disrupt the peace negotiations, even to the point of dismissing Beaumont altogether. The episode signaled, then, the King's—and especially the Queen's—desire to demonstrate that peace with Spain was to be pursued with vigor, and that any attempts to derail it would be repulsed.

iii

The Queen's masque was written by Samuel Daniel, and it is one of the curiosities of this entire episode that a writer whose Protestant

21. See, e.g., Barroll, "Inventing the Stuart Masque"; Kathryn Schwarz, "Amazon Reflections in the Jacobean Queen's Masque," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 35 (1995), 293–319; and McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage*.

22. See E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1923), III, 281: "on 8 Jan. De Taxis was present, revelling it in red, while Anne paid him the compliment of wearing a red favour on her costume."

views were well known should contribute a masque on the theme of peace that would find its way to the King of Spain.²³ Daniel was recommended to the Queen by Lucy, Countess of Bedford, one of the eleven ladies who, together with the Queen herself, would perform at Hampton Court on January 8.²⁴ Although Daniel had an established reputation as a poet, it was this preferment that would lead to his appointment in February as licenser of the Children of the Queen's Revels, a post that was to cause him considerable difficulties: in 1605 he would be called before the Privy Council to explain the apparent allusions to the Essex rebellion in his play *Philotas*.²⁵ As scholars have suggested, the masque Daniel composed for the Hampton Court festivities represents a fascinating negotiation between his Protestant politics and the Queen's desire to use the occasion as a public expression of the peace process.²⁶

The conceit of *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* is that performers and spectators participate in a dream which conjures the "vision" of the goddesses. Sleep is summoned from his "cave" by his mother, Night, to

Strike with thy Horny wand, the spirits of these
That here expect some pleasing nouelties:
And make their slumber to beget strange sights,
Strange visions and vnvsual properties.²⁷

These "sights" and "visions" for the assembled audience consist of three Graces and Iris, messenger of the goddesses, who serve as a chorus to the appearance of the twelve goddesses as they descend, three by three,

23. On the complexity of assigning authorship to masques that were commissioned, see Stephen Orgel, "What is a Text?," in *The Authentic Shakespeare and Other Problems of the Early Modern Stage* (London and New York, 2002), pp. 1–5.

24. The Countess of Bedford is the dedicatee of one of Daniel's verse epistles of 1603; see Joan Rees, *Samuel Daniel: A Critical and Biographical Study* (Liverpool, 1964), p. 90.

25. On Daniel's role as licenser, see Chambers, II, 49; Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama* (Iowa City, 1991), pp. 159–60; and Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (Cambridge, Eng., 2005), pp. 19–20. On the *Philotas* controversy, see Chambers, III, 275–76; Dutton, pp. 165–71; and Janet Clare, "Art made tongue-tied by authority": Elizabethan and Jacobean Dramatic Censorship, 2nd ed. (Manchester, 1999), pp. 148–52. McManus, pp. 100–01, argues that nonetheless Daniel continued to enjoy the Queen's patronage up to her death in 1619.

26. See Holbrook, pp. 67–78. For a contrary view, see Graham Parry, "The Politics of the Jacobean Masque," in ed. Mulryne and Shewring, *Theatre and Government*, pp. 91–92.

27. Sig. B2. All references to the masque, unless otherwise stated, are to Daniel's "authorized" text of 1604, *The Vision of the 12. Goddesses, presented in a Maske the 8. of January, at Hampton Court: By the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, and her Ladies*.

from a “mountain,” each introduced in verse, to deliver their presents to the Sybilla. First Juno, Pallas, and Venus; then Vesta, Diana, and Proserpine; followed by Macaria, Concordia, and Astraea; and finally Flora, Ceres, and Tethys. The presentation of gifts is accompanied by the three Graces’ singing, which continues while “the masquers danced their own measures” and then invited the lords to dance until Iris concludes the masque, and the goddesses “ascend the mountain” once more.²⁸ The masque proper then gives way to the usual banquet, to which Villamediana alludes at the end of his letter, and Carleton describes as being “dispatched with the accustomed confusion” (p. 56).

Although the masques of Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones are rather more highly regarded, the apparent simplicity of this masque, properly the first of the new reign, is misleading. As Peter Holbrook observes, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* carefully balances the competing imperatives of James’s and Anna’s desire to promote peace with a Protestant aesthetic of glory and honor: the result allowed a corresponding range of interpretations that might satisfy those in favor of peace and sceptics alike (pp. 72–78). Daniel’s strategy, he concludes, is to “redescrib[e] peace as war by blurring the discourses of peace and glory,” thus accommodating both the theme of peace and the Protestant tradition of honor and security (p. 78). Villamediana gives no indication of any such awareness, and it cannot be known how alert he or his master was to any such nuances in the Hampton Court masque. But it raises interesting issues about interpretation, and about the ambassador’s motives in providing for a text to be sent on to Valladolid.²⁹

For the literary historian the importance of the Simancas document is less the letter itself than the account—or rather, text—of Daniel’s masque. In his letter Villamediana does not refer explicitly to the enclosure in his dispatch to Philip III so we can only speculate about his purpose, although he is not the only ambassador to have produced an account of a court festivity.³⁰ The most obvious inference is that he wished to illustrate the content of the letter, and in this respect it

28. For a “Conjectural reconstruction of the arrangements in the hall for the *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*,” see Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages 1300 to 1660: Volume Two 1576 to 1660, Part 1* (London, 1963), p. 269. McManus, pp. 101–11, draws attention to the performance and reception dynamics of the Great Hall at Hampton Court, and describes how this forum differed from that at Whitehall.

29. The Spanish court was based in Valladolid between 1601 and 1606.

30. See, e.g., John Orrell, “The Agent of Savoy at *The Somerset Masque*,” *Review of English Studies* 28 (1977), 301–05.

functions as a piece of diplomatic intelligence. It may well be that a foreign masque would undoubtedly have been of interest to the King, who loved the theater (and this further supports the supposition that he read it, as we contend below). Villamediana too was fascinated by the theater, and his son would go on to become a famous playwright and poet, as well as a figure of some notoriety, who took part in the Spanish reception of Nottingham's peace mission in 1605. But whatever the reasons for Villamediana's inclusion of the text in his dispatch, we are on firmer ground with its content. Prior to examining its textual provenance we will identify its principal characteristics.

As we discuss below, Villamediana's objective clearly is to give as full a text of the masque as possible, rather than a partial account of the occasion. While it is a short text, no important detail is omitted. In addition, like the anonymous contemporary who annotated a copy of the printed text (now held in the British Library), Villamediana illuminated the narrative in the letter by noting the names of the eleven ladies and the goddesses they portrayed in the masque.³¹ Unlike Lord Worcester (if it was he), or at least rather more obviously, the Spanish ambassador had a specifically political purpose in so doing that may or may not be related to the fact that, of the eleven who performed, six—the Countesses of Suffolk, Bedford, Hertford, and Derby, together with Lady Rich and Susan De Vere—were later, on Villamediana's recommendation to the Constable of Castile, presented with gifts from Spain.³² In his discussion of the role gift-giving played in the course of the peace negotiations, Gustav Ungerer remarks that the Constable agreed to Villamediana's proposal, but noted that it was "something new to go about in this fashion giving pensions to women" (64).³³ Villamediana recognized, however, that these women were powerful, and potentially of use to Spain. It seems then that in identifying their roles in the masque, he was also signalling their importance to his King, whether as members of the "pro-peace" faction at court or as likely to be sympathetic to Spain in the future.

