A Picture of Pageantry and the Arches of Triumph: dramatic, visual, and literary representations of James I and the new Stuart dynasty through Thomas Dekker’s account of the 1604 Royal Entry and Stephen Harrison’s design for its setting.

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Focussing on the printed account of Thomas Dekker’s ‘The Magnificent Entertainment’ and the arches designed by architect Stephen Harrison (immortalised and available to date through William Kip’s engravings) as its primary artefacts, this paper aims to portray the representation of the British Monarchy and the socio-political realities in the late Tudor/early Stuart dynasties, as symbolised through the visual and textual allegorical devices used in the 1604 Royal Entry of King James I, contextualising, and affirming this through the various eye-witness (and other) accounts available. Corroborating the research of several authors and historians, and using sources such as John Nichols’ compilations, as well as the study of emblematic devices in the Early Modern Period, this paper asserts that civic pageantry played an important role in defining the perception of the monarchy by its people, and proposes that said artefacts lead to a reading abounding with undertones relating to socio-economic actualities, religious controversy, foreign policy agenda and the assertion of the throne itself.

1 Full title: The Magnificent Entertainment: giv’n to King James, Queene Anne his wife, and Henry Frederick the Prince, vpon the day of his Maiesties triumphant passage (from the Tower) through his honourable citie (and chamber) of London, being the 15. of March. 1603. As well by the English as by the strangers: vwith the speeches and songs, deliuered in the seuerall pageants.
3 Apart from those by Thomas Dekker himself, Ben Jonson and Thomas Middleton, other accounts have been acknowledged, including the eye-witness accounts of Gilbert Dugdale, Venetian Ambassador Nicolo Molin and, recently, Spanish Ambassador Juan de Tassis y Acuña, Conde de Villamediana.
5 Title: The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First, his royal consort, family, and court: collected from original manuscripts, scarce pamphlets, corporation records, parochial registers, comprising Forty Masques and Entertainments, Ten Civic Pageants, Numerous Original Letters, and Annotated Lists of the Peers, Baronets and Knights, who Received Those Honours During the Reign of King James; Illustrated with notes, historical, topographical, biographical and bibliographical. by Nichols, John, 1745-1826. [Four Quarto volumes] Publication date 1828. (Posthumous).
Figure 1. From British Library (own photo). First page of folio compiled and published by joiner and architect Stephen Harrison; engraved by William Kip, dated 15 March, 1603. (© British Library Board)
SETTING THE SCENE

The End of the Elizabethan Age and the beginnings of a Jacobean Dynasty

The 1603 accession to the throne of King James VI of Scotland\(^6\) marked the end of the Tudor dynasty. The Royal Entry of 1604 had to display power, unity, prosperity and peace. It had to instil confidence, give reassurance and affirm lineage and succession. The fact that the entry was postponed by such a long time due to the plague, made this progress more pertinent than previous progresses as it gave the various communities, livery companies and the court itself a chance to vet the new king and his work, begin to understand his agendas, and therefore use this knowledge together with the opportunity of the progress to metaphorically comment on economic, religions, and political policy.

Apart from the obvious great joy and celebration exhibited at this procession,\(^7\) there were other strong connotations and messages by the various stakeholders, such as the 'reminder' by the Dutch merchants at their arch of the importance of upholding the Anglo-Dutch interests\(^8\) at a time when there was an increasing steer towards peace with Spain, which could, not only affect the trade between England and the Netherlands\(^9\) (and therefore the economy), but also create religio-political schism, as well as expose the low countries to possible attack.\(^10\)

James I was faced with an immediate 'task'. The expectation can be seen in the parliament proclamation 24 March 1603.\(^11\) The concept of a union, not just in regal terms, but also in actual fact,

\(^6\) By royal proclamation issued on October 20, 1604, King James VI of Scotland and I of England was now King James I of Great Britaine: <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/royal-proclamation-declaring-james-vi-and-i-to-be-king-of-great-britain>

\(^7\) Thomas Dekker: 'The day (for whose sake, these wonders of Wood, cynmde thus into the clowdes) is now come; being so earely vp by reason of Artificiall Lights, which wakened it, that the Sunne ouer-slept him/selwe, and rose not in many hourses after, yet bringing with it into the very bosome of the Cittie, a world of people. The Streets seemde to bee paeud with men: Stalles in stead of rich wares were set out with children, open Casements fild vp with womyn. | All Glasse windowes taken downe, but in their places, sparkeled so many eyes, that had it not bene the day, the light which reflected from them, was sufficient to haue made one: hee that should haue compared the emptie and vntroden walkes of Londron, which were to be seen in that late mortally-destroying Deluge, with the thronged streetes now, might haue believed, that vpon this day, began a new Creation, & that the Cittie was the onely Work/house wherein sundry Nations were made.' <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A20069.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext>

\(^8\) Including, for example, ensuring the perpetuation of the Treaty of Nonsuch signed by Queen Elizabeth I in 1585 and amended and renewed by Privy Council in 1598.

\(^9\) Today’s Holland and Belgium


\(^11\) A general hope was raised in the minds of all your people that under your majesty’s reign, religion, peace, justice, and all virtue should renew again and flourish; that the better sort should be cherished, the bad reformed or repressed, and some moderate ease should be given us of those burdens and sore oppressions under which the whole land did groan.' Kenyon, J. (1989). The Stuart Constitution 1603-1688. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
was paramount to this new kingdom’s ideology\textsuperscript{12} and had already been publicly announced in parliament. The unity of the kingdoms within James’ political thinking, is attested by Francis Bacon\textsuperscript{13} and several other writings at the time, including the King’s own first Parliamentary Speech in 1604, as well as via other visual and symbolic means, such as coins minted in 1603–4 and the Union of the Crowns signets.

