THE VIRUS OF MOBILIZATION

Wojciech Klimczyk

Volume II

Bourgeois Gestures

Dance and the Shaping of Modernity 1455–1795

Jagiellonian University Press

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Translated by Søren Gauger

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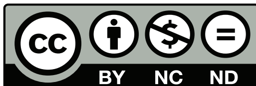

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CHAPTER IV

From Mummings to Pantomime: Dance and the Beginnings of Bourgeois Society in England

One outcome of the rebirth of ancient culture in the *quattrocento*, with its far more positive view of temporal reality than the Middle Ages, was stoking faith in the human power to act. Man began to be perceived through the lens of activism – he could, and ought, to change the world. To a considerable degree, the apprecia-tion of action derived from the ascending cultural role of cities, as mentioned in the introduction. The humanism of the Italian Renaissance unfolded in an urban environment, among dynamic and pragmatic people whose lifestyles could not be reduced to chivalry, though many still aspired to these ideals. A new culture was emerging, and with it, as we have seen, a new kinesis. The nobility, some of whom actively joined in promoting an activist approach to existence, also fell sway to its influence. In the mercantile homes, but also the palaces, people began living more actively, increasingly stressing worldly matters – the economy, politics, and entertainment. A modern *Lebenswelt* was born, introducing the secularization of the imagination.

From the twilight of the Middle Ages onward, the social hierarchy became less and less stable. Competition for influence grew increasingly intense. This went not only for the Italian *quattrocento*. When it was transplanted in French soil and mixed with the domestic traditions in both the court and the cities, humanism was em-broiled in conflicts over worldviews, in clashes for power between the traditional blood aristocrats defending their positions and the modern monarchy based on its newly-created *noblesse de robe*. Modern activism was nurtured in the sphere of the increasingly powerful *nouveau riche*. By the same token, the Crown fully

realized that the ambitions of the new nobility, like the old nobility's resistance to change, had to be channeled and manipulated to strengthen the central powers. In this way, French culture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries became a highly complex space, in which striving for emancipation intersected with conservative impulses. The humanist call for individualism was a constant presence. Yet now it acquired an introspective aspect. Openly political aspirations were quashed – it suffices to look at Montaigne or Descartes. The royal ruler had established a hegemony. Yet we must recall that this was built on new foundations – there would have been no absolutism without a bourgeois deregulation of the medieval model of the state based on a rigid hierarchy, or without critical thinking, without faith in human autonomy. Absolutism is the triumph of modern culture, a manifestation of a worldview derived from individualized, secularized agency. Absolutism drew its political energy from humanism, using its dynamism to stabilize a modern, increasingly unstable society.

In seventeenth-century France, humanism was clothed in rationalism. In a society deeply divided by religious and social conflicts, there triumphed a longing for Order, which human reason discovered and in fact imposed upon the world. All of culture, including dance, expressed a longing for stability, as we described in the previous chapter. Yet this was not the only path of development for Renaissance ideals in modern Europe. In England, which will be our focus for this chapter, modern culture was shaped through a different process, largely due to the English political tradition, which differed from France's. Ever since the Magna Carta, the king's central power was significantly more limited in England. Social hierarchies were less rigid, divisions were organized according to new principles, which meant the central power could not operate as an arbiter. There were attempts to build a hegemony, but they had no chance of succeeding. A dynamic social space was carved out, with constant power struggles. Individual abilities were of capital importance, as seen in the War of the Roses. This was a conflict between the mighty York and Lancaster clans, but it carried a third clan, the Tudors, to power, owing to the political talents of Henry Tudor, crowned Henry VII.

Though the Tudors attempted to build an absolutist government, they were incapable of dampening the social and political dynamics that were additionally spurred by Renaissance humanism, which was gaining popularity for itself in England. Elizabeth I was not an absolute ruler, nor was even Henry VIII. The power was held, to a large extent, by the ascendant strata of society: the gentry, the wealthiest bourgeoisie, the intellectuals, and the artists. The new elite acquired such power that when the throne was taken by the Stuarts, who were fascinated by the French autocratic strategies, the Crown's efforts to wrest power for itself ended with the execution of the dynasty's second ruler, Charles I. This was unprecedented in modern Europe. It shows the English sphere of politics was highly dynamic in the seventeenth century, as was English culture on the whole.

While France was striving to make things orderly and static, the British Isles were undergoing the opposite trend. The sphere of ideas, like that of politics, was highly charged. A battle for culture was waged in the shadow of constant power struggles. In these skirmishes over symbols, the bourgeois camp slowly but steadily began gaining the upper hand. This was the bourgeoisie as we have been defining it – ambitious people aiming to confirm their worth through their actions, eluding traditional categories, shaping models for new, modern lifestyles. These people pressed humanist traditions in various directions. For some, the key theme was the frailty of the human condition, and the limitations of power that it entailed, which led to figures like William Shakespeare profoundly enriching modern individualism. Others, like Francis Bacon, put the stress on emancipating scientific thought, understood as the key to control reality through technology; this led to strengthening modern practicism. Others still, such as Thomas Hobbes, became important as voices for a modern, utterly secularized politics. Finally, their students, such as John Locke, took these ingredients and created an original worldview to oppose the Continental classicist rationalism and the affiliated culture of absolutism. They now essentially spoke the modern ideal – activist subjectivity. The bourgeoisie would fly this banner for the century to come: individualized, accentuating not only reason, but the senses as well, spontaneity and not ritual, demanding limits on the prerogatives of royal power, the strengthening of Parliament, and a stress on public debate in politics.

It remains to ask what all this has in common with dance. We observe an intriguing thing – English dance at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the first in Europe to express individualized emotion. It was in England that the first attempts to make the dancer an autonomous figure on stage could be seen. While in French classicism there was a tendency to subordinate the dancer's individuality to the power of the whole structure, in England we observe a growing interest in the dancer's individuality as such. The figure who symbolizes this attempt is choreographer John Weaver, whose work to reform dance in the spirit of ancient pantomime will be the end point of the present chapter. This intriguing reassessment of dance tastes requires in-depth study, placing the emerging narrative of emotional dance in a social, cultural, and political context. It is this we presently seek to do – to show, in as complex a way as possible, how the cultural conditions set the stage for the arrival of artists such as Weaver. The question is: what type of transformations in the sphere of kinesis led to early-eighteenth-century England's desire to use dance to express not metaphysical beauty or social refinement, to portray not the splendor of the ruler, but individual emotions? In our search for the answer, we broach a wider task – to sketch a complex picture of the kinetic aspect of the transition in seventeenth-century England, from an aristocratic to a bourgeois society, which itself inspired a far more violent and radical turn in France, culminating in the Revolution, as we shall describe in the closing chapters.

In our view, the political reform carried out in England, and later in France, which was impressed by the British successes, was a result of a profound cultural transformation. This involved the evolution of modern culture toward an "intimization" of the world and a confirmation of the "inner" core of the personality by stressing the cultural role of emotions.[1] One expression of this evolution was the empiricism of John Locke; another was the dance pantomime of John Weaver. The English bourgeois culture that Locke and Weaver represented laid the foundation for a fundamental critique of Continental absolutist power in the Enlightenment, and then later, asserting the rights of the emotional individual. This is the culture we seek to describe in this chapter. It is not true, of course, that bourgeois modernity can be regarded as an "English product," for England also drew heavily from Continental models. And yet, it was in England that the intimization of the world and sentimentalization of existence were first articulated, which is partly why the history of English kinesis must be given a fair share of space. This requires us to go back as far as we did in Italy and France.

The Inception of Modern English Dance – Mummings

We know even less about medieval English dance than we do about its Continental equivalent, but we can be sure that people were just as eager to dance, and on just as many occasions. Let us begin with folk dance. Peasants celebrated the most important events in their communities with dance, especially those tied to the rhythm of nature.[2] Entertainments accompanied the winter break, when there was the greatest amount of spare time, but also the summer solstice. The spring awakening was also a chance to celebrate human vitality. Here the sources speak of the maypole dances (Ill. 84).[3] We have no detailed descriptions of these dances, but we can deduce that they were communal and danced in a circle, much like what we described in Chapter One as the medieval *carole*.

We learn the most about the maypole dances from the church documents, which express some of the clergy's disdain for the pagan folk culture. This does not mean that everyone in the Church opposed dance. Some of the anti-dance texts tell us that dances were held on church grounds. These were tied to the "Feast of Fools," a temporary overturning of the hierarchy,[4] but they could also be affirmative,

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1 Igor S. Kon, *Odkrycie „ja"*, trans. Larysa Siniugina, Warsaw 1987, p. 150.

2 Cf. Clifford Davidson, *Festivals and Plays in Late Medieval Britain*, Aldershot–Burlington, VT 2007.

3 G. G. Coulton, *Medieval Panorama*, London 1946; John Forrest, *The History of Morris Dancing, 1458–1750*, Toronto–Buffalo 1999, p. 128.

4 Coulton, *Panorama*..., pp. 602–603.

84. Artist unknown, woodcut on the title page of *The jovial may-pole dancers: or, The merry morris*, 1684–1695

almost liturgical.[5] It is surmised that church dances were most often also circular, as the source texts indicate with such terms as "carole" and "ring."[6]

It seems that this communal form of dance was the most popular in medieval England, both within and outside of the church, though we cannot eliminate the possibility of solo and couples dances. Still, no surviving documents mention them. We do have materials, however, that give us insight into the entertainments of the day, where we might seek the germ of dance as spectacle. This allows us to observe how slowly England came around to a tradition of apprehending the performing body in terms of expression and dynamics, which were to have such later importance.

We will begin by looking at the mummers – mute, costumed performers (Ill. 85). Medieval England had a tradition of dressing up in imaginative costumes for Christmas and going around to the homes of the wealthy in the hopes of receiving small gifts. Historians have suggested, as Robert Epstein writes,[7] that this custom was gradually aestheticized, transforming into pantomimes for special occasions. These generally had simple plots and acting that used the whole body

5 J. G. Davies, "Dancing in Church Buildings," *Historical Dance* 1980/1981, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 9–10.