The goddesses were the centerpiece of Daniel's masque, and unsurprisingly they occupy a prominent place in Villamediana's text. It is as plausible that Anna so intended it as it is likely Villamediana understood

31. See Law, p. 22, and Chambers, III, 281.

32. Ungerer, 63.

33. Ungerer, however, gives no source for this quotation. Worcester referred to Anna's court as a new "feminine commonwelthe," in Law, p. 23.

that the presentation of the twelve goddesses stood allegorically for the new Stuart England. Certainly, the ambassador's focus on both the emblematic meanings of each of the goddesses and the identity of the corresponding lady is testament not only to his humanist training but also to his ability to decode the political implications of the display. Scholars have perhaps made too much of Anna's portrayal not of Juno but Pallas, interpreting this as a departure from the "militant" Protestant stance of her predecessor.³⁴ Presumably Anna, rather than Daniel, selected this role for herself, but it is misleading to assume that Pallas represents a softening or weakening of position. In his letter, where we might expect to find such a remark, Villamediana makes no comment but is assiduous in describing the attire of each goddess and identifying the allegorical meanings behind the roles. This concern with the collective significance of the goddesses leaves open the fascinating question of Spanish interpretation, particularly since it is clear that Anna was determined that this was a masque that should be witnessed by the Spanish King's representative. The communication must have been received with some satisfaction by Philip, for it makes clear that the peace negotiations were well on track. For the literary scholar, however, its existence opens up a host of other issues.

iv

This document raises interesting questions about the texts of the masque and the relationship between them. Two editions were published in 1604. The first was an illicit, pirate version, *The True Description of a Royall Masque. Presented at Hampton Court, vpon Sunday night, being the eight of Ianuary. 1604*; the second, Daniel's *The Vision of the 12. Goddesses, presented in a Maske the 8. of Ianuary, at Hampton Court: By the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, and her Ladies*, followed in response to what Daniel calls in his dedicatory preface to Lucy, Countess of Bedford "the vnmanerly presumption of an indiscreet Printer, who without warrant hath divulged the late shewe at Court, presented the 8. of Ianuary, by the Queenes Maiestie and her Ladies, and the same verie disorderly set forth" (sig. A3). There can be no doubt about the order of publication, but where Villamediana's letter and text fits into the sequence of events is unclear. Twelve days after the performance, on January 20, the Spanish

34. See, e.g., Holbrook, pp. 77–78.

ambassador reported to Philip III with his recollection of the circumstances of the masque and enclosed his *Relación*. The pirate version must have been printed around this time, for on February 2, Lord Worcester wrote to Lord Shrewsbury that “Whereas your Lordship saith you were never particularly advertised of the mask, I have been at sixpence charge with you to send you the book.”³⁵ Worcester can only be referring to *The True Description*, but the Stationers’ Register is unhelpful on the precise dating of either printed text.³⁶ There can be little doubt, however, that the Simancas manuscript predates the publication of Daniel’s authorized version, *The Vision*. The questions that remain then are: what is its provenance? Is it simply an eyewitness document? Or did Villamediana draw on other sources as well? If so, how might it be linked to one or both of the printed texts, or to other source material?

The True Description consists chiefly of the speeches and songs delivered by the actors, which is consistent with the supposition that the Queen’s company of players who performed the speaking roles was responsible for the masque going into print in this form, without Daniel’s knowledge or consent.³⁷ In addition to the kind of errors “likely to arise from [the] hasty and not very intelligent reading of a roughly written manuscript”³⁸ whose printing was unsupervised by its author, two features mark it out as an “actors’ text.” Firstly, and as Joan Rees points out this is its chief value for scholars, its stage directions are rather more detailed than those for Daniel’s authorized version (*The Vision*, p. 38). Secondly, unlike Daniel’s text it provides comparatively little information about the sumptuous costumes worn by the goddesses. Not surprisingly, this aspect of the masque was particularly striking to observers such as Carleton, who reported: “and so descended the maskers by three and three, which being all seen on the stairs at once was the best presentation I have at any time seen. Their attire was alike, loose mantles and

35. E. Lodge, *Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners in the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, and James I*, 3 vols., 2nd ed. (1838), III, 87; cited in Chambers, III, 281.

36. Details of the publication of these two texts may be found in W.W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, 4 vols. (London, 1939), I, 331–32. Daniel’s text was reprinted in his *Whole Works* (1623) and in *Dramatic Poems* (1635). For information on the Stationers’ Register we would like to thank Ian Gadd.

37. We would like to thank Andrew Gurr for information on the likelihood that it was Anna’s own actors rather than the King’s Men who participated in the masque. For the King’s Men at Hampton Court between December 1603 and February 1604, see Kernan, pp. 203–04.

38. *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, ed. Joan Rees, in *A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicoll*, ed. T.J.B. Spencer and Stanley Wells (Cambridge, Eng., 1967), p. 38.

petticoats, but of different colors, the stuffs embroidered satins and cloth of gold and silver, for which they were beholden to Queen Elizabeth's wardrobe" (p. 55). Carleton says little about the verse, which tends not to detain modern commentators either.³⁹ Yet this is primarily what the reader of *The True Description* was given. Although there are errors in the text (as there are in Daniel's), they are not as numerous as might be supposed, and in the absence of any other printed record of the events of January 8, no doubt the *True Description* sufficed for people like Lord Shrewsbury, who were eager to learn of the court festivities under the new reign.

Daniel was understandably annoyed, blaming "an indiscreet Printer," rather than the actors. Fortunately for scholars he took the opportunity to set out his thoughts on the conception of the masque in a lengthy preface. Save for the slimmed-down stage directions and relatively minor details elsewhere, the text Daniel presents is substantially that of the *True Description*: ironically, in publishing his "authorial" version to reassert his authority, Daniel nonetheless gives the earlier text the stamp of authenticity.⁴⁰ John Pitcher has shown how Daniel took great care in the publication (and republication) of his work.⁴¹ Faced with the unwelcome fact that his masque had already entered the public domain, Daniel sought to regain the initiative with an address, "To the Right Honorable the Ladie *Lucie*, Countess of Bedford." The gesture was customary of course, but this was more than a conventional dedication. Daniel incorporates into it an explanation of his intentions, together with a detailed narrative retelling of the performance event. The preface serves as a conventional expression of gratitude (it was the Countess, of course, who had recommended Daniel to the Queen) and a desire for future patronage; but it also seeks to secure a privileged space that links author, dedicatee, event, and putative reader, who is offered not only a vicarious

39. Carleton is disparaging about the quality of the verse in the gentleman's masque of January 1, describing the magician's "long sleepy speech to the king" (p. 53). Nonetheless, Carleton did include "the songs and speeches that were there used" in his letter of January 15 to Chamberlain (p. 55). Perhaps surprisingly, given his considerable reputation as a poet at this time, Daniel's verse is unremarkable. See, e.g., Rees, *The Vision*, p. 21: "the verse is serviceable but scarcely appealing."

40. For a discussion of the differences between the two texts, see Rees, *The Vision*, pp. 38–40.

41. See John Pitcher, "Essays, Works and Small Poems: Divulging, Publishing and Augmenting the Elizabethan Poet, Samuel Daniel," in *The Renaissance Text: Theory, Editing, Textuality*, ed. Andrew Murphy (Manchester, 2000), pp. 8–29.

experience of the masque but an insight into the court world. Daniel's preface is then more than a paratextual apparatus for the masque proper. *The Vision* offers in effect two sequential texts of the masque: a narrative description incorporating the authorial commentary, and then the "acted" text, comprising the actors' speeches that accompanied the visual display.

This prefatory material has been discussed in some detail elsewhere, as indicating a writer ill at ease with the masque as a form, or as half-masking his political views about the peace itself.⁴² Whatever reservations Daniel may have had, the dedication provided him with the opportunity to describe the visual splendor of the occasion, thus augmenting the text itself (both the *True Description* already published and the authorized text that followed his dedication) and providing a more detailed account of the event. But what chiefly marks out *The Vision* is the way it details the masque's visual properties, and in this it has much in common with Villamediana's *Relación*.