As several historians and writers have pointed out, such as Dinah Newton\textsuperscript{14} and Robert Lawson-Peebles, this is an unprecedented time.\textsuperscript{15} The monarch is now reigning over three countries (England, Scotland and Ireland), and a municipality (Wales), each with their own ‘political, administrative, social and (often most significantly) religious systems and traditions’.\textsuperscript{16} The entertainment advocated this concept.

The pageantry also hints at the new world, perhaps alluding to underlying political thought, referring to British colonialism; and, possibly John Hawkins’ transatlantic slave trade as well as Queen Elizabeth I’s deportation of 'negroes and blackamoors' just a few years before, in 1601. On the other hand, Kim Hall argues that any reference to slave trade triangulation must be seen in the light of the 'esoteric expression of James’ benevolent plans for a passive and needy Africa.'\textsuperscript{17}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[12] King James I’s lineage included a line to King Alfred who had united the Heptarchy (The unification of the seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms: East Anglia, Essex, Kent, Mercia, Northumbria, Sussex and Wessex in the early 10\textsuperscript{th} century) as well as to Henry VII who had united the houses of York and Lancaster.
\end{footnotes}
Socio-Political Realities

Politics, Religion, Power, Economy

James’ own concept of the monarch as king by Divine right was made very clear from the beginning, as demonstrated even in his own Basilikon Doron:18 genealogy,19 succession, and divine right to the throne were an imperative. Another important factor in James’ manifesto was his intent for peace and unity, which he immediately set out in his first parliamentary speech.20 This brought the controversial subject of religion into play. The King’s intentions, or leaning towards, a possible peace ‘treaty’ with Spain,21 which would be hugely beneficial to England also on economic terms,22 was seen as the possibility of the creation of unrest and anxiety in the relationships across the Channel.

Beati Pacifici and Rex Pacificus defined the reign of King James. Peace was a strategic and personal vision. James I was adverse to radical or extreme religion. In this way, he did not appease the Puritans, nor the rigid Catholics. As response to the Millenary Petition,23 and the ‘current’ climate, in January 1604, King James convened a four-day conference at Hampton Court to discuss reforms and hopefully reach a consensus on national ecclesiastical policy.24 In his address to parliament as the Head of Church of England, James I confirmed ‘that it would please God to make me one of the members of such a general Christian Union in religion as we might meet in the midst, which is the centre and perfection of all things’.25

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18 A treatise, in the form of a letter to his (King James’) son, Henry, on governing and how to be a king.
19 The family tree issued on 26 March 1603 (drawn by antiquarian and parliamentarian, Robert Bruce Cotton) shows the lineage of James (and thus his right to the throne) dating back to King Alfred and the Saxons.
20 Parliament speech, March 1604 ‘The first […] of these blessings which God hath, jointly with my person, sent unto you is outward peace […] which is no small blessing to a Christian Commonwealth, for by peace abroad with their neighbours the towns flourishing, the merchants become rich, the trade doth increase, and the people of all sorts of the land enjoy free liberty to exercise themselves in their several vocations without peril or disturbance.’ Bergeron, David M. ‘King James’s Civic Pageant and Parliamentary Speech in March 1604.’ Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies 34, no. 2 (2002): 213-31. doi:10.2307/4053700.
21 The Treaty of London was signed in Somerset House as early as 1604.
22 James I had inherited a stable kingdom from Elizabeth I, however, there were financial difficulties, augmented by the ongoing war with Spain and the rebellion in Catholic Ireland.
23 Reportedly signed by 1,000 clergymen, this was a list of requests and reforms presented to James I by the Puritans.
24 The Symme and Substanse of the Conference which, it Plesued his Excellent Maiestie to haue with the Lords, Bishops, and Other of his Clergie, (at vwhich the Most of the Lordes of the Councell were Present) in his Maiesties Priuy-Chamber, at Hampton Court. January 4. 1603 / Contracted by WWilliam Barlowe, Doctor of Diuinity, and Deane of Chester. Whereunto are Added, Some Copies, (Scattered Abroad,) Visuaery, and Vntrue. (London, 1604) STC 1456.5. The whole conference was recorded and can be read here: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A04434.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext>
SYMBOLISM AND ALLEGORY

The use of the metaphor

Just like Plutarch\(^{26}\) and Simonides, Thomas Dekker describes poets as those 'who drawe speaking pictures'\(^{27}\) and painters as those 'who make dumbe poesie'.\(^{28}\) With this, we have opened the floor to interpretation. The early modern period is replete with *emblematica*. The use of the metaphor is well-understood. A passion for emblems, *imprese*, hieroglyphics, mythological manuals and writings such as those of Paradin,\(^{29}\) Ripa and others,\(^{30}\) together with a quasi-Platonic rebirth of devices used in medieval chivalry was present across Europe in the Early Modern Period.\(^{31}\)

Since the 1604 procession took place outdoors, and its speeches and orations not always audible, it was imperative to ensure that the message was strongly present visually.\(^{32}\) Dramatic continuity was maintained in various ways, such as by linking one arch to the other through different characters, the role of 'messengers' in between arches, as well as by musical interludes from various musicians, including the boy choristers of St Paul’s Cathedral. There was also an expectation that the public would decipher the symbolism used. This strong iconographical tradition is further asserted by Dekker’s


\(^{27}\) *The progresses, processiones, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First, his royal consort, family, and court: collected from original manuscripts, scarce pamphlets, corporation records, parochial registers, comprising Forty Masques and Entertainments, Ten Civic Pageants, Numerous Original Letters, and Annotated Lists of the Peers, Baronets and Knights, who Received Those Honours During the Reign of King James; Illustrated with notes, historical, topographical, biographical and bibliographical.* by Nichols, John, 1745-1826. [Four Quarto volumes] Publication date 1828. (Posthumous).