6 Robert Mullally, *The Carole: A Study of a Medieval French Dance*, PhD thesis available online: https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/files/2925107/539785.pdf (accessed: 01.03.2015), pp. 238–239.

7 Robert Epstein, "Lydgate's Mummings and the Aristocratic Resistance to Drama," *Comparative Drama* 2002/2003, Vol. 36, No. 3/4, p. 338.

85. Artist unknown, medieval miniature of a mummers

to express emotions,[8] accompanied by a spoken narrative. These carnivalesque first efforts were adapted by the nobility. As on the Continent, the folk kinesis entered a complex relationship with the kinesis of the noble. With the mummings, we also encounter important political events. We have, for example, a description of a play organized for Richard II's ascension to the throne in 1377. It was remarkably simple. A group dressed in knight and cardinal outfits arrived at the castle in Kennington. They were greeted by the prince, his mother, and the courtiers, and then they all played dice (allowing the prince to win). Crucially for us, after the masquerade proper came some dances – the king danced with the nobles on one side of the grand castle hall, while the folk mummers danced on the other side.[9] This shows there was mutual inspiration, but that the principle of distinction reigned.

Yet there were also mummings that were more complex and far richer in content. Especially noteworthy are the ones written out by John Lydgate for Henry VI in the early fifteenth century, precisely for their use of text. Their oral aspect allows us to reconstruct them today, recreating a piece of performance history.[10]

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8 The "actors," most often the members of a guild or semi-professional troupe, wore masks.

9 Masquerade descriptions taken from: Ronald Bayne, "Masque and Pastoral," Chapter XIII in Volume VI of *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature in 18 Volumes*, Cambridge 1907–1921, titled *The Drama to 1642, Part Two*, available on-line at: http://www.bartleby.com/216/1302.html (accessed: 01.03.2015).

10 For more on the "explosion" of theatrical creativity in late medieval England, cf. Mirosław Kocur, *Teatr bez teatru. Performanse w Anglii Wschodniej u schyłku średniowiecza*, Wrocław 2012.

86. Artist unknown, medieval miniature of a fools' dance

There is no space to delve into the details here. We direct the interested reader to the edition of Lydgate's work with the fascinating introduction by Claire Sponsler.[11] We will confine ourselves here to some general comments. Lydgate's "plays" were, as Epstein suggests,[12] not folk dramas in the spirit of biblical performances with a strong secular undercurrent, as were all the rage in the Middle Ages. They were something more – an attempt to build a literary, more sophisticated, yet entertaining, spectacle.

Lydgate's spectacles mixed the morality play and the farce (Ill. 86), with clear traits of pantomime, and even dance. The actors were most often simple folk, though, as Sponsler writes,[13] it is possible that members of the royal court also sometimes took the stage. Moreover, in the famous *Disguising at Hertford* (ca. 1427–1428), for instance, the king himself was featured as the highest authority in the performance, though he did not in fact take part.[14] This meant generating a message that clearly differed from the original folk dances. The result was tales of the king as an arbiter, as the ultimate authority, and for the king, as the central audience member. The common people were often parodied or treated paternalistically. Here we observe a familiar political mechanism, one that goes further than the use of ludic forms for royal entertainment.

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[11] John Lydgate, *Mummings and Entertainments*, Kalamazoo, MI 2010, available online at: http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/sponsler-lydgatemummings-and-entertainments (accessed: 01.03.2015).

[12] Epstein, *Lydgate's Mummings...*

[13] Claire Sponsler, "Mummings and Entertainments: Introduction," in: Lydgate, *Mummings...*, available online at: http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/sponsler-lydgate-mummings-and-entertainments-introduction (accessed: 01.03.2015).

[14] Epstein, *Lydgate's Mummings...*; Nicole Nolan Sidhu, "Henpecked Husbands, Unruly Wives, and Royal Authority in Lydgate's 'Mumming at Hertford'," *The Chaucer Review* 2008, Vol. 42, No. 4, pp. 431–460.

Though more aesthetically refined than the carnivalesque masquerades, Lydgate's mummings were a characteristic expression of the late medieval hierarchical society, based on submission not exchange. This was the kind of society that largely unsuccessful efforts had been made to build in England ever since the Norman conquest. Though the king's position was theoretically unquestionable, in practice it was fairly weak. We need only recall the history of Richard II from the House of Plantagenet, who tried to rule with an iron fist and ended up being deposed in 1399 by Henry Bolingbroke of the House of Lancasters. The reign of the successors to Bolingbroke were relatively stable only because they shared power with the Parliament. This does not mean that the society was moving toward a democracy. On the contrary, the feudal model remained strong. The lines dividing the estates were increasingly firm. This had its effect on the arts, with a flourishing of spectacles to honor the kings.[15] In these spectacles, the rulers were depicted as a special kind of authority. Nicole Nolan Sidhu points out Lydgate's characteristic departure from the model of the royal authority based on physical strength to stress the pivotal spiritual and intellectual virtues.[16] This change, of course, was neither abrupt nor definitive. As we shall see, the courtly model survived for a long time to come. And yet the very urge to consider the king in practically bureaucratic categories ought to be seen as highly significant.

Dance Culture in Early Renaissance England

In *Disguising at Hertford* and other mummings by Lydgate, we find traces of a bourgeois sensibility[17] – in his work the Crown distanced itself from the rest of society, from the people and the nobility. The royal mummings should be seen as a symbolic space for resisting the ludic drama, but also, to some degree, expressing distance from the aristocratic stratum. The result was a new type of monarchy – the king was no longer *primus inter pares*, he was *arbitrum magnificum*. The literature points out that Henry VII's ascension to the throne brought a strengthening of the royal authority, which had clearly waned during the War of the Roses,[18] and yet it was also the still-humble germ of the Renaissance in England. Henry VII was a monarch who depended more on his officers than on the great feudal lords, whom he taxed severely. He built a centralist state, and made quite an effective attempt to build a strong-arm government. In the work of building the majesty of the Crown, a supporting role went to the court spectacles, which came in the wake of an increasingly vital dance scene on the British Isles.

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15 Coulton, *Panorama*..., p. 607.
16 Sidhu, "Henpecked Husbands...," pp. 449–450.
17 We might recall that Lydgate also put on spectacles for the London bourgeoisie.
18 Such as A. F. Pollard, *Henry VIII*, New York 1966.

Henry VII spent much of his youth as an émigré, in Brittany, where he got a taste of the court culture. There was nothing unusual about this. Ever since the Norman invasion, the ties between France and England, though quite complex and often strained, were close and intact. The period of the Hundred Years' War was particularly crucial. The two countries battled each other, more or less ferociously, but this gave the British a chance to sample the French customs, including dance. This is the allusion made by Brittany in *Henry V*, when he complains:

> They bid us to the English dancing-schools,
> And teach lavoltas high, and swift corantos,[19]
> Saying our grace is only in our heels [...].[20]

Here Shakespeare chronicles a European fashion, which caused Henry VII to become interested in French dance culture, which he then brought to his court.[21] Of course, Continental influences had been felt earlier,[22] especially given the constant presence of French culture among the English elite;[23] yet only in the times of Henry VII can we speak of the gradual bloom of court dance culture on the British Isles. With the strengthening of the position of the central powers, England acquired a special kinesis, in which local elements that were part of both court and folk culture, such as the simple dance forms we have mentioned (the *carole* and ring), mixed with foreign influences, both French and Italian.[24]

The inroads made by dance cultures to English lands at the dawn of the Renaissance might be made visible through a spectacle of 1501 prepared in honor of the nuptials of Henry VII's son, Prince Arthur, and Catherine of Aragon. Many dignified guests appeared at Westminster Hall and were granted a dazzling display. Platforms on wheels, known as pageants, were rolled into the hall, bringing (in turn): a castle inhabited by eight maidens in sumptuous costumes, a ship with messengers from knights seeking to conquer the women's hearts, and, finally, a mountain with the knights themselves, who took the castle by storm when their messengers were sent away, only to have many "divers and many goodly dances"

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19 An evident anachronism, as in the early fifteenth century, when *Henry V* takes place, these dances did not yet exist.

20 William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, ed. Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine, New York 2015, 3.5.33–5.

21 Skiles Howard, *The Politics of Courtly Dancing in Early Modern England*, Amherst 1998, p. 5.

22 Cf., for example: Theodor Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations*, Aldershot–Burlington, VT 2007, pp. 13–30.

23 After the Norman Conquest and until the latter half of the thirteenth century, French was the language of the ruling echelons in England (Mullally, *The Carole*..., pp. 238–239).

24 On the Italian influence, cf. Margaret Dean-Smith, E. J. Nicol, "'The Dancing Master': 1651–1728: Part III: 'Our Country Dances'," *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 1945, Vol. 4, No. 6, pp. 212–213.

with the ladies for the finale.[25] We can attempt to recreate the character of these dances, consulting the oldest existing English dance texts: a) a description of a group of dances on the inside cover of a book from 1497, stored in the cathedral library in Salisbury,[26] b) the "Gresley Dance Collection," ca. 1500,[27] and c) Robert Copeland's treatise *Manner of Dauncynge of Bace Dauces* of 1521.[28] Together, they give us a very approximate picture of the dance culture in the days of Henry VII.[29] The first collection and Copeland's text clearly show a French influence, offering a style of choreography that we know from the *basse danse*. The Gresley Dance Collection is far more interesting, as it proves that a separate English dance culture was created on French and Italian influences.[30] Jennifer Nevile points out its distinct character, which is free compared to the fairly rigid French *basses danses*.[31] The dances recorded in the Gresley collection are diverse and fairly rich in choreography, which brings them closer to the Italian models; yet they also have original elements, including steps whose names are not translations of Italian or French terms ("flowrdelice," "horn pepy"). The result seems to be a dance imagination that was by no means impoverished, and not as entirely dependent on French models as we might deduce from reading the Salisbury manuscript or Copeland's handbook.