As our transcription and translation show, Villamediana set out his description of the Queen's masque he attended as a text. The layout consists of a narrative description in prose (two paragraphs at the beginning, and two to conclude), within which is set out in order of appearance the titles of the twelve goddesses, the names of the ladies who performed each role, and a description of their attire. We learn from the *Relación* a number of details not found in either *The True Description* or *The Vision*. Somnus wears wings; there are candles placed at the altar before the temple, which is revealed by curtains that open; and there are minor additions to the information about the costumes Daniel gives in his preface. This is important because it sets off the *Relación* as ultimately independent from both printed texts. What is crucial, however, is that Villamediana certainly did receive a considerable amount of information from another source, and that source appears to be Daniel himself. This is all the more fascinating because in all likelihood the letter containing the text dispatched to Madrid on January 20 predated the printing of *The Vision* in which the preface was included.

Villamediana's attention to the masque as a visual experience should not surprise us: he spoke no English (he mentions in the letter his cousin, Juan de Tassis, who served as his translator).⁴³ That the text he

42. See Rees, *Samuel Daniel*, pp. 92–93, and Holbrook, pp. 69–75, respectively.

43. The same was true of the ambassador of Savoy who attended Thomas Campion's *Somerset Masque* in 1613, and his recorded experience also reflected that; see Orrell, 301.

sent to Philip includes none of the verse spoken may suggest that he had no access to the material that the actors worked up into the *True Description*, but it may also indicate that he had no interest in the poetry, and that like other spectators, such as Carleton, it was the visual splendor that impressed him. Villamediana may well have enjoyed the masque aesthetically, but his role as a diplomat was to glean what intelligence he could from the display. It seems that he was particularly interested in what the goddesses each stood for. Most interestingly, this attention to the masque as a spectacle, as primarily a performance for the eye rather than the ear—perfectly understandable, since it privileged the Queen and her ladies over the mere actors who accompanied them—offers a parallel with the emphasis on costume and display that we find in Daniel’s prefatory description.

A detailed comparison between the *Relación* and Daniel’s preface demonstrates that the two texts have a number of features in common. What is most striking is the similarity between Villamediana’s description of the goddesses and Daniel’s. Consider, for example, the respective descriptions of Juno. We translate “Havia de venir con un manto de Azul Celeste bordado de oro y corona encima de la cabeza y que presentaria su Cetro” as “She was to come with a sky blue mantle embroidered in gold and a crown on her head and would present her scepter.” Here is Daniel: “First *Iuno* in a skie-colour mantle imbrodered with gold, and figured with Peacocks feathers, wearing a Crowne of golde on her head, presents a Scepter.” Or, to take another example, Venus: “Con un manto de color Columbina, bordado de palomas de Plata y q ofrecería una banda de diferentes colores” (“With a mantle the color of columbine, with silver doves embroidered, she would offer a sash of different colors”). Daniel’s reads: “*Venus*, in a Mantle of Doue-colour, and silver, imbrodered with Doues, presented (in stead of her *Cestus*, the girdle of amitie) a Skarffe of diuers colours.” Each of the descriptions in the *Relación* corresponds closely to that of the preface.⁴⁴ What is particularly remarkable is the language used and the information given. In many cases it would appear that the ambassador’s account is a direct translation of the material that Daniel was subsequently to incorporate into his preface.

44. The only exception is the preface’s costume for Astraea, which gives “a Mantle Crimson” compared to Villamediana’s “un manto de Azul” / “a blue mantle,” but this is clearly a printer’s error, repeating the previous costume, for Concordia, “a partie coloured Mantle of Crimson and White.”

Even though we might hypothesize that the pirate version was printed before Villamediana sent his report to Spain, there are further clues that distinguish Villamediana's version from that text and bring it closer to Daniel's than as yet unpublished material. In the pirate version the second group of three goddesses descending from the mountain is given, in order, as Diana, Vesta, and Proserpine, but in both the Spaniard's account and the authorized version the order is Vesta, Diana, Proserpine. This is significant for another reason, for as Ernest Law discovered, a text of the *True Description* in the British Library was marked up by a contemporary (in Law's view, Lord Worcester) with the names of the ladies and their roles (p. 51). According to the order of procession in the pirate text, Vesta was played by the Countess of Bedford and Diana by the Countess of Hertford. Joan Rees follows Law in noting this, but despite the fact that their editions both use Daniel's authorized text as their copy-text, neither notices the discrepancy between the order of procession in the pirate text and Daniel's version—even though Daniel gives the Vesta-Diana-Proserpine order three times in *The Vision*, the last of which is a correction of that given in the *True Description*.⁴⁵ It is then of particular interest that Villamediana's identification of the ladies has Lucy, Countess of Bedford playing Diana, and Vesta performed by the Countess of Hertford. It is of course impossible to prove which identification is accurate, but it seems likely that the more important role of Diana was played by the Countess of Bedford, to whom Daniel dedicates *The Vision*, and the fact that two of the three texts tally in this regard points to the identification of the ladies and their roles in the Villamediana version as being the correct one.

Finally, there is a further striking parallel between Villamediana's *Relación* and Daniel's version, but in this case the source is not the preface, but the main text of the masque. The *Relación* concludes with a summary of the Sybilla's final speech, in which she explains what each goddess represents:

1. acrecentamiento de mayor imperio, 2. de bien disciplinado exercito, 3. de amor y concordia en sus Reynos, 4. de verdadero zelo a Dios, 5. de

45. The Rees edition is a modernized version of the 1604 *Vision*; Law's text is based on the 1623 printing of the 1604 text. See Law, p. 43, and Rees, *The Vision*, p. 42n. Other authorities follow suit; see, e.g., David M. Bergeron, "Women as Patrons of English Renaissance Drama," in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. Guy Fitch Lyttle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton, 1981), p. 285; and McManus, p. 109.

Castidad, 6. de Riqueza, 7. de Felicidad, 8. de Justicia, 9. de Paz, 10. de los frutos de la tierra, 11. de abundancia, 12. de mayor grandeça por la mar. [1. enlarging of empire, 2. a well-disciplined army, 3. love and concord in his kingdoms, 4. true zeal to God, 5. chastity, 6. wealth, 7. happiness, 8. justice, 9. peace, 10. fruits of the land, 11. abundance, 12. increasing power at sea.]

The corresponding speech can be found in both of the printed texts, but only in *The Vision* are the goddesses numbered, as is the case in the *Relación*:

1 Let kingdomes large, 2 let armed policie, 3 Milde loue, 4 true Zeale, 5 right shouting at the white Of brave disignes: 6 let wealth, 7 felicitie, 8 Iustice, 9 & concorde, 10 pleasure, 11 plenty, 12 *might and power by Sea*

The coincidence in the order of the items, the parallels in the wording, and the fact that each item is preceded by a number make it clear that Villamediana could not be working just from memory: he must have been following a written script of some sort, and this script must have come to him from Daniel himself. How else could it be so precise?