\(^{28}\) ibid.

\(^{29}\) *The heroicall deuises of M. Claudius Paradin Canon of Beaufieu. Whereunto are added the Lord Gabriel Symeons and others. Translated out of Latin into English by P.S. Paradin, Claude, 16th century, P. S., fl. 1591, (London: Imprinted by William Kearney dwelling in Adlingstreee, 1591).*

\(^{30}\) Caesar Ripa, *Iconologia, or, Moral emblems: wherein are express’d, various images of virtues, vices, passions, arts, humours, elements and celestial bodies; as designed by the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and modern Italians : useful for orators, poets, painters, sculptors, and all lovers of ingenuity: illustrated with three hundred and twenty-six humane figures, with their explanations; newly design’d and engraven on copper, by I. Fuller, painter, and other masters: by the care and at the charge of P. Tempest.* Published by ReInk Books (2017) <https://archive.org/details/iconologiaormora00ripa>.

\(^{31}\) This was also true of actors and theatre: 'An actor could change from a man into a woman, an adult into a child, an Englishman into a Spaniard, a Protestant into a Catholic, or a king into a pauper by altering his apparel before returning to the stage. And an actor often had to.' : Lublin, R.I. *Costuming the Shakespearean Stage: Visual Codes of Representation in Early Modern Theatre and Culture* (Ohio: Ohio State University, 2003).

\(^{32}\) The visual element in such civic entertainment was of utmost importance since there was no time to develop a dramatically coherent plot because of the movement of the sovereign or magistrate. Thus characters had to be immediately recognizable, for there was no prolonged lingering at street corners. Hence visual allegory was the pageant-dramatist’s chief tool, and he used characters familiar in the allegorical pictorial tradition.' Bergeron, D. Symbolic Landscape in English Civic Pageantry. *Renaissance Quarterly, 22*(1), 1969 pp.32-37.
account of the sixth arch at Fleet Street: ‘having tolde you that her name was Justice, I hope you will not put mee to describe what properties she held in her hands….’

THE CITY BECOMES THE STAGE

For such Vertue is begotten in Princes, that their verie presence hath power to turne a Village to a Citie, and to make a Citie appeare great as a Kingdome.

This Royal Entry was the finest and most extravagant to date. This was due to many reasons, (including the coming of a new dynasty); however, the flourishing of the arts, the development of intellectualism, the growing understanding of emblematica and the general refinement that occurred during the reign of Elizabeth I, cannot be overlooked. And thus, the arches are saturated with symbolic devices and are lavishly ornate and Baroque, reaching physical proportions never seen before, as attested by Gilbert Dugdale’s eye-witness account.

According to Harrison the whole procession lasted several hours. The majority of the arches were devised by Ben Jonson, with Thomas Dekker responsible for the ones at Cheapside and Fleet Street and Thomas Middleton’s speech at Fleet Street. It is generally accepted that artificer, Stephen Harrison, was the ‘sole Inventor of the Architecture’. However, there are other reports, relating to the ones at Gracechurch Street and Royal Exchange, paid for by the Italian and Dutch Companies, respectively.

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33 *The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First, his royal consort, family, and court: collected from original manuscripts, scarce pamphlets, corporation records, parochial registers, comprising Forty Masques and Entertainments, Ten Civic Pageants, Numerous Original Letters, and Annotated Lists of the Peers, Baronets and Knights, who Received Those Honours During the Reign of King James; Illustrated with notes, historical, topographical, biographical and bibliographical. by Nichols, John, 1745-1826. [Four Quarto volumes] Publication date 1828. (Posthumous).*

34 Ibid.

35 There is a lot of evidence to corroborate this, including records form the Corporation of London regarding costs, the writers themselves (Jonson, Dekker and Middleton), the complexities of the arches and their designs, the actors taking part, and all the print available that immortalised the event thereafter. Bergeron, David M. ‘King James’s Civic Pageant and Parliamentary Speech in March 1604.’ *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 34, no. 2 (2002): 213-31. doi:10.2307/4053700.

36 *Trophies of glory, pageants of that magnificence the like was neuer* Bergeron, D. *English civic pageantry, 1558-1642.* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971).

37 11am or 12pm till 5pm


39 As pointed out by Peter Ole Grell, there is evidence found at the Royal Library of Belgium (*Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* or *Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier* or *l'Albertine*) within the *Beschryvinghe vande Herlycke Arcvs Triumphal ofte Eerepoorte vande Nederlantshe Natie opgherecht in London* in a pamphlet printed in Middleburgh by publisher Richard Schilders containing a report by Simon Ruytinck (Minister to Austin Friars, 1601 – 1621), that the Dutch merchants and communities designed the arches with ‘inventors’ Christopher de Steur and Assuerus Regemorter, painters Daniel de Vos, Pawels van Overbeker, Adrian van Sond and Martin Droeshout, together with engraver William Kip, and, above all, architect Conraet Jansen. This is corroborated by other evidence, such as the report by Dutch historian Emanuel van Meteren. The Dutch arch was reportedly commissioned by Ruytinck, (also a silk merchant), classicist Jacob Cool, and physician and poet Raphael Thorius. Grell, O. *Calvinist exiles in Tudor and Stuart England.* (London: Routledge, 2017).
Never before in any other pageant, procession or progress had such elaborate, majestic arches been constructed.\textsuperscript{40} Although Harrison does not let us know the physical heights and proportions of these arches, there are eye-witness accounts (such as Gilbert Dugdale’s)\textsuperscript{41} reporting the grandeur of them all, as well as a comment by Dekker on the Dutch Arch where the gate was 18ft high and 12ft wide, and a Dutch pamphlet referring to the 87ft height of the same Dutch Arch at the Royal Exchange. It would be interesting to examine this further to see to what extent, if any, these kind of edifices - just pre-dating the Palladian influence on English theatrical set-design, perspective and architecture - had actually acted as an influence on Inigo Jones’ later sets for court masques.