Dance culture in early Renaissance England was not limited to social dances, as we have shown. Although the court of Henry VII has not traditionally been regarded as particularly refined, an analysis of the debit books of the time has proved that quite diverse spectacles took place with some frequency – from knights' tournaments and plays to mummings and pageants, masquerades concluding with *basses danses*, and, finally, grotesque dance spectacles.[32] As John Forrest scrupulously notes, it was in the day of Henry VII that court payments assigned for a "mourice dance" were noted.[33] This was an entertainment derived from the folk

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25 Described in: Bayne, "Masque and Pastoral."

26 A transcript of the manuscript was available at: http://caagt.rug.ac.be/%7Evfack/ihdp/salisbur.html. At present the link is down. We have been unable to find the transcript elsewhere, unfortunately.

27 On the Gresley Dance Collection cf.: David Fallows, "The Gresley Dance Collection, c.1500," *RMA Research Chronicle* 1996, Vol. XXIX, pp. 1–20; Jennifer Nevile, "Dance in Early Tudor England: An Italian Connection?," *Early Music* 1998, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 230–234, 237–242, 244; idem, "Dance Steps and Music in the Gresley Manuscript," *Historical Dance* 1999, Vol. 3, No. 9, pp. 2–19. Also see: http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/lod/vol5/gresley.html (accessed: 01.03.2015).

28 Transcripts with commentary are online at: http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/lod/vol2/translation_coplande.html (accessed: 01.07.2014).

29 It is true that the texts we mention do not come from court circles, and thus cannot be automatically seen as a guide to the dances performed, for example, during the spectacle of 1501. Nonetheless, it seems that without more first-hand sources, we can base our analysis on them, while stressing that the reconstruction is hypothetical.

30 Neville, *Dance in Early Tudor England...*, p. 231.

31 Ibid., p. 234.

32 W. R. Streitberger, *Court Revels, 1485–1559*, Toronto 1994.

33 Forrest, *The History of Morris Dancing...*, p. 47.

theater tradition, the world of jugglers and acrobats, but filtered through court influences. In a sense, we can say that the morris dances were a more acrobatic and vivacious form of the mummings (Ill. 87). According to Forrest, they combined tournament entertainments, court masquerades, and even more secular morality plays. To this we should also add the Renaissance dance culture. We do not know precisely what the first morris dances looked like, but on the basis of slim resources, Forrest hypothesizes that two basic elements were important: dressing up, and the highly grotesque quality of the dance performed by a group made of type characters (a jester, dancers, a lady) (Ill. 88).[34] With some degree of caution, we might say that the morris dance was a relative of the *moresca*, which we had occasion to describe in covering the Italian Renaissance. Forrest states that the moresca featured "high leaping, fighting, mimed action, individual rather than concerted or figured action, dancing in a circle or around the room, rhythmic stepping, beating time with implements, and the use of dancing bells [fastened to clothing]."[35] It would appear that all these things were found in the morris dances.

87. Israhel van Meckenem, engraving of a morris dance, ca. 1475

[34] Ibid., pp. 57–92.
[35] Ibid., p. 74.

88. Artist unknown, stained-glass of typical figures in a morris dance, 15th/16th century

The picture that emerges is a form that is expressive, dynamic, and technically demanding. The morris dancers, like the performers of the Italian *moresche*, were the virtuosic element of the dance at court. We should especially stress the importance they tied to gestures, whether of the hands or the lower limbs and abdomen.[36] This made the dances communicative, expressive, and comic. They were used during ceremonies, to be admired and to entertain, but also to amuse. Courtly love and wooing were parodied in the morris dance. An important part in the dance troupe generally went to the jester, who traditionally had the most leeway when it

36 Ibid., pp. 77–79.

came to the courtiers.[37] Yet they were mindful of the limits they could not overstep in their mockery.

We might add that in such light comedy dances we could sense a profound respect for authority. After all, it was the ever-more powerful Crown that sponsored and held dances. The king himself gave license to joke, and it was he who could interrupt or severely punish the merrymakers if he found them in poor taste. Satire gave the morris dancers temporary power, on the one hand, and on the other made them utterly subordinate to the ruler. The same went for their virtuosity. As the servants of the Crown, they expressed mastery of the political body.

The King Prances, the King Rules

Like other Renaissance rulers, Henry VII understood the value of dance as a tool for building the prestige and power of the Crown. Firstly, when we consider the English versions of the *basse danse*, dance provided evocative pictures of order and harmony, which the king longed to bring. Second, when we consider the morris dance, it was a toy for the king's pleasure and vanity. Technical agility meant his masterful rule. Third, dance, perhaps most of all entertainment, was good for tempering personalities and giving refinement to court relations. It was a bodily technology for the disciplinary powers. Small wonder that when Henry VIII took the throne, there was more dancing than ever at court.

The young king was far more dynamic than his father, which meant he was keen to dance himself, not only to watch others.[38] The vitality of the young king is perhaps best rendered by a poem attributed to him, *Pastime with Good Company...*, which begins with these words:

> Pastime with good company
> I love and shall unto I die;
> Grudge who list, but none deny,
> So God be pleased thus live will I.
> For my pastance,

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[37] We should note that the jester motif was later creatively developed by Shakespeare. On the ludic roots of the jester in his plays, see Cesar Lombardi Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy: A Study of Dramatic Form and Its Relation to Social Custom*, Princeton–Oxford 2011.

[38] Here we might mention a highly evocative scene that opens *Henry VIII and His Six Wives*, filmed in 1972, directed by Waris Hussein, which depicts a court holiday, and above all, an extremely jovial Henry VIII played by Keith Michell. The king lets himself go in a dance, even stripping naked. The scene itself takes *licentia poetica*, of course, as it adapts no known source, yet it gives us a sense of the joy in dance inspired by some court spectacles, making today's viewer aware of the fact that dance in the times of Henry VIII was not yet so remote from medieval times.

Hunt, song and dance.
My heart is set:
All goodly sport
For my comfort.
Who shall me let?[39]

In these simple and unsophisticated rhymes we find the temperament and sensitivity of the monarch – a combination of directness, courage, and vital egoism. Earthiness, joy, bawdiness, youthful dynamism – historians find all this in Henry, and in his court, which set the tone for the English culture of the period.

In the day of Henry VIII we see a visible tension between the new and old orders. His government moved from a medieval, feudal, chivalrous, and highly fossilized and archaic culture to one that was mercantile and dynamic, and was to flourish under the reign of Henry's daughter, Elizabeth I. The medieval mindset was still felt, as courtly life remained, on the one hand, based on the simple pleasures of the body, and, on the other, spiritual. Henry himself had soaked up the customs of chivalry. It suffices to recall his affection for tournaments or the poem *The Passetyme of Pleasure*[40] stylized on the knightly romance, and dedicated to Henry VIII by Stephen Hawes, a courtier who had been in the service of Henry VII. At the same time, however, the king calculated his policy in a modern manner. He worked through officials, using his mind above all, even if his arm remained strong. The world of his fantasy remained chivalrous, perhaps, but everyday reality was shifting toward bourgeois culture with its dynamic worldview, its subtle and versatile body, its policies appealing to distinction and the concept of taste.

Let us take a look at a dance spectacle organized in 1512, described by Edward Hall, a lawyer and Member of Parliament, and above all, a chronicler of the times. After the banquet, Henry and eleven companions appeared in the ballroom in costumes and masks and, after performing a show dance, they invited the ladies there to join them. Some accepted, others declined in confusion. Hall stresses how new the event felt, writing: "the kyng with a XI other wer disguised, after the maner of Italie, called a maske, a thyng not seen afore in Englande," stressing that the invitation to dance without prior announcement was "not a thyng commonly seen."[41]

This event of 1512 went down in the history of the spectacle chiefly because of the appearance of the word "maske," later used for specific court performances that were very popular under the Stuarts. We will be investigating these later in the chapter. Yet this is not the only reason to look at the ceremonies Hall described.

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[39] Luminarium: Anthology of English Literature, http://www.luminarium.org/renlit/pastime.htm (accessed: 03.01.2020).

[40] This includes a brief fragment in which Hawes praises the charm of dancing with a loved one.

[41] Quoted in: Bayne, "Masque and Pastoral."

In his history of masques, Ronald Bayne pointed out another novelty: "The masquers not only danced with one another but, after their own dance, they chose partners among the spectators. This introduced into the masque a new element of courtship and intrigue."[42] It seems the novelty was not only in inviting ladies to dance, even if this was unexpected. Such things had occurred before.[43] Naturally, there was an element of courtship and intrigue, but it was new because of its novel choreographic form. This, at least, was the opinion of Robert Withington one hundred years ago, stating that "the maner of Italie" meant a dance in the style of the Italian masquerade, the *moresca*, and thus quite rapid, perhaps even abrupt, and certainly spontaneous.[44] We might seek to see this as proof that court dance in Henry VIII's youth was still formally unrestrained. As such, the actions of the king and his companions might have seemed a regression to barbarism that preceded the culture of courtly love. Yet the sources make no mention of brutality, of the primitive capture of the courtly ladies. Sexual desire was dressed up in imported Renaissance garb, and thus, sublimated. Henry's machismo flew a banner of humanism. The ladies were less offended than confused, for they were not entirely able to read the king's intentions. Henry VIII could not fit in the confines of his epoch – he blew it apart. He was a new type of personality. In both love and politics, he was a ruler who could not quite be reduced to a primitive authoritarian. The king was educated according to a humanist model, and his charisma was shaped accordingly. He was amorous and insatiable, but in this insatiability we sense a typically modern activist tone.