V

It is tempting to draw a perhaps rather obvious conclusion from the evidence presented here: that the closeness of the Simancas manuscript and masque texts is best explained by a scenario whereby Daniel provided Villamediana with a synopsis of the masque which was then translated into Spanish and later included in the diplomatic traffic to Valladolid. We know that Daniel was eager to gain patronage from the new royal family, and would surely have acceded to such a request, particularly if it came from Anna; he had first attempted to catch the eye of James with his *Panegyrike Congratulatorie*, for recitation to the King on his journey south to London in 1603, but this seems to have come to nothing.⁴⁶ Conceivably, then, Anna may have played a part in the process by which Villamediana gained access to detailed textual information about the masque—perhaps she hoped or even intended that a text of the masque might reach Philip III. It is possible that under these conditions, despite his Protestant politics, Daniel provided the Spanish ambassador with a text of the masque he could make sense

46. Rees, *Samuel Daniel*, pp. 89–90.

of, a text that privileged the visual and the emblematic, which Villamediana could follow, at the expense of the spoken, which he could not.⁴⁷

This would accord with the remarkable fidelity of the Spanish text to the masque as recorded in *The Vision*. Eyewitness accounts are both valuable and notoriously unreliable—they are rarely entirely accurate, particularly when recorded by an observer who does not understand the language of transmission.⁴⁸ Even native speakers tend to give impressionistic and partial accounts of events, as for example is the case with Carleton.⁴⁹ The *Relación* is strikingly different from any other example of its kind, for a number of reasons. Firstly, its clear intention is to provide a full and accurate textual record of the occasion. The very fact that it is not simply incorporated into the diplomatic letter, but rather is set off as a text in its own right, on separate sheafs, is indicative of an artistic design and an alertness to aesthetic principles. This can be seen most obviously in the absence of a subjective, eyewitness perspective such as we see in Carleton's observations, in which the viewer obtrudes between the event described and the reader. This objectivity itself gives credence to the possibility of an authorial rather than purely spectatorial viewpoint.

Secondly, we would expect to find errors or misinterpretations (as is the case with the Savoy ambassador's account some years later), but here there are none. It is unlikely that a native eyewitness, let alone a visiting diplomat blind to cultural and linguistic markers, would be able to compile a text which, measured against an authorial printed version published subsequently, did not fall into error. Yet that is precisely the case here. The sequence of events in the *Relación*, the details about the goddesses' procession and their costumes, and the summary of the songs sung at the end of the masque, are all accurately described. To take one obvious example, the order of procession: it is surely likely that, like the printer of the *True Description* and two modern editors of *The Vision*, Villamediana might have erred in his recollection of the performance. But he did not.

47. If this were the case, Daniel would almost certainly have received payment from the ambassador, which would of course have been an added incentive.

48. See, e.g., Orrell's brief discussion of the Savoy ambassador's account of the Campion masque.

49. Simon Foreman's account of his visit to the Globe in 1611 is another example of a flawed eyewitness account of theatrical performances.

Thirdly, the *Relación* shares features in common with the text of the masque proper printed in both the *True Description* and *The Vision*, and with Daniel's prefatory material. This points surely to some kind of collaborative enterprise, not least because it is almost certain that the preface had not been published at this point. Beyond a doubt, then, Villamediana was assisted in his composition of the masque in some way.⁵⁰ The most obvious explanation is that Daniel himself provided a text for the ambassador, and this, or an adapted version, became in translation the text Villamediana sent to Spain.

However, there are problems with this hypothesis. The suggestion that Daniel supplied a synopsis for the ambassador prior to the performance of the masque, and that this guide to the occasion was then translated as the *Relación* subsequently sent to Valladolid, does not tally exactly with the form of Villamediana's text. Crucially, the text describes the event *after* it had taken place: as the transcription and translation show, it chiefly employs the past tense in its narration of the masque. It is clear that the text was compiled with knowledge of how the masque was performed, rather than—or in addition to—how it *would be* carried out. Particular details stand out. This text alone records that the Sybilla could not look directly at the proceedings but had to use an “espejo prospectivo” (that is, a prospective *mirror*—rather than a “prospective,” as Daniel's text has it), and it is only here that we learn that the altar in the Temple was lit by four candles, an eyewitness detail clearly recalled afterwards.⁵¹ Villamediana also gives the duration of the dances that concluded the formal masque. The text retains its objectivity here, relating that the goddesses danced with the “Cavalleros” (gentlemen) but omitting the information that Villamediana himself was one of those invited to dance, although it ought not to surprise us that he did not see or record himself, as Carleton did, dancing like “a lusty old reveller,” information he more circumspectly provides in his letter (p. 56).

As we would expect, the discrepancy between the present tense in the English printed texts and the past tense employed in the Spanish is explained by the nature of the genre. A *relación* was an account designed to commemorate an important event, and is common for example as a means of recording fiestas, celebrations, and public festivities in early modern Spain. The *relación* may be regarded as the final part of the event

50. An alternative—or additional—explanation is that he was assisted by Lucy, Countess of Bedford, who, after all, knew Spanish.

51. See the relevant note to the text of the Simancas document, below.

itself: the textual record that commemorates, usually but not always in print, an important performance event or festivity, thus memorializing the occasion in textual form. Villamediana's *Relación de la Mascara, representada delante del Rey de Ynglaterra por la Reyna en 18 de Enero 1604* conforms to the conventions of the genre: it is not a personal recollection but an attempt to provide an objective record, a full textual summary, as far as possible, rather than a partial account. This *Relación* was of course for Spanish eyes, and represents an attempt by the ambassador to treat the Queen of England's masque as he might a similar court occasion in Spain. But insofar as it was Villamediana's composition, it is clearly not solely his own, even though, as we have shown, it contains elements that are not found in the *True Description* or *The Vision*.

Our tentative conclusion is that Villamediana, almost certainly assisted by his translator and cousin, compiled the *Relación* sometime after the Hampton Court masque of January 8, with help of some kind, perhaps from the actors, but more likely from Samuel Daniel himself. The accuracy of the *Relación*, and the textual parallels with *The Vision* especially, and the preface particularly, strongly suggest that it was not a sole-authored work. This text is either a direct translation or a freer adaptation of a text or textual material provided by Daniel, and if so ought to be considered to have a quasi-authorial provenance (albeit at one remove).

vi

Regardless of Villamediana's precise intentions when he made a record of the masque, that he did so and it has survived is as fortuitous for scholars as it is interesting for what it tells us about the complex relationship between the masque and court politics. In its transmission to Spain the masque participated in international diplomacy far beyond the "local" meaning apparently envisaged by Anna of Denmark. It is apparent that not only was Daniel's masque part of her plan to put on display for the court the peace initiative that inaugurated the new reign (and signaled most directly the break with the past), but it was also a demonstration of her favor for the Spanish ambassador. Her insistence that Villamediana should attend this masque underscores its political significance, which the Simancas document confirms.

It is interesting to speculate how it may have been received. What this document offers is both context and a new perspective.

Villamediana's text of the masque serves as an appendix to his narrative, a *curio* for his master, perhaps, as it may have been for him. But much more importantly, it transmits the masque to the Spanish court and serves as not only a record of the performance of peace but perhaps also, figuratively speaking, as a template for the festivities that would greet the English mission to Spain. It is notable that when the *Relación* arrived in Valladolid the instruction given was "Para embiar al Rey nos Sr": "To be sent to the King, our Lord." While the letter received the customary "aprovar lo q hizo" ("Approve what was done"), the *Relación* was sent directly to Philip. If it was Anna's intention that the masque would convey to the Spanish King a "message," perhaps to the effect that England was now both peaceable and yet remained powerful, then this court masque was a political device indeed.

The peace negotiations were prolonged. The treaty was signed in London in August 1604, almost a year after Villamediana's arrival. Nor did it end there, for the treaty had then to be ratified in Spain, for which purpose the Earl of Nottingham and his considerable entourage embarked in early 1605. The peace process was then an extended diplomatic affair lasting almost two years, in the course of which there were numerous diplomatic exchanges, some, as here, in the form of courtly entertainments, in both England and Spain. In important respects the entire peace process may be regarded as a narrative of performances, an extended progress from court to court.