The main arches were erected in the following spots along the procession:

1 – Fenchurch
2 – Gracechurch Street
3 – Royal Exchange, Cornhill
4 – Cheapside (above the Great Conduit in Cheape, Soper-lane End, East)
5 – Little Conduit in Cheape
6 – Fleet Conduit
7 – Temple Bar

Most of the arches are imbued with political significance. The Londinium’s symbolism, at the East End of Fenchurch Street, focussed on the monarchy; the Italian Arch in Gracechurch Street on succession, continuity and unity; the Dutch Arch (Royal Exchange, Cornhill) primarily on foreign policy, while the one at Cheapside above the Great Conduit in Cheape possibly showed Arabia Britannica. This was followed by two other Dekker arches - one close to the Little Conduit in Cheap,\textsuperscript{42} portraying peace and bounty,\textsuperscript{43} and another one above the conduit in Fleet Street, addressing the new world.\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{40} Bergeron, D. \textit{English civic pageantry, 1558-1642}. (London: Edward Arnold, 1971).
\textsuperscript{41} Title is: \textit{The Time Triumphant, Declaring in breife, the arial of our Soueraigne lieged Lord, King James into England, His Coronation at Westminster: Together with his late royal progresse, from the Towe of London through the Cittie, to his Highnes mannor of White Hall. Shewing also, the varieties & varieties of al the sundry trophies or pageants, erected ... With a rehearsall of the King and Queenes late comming to the Exchaunge in London}.
\textsuperscript{42} This is the arch where all the cities’ dignitaries came to greet the king in person. The metaphor here became reality.
\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Hortus Euporiae} is a beautifully domed arch with trellises, flowers and plants springing out of the domes and the arch itself and with representations Chrusos (Gold) and Argurion (silver) and of the music and the liberal arts. The arch is, in essence, a three-dimensional upright garden, metaphorically representing England to its new gardener, King James I. One could hypothesise that this is yet another link to the Divine – Christ the gardener.
\textsuperscript{44} This arch is an interesting one to study as it presents us with a hugely significant disparity between Dekker and Harrison account. In Dekker’s account, \textit{Arabia Britanica} is the chief figure while in Harrison’s design, this place is taken by Fame. Another disparity is the textual representation (including a description of) the Graces and Hours in Dekker; as opposed to the visual representation of the Four Cardinal Virtues in the engravings. It would be an interesting study to examine the reasons behind these disparities and their significance. Understanding that Harrison would have discussed what the arches were to convey with Dekker and Jonson, as well as the Dutch and Italian communities, although conjecture, it could be possible that although the final arch was not representing all that Dekker had in mind, had written, and was 'performed/spoken (being this one at the Great Conduit was 'his' arch/pageant), he opted to immortalise his intentions at least for posterity via the printing medium.
at Temple Bar was devised by Jonson as a representation of the Temple of Janus, portraying power, peace and wealth, with silver dove and olive wreath and laurel crown (Irene), Pluto’s ingot of gold and the god of Mars ‘growling, his armour scattered upon in in several pieces’.

**The King as subject and object | The audience as spectator and crowd.**

A king is as one set on a stage, whose smallest actions and gestures, all the people gazingly do behold. There are three main elements to the pageant – the procession itself with main actor (the King and his entourage), the text and visual elements (the arches and the city itself as ‘living backdrop’, as well as the drama and literary texts by Dekker, Jonson and Middleton), the diverse audiences and view-points (ambassadorial, from the king, from the citizen’s point of view). This entry is also one imbued with political connotation and laden with the weight of showing off the monarch and the monarchy, as also seen from the reporting done by the Spanish and Venetian Ambassadors. It is therefore also important to make this a great celebration – thus, the arches built near conduits (which were flowing with Claret wine). It becomes an act of perhaps not-so-subtle diplomacy where the King is showing off the splendour, riches and extravagance of the court to his foreign ambassadors. Harrison even reports 300 children from Christ Church Hospital, near Barking Church-yard, climbing on scaffolding near the tower to watch the parade. ‘It was a spectacle in which was enshrined the mutually-defining entities of people and sovereign.’