Though with the passing of time Henry VIII abandoned these youthful shows of vigor, he kept trying to strengthen his authority as much as possible. He swiftly understood that if he was to rule effectively and prevent the rifts that had plagued the previous century, he would need strong-arm politics, essentially a dictatorship, a politics in the manner of Machiavelli. Henry VIII biographer A. F. Pollard states that the king had the consent of Parliament, and therefore of the nation, for authoritarian rule; the times required decisive action,[45] and Henry was the right man to act then and there. The strategies applied by the first Tudors were reinforced: "country knights were imported to court as a power base, and ambitious younger sons supplied the growing bureaucracy."[46] In this sense, English society began transforming under Henry VIII, only to fully bloom in the Elizabethan era, when a new elite emerged that was closely tied to the Crown and to the capital of the elite. We will have occasion to speak of this later, but for the time being we will only stress that

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42 Ibid.

43 Robert Withington, "After the Manner of Italy," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 1916, Vol. 15, No. 3, p. 427.

44 Ibid., p. 430.

45 Pollard, *Henry VIII*.

46 Howard, *The Politics...*, p. 30.

the change brought a vital imperative: “the newly elevated had to be transformed rather quickly into disciplined and useful courtiers, and physical forms of obedience were practiced with the same diligence as martial skills had been in former times.”[47] With this we arrive at the beginnings of truly modern dance of the English powers. Henry VIII tried to create an absolutist program. Like his contemporary rulers in France, he sought to use spectacles to this end.

Skiles Howard has made a very convincing analysis of the politics of the court spectacles of Henry VIII.[48] We will not be able to reconstruct the entirety of her argument here, we will only stress two major points in the analysis – the formalization of the structures of courtly rank and gender roles, and the organization of the presentations around the active persona of the king.

We have mentioned the shocking nonchalance of the masquerade of 1512. Led by the king, the men invited the ladies to dance, generating tension. Some women refused. Were they truly appalled, or was it only a game? Whatever the case, this dance of Henry and his companions exuded an erotic energy that sought quick release. This was captured well in Act I, Scene 4, of *Henry VIII*, attributed to Shakespeare and John Fletcher, which depicts the moment when the king meets Anne Boleyn. It takes place at a dance, followed by a dialogue:

> KING
> By heaven she is a dainty one. Sweetheart,
> I were unmannerly to take you out
> And not to kiss you. [Kisses her.] A health, gentlemen!
> Let it go round.
> [...]
> WOLSEY
> Your grace,
> I fear, with dancing is a little heated.
> KING
> I fear, too much.
> WOLSEY
> There’s fresher air, my lord,
> In the next chamber.[49]

Dance was tied to kissing, and at its end, the king was short of breath – a clear allusion to sexual tension. Dance is basically identified with intercourse. By the same token, we should remain mindful of the focus of the entire situation, entirely dominated by men. Anne does not breathe a word from the beginning of the dance to

47 Ibid.
48 Ibid., pp. 35–45.
49 William Shakespeare, *Henry VIII*, ed. Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine, New York 2007, 1.4.126–38.

the scene's end. She is merely an object, a plaything in the hands of men. This is precisely the attitude the king portrays in the monologue that closes Act I:

> Lead in your ladies ev'ry one. Sweet partner,
> I must not yet forsake you. Let's be merry,
> Good my lord cardinal. I have half a dozen healths
> To drink to these fair ladies, and a measure
> To lead 'em once again; and then let's dream
> Who's best in favor. Let the music knock it.[50]

This fragment was written nearly a hundred years after the period we are examining; in any event, art ought not to be treated as a historical document. Yet it would seem that the author managed to capture the atmosphere and essence of the relations that prevailed at the court of Henry VIII. The historical sources confirm the dramatic invention. The court spectacles generally known as "revels" clearly divided the roles to be played between genders and social classes. Women were to be ripe for the picking, men knew how to conquer them. The king and his companions were at the heart of the events, court bureaucracy organized them, the women were objects to manipulate. These circumstances created a framework for passion with an evident center point, a kind of sensory machinery subordinate to the center, quite unlike the culture of courtly love, where women and men were joined by a complex web of dependencies.

Eroticism at Henry VIII's court was tied to power, and power belonged to the king alone. He was the main character in the spectacles on stage and in politics. At times he may have seemed just one of the dancers, but in fact he was the cog that turned the whole machine. Within its scope, all was permitted to him – he could enter and exit as he pleased. The whole spectacle seemed to be staring at and listening to him. It had to respond to his whims. Henry was famously impulsive, and thus the spectacles guaranteed him freedom to maneuver. As with Louis XIV later on, this was taken as a sign of charisma. No one could be equal to the king: "In one respect, though, Henry's performance was inimitable. [...] the king frequently changed roles during the masque, and this source of dramatic excitement was an important emblem of his power."[51] The king's entourage was subject to the laws of rank, position, and rigid gender definitions. Other participants in the dance spectacles did not enjoy the monarch's liberties, they only served as a backdrop for the king's freedom. As Howard noted:

> Court celebrations, then, rehearsed many of the ways by which the equilibrium of an unstable society might be secured: affiliation, glamorized by costly costumes, was promoted;

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[50] Ibid., 1.4.139–44.
[51] Howard, *The Politics*..., p. 43.

> unison movement and a suggestibility to direction were honored; and a tendency toward unsanctioned [by royal authority] personal forays was eliminated. Masquer and spectator, lord and lady, remained for the entirety of the entertainment in predetermined roles, and in the manner prescribed in the scenario.[52]

Only the king could ignore this scenario.

As we can see, this was a kind of kinetic politics of absolutism, though it was far more vital and sensually open in the person of Henry VIII than we saw in French classicism. This was no sublimation of eroticism into formalized choreography, though we do observe the king similarly striving to use pleasures to discipline and order his subjects. "Disguised as entertainment and perhaps entertaining in itself, an important project of the Henrician masque was that of social segmentation, a kind of division of the kingdom into discrete units that once established were sanctioned to interact in a strictly regulated way."[53] Despite his impulsiveness, Henry VIII was a sober and ambitious politician who understood that society changes; he accompanied it in these changes, strengthening it and introducing suitable ruling strategies. He thought in political, not metaphysical, categories. He understood reality was dynamic, for he was remarkably dynamic himself. He intuitively strove for the national interest, and was fortunate in that this interest overlapped with his personal desires. One example of this is his break with the papacy and establishment of a national church, wherein a basically personal affair, a kind of whim – for this is what we should call his move to divorce Catherine of Aragon in order to marry Anne Boleyn – turned out to be a political act with far-reaching consequences, one of the most important modern gestures of emancipation.

> This was the real tyranny of Tudor times; men were dominated by the idea that the State was the be-all and end-all of human existence. […] The service of the State tended, indeed, to encroach on the service of God, and to obliterate altogether respect for individual liberty.[54]

Fortunately for Henry, at this early stage of modern politics, a state could be built in the process of reinforcing personal power. The vitality of modern England translated into the vitality of the ruler. He could be capricious and cruel, especially in beheading the women who let him down or opposing the unanimity of intellectuals. His temperament remained medieval, but the general thrust of his politics, his drive to strengthen state structures independent of family and honorary ties,

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[52] Ibid., pp. 39–40.

[53] Ibid., p. 37.

[54] Pollard, *Henry VIII*, p. 292.

were signs of a new era. It is for good cause that his biographer wrote: "he ruled in a ruthless age with a ruthless hand."[55]

The court spectacles, known as "revels," played an important role in Henry VIII's politics, as a symbolic departure from medieval state instability toward a modern political order.[56] They shaped bodies that were vital but submissive, bodies that knew their place in supporting the kingdom's most important body. These were bodies that had a taste for the erotic, but they were required to clothe the erotic in terms of the national interests. They were no longer supposed to give vent to their desires, they would use them for the good of a restored and transformed community. Let us read some fragments of a treatise written in 1531, titled *The Boke Named the Governour* and dedicated to Henry VIII, to get a better sense of the imperative to subordinate one's individuality to the state.

The author, Thomas Elyot, was a lawyer by education, the son of Richard Elyot, a landowner, though he did not come from a well-known aristocratic family. This made Thomas a model representative of the new elite, raised to a high social position through his intellectual talents and bureaucratic work. True, he was less influential than Wolsey or Thomas Cromwell, but he was certainly a better writer. *The Boke Named the Governour* is considered the first English educational treatise positing a modern program of education. It corresponded with the humanist movement sweeping the Continent, which was creatively adapted on the British Isles. Elyot's work takes its cue from Castiglione, but above all from Erasmus and Thomas More, who were his friends. Humanism primarily emerges here as aspiring to give the ruling parties a comprehensive education, thus acquiring power and, most of all, refinement.

This treatise interests us because, in several chapters, Elyot addresses dance.[57] The very recommendation that an educated member of the social elite should dance is interesting. Elyot clearly opposed the anti-dance standpoint of much of English society, especially found in the higher clergy and the religious moralists, who acknowledged the authority of St. Augustine. Elyot cleverly undermined their total condemnation, demonstrating that Augustine had not rejected dance as such, only certain forms – those that derived from the pagan culture of antiquity and those in

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[55] Ibid., p. 297.

[56] This transition was not a smooth one, and the spectacles of the Henry VIII era do not signify a unity of worldview in society. On the contrary, the theater of the time is a space of more-or-less open critiques of the king's actions. Cf. Peter Happe, "Dramatic Genre and the Court of Henry VIII," in: Thomas Betteridge, Suzannah Lipscomb (eds.), *Henry VIII and the Court: Art, Politics and Performance*, Farnham–Burlington, VT 2013, pp. 271–286.

[57] We are using the Renascence Edition transcript, online at: http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~rbear/gov/gov1.htm#IV (accessed: 01.03.2015). From our point of view, the most interesting studies are: Howard, *The Politics*..., pp. 29–35; idem, "Rival Discourses of Dancing in Early Modern England," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 1996, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 32–35; John M. Major, "The Moralization of the Dance in Elyot's 'Governour'," *Studies in the Renaissance* 1958, Vol. 5, pp. 27–36.

which dance served purely sensual pleasures. He had permitted dance as an exercise to strengthen the body. Elyot took the same route. Among his views is a sympathy for the body, for its vitality, encountered in the spectacles we mentioned in the Henry VIII era; yet there is more here, something that directs us toward politics.