A Note on the Text

Below are reproduced our translation of the letter and text of the masque the Conde de Villamediana sent from England to Spain and a transcription of the original Spanish documents. These documents (E 842, fols. 148–50) are held in the Archivo General de Simancas, the state repository for official documents instituted by Charles V. The first document is a letter in Villamediana's handwriting written on two large folded sheets. These have been folded once, and the letter then written in folio; the document was then folded again into quarto, and on the back of the last sheet a secretary has written the date of reception and a brief summary of the contents. Finally, a third hand indicates the action to be taken, following receipt. The same procedure can be observed in the second document, the text of the masque, which again consists of two sheets folded as folios in Villamediana's

handwriting. Here, however, the final summary and *resolucion* records no date of reception. It is therefore to be inferred that both documents arrived at court on the same date: that they were stored together and numbered as a single document in the archive makes this supposition likely. In the transcription, in original spelling, we indicate the layout of the document. Our translation is designed to render the material accessible to the scholar, and includes notes cross-referencing the *Relación* to the *Trve Discription* and *The Vision*; readers may consult the original Spanish for the purposes of comparison.

universidad de valladolid, university of reading

Texts [transcribed and translated]
 Villamediana's letter to Philip iii and text of
*THE VISION OF THE TWELVE GODDESSES*⁵²

Sir

I have already given notice to your Majesty of everything that happened concerning the invitation from the King for me to dine on the second day of their Christmas, and of the way it went, and the differences over this with the French ambassador;⁵³ and also about the invitation and disinvasion⁵⁴ to the ambassador of Savoy because of the feelings of the Florentine ambassador, and the measures taken in all respects to repair it and restore the standing of the Duke of Savoy, and the satisfactions the King gave to Lutin.⁵⁵

And so, this letter will serve to add how, knowing that the French ambassador was somewhat jealous, and with some feeling concerning what had been done for me and that he would try to have some recognition, the King, persuaded by some members of his Council friendly to France, resolved to send a private invitation to the said French ambassador. So that, on Sunday the eleventh of this, which according to their usage is New Year's day, the ambassador would go to dine with him and watch a masque performed by some members of the court,⁵⁶ partly because the French ambassador had been involved in its devising, partly for his friendship with the Duke of Lennox, who was leader of the said masque, but also partly to make it possible to invite me on the day of the Epiphany to some other masque of more import that the Queen was doing, as she herself had let me know through third parties that she wanted me to see it.

The King sent the said French ambassador an invitation for the dinner and masque of New Year, but he did not accept it because he intended to attend the Queen's. However, on that day, when as usual he was in the chambers of the Duke of Lennox watching the lords make themselves ready, they ambushed him, took him to the hall where the Queen danced, and installed him beneath the canopy.

52. This letter is fol.147–50, document E 842, held in the Archivo General, Simancas; our translation.

53. The French ambassador was Christophe de Harlay, Comte de Beaumont.

54. Villamediana invents the corresponding word in the Spanish text: *desconovite* does not exist in early modern or modern Spanish.

55. Villamediana renders this name as "Luli." We would like to thank Roberta Anderson for the identification of the Savoy ambassador, Lutin. Details about this previous conflict and Villamediana's mediation on it can be found in E 842 fol. 111.

56. This is *The Masque of India and China Knights*, where eight gentlemen of the court, dressed as knights from China and India, presented the King with exotic presents. This masque is described by Carleton in the same letter as the Queen's masque; see Lee, *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain*, p. 53.

Much against his will he stayed to dine with the King and Queen, protesting that he was there by chance so that he intended not to miss the Queen's masque. And to this end he started plotting, using whatever means and machinations he could while at the Knights' masque, laughing and talking with the King; and so, as if by accident he said: "Would your Majesty give me licence to attend the Queen's masque?" To which the King, caught suddenly off guard and forgetting what the Queen had told him, said "yes." With this, the said ambassador believed he had managed to score a hit against me and came to London to spread the news that he had licence from the King to attend the Queen's masque and said this to, among others, Lutin, as I heard this from him and from other parties. I made sure this news reached the Queen and even wrote to her and the King showing my discontent at the idea that the French ambassador would be present at two masques, one after the other, this being unreasonable. Now, either the French ambassador thought that the whole business was diverting from his plans, or he was warned by some friend of his, but the following Wednesday, two days before Epiphany, he went to lunch with Lord Cecil and, some three or four other councillors being there, his design was considered; seeing that they did not agree with him and putting great pressure on them, he asked for an audience with the King for the following day, the eve of Epiphany. And it is said that one of the councillors later told the King that the French ambassador seemed frantic, telling him about his excesses, after which the said ambassador, having known this, was very offended and annoyed with the said councillor. On the next day, Thursday, the said ambassador had an audience with the King at 10 in the morning, and such was the displeasure that these things caused the King and his councillors that, even though the tables were set for lunch and food placed on them, the King ordered it to be removed and out of annoyance would not sit nor eat anything. And although the council proposed to the King that to resolve inconveniences and differences the Queen's masque should not be performed, the King answered that the Queen's will was his will, and as she had gone with it this far he wanted it to be performed in the presence of those whom she chose. It is reported that the King told the ambassador in this audience that if he had said, as he claimed he had said, that he could attend the masque, he had not specified whether it would be in public or in private, and that since he had come to this realm no one had caused him trouble but him, adding that if he thought to disrupt the peace by these means he was mistaken. And I even think that the King told him that, if he was going to go on with this, he would rather not have a French ambassador in his court.

This same day Juan Bautista de Tassis⁵⁷ was told by two grave men that the excesses of the French ambassador had brought such confusion to the King, the

57. Juan Bautista de Tassis was Villamediana's interpreter in London and his cousin; cf. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1603-1610*, p. 40.

Queen, and the Council, and the good standing of the Spanish ambassador had so much obliged him that the King had decided not to present the Queen's masque on the day of Epiphany, as had been planned, but at a time that would be to my liking. In sum, to give the said ambassador some satisfaction it was resolved to invite him for lunch on the day of Epiphany, which was held at midday in public, with the same ceremony as had been accorded me, though some things were missing, such as the guard, which was all in order and formation the day of my invitation. He also stayed to dine with the King and Queen in private to watch some sword players, but not being satisfied with all this he was constantly trying and urging to be included in the Queen's masque; but as she had made up her mind and decided she would give it but for me, his efforts were in vain. And so the following Saturday a gentleman came to invite me to go on Sunday to court at four in the afternoon; I did so, esteeming this favour for what it meant. Also invited to this feast was the ambassador of Poland; we both dined with the King early, and leaving the table went into the hall where the masque was going to take place. It was a masque of twelve goddesses who came richly adorned to make offerings in a temple, and afterwards they danced and invited to dance the same number of the most principal lords of this kingdom who were there, so that on their own or with partners they performed some very good dances. Both the ambassador of Poland and myself were invited and we had to perform a figure with the ladies that took us out,⁵⁸ firstly me, and then him, and after both of us, the prince. And truly the party was pleasant and full of cordiality; it ended at midnight, at which point the King and Queen went to another room, where a big table stood full of things to eat. After eating, the King made a toast to me where he repeated, as at the last banquet, that he hoped to toast many Spanish ambassadors. I then toasted the Queen and accompanied them to their chambers, and then went back to my lodgings. Later I heard that the French ambassador remained of the same mind, and they even say that he was present at the occasion in disguise.

On the 22nd of this month,⁵⁹ the ambassador of Savoy went to court, for he had been summoned by the King the day before for an audience at that time, because he had solicited one, and though they had not told him there was to be a lunch with the King, in effect there was; so with this the late issues are resolved, as he was very well treated by the King and Queen.

May our Lord keep the sacred and Catholic royal person of your majesty as well as Christianity and your servant, deservedly. In Richmond 30th of January 1604⁶⁰

58. It was the Countess of Bedford herself who invited Villamediana to dance, while Susan de Vere (Flora) partnered the Polish ambassador; see Lee, p. 56.

59. I.e., January 12.

60. I.e., January 20.

Sir

Kisses the Royal Feet of Your Majesty your servant and subject.