This magnificent display of power, visual splendour and lavishness had diverse audiences – all crucial and therefore targeted in different ways. There already exists the Dekker/Jonson disparity in the

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45 ‘He respecteth all climates and fills all parts of the world with his majestie’ Jonson, from: Bergeron, D. *English civic pageantry, 1558-1642*. (London: Edward Arnold, 1971).
47 From Basilicon Doron: www.bl.uk/collection-items/autograph-manuscript-of-king-james-vi-and-is-basilikon-doron-or-the-kings-gift
48 Dugdale’s account is a good example of a layman’s eye-witness; however, he does seem to have knowledge and insight. He tries to decipher the symbolism, he offers his own interpretation, and he recognises the Kings Men. An interesting ‘addition’ from Dugdale is the oration of an elderly gentleman. Nichols’ hypothesis is that this could actually be Dugdale portraying himself.
49 Venetian Ambassador Nicolo Molin; Spanish Ambassador Juan de Tassis y Acuña, Conde de Villamediana
50 The Spanish ambassador occupied a stationary position designed to show off to him and his fellow legates the splendour of the Stuart court; from this vantage point he could not see the arches or hear the speeches, which were not his concern: what he saw, and described, is what interested him – the Stuart court, the government with which he was negotiating the peace’. Mark Hutchings & Berta Cano-Echevarría (2017): *The Spanish Ambassador’s account of James I’s entry into London, 1604* [with Text], The Seventeenth Century, DOI: 10.1080/0268117X.2017.1335611
51 The arch’s of triumph erected in honor of the high and mighty prince, James, the first of that name, King of England, and the sixt of Scotland at his Maiesties entrance and passage through his honorable city & chamber of London. vpon the 15th. day of march 1603. Invented and published by Stephen Harrison ioyner and architect: and graven by William Kip.
understanding of who this entertainment is for, and how it should be read, perceived and therefore related.\textsuperscript{53} However, beyond that, there is the display of allegiance towards the new king (i.e. directed to the king as the audience), the acceptance of the new dynasty and this line of succession, the portrayal of power, wealth and extravagance for all the world (empire?) to recognise through the eyes of their respective ambassadors, the show of the monarchy to the different classes – where each would glean what they could perceive (knowledge of the use and meaning of emblematic devises, - or plain, simple fun), the festivity and celebration in general, and the reader’s impression and interpretation through the various printed material made available afterwards, and posterity itself.

King James I was a widely welcomed and accepted King. However, there is a marked difference between the attitude and participation of the monarch in 1559 progress and this one. While Elizabeth I almost became one of the ‘actors’ within the pageant, delivering speeches and speaking to her audience, James I retained a very passive role, sometimes even hurrying through between one device and another.\textsuperscript{54} This is discussed at length by both Dekker and Dugdale; and is discussed by historians such as Jonathan Goldberg and David M. Bergeron, who consider this perhaps to be a device used by the king to further the notion of divine right by mystifying the body:\textsuperscript{55} ‘What he offered was not simply an image of his power, but the power of himself as image’.\textsuperscript{56}

It is also interesting to note the focus on Queen Anne in Dugdale’s account and the emphasis played on the importance of lineage and succession even in an eye-witness account, even with regards to the Queen.\textsuperscript{57} As noted by Bergeron, also in Dugdale is talk of patronage (perhaps unusual for an eye-witness account?) such as: the Kings Men, as well as the Queen’s and the Prince’s ‘actors’ (Earle

\textsuperscript{53} Ben Jonson: ‘Neither was it becoming, or could it stand with the dignity of these shows, after the most miserable and desperate shift of the puppets, to require a truchman [interpreter] or (with the ignorant painter) one to write, ‘This is a dog’ or ‘This is a hare’, but so to be presented as upon the view they might without cloud or obscurity declare themselves to the sharp and learned. And for the multitude, no doubt but their grounded judgements gazed, said it was fine and were satisfied.’ Trudell, Scott. The Sounds of Pageantry. The Map of Early Modern London. Ed. Janelle Jenstad. (Victoria: University of Victoria <http://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/SOUN1.htm> [accessed 01 March 2018].

\textsuperscript{54} Dekker: To the Reader. Reader, you must understand, that a regard, being had that his Majestie should not be wearied with tedious speeches: A great part of those which are in this Booke set downe, were left unspoken: So that thou dost here receivem them as they should have bene deliuereed, not as they were.’ Strong, R. (1984). Art and power. Berkeley: University of California Press.


\textsuperscript{56} Jonathan Goldberg, James I and the Politics of Literature (Baltimore, 1983)

\textsuperscript{57} ‘Englandes Triumph, the worthe of women, Anne, Queene of Englande’ Here again, is the importance of the eye-witness, who is not only seeing the arches and following the pageantry, but is looking at the overall with the Monarchy as an essential part of the pageant itself. [From Dugdale – found in: The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First, his royal consort, family, and court: collected from original manuscripts, scarce pamphlets, corporation records, parochial registers, comprising Forty Masques and Entertainments, Ten Civic Pageants, Numerous Original Letters, and Annotated Lists of the Peers, Baronets and Knights, who Received Those Honours During the Reign of King James: Illustrated with notes, historical, topographical, biographical and bibliographical. by Nichols, John, 1745-1826. [Four Quarto volumes] Publication date 1828. (Posthumous).
of Worsters and Nottingham, respectively). There is also mention of the constant flowing of wine, as in Harrison’s pamphlet.

Of course, the importance of the visual element is huge – as even mentioned in the texts by Dekker and Jonson. The speeches (just like with the previous big entertainment of Elizabeth in 1559), were sometimes inaudible, omitted, possibly due to time constraints, or so convoluted in the mixture of wine and noise, that did not necessarily deliver the message intended to all. Thus, Harrison’s arches were what everyone would have seen and interpreted.58

There are far too many allegorical links to discuss in just this article, including references to James the writer and philosopher. This article will therefore focus on themes of power, divine right, succession, political agenda, and socio-economic and religious imagery.59

Thus is the framework in which this magnificent entertainment is to be viewed. It is a joyous occasion and a visual spectacle for the people, on the one hand, and a display of allegiance, a means to an end, and propaganda for the livery companies on the other. What is it for Dekker, Harrison and Jonson? Why have these arches been documented so heavily? (a first for a procession). This would be an interesting study to undertake. Perhaps it is as simple as the artists being very proud of their work in what seems to be the most spectacular procession to date. Perhaps there is greater intrigue and meaning that one could uncover. This pageant was also a diplomatic 'opportunity' for the ambassadors60 and an opportunity of propaganda for the monarchy itself. Just like the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, this was power on display.61 It was Britain showing its perception of itself as a superpower empire.