To justify his approval of dance, Elyot appeals to ancient authorities. He stresses how, in Greek and Roman culture, dance was used to prepare for military operations, but also the communicative potential of dance, which could serve as a universal language. This combination is reflected in how Elyot analyzes the dances of his day, which, he says, are not unlike the ancient Greek *hormus* – mixed-sex dances. They involved "the man expressinge in his motion and countenance fortitude and magnanimitie apt for the warres, the maiden moderation and shamefastnes, which represented a pleasant connexion of fortitude and temperance."[58] In only a few words, this captures dance as a lesson in stereotypical, complementary roles, held to be desirable in terms of the stability of the social system and the virtues associated with it. This was the dance of which Henry VIII, dreamed, as was recommended by his humble servant Elyot.

In *The Boke*, dance is perceived as making peace between the sexes. This was the role Elyot gave to the popular social dances of his day. He tells us what was danced in England at the time: "base daunsis, bargenettes, pauions, turgions, and rounds," i.e., *basses danses*, the somewhat inscrutable *bargenettes* (probably quite similar to the *basses danses*[59]), pavanes, *tourdions*, and circle dances, most likely in the spirit of the medieval *carole*. All these were court dances, and thus highly controlled, even when they were sprightly, as in the *tourdion*. Structure, technical refinement, and correct form are essential to Elyot, as they distinguish dance as a tool for education, and thus distinction, from dance for pure, vain pleasure. This allows him to get around the moralists' objections. Elyot makes it a point of honor to show that even couples dances could be decent, and therefore socially useful. This is through subordinating the dancers to the demands of the sexes[60] and, above all, by showing dance as a metaphor for marriage, in which the Aristotelian principle of the "golden mean" is fully applied. This is the ideal dance – a tool to build a sense of balance, a complementarity leading to a compromise that tempered both sides. According to Elyot, one ought to rule a society in a similar fashion – with a golden mean. But this is not all. Dance is only socially stabilizing because of a particular form that comes from a methodical intention. Dance requires composition to be of

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[58] Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour*, https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1794/681/governour.pdf.

[59] Robert Mullally, "More about the Measures," *Early Music* 1994, Vol. 22, No. 3, p. 418.

[60] Elyot explains: "A man in his naturall perfection is fiers, hardy, stronge in opinion, couaitous of glorie, desirous of knowlege [...]. The good nature of a woman is to be milde, timerouse, tractable, of sure remembrance, and shamfast. Diuers other qualities of eche of them mought be founde, out, but these be moste apparaunt, and for this time sufficient" (Elyot, *The Boke*...).

social value, and this is how it always should be. This explains the need for relevant dance styles and sets of steps. Elyot clearly does not admire improvisation. This is a humanist motif we have already encountered – dance based on reflection, dance as an idea, rationalized and intellectualized. Elyot creatively develops this trope.

The second part of the thoughts on dance in *The Boke* is remarkably ambitious. Elyot believes that the most important aim of the education process is to equip the student with virtuous prudence. Dance, it turns out, was a marvelous way of gaining this. Merely studying books or contemplating nature, or performing any purely mental labor, fatigued a person. Virtue could not be achieved in this manner, only a warped version thereof. Suitable entertainments were therefore necessary. Among these, none was a better exercise of prudence than dance, as it joined activity and contemplation. This occurred in a remarkably simple yet subtle fashion. Here Elyot reveals his genius. He does not speak of dance in general. At the end of his study he also attends to the details of choreography, breaking down dances into steps that correspond to particular virtues. There is no space at present to trace his precise argument – we will quote only the opening to demonstrate his method:

> The first meuing in euery daunse is called honour, whiche is a reuerent inclination or curtaisie, with a longe deliberation or pause, and is but one motion, comprehendinge the tyme of thre other motions, or settyng forth of the foote. By that may be signified that at the begynning of all our actes, we shulde do due honor to god, which is the roote of prudence. Which honour is compacte of these thre things, feare, loue, and reuerence.[61]

The following steps are similarly described. After this reading, it would be hard to deny dance a deeper philosophical significance. It becomes a ritual act. This is why it can symbolize the sacrament of matrimony. God is present at its core, as the foundation of all existence. Small wonder that, among the authorities invoked by Elyot, Plato has a place of honor. It was his influence, and that of the Neoplatonists, that led Elyot to perceive an ideal reality in this seemingly modest and fleeting activity. In the *basse danse* or the pavane, the man and woman come to represent the entire cosmos, insofar as they have a perfect command of the forms, orchestrated to resemble the movements of the heavenly spheres.[62]

Through Elyot we can reconstruct the early Renaissance kinetic politics in England. The medieval kinesis was filtered through Continental humanism, and thus illuminated by the rays of the newly unearthed ancient thought, gradually acquiring color and subtlety. Henry VIII dreamed of a state of harmony. Sometimes

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[61] Ibid.

[62] “These qualities, in this wise beinge knitte to gether, and signified in the personages of man and woman dausinge, do expresse or sette out the figure of very nobilitie; whiche in the higher astate it is contained, the more excellent is the vertue in estimation” (ibid.).

he tried to build it with brutal and fairly primitive means. At the same time, he understood the need for knowledge, he supported studies. Erasmus himself was apparently impressed by his abilities. Though he put Thomas More to death, humanist culture prospered at his court. Wolsey, for instance, loved antiquity, chiefly Plautus' comedies. Others followed his lead, such as Elyot. A kinetic sensitivity gradually grew, and became increasingly diverse. Neoplatonic ideals were joined with ludic inspirations and propaganda. The spectacle of power ceased to be merely a show of strength, agility, and wealth. Elegance came to play a major role. Subjects were less forced into submission than seduced by the sweet taste of refined company. The monarch remained in the center, but his presence was more and more discreet. In Elyot, Henry was no longer the imposing, bawdy, even obsessive autocrat, he was a subtle authority. He represented ideal harmony, which flowed through him to his subjects, performing a *basse danse* with majestic steps. Much of this rhetoric is familiar from Italy and France, but it was remarkably vital in England. Court dance in the Tudor era was conventional, of course, but also self-confident, as it took place in a country which was, in many respects, entering a time of prosperity.

The Joyous *Volta* of Prosperous Times

We might call Elyot the first codifier of English Renaissance kinesis. He was not alone. The architects of the new kinetic sensibility, the modern lifestyle, were people like himself – educated, ambitious, from below the upper classes – but also often more decisive than him, thinking more pragmatically, desirous of action, not just peace. This is an important observation – English dance began to develop dynamically at precisely the point when the barriers between the estates cracked. In Renaissance England, social mobility was relatively high. Alfred Leslie Rowse wrote:

> perhaps we may say that Tudor society was more highly diversified, more flexible and *mouvementé* than is altogether realised. It is true that society attached immense importance to degree, priority, place, and that it was hierarchical; but there was a good deal of moving up and down in the hierarchy.[63]

We have mentioned these processes under Henry VII and Henry VIII, when the aristocracy began to weaken. Under Elizabeth I this tendency set in: "the nobility are becoming less important than the gentry as a whole – even though the decline

[63] Alfred Leslie Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth*, Wisconsin 1950, p. 255.

of the nobility has been exaggerated; the gentry are going from strength to strength [...] they are the most dynamic class in Tudor society."[64]

The gentry were primarily the part of society that had grown wealthy by working in agriculture, trade, and the newly developing industry.[65] We could call these people the new elite – not great medieval lords, but the affluent strata living according to a bourgeois model. These social climbers were often active in the public sphere. They surrounded themselves with intellectuals and artists, and were open to new ideas. We might say the gentry were saturated with activism, a trait shared with society as a whole. Rowse insightfully stated:

> The rise of the gentry was the dominant feature of Elizabethan society. It was they essentially who changed things, who launched out along new paths whether at home or overseas, who achieved what was achieved, who gave what all societies need – leadership. One may fairly say that most of the leading spirits of the age, those who gave it its character and did its work, were of this class.[66]

We should stress that this did not mean the total eclipse of the traditional aristocracy. On the contrary, the gentry aspired to enter its ranks and adapted its culture. This adaptation involved a creative transformation, making it dynamic, shifting it onto new tracks.

Here we quote Tawney, who synthetically grasped the economic backdrop for the era's dynamism:

> The age of Elizabeth saw a steady growth of capitalism in textiles and mining, a great increase of foreign trade and an outburst of joint-stock enterprise in connection with it, the beginnings of something like deposit banking in the hands of the scriveners, and the growth, aided by the fall of Antwerp and the Government's own financial necessities, of a money-market with an almost modern technique – speculation, futures and arbitrage transactions – in London. The future lay with the classes who sprang to wealth and influence with the expansion of commerce in the later years of the century, and whose religious and political aspirations were, two generations later, to overthrow the monarchy.[67]

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[64] Ibid.

[65] The economics behind the gentry's dynamism were presented by Tawney as follows: "Foreign trade increased largely in the first half of the sixteenth century, and, as manufactures developed, cloth displaced wool as the principal export. With the growth of commerce went the growth of the financial organization on which commerce depends, and English capital poured into the growing London money-market, which had previously been dominated by Italian bankers. At home, with the expansion of internal trade which followed the Tudor peace, opportunities of speculation were increased, and a new class of middlemen arose to exploit them. In industry, the rising interest was that of the commercial capitalist, bent on securing the freedom to grow what stature he could, and produce by what methods he pleased" (R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, New Jersey 1998, p. 136).

[66] Rowse, *The England...*, p. 269.

[67] Tawney, *Religion...*, pp. 176–177.