The Count of Villamediana

Richmond⁶¹
1604⁶²

To his Majesty

The Count of Villamediana on the 30th of January⁶³Received on the 7th of March⁶⁵Approve what was done⁶⁴

Talks about the dinner parties given by that King and about the masque the Queen devised, to which he was invited, and the trouble the King had with the French ambassador because of his excessive demands. And how the Savoy ambassador dined with the King and so what had happened before was settled.

*Relation of the Masque presented before the King of England by the Queen the 18th of January 1604*⁶⁶

Firstly appeared Night, a character with black wings⁶⁷ and costumes of the same colour sown with stars, who then went to wake up Dream,⁶⁸ her son, who was asleep in a cave and requested him to use his wand of horn⁶⁹ to send to sleep all

61. By what we can infer from the letter, Villamediana had a separate residence in Richmond and was not staying at court as a guest.

62. This is the Secretary of State's annotations to the letter on the back of the last sheet upon receipt in Spain.

63. I.e., January 20.

64. This appears to be an instruction from a higher authority, probably the King himself.

65. Here again the dating is ten days later than in England; the letter was thus received toward the end of February. Official dispatches between London and Madrid usually took around six weeks.

66. I.e., January 8.

67. The *Relación* is the only version to record that Night's costume included "black wings."

68. Daniel calls this figure "Somnus" in the text of the masque and "Sleep" in the preface. Villamediana uses the word "Sueño," or "dream." But the fine distinction between "Sleep" as a character and dream as the effect he produces in the watchers of the masque would be difficult to render in Spanish because "sleep" cannot function as a noun in Spanish. We have therefore opted to translate the name of this character as "Dream," following the Spanish original.

69. Daniel explains in the preface that Somnus was holding two wands: "in stead of his yvoyrie & transparent horne, he was shewed bearing a black Wand in the left hand, and a white

the company there present and represent in them, while asleep, dreams and divine apparitions, and at the same time a temple dedicated to Peace, and in it a Sybil waiting to attend on rites touching sacrifices. Which seemed to be done, as thereat some curtains were opened which were before an altar with four lit candles and at its foot a character dressed in black with the head covered in white, that denoted the Sybil.⁷⁰

Then came descending from a machine in the shape of a mountain⁷¹ Iris, Juno's messenger, who gave notice to the Sybil of how some goddesses had arrived thence for their recreation, and had resolved, among them, to come to visit that temple. Iris gave her a prospective mirror⁷² where (not being permitted to contemplate the goddesses being present) she could see at her pleasure everything that was to happen, and looking in the mirror, the Sybil related the name of the goddesses, their costumes, figures and the blessings they brought with them.

Juno,⁷³ who was
the Countess of
Suffolk

She was to come with a sky blue mantle embroidered in
gold and a crown on her head and would present her
sceptre.

in the other, to effect either confused or significant dreames." But in the text Night tells Somnus, "Strike with thy *Horny wand*, the spirits of these / That here expect some pleasing nouelties" (sig. B2, our emphasis), which seems to be more in accordance with Villamediana's version.

70. This description of the Sybill appearing at an altar behind a curtain with four candles and the description of her robes is not found either in the preface or the text of the masque. Only the pirate text has the following stage direction: "Sybilla decked as a nun, in black upon white." The number four is significant as it also features in the Temple of Peace, which Daniel's preface describes as "erected upon four pillars representing the four virtues that supported a Globe of the Earth."

71. This notion of a "machine" is not to be found in either of the other texts. Although in Spanish the term "maquina" usually denotes some sort of mechanism, here it is probably used to refer to the artificial nature of the mountain from which the goddesses descend. Like the other structures in the masque, the "mountain" was placed on a temporary stage. On the staging of the masque, see McManus, pp. 101–11.

72. In all pre-existing versions this device is simply called a "prospective," which has caused some difficulty for editors. Law assumes, incorrectly, that this refers to a written text the Sybilla consults; Rees recognises that it may mean some kind of prospective glass (although the telescope had yet to be invented). Villamediana's use of the word "espejo" unequivocally suggests a mirror and not any other type of perspective device. The *Relación* alone indicates that the Sybilla cannot see the goddesses directly, i.e. through a *glass*, but must view them indirectly, through a mirror.

73. This section is much closer to the description of the Goddesses that Daniel includes in his preface than to the actual words of the Sybilla that appear in the text of the masque. As we note in the main text of the essay, the parallels are so extensive as to suggest Villamediana had some sort of written text that he was following. However, unlike the way it is presented in the preface, where Daniel lists the Goddesses as part of his discussion of symbolic representation, Villamediana makes the point of rendering this as the speech of the Sybilla, who is announcing the goddesses as seen in the prospective mirror, and so he starts off with the words "Havia de venir" ("she was to come").

| | |
|---|--|
| Palas: the Queen | With a sky blue mantle with figures of different coats of arms, a helmet of diamonds and in it a plume of white feathers, and would offer her spear and shield. ⁷⁴ |
| Venus: Madame Rich | With a mantle the colour of columbine, with silver doves embroidered, she would offer a sash of different colours. |
| Vesta: the Countess of Hertford ⁷⁵ | With a white mantle embroidered with golden flames, and dressed in a religious style, ⁷⁶ with a lamp and book in her hand that she would present. |
| Diana: the Countess of Bedford | With a green mantle embroidered with some silver wands, ⁷⁷ she wore as headdress some laces of pearl in the way of a crown and she would present a bow with a quiver of arrows. |
| Proserpine: the Countess of Derby | With a black mantle embroidered with golden flames with a crown on her head, and she would present a mine of gold. |
| Macaria: Madame Hatton | With a purple mantle, with the figures of cornucopia, and she would present a wand. ⁷⁸ |
| Concordia: the Countess of Nottingham | With a crimson and white mantle embroidered with figures of hands intertwined to signify the union of England, and would present a white and red rose bush. |

74. The Queen is the only goddess whose identity is stated by Daniel in his preface. Her costume, however, is more detailed in the description in the *Relación*, which adds diamonds and a plume of white feathers. Although Juno is the first to be introduced, the goddesses paraded in threes, which established the central position of the trio as the most important. Thus the Queen (Pallas) was central in the first group and the Countess of Bedford (Diana) in the second group, and so on.

75. In the text of *The True Description*, Diana comes before Vesta: i.e. Vesta is the central figure, flanked by Diana and Proserpine. This seems to be a mistake, since in all the other places where the goddesses are listed Vesta and Proserpine flank Diana. This mistake might be the reason why in the British Library copy of the pirate edition, where the ladies' roles are identified in a contemporary hand (possibly Lord Worcester's, as Law believes) the Countess of Hertford appears as Diana and the Countess of Bedford as Vesta. However, we believe that Villamediana's identification of Bedford as Diana is more likely to be the correct one because as sponsor of the masque, Bedford is most likely to have taken the central, more powerful position in the second trio, and moreover is a better candidate for the symbolically significant figure of Diana.

76. The *Relación* avoids here once more, as in the case of the Sybilla, comparing the costume with that of a nun, an association that Daniel makes twice.

77. Daniel describes them in the preface as "silver half moons."

78. Daniel says in his preface that Macaria presents a "cadaceum with the figure of abundance" and in the text of the masque the Sybill describes her as "bearing in either hand / Th'ensignes both of wealth, and wits."

Astraea: Madame
Walsingham

With a blue mantle⁷⁹ embroidered with silver stars, and she would present a sword set on scales.

Flora: Madame
Susan Vere

With a mantle in different colours, embroidered with flowers, and she would present a small bouquet of flowers.

Ceres: Madame
Dorothy Hastings

With a yellow mantle, embroidered with ears of wheat with a headdress of the same, and she would present a sickle.

Tethys: Madame
Elizabeth Howard

With a dark green mantle, embroidered with silver waves and a headdress of reeds, and she would present a trident.