This is the context of this analysis: a pageant, that in reality is not serving simply as entertainment and as means of honouring the king, but, above and beyond that, has political purpose.

58 There is also the fact that, we, the readers, are reading in a different context, and are all so aware of all the texts, including those which were not read out etc. We also have the opportunity to analyse and make our own interpretation and reach our own conclusions of the disparity between the printed texts. But we will never know what really transpired and whose account is the definite one. Reality is probably a mixture of all accounts available.

59 Although not discussed in depth in this article, Nova Faelix Arabia – the arch at Soper-Lane is another one portraying power and the divine. Dekker describes the Mechanicke Body used in this arch in detail; but, importantly, he describes the exaltation of a young chorister from St Paul’s Cathedral, linking James I to Brutus.

60 It is intimated that assigned precedence had not been agreed upon and that therefore some ambassadors were present for the pageant. However, the Spanish account is a hugely significant one. It is the one that gives evidence of the actual entertainment itself - the Royal Procession as the focal part of the whole entertainment; the people’s gaze at the King – and following that, rather than in listening to the speeches. The Spanish Ambassador also points out the seating of Lady Arabella Stuart and the Countess of Arundel’s prominent positioning in the procession. This detail is hugely important to the Spanish Court. They were previously excluded from Elizabeth’s court – and are now back in favour.

61 From Spanish ambassador: ‘It was perhaps the supreme example in the medieval and early modern world of ‘power on display’ Mark Hutchings & Berta Cano-Echevarría (2017): The Spanish Ambassador’s account of James I’s entry into London, 1604 [with Text], The Seventeenth Century, DOI: 10.1080/0268117X.2017.1335611
Focus on Londinium and the arches erected by the foreign communities.

1. LONDINIUM at FENCHURCH

Figure 2. LONDINIUM. From British Library (own photo) – architect Stephen Harrison; engraving by William Kip. (© British Library Board)

This device epitomises the use of symbolism and allegory in the early modern period. The arch itself captures 'London'; but it also portrays the interactions between Britain and other countries. The Royal Pageant was a display of power for all to see, including the ambassadors from different countries. It is a historical moment in British culture – (albeit almost a year later, because of the plague), marking the 'changeover' from the Tudor to the Stuart dynasty. It is imbued with subculture undertones. It also shows aesthetics of former ages and ways in which the more distant past is represented in subsequent times. This imperialist mode, already apparent and significant in the title LONDINIUM is particularly relevant in this specific Royal Entry, as King James is now King of Britain. Harking back to antiquity and the times of the Romans, it evokes imperialism and supremacy. The Roman triumphal arches are what King James and his entourage would have passed through. King James I is seen as the new Emperor of Great Britain. Designed by Jonson, this arch was used to symbolise greatness even before

62 The actual coronation took place on July 25, 1603.
the arch was revealed. The actual arch was covered with a curtain of silk, only uncovered when the King was near enough to see this 'at the rising of the Sunne, all mists [are] dispersed and fled.'

The figure in the middle is Monarchia Brittanica. Beneath her is Divine Wisdom. Genius Orbis is holding a goblet (signifying abundance). There are several more images incorporated (including all virtues conveying the characteristics that monarchy embodied in early seventeenth-century Britain). Of course, there is the whole representation of London on top.

The majestic imagery represented in Harrison’s arch itself, is complemented by Dekker’s account itself: 'In name of all these Senators, (on whom | Vertue builds more, then these of Antique Rome) | Shouting a cheerefull welcome.' Evoking more ancient Roman imperial imagery is Dekker’s first text, which was supposed to be the first pageant, but was, 'layd by.' The words Camera Regia on Harrison’s arch (as also described by Dekker) refer to The King’s Chamber. Divine Right is explicit in Jonson’s text with phrases such as 'god on earth' and 'godlike race.'

From the very beginning of the pageant, we are immediately shown stability in the prospect of the Prince of Wales’s succession, with references to 'This springing glory of thy godlike race; | His countries wonder, hope, love, joy and pride', blessings for the future:

From this branch, may thousand branches more
Shooe o're the maine, and knit with every shore
In bonds of marriage, kinred, and increase',

63 The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First, his royal consort, family, and court: collected from original manuscripts, scarce pamphlets, corporation records, parochial registers, comprising Forty Masques and Entertainments, Ten Civic Pageants, Numerous Original Letters, and Annotated Lists of the Peers, Baronets and Knights, who Received Those Honours During the Reign of King James; Illustrated with notes, historical, topographical, biographical and bibliographical. by Nichols, John, 1745-1826. [Four Quarto volumes] Publication date 1828. (Posthumous).
64 These include Gladness, Vigilance, Affection; and importantly, Veneration – perhaps another hint at the divine right of the king.
65 From: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A20069.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext>
66 'Rerum certa salus, Terrarum gloria Caesar!' | Sospite quo, magnos credimus esse Deos:] Dilexere prius pueri, iuvenesque senelque,' | At nunc Infantes te quoque Caesar amant.' From:
   <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A20069.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext>
67 Dekker confirms William Kip’s engravings of Harrison’s constructions, describing the representations of Brittanay Monarchy, Divine Wisdome, The Genius of the City, The Counsell of the City and Thamesis the Riuer; as well as personifications of Gladnesse, Veneratio, Promptitude, Vigilance, Louing affection, and Vnamimity.
68 The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First, his royal consort, family, and court: collected from original manuscripts, scarce pamphlets, corporation records, parochial registers, comprising Forty Masques and Entertainments, Ten Civic Pageants, Numerous Original Letters, and Annotated Lists of the Peers, Baronets and Knights, who Received Those Honours During the Reign of King James; Illustrated with notes, historical, topographical, biographical and bibliographical. Nichols, John, 1745-1826. [Four Quarto volumes] Publication date 1828. (Posthumous).
69 The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First.
70 The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First.
and again the assertion of importance of lineage, even with regards to the Queen: ‘no lesse a part / In this dayes greatnesse […] daughter, sister, wife of severall kings: / Besides alliance, and the stile of mother, / In which one title you drowne all your other’.71