It turned out that Elizabethan prosperity was an important stage in shaping an active stance, appreciating the worldly and individualistic. With some simplification, we might say that these conditions abetted the emergence of a new human ideal of action and initiative, primarily within the gentry. Chivalrous virtues, like courage and decisiveness, remained important, but being calculating, refined, and intelligent were perhaps more crucial. The ethos of chivalry become far more subtle. We observe what Elias captured so brilliantly on the Continent – the transformation of the knight into the courtier, or, better to say, the entrepreneur, in the original sense of the term. This new ideal was summed up by Henry Peacham Jr. in the 1622 handbook *The Complete Gentleman*:

> For since all virtue consisteth inaction and no man is born for himself, we add – beneficial to his country; for hardly they are to be admitted to be noble who (though of never so excellent parts) consume their light, as in a dark lantern, in contemplation and a stoical retiredness.[68]

We ought to note the gentry's clear disdain for the *vita contemplativa*.[69] The Elizabethan "entrepreneur" was meant to be physically and mentally dynamic, and his worldview the same. He was to be flexible, keen, and decisive, but not primitive. He aimed to develop a new mode of being – to distinguish himself from what he saw as the crude populace, and from the refinement of the aristocratic warrior ethos. This is how the gentry's dynamism manifested itself – in a doubly distinctive movement. The ideal became the gentleman. This translated into a relationship with the body and its movements. The gentleman needed to know how to move decisively, nimbly, but also with feeling and finesse. Here dance was of assistance as a more important method of training the Renaissance body.

Elyot wrote about dance, emphasizing the opportunity for contemplation it offered, but there were also other voices with other aims: working the body to become muscular, or immune to French and Italian mannerisms. This is an important trait of the English Renaissance – its so-to-speak Protestant sobriety, matter-of-factness, its disdain for courtly life, with all its mannerism and pomp. In England, it was never so formalized as what we observed in Versailles. The English maintained a simple vitality joined with common sense, which was often missing at the Italian and French courts. Emphasis was kept on the agile, flexible, and decisive body, a typical feature of both folk and chivalric culture. If we look through the *Scholemaster* handbook (1570) by Roger Ascham, who tutored Elizabeth, we find this passage:

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68 Quoted in: Rowse, *The England*..., p. 288.

69 As Rowse writes: "Elizabethans did not approve of the contemplative life. The immense activity of the age had its economic roots, though that is not the whole of its explanation" (Rowse, *The England*..., p. 105). He has in mind the first forms of industry, the energizing of trade, the increase in agricultural productivity, and the expansion of cities.

> To ride comely, to run fair at the tilt or ring, to play at all weapons, to shoot fair in bow, or surely in gun, to vault lustily; to run, to leap, to wrestle, to swim; to dance comely, to sing and play of instruments cunningly; to hawk, to hunt, to play at tennis and all pastimes generally, which be joined with labour, used in open place and in the daylight, containing either some fit exercise for war, or some pleasant pastime for peace; be not only comely and decent, but also very necessary for a courtly gentleman.[70]

Dance is mentioned nearly right after wrestling, which shows the role it was given by sober-minded educators. Even Elyot devoted a great deal of space to the role of hunting in the education of a Renaissance gentleman… And yet, as we have said, this was not merely about building strength or tending to the medieval chivalrous body. If a gentleman mounted a horse, he was to be nimble, and if he danced, he was to be elegant. Given that Chaucer "describes his squire […] commenting on his ability at riding and jousting, singing and dancing, writing and painting,"[71] we cannot say that Elizabethan England was the first to discover the importance of good manners. Still, the Renaissance body was far more complex than its medieval equivalent – etiquette and courtesy became much more complicated.

Dance was seen as in between philosophical study and exercise for health and agility. Elyot stressed the former, Ascham described the latter, but so did, and above all, Richard Mulcaster, the leading pedagogue in Elizabethan England. Mulcaster was a bourgeois Londoner. He ran a respected school, and prepared spectacles to honor the rulers, and for the needs of his students. He sought to join courtly and bourgeois cultures. It was in this spirit that he defended dance, which, for many of the bourgeoisie, especially the fervently religious, was to be condemned as a frivolity, excessive, even indecent. Mulcaster saw dance differently, principally as healthy exercise. As Howard points out, his argument abandons class rhetoric in favor of medical discourse.[72] We find a unique apology for dance – at least in the context of the texts covered thus far – in *Positions Concerning the Training Up of Children*.[73] Mulcaster argues that dance is remarkably beneficial in rational doses – among other things, it helps get rid of kidney and bladder stones. It should be practiced at a suitable interval after a meal, and only by those in good health,[74] and then only in moderation. We are reminded of the tone in Elyot – dance should be governed by the "golden mean." It ought to be neither too forced nor too listless. This leads

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[70] Quoted in: ibid., p. 590.

[71] Peter Burke, "The Courtier," in: Eugenio Garin (ed.), *Renaissance Characters*, Chicago–London 1988, p. 109.

[72] Howard, *Rival Discourses…*, pp. 40–43.

[73] A transcript of the fragment on dance, whose full title is *Positions Wherein Those Primitive Circumstances Be Examined, Which Are Necessarie for the Training up of Children*, is available at: https://archive.org/stream/positions00quicgoog#page/n98/mode/2up (accessed: 01.03.2015).

[74] Mulcaster adamantly discouraged dancing for those who had weak heads, were prone to dizzy spells, teary eyes, or weak vision, as they could get dizzy, trip, and even fall (ibid., p. 73).

Mulcaster to prescribe the *gaillarde* as the most salubrious sort of dance. Yet slower forms, like the pavane and the *almain*,[75] also meet his approval. The point was for the gentleman to holistically civilize the body, moving toward a courtly sort of prowess, neither primitive nor manneristic. Here we see how good health and good behavior were linked. Mulcaster claims that it is best to prevent kidney stones by adopting the courtly kinetic model based on the "golden mean." We repeat: this was now a court where the medieval fondness for physical prowess was transformed into a striving for a multifaceted physical dexterity, where force was less essential than flexibility and, above all, finesse.

Dance culture in England was thus built on the canvas of works by Elyot, Mulcaster, and Ascham, in which Continental models were adapted to British dynamism. Taking dance lessons was considered *comme il faut*.[76] The queen distributed exclusive dance instructor licenses in London and its environs to three people, whose names have been passed down to our day: Richard Frythe and Robert and William Warren.[77] The fact that these names were recorded and fines were established for those who attempted to break the monopoly of these licenses indicate the importance attributed to the work of the dancing masters in Elizabethan England. The monarch herself set the tone when it came to enthusiasm for dance:

> Elizabeth was an excellent dancer, and until the end of her life enjoyed watching the dancing at Court and taking part in it, both in private and on public occasions. In 1589 she would dance as many as six or seven galliards [perhaps inspired by Mulcaster?] in a morning for exercise, and in her seventieth year, barely three months before her death, she was able to dance a coranto.[78]

Dance was of social importance; anyone aspiring to the elite needed the requisite refinement. This meant mastering the principles of Renaissance social dancing, which departed from Continental forms while maintaining a local character. This process was fairly complex and is relatively difficult to trace, owing to the dearth of source materials. Yet it can be recreated, based on the above-mentioned Gresley Dance Collection[79] and several manuscripts created in the Inns of Court circles.[80]

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75 In England this was what they called the *allemande*, described in Chapter Two.

76 For more on the role of dance in providing access to high social status see Judy Smith, "The Art of Good Dancing: Noble Birth and Skilled Nonchalance. England 1580–1630," *Historical Dance* 1986/1987, Vol. 2, No. 5, pp. 30–32, with information about how etiquette in the spirit of Castiglione was greeted on English soil.

77 Howard, *The Politics…*, p. 5. Cf. also: Molly Engelhardt, *Dancing Out of Line. Ballrooms, Ballets, and Mobility in Victorian Fiction and Culture*, Athens, OH 2009, p. 28.

78 M. St. Clare Byrne, *Elizabethan Life in Town and Country*, Gloucestershire 1987, p. 244.

79 Nevile, *Dance in Early Tudor England…*, pp. 230–234, 237–242, 244.

80 The reference is to the MS Rawlinson Poet. 108 in the Bodleian Library, a kind of notebook compilation belonging to one Eliner Gunter, and the MS Harl. 367 in the British Library, a similar notebook

From the early sixteenth century there was a creative process of transplanting French *basses danses* and Italian *balli* to English soil, as Nevile has demonstrated. Under Elizabeth, this trend continued, except that dances such as the pavane and *allemande* were also adapted. John M. Ward writes of a specifically English manner of composing steps, which he calls "the principle of measures," derived from the theory of *basse danse*. The word "measure" was used in the choreographic language of the day to define a dance segment in a certain tempo and style. As such, the measure, Ward continues, is "put together in a particular way."[81] The "principle of measures" was the English dance teachers' way of making dance steps in the court and other elite centers more than just simple emulations.

The results of applying the principle of measures can be seen in the Inns of Court documents, which are notes of people tied to the legal community associated with the court. These documents contain information about the most popular dances of the day in England. As it turns out, the dances could be divided into two sorts: majestic, sliding, fairly slow and ceremonial dances, and faster, freer, and thus more demanding ones. In France and Italy we also observed this division, but the English dancing masters creatively altered it. In terms of the first group of dances, our picture derives from surviving descriptions called "Old Measures."[82] The Inns of Court manuscripts use this label for a suite of eight dances, with pavanes and *almain* most plentiful among them, though there are also the rather mysterious *tinternell* and *turkelony*. As Mullally states, at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries measures were essentially a distinct and specifically English kind of dance – a variation on the theme of the majestic pavane and *almain*.[83] We know less about the latter group of dances, unfortunately, apart from the fact that the English court favored the *gaillarde*, which came to be known as the *sinkapace*;[84] the *courante*, which the queen herself danced; and even such lively forms as the *branle* and *volta*. There is much speculation here, but we might hazard the claim that these, too, had a domestic character. It seems the vivacity of the English folk culture survived in them, the gentry never having fully left it behind:

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once belonging to a gentleman named J. Stowe. The dances they record, as well as those noted in later writings of this circle, have been transcribed by D. R. Wilson, "Dancing in the Inns of Court," *Historical Dance* 1986/1987, Vol. 2, No. 5, pp. 3–16. This work is an attempt to clarify the pioneering transcriptions in: James P. Cunningham, *Dancing in the Inns of Court*, London 1965. John M. Ward covers the same manuscripts, "Apropos 'The olde Measures'," *REED Newsletter* 1993, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 20–21. We should also consult the analyses of Mullally, which differ in many respects: *More about the Measures...*, and finally: http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/dance/ioc/intro.html (accessed: 01.03.2015), which holds the introduction to the *Dances from the Inns of Court, London 1570–1675* handbook by Peter and Janelle Durhamow.