Once the Sybil had declared the way in which each would appear and what they were to offer, the goddesses descended from the mountain in threes and before them the three graces, the one gives, the other deserves and the last one pays, with four torches.⁸⁰ And having approached the temple they sang to this purpose, that the disposition of heaven's gifts was that which embraced the union of the human race and all the beautiful things in life, and in the meantime the goddesses took their offers to the temple, and the Sybil, having taken them and set on the altar, said her prayers so that God would take the King and his kingdom by the hand with the fruits and special blessings of what had there been represented and which was: 1. enlarging of empire, 2. a well disciplined army, 3. love and concord in his kingdoms, 4. true zeal to God, 5. chastity, 6. wealth, 7. happiness, 8. justice, 9. peace, 10. the fruits of the land, 11. abundance, 12. increasing power at sea.⁸¹

Then the twelve goddesses danced among them, making different figures and patterns for the time of a quarter of an hour, and they then got in order to dance with the gentlemen, as they did for the time of an hour,⁸² and the graces sang again to this purpose: that all the glory in this life if there is no one to praise it is like a sepulchre without an epitaph.⁸³ And Iris descended once more from the

79. In the preface of Daniel's edition Astrea comes "in a mantle crimson." As noted above, this must be a printer's error.

80. Villamediana inverts Graces two and three. In the text of the masque we have the following stage direction, "*Gratiae sunt 1 dantium, 2 reddentium, 3 et promerentium.*"

81. Here the text follows quite closely the parliament of the Sybilla in the text of the masque. The main departure is in number 5, where the text says "right shouting at the white / Of brave disignes," while the *Relación* merely has "castidad" ("chastity").

82. The amount of time devoted to dancing is also a new piece of information given in the *Relación*.

83. According to the text of the masque this song is sung just before the ladies take the lords out to dance.

mountain to give notice of the great departure of the goddesses, and then they returned in the same manner as they had come.

Relation of the masque of the Queen of England.

To be sent to the King, our Lord.⁸⁴

TRANSCRIPTION

[1]

+

Señor

fol. 148

Ya tengo dado quenta a V Mag^d. de todo lo sucedido en raçon del Conbite quel Rey me hizo el dia segundo de su pasqua, y de la forma en que fue, y diferencias que sobre ello hubo con el Embaxador de Francia, y tambien del convite y desconvite del Embaxador de Savoya, por los sentimientos del de Florençia, y diligencias q por todas vias se hizieron, para el reparo dello, y volver por la autoridad del s^{or}: Duque de Savoya, y satisfaciones quel Rey dio al de Luli.

Y assi servira esta, para añadir como saviendose quel Embaxador de Francia estava algo zeloso y con algun sentimiento de lo que conmigo se havia hecho, y que procurava que se hiziesse con el alguna demostracion, el Rey persuadido de algunos de su Consejo amigos de Francia se resolvió de embiar a convidar privadamente al dicho Embaxador de Francia, paraque el Domingo onze deste que a su usança hera día de año nuevo, fuesse a cenar con el, y a ver una mascarada q hazian algunos ss^{res} desta corte, parte porque el de Francia avia sido medio trazador della, como por amigo del Duque de Lenox que era cabeça de la dicha mascarada, como tambien por dar lugar a poderme convidar a mi para el dia de los Reyes para otra mascarada de mas fundamento que hazia la Reyna, como ella misma

[1v]

me avia dado yntencion por terceras personas de que la queria hazer para que yo la viesse, y aviendo embiado el Rey a Combidar al dicho Embaxador de Francia, para la Cena y mascara que digo del año nuevo no la accepto, por pretender hallarse a la de la Reyna, pero en effetto lo rodearon de manera, que el dicho dia de año nuevo, hallandose el embaxador de Francia como lo acostumbra, en el aposento del dicho Duque de Lenox para verlos vestir, lo llevaron a la pieça donde la Reyna dançava, y le dieron lugar debaxo del dosel, y quedo a cenar con los Reyes, harto contra su voluntad; diciendo que avia sido cosa de acasso, por lo qual pretendia no perder la mascarada de la Reyna, y como para esto andubiesse

84. This title and instruction was written upon receipt on the back of the last sheet by the Spanish Secretary of State.

machinando y buscando quantos medios y traças podia hallar, estando en la mascarada de los Cavalleros, ryiendo y hablando con el Rey, assi como acaso le dixo, V M^d. no me dara licencia para ver la de su Mag^d. de la Reyna a que el Rey, como le cogio de repente y inadvertidamente no acordandose de lo q la Reyna le havia dicho, le dijo, que si, Al dicho Embaxador le parecio con esto, que ya me avia hecho el tiro, y se vino a Londres, y divulgo tener licencia del Rey, para yr a la mascarada de la Reyna, y entre otros lo dijo, Al de Luli, como yo lo entendi del, y de otras partes, hize que llegase a noticia de la Reyna, y aun lo escrivi a ella y al Rey, con demostracion de algun sentimiento, de que el embaxador de Francia se ubiesse de hallar en dos mascaradas una tras otra, y que no se mirasse que no era raçon, y que el dicho embaxador sospechasse que el negocio se revolviere de lo que el pensava o, que fuesse advertido dello por algun su amigo, el miercoles siguiente dos dias antes de los Reyes, fue a comer con el Baron Cecil, y aviendose

[2]

hallado alli otros tres o, quatro Consejeros de Estado, se trato de su pretension, y viendo que le davan sin raçon, y por averlos apretado mucho pidio audiencia del Rey para que el dia siguiente que fue vispera de los Reyes, y uno de los Consejeros dicen fue luego al Rey, y le dixo q el Embaxador de francia parecia que estava frenetico, refiriendole sus demasias, de q el dicho embaxador aviendo llegado a su noticia dicen esta muy sentido, y enojado con el dicho Consejero. Al otro dia Jueves, el dicho Embaxador tubo audiencia del Rey a las 10 de la mañana, y fue tanto el disgusto que con sus cosas dio al Rey y a sus Consejeros, que el Rey estando puestas las mesas para comer y la vianda en ella, lo hizo levantar todo, y no se quiso sentar ni comer de mohino, y aunque el Consejo propuso al Rey que por quitar ynconvenientes y estas diferencias seria bien que no se hiziesse la mascarada de la Reyna, el Rey respondio que la voluntad de la Reyna era la suya, y que pues ella la havia traydo tan adelante y gustava dello que la hiziesse, y se hallase a la dicha mascarada quien ella quisiesse, y al dicho embaxador dicen que dijo el Rey en la audiencia, que si le avia dicho que podria yr a la mascara, como el decia, no le avia dicho que seria en publico ni en privado, y que despues que havia entrado en este Reyno no le avia dado nayde disgusto sino el, alargandose a que si pensava con estos medios de estorvar las pazes, que se engañava, y aun pienso q le dixo, que si havia de andar cada dia en esto, que mas queria no tener embaxador de Francia en su reyno, y este mismo dia dixeron a Juan Baup^{ta} de Tassis dos personajes graves, que la demasia del Embaxador de Francia