ITALIAN ARCH at GRACECHURCH

Figure 3. From British Library (own photo): architect Stephen Harrison; engraving by William Kip. (© British Library Board)

71 The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First.
The Italian Pageant, at Gracechurch Street 'tooke vp the whole bredth of the Street, of which, the lower part was a Square, garnished with foure great Columnes: In the midst of which Square, was cut out a fayre and spacious high Gate, arched, being twenty seuen foot in the perpendicular lyne, and eyghteene at the ground lyne [...].\(^2\)

This arch, abounding with the graces of classicism, represented lineage, and portrayed succession and right to the throne, as well as the kingdom’s unity.\(^3\) In the centre, there is a painting of James on horseback receiving the sceptre from Henry VII. Inscriptions validate and accentuate this: 'IACOBO REGI MAGN',\(^4\) ‘HENRICI VII ABNEP’,\(^5\) and 'HIC VIR HIC EST'.\(^6\)

More links to Virgil and to divine right are found in the text shown in Dekker:\(^7\) *Deus nobis haec otia fecit,*\(^8\) the image of Apollo as well as the personification of Peace, (holding an olive branch), as an integral part of James’ policy.\(^9\) The recto of this arch is also lavishly embellished and, importantly, mentions the unity of England, Ireland, Scotland and France holding hands and being heralded by a trumpet.

2. **DUTCH ARCH at ROYAL EXCHANGE**

The Dutch Arch at the Royal Exchange, Cornhill focussed on James I’s role as a *pan-Protestant European ally*\(^8\) advising the king to 'protect the existing political-religious and economic interests

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\(^2\) From Dekker in: *The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First, his royal consort, family, and court: collected from original manuscripts, scarce pamphlets, corporation records, parochial registers, comprising Forty Masques and Entertainments, Ten Civic Pageants, Numerous Original Letters, and Annotated Lists of the Peers, Baronets and Knights, who Received Those Honours During the Reign of King James; Illustrated with notes, historical, topographical, biographical and bibliographical.* Nichols, John, 1745-1826. [Four Quarto volumes] Publication date 1828. (Posthumous).

\(^3\) Unity is also the theme of the sixth arch at Fleet Street: The New World, which, significantly displays the ‘new’ Royal coat of arms – which now included the Scottish coat of arms – with the lion rampant, and wherein there is a representation of the four kingdoms in an open globe, which, according to Dekker, contained ‘states of the land, from the Nobleman to the Ploughman’; as well as ‘his Majesties foure kingdome. ...All of them, in rich Robes and Mantles; crownes on their heads, and Scepters with penslid scutchions in their hands, lined with the coats of the particular kingdomes’. This is further ascertained by Middleton’s speech delivered by Zeal: *Contaynes fowre Kingdomes by your entrance blest, / By Brute divided, but by you alone, / All are againe united and made One...’

\(^4\) ‘The Great King James’.

\(^5\) ‘Great-great-grandson of Henry VII’.

\(^6\) ‘This is who he is’. A direct reference to Virgil’s *Aenaid* – not only alluding to the king as poet and philosopher, but also re-enforcing the link to a great Caesar. Other textual references include: *Tu Regere Imperio populos Iacobe memento, [ Hae tibi erunt Artes, Paci [que] imponere morem, ] Parcere Subiectis, debellare superbos;*


\(^8\) God has bestowed these blessings on us

\(^9\) Apollo is god of sun and light. Louis XIV of France is still referred to as *Le Roi Soleil*. King James I was given this same symbol, but he also identified himself with the wisdom of King Solomon and as a philosopher with the divine right to be Europe’s peacemaker – *Beati Pacifici*.

shared between England and the Dutch Republic’.\textsuperscript{81} It was of enormous proportions.\textsuperscript{82} Just the gate itself is recorded by Dekker as being 18ft high by 12ft wide. Dekker also describes 17 young damsels, attired in their (Low Countries’) clothes, representing the 17 provinces of Belgia. This arch was also a re-affirmance of divine providence.\textsuperscript{83} The female figure on the king’s right is winged – again, a reference to the divine. The imperial crown is portrayed with two sceptres – a