81 Ward, *Apropos...*, p. 5.

82 We believe the best work for gaining a sense of the *Old Measures* is: Mullally, *More about the Measures...*

83 Ibid., p. 418.

84 The phonetic version of *cinquepace*, another name for the *gaillarde*.

> This second group of dances was much livelier in tempo and required considerable energy and lightness of foot, and much nearer in style to country dancing. The galliard, von Wedel[85] noted, was danced by the younger courtiers, who laid aside their rapiers and cloaks for it and danced in doublet and hose.[86]

The *volta* and *branle* had foreign names, and thus were expressions of the snobbish fashion for all things Continental, but they were performed more freely than at the French and Italian courts. In England, moments of rigid ceremony were punctuated by breaks, where people practically let themselves go, providing a chance to return to the pastoral joy of simple movement.

Folk culture, at any rate, was in fashion. The Elizabethan era in England saw the flourishing of pastoral culture, which was typical throughout Europe at the time. Without this, we would not have some outstanding Renaissance works – Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* or *The Araygnement of Paris* by George Peele. Yet here too we must recall that the local specifics made the pastoral in England resonate differently than it did in Ariosto or Ronsard. In particular the latter work,[87] the script for a court spectacle of 1581, shows the extent to which England longed for the simplicity and spontaneity of "merry old English" rural life, and yet also the extent to which this was an aestheticized life, adapted to the social ways of the new elite. In light of this work, we cannot simply speak of the countryside as an ideal. Peele's reading of the story of Paris is original – this was no mere "utopization" of rural culture, which most often leads to melancholy.[88] Given that Paris' choice was undermined and Elizabeth, as Diana, ended up being the greatest of the goddesses, and not Venus, we have a glorification of an extraordinary monarch (a charismatic woman sat on the throne, which was a highly unusual event). To this we must add that the shepherds who gave praise were also rather atypical. Louis Adrian Montrose mentions this in terms of the gentry's symbolic negotiation of status.[89] Peele's art was a kind of manifesto of new people, breaking free of the old authorities, seeking their own cultural space. The pastoral convention allowed this to be expressed, and gave a tribute to the monarch. The "shepherds" were free people,[90] but also faithful subjects. They were full of vital energy, exceptionally independent, though submissive. Thus, ambition and compulsory humility overlapped in a way that was so characteristic of the gentry.

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85 Lupold Von Wedel was a German hired hand, and thus, a traveler. He was in England from August 1584 to May 1585.

86 Byrne, *Elizabethan Life...*, p. 245.

87 A reprint is available at: https://archive.org/details/arraignmentofpar00peelrich (accessed: 01.07.2014).

88 Cf. Louis Adrian Montrose, "Gifts and Reasons: The Contexts of Peele's 'Araygnement of Paris'," *English Literary History* 1980, Vol. 47, No. 3, pp. 433–461.

89 Ibid.

90 Burke writes: "Shepherds were far away from interference by clergy, nobles and officials. No wonder their way of life was idealized in pastoral poetry" (Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, New York 1994, p. 61).

The popularity of pastoral culture had an impact on dance. At court, French forms were popular, but so were simple, spontaneous, folk-inspired dances. The queen herself enjoyed observing villagers dance, which led to the court's interest in folk steps. In 1600, court official Rowland Whyte wrote a letter to Sir Robert Sidney: "almost every night she is in the Presence to see the Ladies dance the old and new country dances with the tabor and pipe."[91] Let us turn our attention to the distinction Whyte proposes, indicating the evolution of the folk foundations. In this fragment, country dances doubtless signified a variation on folk themes, their paternalistic evocation, built on the above duality: freedom and submission.[92] Under a conventional and thus politically safe guise, the forms dedicated to the queen smuggled in the possibility of responding to conventions in a physical way. The country dances retained an impulse that had always driven people to dance – the pleasure of moving one's body. This could, of course, be found in the measures, but it was shuffled to the background compared to show and distinction. This pleasure was foregrounded in the country dances. At the same time, however, the folk roots were increasingly stylized, to be justified from the viewpoint of the dance schools. We can be sure that the court ladies did not dance exactly as they did in the countryside,[93] performing the "old village dances." Yet under Elizabeth official culture drew further and further away from rural culture, turning the "village dance" into a pliable convention. This meant the possibility of performing "old and new country dances," much as they did old and new measures, or old and new variants of the *gaillarde*. The result was a highly distinguished folk culture. We can basically conclude that the new country dances were less adapted than invented, as Whyte's letter seems to indicate. This was a characteristic strategy throughout pastoral culture, which more designed than portrayed the countryside. Sidney's *Arcadia* is a fine example here. This creativity could be viewed as another manifestation of the dynamism of Elizabethan society.

Elizabethan dynamism was symbolically rendered in a picture well known to dance historians of the period, today found in Penhurst Place in Kent (Ill. 89).[94] Typically, the work is seen to depict Elizabeth dancing a *volta* with her favorite, Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, though a competing interpretation says that this is

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[91] Quoted in: Byrne, *Elizabethan Life*..., p. 245.

[92] On the transition from old country dances to new country dances, see: J. P. Cunningham, "The Country Dance: Early References," *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 1962, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 148–154.

[93] We gain some notion of how simple folk danced at the time through an engraving by Thomas DeBry, at the top of which is an elegant, composed, distinguished court dance, and below a quick, sprightly folk dance with physical contact. There is a notable difference in permitted physical contact – in the court dance a clear distance is kept between the woman and the man, while in the folk dances the couples embrace, cling to one another and whirl around. For a reproduction of the engraving, see: Howard, *The Politics*..., p. 1.

[94] Sometimes attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, a Flemish artist who worked in England from the mid-sixteenth century, known mainly for engravings.

a satirical picture, mocking the courtly custom of unnaturally quick and sprightly dances, in which case it could not have been depicting the queen. At any rate, the canvas splendidly portrays the dynamism of the epoch. We may attempt to reduce the picture to a testimony to Italian influences, for the lead pair of protagonists are almost certainly enjoying the sensual pleasures of the *volta*. The man is lifting his partner high with an energetic and, for those times, practically indecent gesture, grabbing her near the groin. Moralists would certainly have seen this depiction as more evidence that this dance was quite immoral and ought to be forbidden. Yet we cannot deny the impression that this genre picture holds a simple yet telling allegory. If we see this dance in terms of *pars pro toto*, we have a portrait of the England of the period – dynamic, unconventional, sometimes alluring, natural. There is a compelling power in the image, even if the dancers appear stiff.[95] Key to this impression seems to be that both figures are captured moving upward or at the height of a leap. This vertical mobility is stressed by Rowse as a trait of the epoch. If it is true that Elizabeth had a particular fondness for the *volta* in her youth, then her temperament indeed reflected the character of the culture around her. The Penhurst Place picture then reveals itself to be a synthetic portrait of Elizabethan kinesis.

89. Artist unknown (attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts), *Queen Elizabeth Dancing with Robert Dudley / La Volta Dance*, ca. 1580

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[95] If we prefer the satirical interpretation, the stiffness is seen as intentional. Otherwise, we might conclude that it is a sign of the artist's lack of technical skill. Owing to the simplicity of the picture, the latter interpretation seems more likely.

Against the backdrop of the European dances of the day (apart from the rule of Francis I in France), in Elizabethan dance we find a relatively high degree of spontaneity, simplicity, and joy. This is confirmed by the court spectacles of the period. Elizabeth's cautious financial policies are often mentioned, with their resulting cutbacks in entertainment. The queen was not partial to spending large sums on spectacles. Yet this did not mean they were entirely absent. There were more of them in the first half of her reign. We have mentioned Peele's *The Araygnement of Paris*, but we ought also to mention an earlier famous celebration Leicester gave in honor of the queen in 1575 in Kenilworth. There has survived a detailed description of the two-week-long revels written by Robert Laneham,[96] a court official, who therefore knew the events first-hand. Unfortunately, his descriptions of the dances in this extraordinarily sumptuous spectacle are rather limited. We do know, however, that they were held on the grounds of Kenilworth Castle and its environs, and that they conformed to the general atmosphere of the folk holidays (Ill. 90).

90. Artist unknown, engraving of an Elizabethan festival

We should note that the segments accompanying the fireworks, hunts, concerts, and even acrobatics had an ancient theme. The gardens swarmed with gods and goddesses, who paid tribute to the queen as she moved from one attraction to another. Among them, Pan played a prominent role, leading the wedding procession

[96] The text is available online at: https://archive.org/stream/robertlanehamsle01lane#page/n7/mode/2up (accessed: 01.03.2015). The author's name is spelled variously: Lanham, Laneham, Langham. We use the variant in the above transcription.

staged by the local society. One facet of this was the morris dance, arranged by a god of antiquity. We should note this combination – the mythology was used in the service of the local folklore, which was an equally or even more vital source of inspiration than the ancient books. Elizabeth's reign was not meant to be only supreme; it also had a local and familiar aspect. She sought to be more than an intangible authority. She wanted society to treat her as "their queen." She ran cautious and merciless policies, keeping others at arm's length, more seldom elevating people to the aristocracy than her brother or father did. Driven by a peculiar social conservatism,[97] she ruled over all her subjects without exception.[98] And yet she longed to be loved. As Howard noted, the mythologization of the queen was, to some degree, of a popular nature.[99] Elizabeth appeared as a symbol of plenty and prosperity.[100] This is why the spectacles in her honor abounded in images of spring, the power of nature. This was also the case in the Kenilworth celebrations. Elizabeth "appeared" as the embodiment of birthing life, of hope for a better tomorrow. She was a source of energy for the mythological figures moving about the gardens, as well as for the performers of the morris dance conducted by Pan. She shared her power with them, as she did with all of her subjects.