[2v]

avia puesto al Rey y a la Reyna, y su Consejo en tanta Confusion, y el buen termino del Embaxador de España tan obligado, que su M^d. havia resuelto de no hazer la mascarada de la Reyna el dia de los Reyes como estava determinado, sino en tiempo q seria con mucho gusto mio. En suma por dalle al dicho embaxador

alguna satisfacion, se resolvio de combidarle a comer el dia de los Reyes, como se hizo a medio dia en acto publico, con las mismas cerimonias que se avia hecho conmigo; si bien faltaron algunas como la guardia; que estava toda en orden y apercevida el dia de mi combite. Quedo tambien a cenar con los Reyes privadamente, para ver unos jugadores de espadas, no quedando con todo esto satisfecho, antes procurando e ynstando siempre por la mascarada de la Reyna. Pero como ella se havia resuelto, y dicho que no la queria hazer sino delante de mi, no tubieron lugar sus diligencias, y assi el Sabado siguiente me vino un Cavallero a combidar a ella, y que fuesse el domingo a la Corte a las quatro de la tarde. Hizelo assi, estimando este favor en lo q era raçon, y tambien fue convidado para esta fiesta el Embaxador de Polonia, çenamos los dos con el Rey temprano, y en levantando la mesa, fuymos al salon donde havia de ser la mascarada, q era, de doze diosas y vinieron muy ricamente compuestas a ofrecer a un templo, y despues dançaron, y sacaron otros tantos de los señores mas principales deste Reyno que se hallaron alli, que solas y acompañadas hizieron muy buenas danças, y tambien hubimos de salir el embax^{or} de Polonia y yo, a hazer una figura con las Damas q nos sacaron, a mi primero y luego a el, y despues de entrambos el Principe y Verdaderamente la fiesta fue buena, y con mucho sosiego, y se

[3]

acabo a las doze de la noche, de donde fueron los Reyes a otra sala, adonde estava una messa grande con cosas de Colaçon, y al fin tomamos algo y me brindo el Rey, tornandome a decir, como en el banquette passado que esperaba que brindaria a muchos Embaxadores de España, yo brinde a la Reyna, y acompañelos a sus aposentos, y me bolvi a mí alojamiento; Despues he entendido quel Embaxador de Francia ha continuado en su sentimiento, y aun quieren deçir que se hallo reboçado en la fiesta:

A los 22 deste, fue el Embaxador de Savoya a las onçe de la mañana a la corte, por averle el dia antes embiado el Rey a decir q fuesse a aquella ora a Audiencia, porque la avia pedido y aunq no le dijeron que era para comer con el Rey, en effetto era para esto con que queda de todo punto saldado lo de atras, y fue de los Reyes muy regalado; Guarde nro señor la sacra Catolica y real persona de VM^d. como la Cristiandad y este Vasallo y Criado de VM^d ha menester, De Richemont a 30 de Enero 1604

Sr.

Bessa los Reales Pies de V.M
Su Vasallo y criado

El Conde de V^amediana

[3v]

+

Richemont

A su Md

1604

El C^{de} de Villamediana a 30 de Enero

Rda a 7 de Marzo

aprovar lo q hizo,

dize los combites que aquel Rey ha hecho y la mascara que trazo la Rey^a a que fue llamado el. Y el disgusto q el dicho Rey tuvo con el Embax^{or} de Francia por pretender demasias. Y como el Embax^{or} de Saboya comio con el Rey con q se saldo lo q passo antes

fo 147 a 150

[1]

+

Relacion de la Mascara, representada delante del Rey de Ynglaterra por la Reyna en 18 de Enero 1604

fol. 150

Primeramente aparecio la noche, que era un personaje con alas negras y habitos de lo mismo sembrados de estrellas, y fue a despertar al sueño su hijo que estava dormiendo en una grutta y le rogo para que con su bara de cuerno hiziera endormecer a la Compañía que alli estava, y representar a todos mientras dormiessen sueños y apariciones divinas. Juntamente un templo que fuesse dedicado a la Paz y en el una sibila, que estubiesse aguardando para servir en cosas q tocavan a los sacrificios, lo que parecio que cumpliesse luego porque se abrieron unas cortinas que estavan delante un altar que tenia quatro velas encendidas, y al pie del un personaje vestido de negro con tocado blanco, para denotar la sibila:

Después vino baxando de una machina que havia en forma de montaña, Yris, la mensajera de Juno, y dio aviso a la Sibila como havian venido alli algunas diosas para recrearse, y resuelto entre ellas de llegar a visitar aquel templo, y le dio un espejo prospectivo en el qual podia a su placer (no siendole permitido contemplar las divinidades estando presentes) ver y declarar todo lo que avia de acontecer, y ella mirando en el espejo fue contando de los nombres de las diosas, de sus habitos, figuras, y de las bendiciones q trayan consigo:

[1v]

Juno, que era la Condesa de Suffolcq:

Havia de venir con un manto de Azul Celeste bordado de oro y corona encima de la Cabeça y que presentaria su Cettro.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Palas, la Reyna | Con un manto de Azul Celeste con figuras de diferentes maneras de armas, con una Celada de diamantes, y en el un penacho blanco, y que ofrecería su lança y escudo, |
| Venus, Madama Rica | Con un manto de color Columbina, bordado de palomas de Plata y q ofrecería una banda de diferentes colores, |
| Vesta La Condessa de Hardford. | Con un manto blanco bordado de llamas doradas, vestida a modo de religiosa con una lampara y libro en la mano, q avia de presentar |
| Diana la Condessa de Bedford | Con un manto Verde, bordado con unas baras de plata, y traya por tocado unos laços de perlas a modo de corona y q presentaria un arco con su aljava de flechas |
| Proserpina. La Condessa de Darbie | Con un manto negro bordado de llamas doradas con una corona en la cabeça, y q presentaria una mina de oro, |

[2]

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Macaria. Madama Hatton | Con un manto morado, con las figuras de la Cornucopia y q presentaria una bara |
| Concordia. La Condessa de Nottingham | Con un manto Carmesi y blanco bordado con figuras de manos asidas para significar la union de Ynglaterra y q presentaria un rosal blanco y colorado: |
| Astrea, Madama de Walsingham | Con un manto Azul bordado de estrellas de plata, y q presentaria una espada puesta en un peso |
| Flora Madama Susana Vere | Con un manto de diferentes Colores bordado de flores y q presentaria un pomo con un ramillete |
| Ceres. Madama Dorothea Hastings | Con un manto amarillo, bordado de Espigas de trigo y con el tocado de lo mismo y presentaria una oz |
| Tetis: Madama Isabel Havard | Con un manto de Verde oscuro, bordado de olas de plata y el tocado de juncos, y q presentaria un tridente |

[2v]

Haviendo la sibila declarado la manera en q havia de venir cada una, y lo q havian de ofrecer las diosas baxaron de la montaña, y de tres en tres, y delante yvan las tres gracias, la una que da, la otra q merece, y la otra q remunera, con quatro achas; y llegadas cerca del templo cantaron a este proposito, q la disposición de los dones del Cielo era la q abraçava la Union del genero humano y de todas las cosas hermosas desta Vida, y en el entretanto las Diosas, llevaron sus offrendas al templo,

y la sibila haviendolas recojido y puesto encima del altar hizo sus oraciones para que Dios quisiesse tener de su mano al Rey y a su Reyno con el frutto y bendicion esencial de lo q allí figuradamente se avia representado q era I. acrecentamiento de mayor imperio, 2. de bien disciplinado exercito, 3. de amor y concordia en sus Reynos, 4. de verdadero zelo a Dios. 5. de Castidad. 6. de Riqueza 7. de Felicidad. 8 de Justicia 9 de Paz. 10. de los frutos de la tierra, 11. de abundancia, 12. de mayor grandeça por la mar.

Luego las doce diosas dançaron entre ellas haziendo diferentes mudanças y entrelaços por espacio de un quarto de hora, y luego se pusieron en orden para dançar

[3]

con los Cavalleros como lo hizieron por el espacio de mas de una hora; y las gracias cantaron otra vez a este proposito, que toda la gloria desta Vida sino hay quien la alaba es como un sepulchro sin titulo; y baxo de nuevo Yris de la montaña, a dar aviso de la partida de las Diosas, y poco después dançando se bolvieron de la misma manera que havian venido.

[3v]

+

Relacion de la mascarada

de la Reyna de Inglaterra

Para embiar al Rey nos Sr

(Archivo General de Simancas, E 842)