\begin{figure}[h]
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\caption{Figure 4. From British Library (own photo): architect Stephen Harrison; engraving by William Kip. (© British Library Board)}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{81} Schofield.
\textsuperscript{82} The exact dimensions of the Dutch arch – one of the largest, and probably the tallest, of the arches in the series – were recorded in a lavish 1604 folio printed by Richard Schilders in Middelburg for the architect and compiler, Contraet Jansen, in Southwark. Jansen’s Beschryuinghe Vande Herlycke Arcus Triumphal ofte Eerepoorte vande Nederlantshe Natie opgherect in London describes the arch as being eighty-seven feet high by thirty-seven feet wide and twenty-two feet long;
\textsuperscript{83} Speaker ‘God therefore...holds the Raynes of thy Kingdome in his owne hand: It is hee, whose beames, lend a light to thine: It is hee, that teaches thee the Art of Ruling; because none but hee, made thee a King’ From Dekker in: The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First, his royal consort, family, and court: collected from original manuscripts, scarce pamphlets, corporation records, parochial registers, comprising Forty Masques and Entertainments, Ten Civic Pageants, Numerous Original Letters, and Annotated Lists of the Peers, Baronets and Knights, who Received Those Honours During the Reign of King James; Illustrated with notes, historical, topographical, biographical and bibliographical. Nichols, John, 1745-1826. [Four Quarto volumes] Publication date 1828. (Posthumous).
picture of imperial James, flanked on either side with the allegorical figures of Religio and Pietas, as well as Justice and Fortitude. Pyramids emit light – again, perhaps a reference to the Apollo. Of course, there is allocated space for trumpeters and the entertainment itself. Dekker’s description corroborates the Harrison/Kip engraving:

in another Front, advanc’d for the purpose, a square Table was fastened upright, in which was drawne the lively picture of the King, in his Imperial Robes; a Crowne on his head, the Sword and Scepter in his hands.\(^8\)

The female statue on the top of the arch, pointing towards the sky, and erected directly above the image of King James, is another reference to the divine.

The Dutch Arch also put a focus on the Royal Family as a whole, even presenting them all with a cup of gold\(^8\) (usually only presented to the monarch), thus underlining the succession.\(^8\) beauty of these arches is that they also juxtaposed 'set' with reality, thus creating allegorical \textit{tableaux vivant}.

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{84} The \textit{progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First.}


\textsuperscript{86} Bergson, ‘Civic Pageant and Parliamentary Speech’. Dekker: \textit{And that thy Queene, (who is one part of thy selfe) with thy Progeny (who are the second hopes of thy people), may both give to, and receave from thy Kingdome, Im-mortall glory}.\normalsize
Although there are a few discrepancies between the Dekker account and the Harrison/Kip engravings throughout the pageant, this is perhaps one of the most significant. Dekker fails to mention the two female images on either side of the 17 women. This is significant as these female images are representing Faith (cross and a cup – a reference to the Holy Grail?), and Peace and Hope (a dove and a branch); and therefore are alluding to the possible impending peace treaty with Spain as well as the role of religion and the importance of maintaining the *status quo* with the Dutch protestants, using the pageant to also refer to his predecessor, Elizabeth.

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88 [that] *wee may be sheltred under your winges now, as then under hers* Dekker in: The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First, his royal consort, family, and court: collected from original manuscripts, scarce pamphlets, corporation records, parochial registers, comprising Forty Masques and Entertainments, Ten Civic Pageants, Numerous Original Letters, and Annotated Lists of the Peers, Baronets and Knights, who Received Those Honours During the Reign of King James; Illustrated with notes, historical, topographical, biographical and bibliographical. Nichols, John, 1745-1826. [Four Quarto volumes] Publication date 1828. (Posthumous).
The reference to religion is hugely significant. King James had already presented his thoughts in parliament.\textsuperscript{89} Both the Catholics and the Puritans thought they had enough reason for the king to favour them.\textsuperscript{90} The other female is represented with two children – a show of succession and stability with the Prince of Wales as heir, perhaps as opposed to the childless Elizabeth?

CONCLUSION

[H]ee that should have compared the emptie and untroden walkes of London, which were to be seen in that late mortally-de- stroying Deluge, with the thronged streetes now, might have believed, that upon this day, began a new Creation, and that the Citie was the onely Workhouse wherein sundry Nations were made.\textsuperscript{91}

The city as stage. The king as protagonist. The audience and the collective gaze. Have we, as the readers become ourselves the King walking through our own pageant?

For albeit those Monuments of your Loves were erected up to the Cloudes, and were built never so strongly, yet now their lastinynes should live but in the tongues and memories of men: But that the hand of Arte gives them here a second more perfect beeing.\textsuperscript{92}

\textsuperscript{89} ‘He then proceeded to talk about religion, wishing ’from [his] heart’ that the Christian denominations ’might meete in the middest’ and persecution would end.’ Rhodes, Richards, and Marshall, Selected Writings, 297. Neil Rhodes, Jennifer Richards, and Joseph Marshall, eds., \textit{King James VI and I: Selected Writings} (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003).

\textsuperscript{90} Catholics because of his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, and Puritans because of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

\textsuperscript{91} Dekker in: \textit{The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First, his royal consort, family, and court: collected from original manuscripts, scarce pamphlets, corporation records, parochial registers, comprising Forty Masques and Entertainments, Ten Civic Pageants, Numerous Original Letters, and Annotated Lists of the Peers, Baronets and Knights, who Received Those Honours During the Reign of King James: Illustrated with notes, historical, topographical, biographical and bibliographical}. Nichols, John, 1745-1826. [Four Quarto volumes] Publication date 1828. (Posthumous).

\textsuperscript{92} Harrison in: \textit{The progresses, processions, and magnificent festivities, of King James the First, his royal consort, family, and court: collected from original manuscripts, scarce pamphlets, corporation records, parochial registers, comprising Forty Masques and Entertainments, Ten Civic Pageants, Numerous Original Letters, and Annotated Lists of the Peers, Baronets and Knights, who Received Those Honours During the Reign of King James: Illustrated with notes, historical, topographical, biographical and bibliographical}. Nichols, John, 1745-1826. [Four Quarto volumes] Publication date 1828. (Posthumous).
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