As Roy C. Strong has observed,[101] the English Reformation was a time when the number of religious folk holidays drastically decreased. The medieval church liked to organize ceremonies of various kinds, as these provided occasions for secular pleasures, to dance or drink beer. The reformed church saw these as immoral, believed them to be papist,[102] and thus suggested they be curtailed. As such, people had fewer occasions for joyful and carefree recreation. This was the backdrop for the annual ceremonies in honor of the queen that began in the early 1570s, known as Accession Day.[103] These celebrated the victorious queen, but also the overall prosperity of the kingdom. For, in spite of all the difficulties, it remained a kingdom that was always pressing forward, expansive, whose

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97 Rowse, *The England...*

98 We might well consult an interesting analysis of the spectacles at Kenilworth in: Joy Sterrantino, "Authorized Discourse at the Kenilworth Entertainments," *Early English Studies* 2008, Vol. 1, available online at: http://www.uta.edu/english/ees/fulltext/sterrantino1.html (accessed: 01.03.2015). The author argues that they were an attempt by Leicester to secure his position so that Elizabeth would finally agree to wed him. They might therefore be read as a manifestation of a power struggle, which Leicester ultimately lost.

99 Howard, *The Politics...*, pp. 9–10.

100 The myth of the battling virgin was just as vital. It was not, however, well suited for spectacles, which were mainly meant to provide sensual pleasures, unless we include the knights' tournaments Elizabeth adored.

101 Roy C. Strong, "The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 1958, Vol. 21, No. 1/2, pp. 86–103.

102 This is described in detail in Forrest, *The History of Morris Dancing...*, pp. 140–214.

103 Strong, "The Popular Celebration...," p. 91.

inhabitants were sated, merry, and believed in their strength. At least this was what the propaganda claimed.[104]

Elizabethan harmony is aptly depicted in a work by Joris Hoefnagel, *A Fete at Bermondsey*, of 1569. Interestingly enough, an important element generating the impression of cheerful well-being is the dance of several people in the foreground, which gives the whole composition a dancing rhythm. Let us endeavor to interpret the picture, and with it, Elizabethan self-satisfaction, by consulting John Davies's epic poem *Orchestra*, published in 1596.[105] The author was a typical man of his day – being of modest upbringing, he studied law in Middle Temple, one of the Inns of Court, where he entered the company of ambitious, upwardly mobile yet pleasure-seeking young people. This was surely the source of his love of dance, at least as it applied to theory. It was also the subject of the poem mentioned here. It was through this work and other pieces in praise of Elizabeth that he gained the queen's favor, which brought him a seat in the House of Commons, and finally, the post of Prosecutor General in Ireland. As we see, his life was highly eventful. Davies was a very dynamic individual, practically tailor-made for his times. While *Orchestra* ought to be seen as a marginal facet of his work and interests, it did gain Elizabeth's recognition, which in itself makes it of interest. Yet this is not why it is worth mentioning. *Orchestra* contains a very evocative picture of the world, and expresses the basic ideals of its times.

The poem's plot is quite simple. The narrator notes that Homer's tale of Penelope, Odysseus' wife, is missing something – the description of one Antinous's attempt to win the lady. The poet decides to make up for this shortcoming, making the protagonist the personification of courtly love. This is when the dance motif appears. Antinous seeks to win Penelope's love through dance, basically by speaking of its remarkable power. Penelope listens carefully, though she has her doubts that dance is truly suitable for honest folk. These are gradually allayed, though we do not discover if she ultimately decides to dance. We are certain, however, that Antinous's powers of persuasion, and, above all, the power of love, have made a great impression on her.

In her complex analysis of the poem, Sarah Thesiger notes that we can make out two basic tropes: "dance as an embodiment of Love, and dance as a universal ordering principle."[106] These are inextricably linked, to raise a conviction of the total nature of

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[104] We ought to recall that Elizabethan England had regions of enormous poverty. Were it not for this poverty, there would not have been the social aid program known as the Elizabethan Law of Care for the Poor (Byrne, *Elizabethan Life*..., pp. 179–180).

[105] We are using the online edition at: https://archive.org/details/orchestraorpoeme00davirich (accessed: 01.03.2015). For an interesting commentary, see: Sarah Thesiger, "The Orchestra of Sir John Davies and the Image of the Dance," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 1973, Vol. 36, pp. 277–304; Howard, *The Politics*..., pp. 61–68.

[106] Thesiger, *The Orchestra*..., p. 277.

an act that would seem quite mundane. The first trope is, of course, of Platonic origin. Davies, like Plato, Plotinus, and their later adherents, some of whom we encountered in the Italian Renaissance, saw the creative spark in love, a kind of cosmic energy that charges the world and sets it in motion. Love is a metaphysical principle, and thus, in fact, the poem's main protagonist. We join Antinous in tracking how it manifests itself on various levels of reality. This occurs through harmony, which dance materializes. It is why music is dance's constant companion. Music and dance flow from Love as expressions of harmony. This is a vision on a cosmic scale. Love sets the astral bodies and the elements in motion, along with all of material reality on earth. This motion is not accidental, on the contrary – at every level we have a rhythm, a principle for moving, in other words, a dance. The universe as a whole is a dance born of Love.

According to Antinous, it is not only animate bodies that dance. Nature dances and humans dance – as an essential part of the former. This is a motif equally important to Davies – he wants to depict society as a dance. To do this, he concocts a historical narrative, in which Love observes the chaos of interpersonal relationships in their primal state. Love is disgusted by what it sees, and goes back to our ancestors to give their relations a harmonious form, to structure them. Thus, the first dance is born, a ring dance, which served as a flywheel for the original community. Then came other forms of dance and, through them, society developed, becoming stronger and more complex. Apart from the simple ring dances, Davies lists measures, the *gaillarde*, and even the *volta*, paying no heed to the evident anachronism here, given that they were unlikely to have been popular in Ithaca. Like Queen Elizabeth herself, the reader will easily forgive him this, as Davies's aim was not antiquarian, it was quite of-the-moment – he wanted to show his world, the sixteenth-century English state, to be an orderly yet dynamic social body, in which Love's watchful eye (the queen was to play this role, obviously) saw every person carefully and masterfully perform their steps in the whole structure. Elizabethan politics were portrayed as the execution of cosmic harmony on earth.

The thought behind this concept was clearly hierarchical. Davies writes directly of the ranks that make up the ideal order, of the fact that each should dance their part, that they make up a rhythmic whole, in which all subordinate themselves to a perfect unanimity of thought: "All turne together, all together trace, / And all together honor and embrace."[107] This inclines Howard to regard the *Orchestra* as a "sovereign discourse," that is, expressing the authority of the monarch. She writes that the dancers in Davies are devoid of subjectivity. She points out how Love tames the chaotic, spontaneous movement characteristic of folk dance, viewed as the germ of rebellion.[108] Courtly dances are presented as the ideal. We should recall,

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[107] Davies, *Orchestra*, available online at: https://archive.org/stream/orchestraorpoeme00davirich#page/52/mode/2up (accessed: 01.07.2014).

[108] Howard, *The Politics...*, p. 64.

however, that Davies praised not only their static forms, but their most dynamic ones as well. Hierarchy is not fossilized in the *Orchestra*, as it was in the medieval models or, later, in absolutist classicism; it hums with inner energy. True, there is no room for individual improvisation that breaks rank, but it does not eliminate the possibility of the individual realizing themselves as a subject, in the prescribed role. Moreover, Davies argues that only by accepting boundaries can one be truly free in dance, which means participating in the loving harmony of all of creation.

Davies's kinetic politics is a utopia of harmony of movement that buzzes with life yet remains hierarchical, composed yet dynamic. This is the world depicted in *A Fete at Bermondsey* by Hoefnagel (Plate V). Let us have a look at how the picture is built. We have various groups busy with their activities. Some are talking, others are passing by. Some are farming or baking cakes, and those at rest are playing music or dancing. Some, in their black Puritan robes with white collars, are coming from the church, some are coming from the fields, with brightly-colored clothes and a buoyant step. The latter join the figures striking dapper poses in the foreground. Everyone seems quite self-confident. Animals complete the panorama. This is sometimes considered to be a picture of a village wedding. That could be an anecdote that lies behind the picture, but we feel driven to explore the life that pulses from the canvas, which eclipses the anecdotal. Hoefnagel paints not only figures, but also what invisibly binds these figures into a single community. The human chain winds delicately, giving the composition a flowing rhythm. The dancers' presence in the foreground is absolutely key to this impression. We should note that the group of dancers in the lower right-hand side of the picture is not performing a simple ring, but a step in which each dancer maintains their individuality. Together they form a point of energy, the heart of the picture, so to speak, whose hot pulse radiates out to the other figures. This means we might say that the whole composition depicts a dance. This is a "choreography of the nation," to use Howard's term for the *Orchestra*,[109] or perhaps it is better to say a choreography of the society. It glimmers with various colors, poses, and temperaments, yet it makes up an organic, natural order. Thus, the Elizabethan social ideal emerges before our eyes. *A Fete at Bermondsey* is model kinetic politics, a kind of seductive wishful thinking.

Between Titania's Ring and Prospero's Masque

What we have said so far might seem to suggest that Elizabethan England was a kind of Arcadia. This was not, of course, the case. Around the islands of prosperity and elegance spread an ocean of misery and backwardness. The majority of society

[109] Ibid., p. 68.

vegetated more than it led a full life. Even those who were affluent had to be wary if their convictions diverged from the prevailing (Protestant, monarchist) model. There was far-reaching religious and political oppression. The Catholics were condemned, Mary Stuart was decapitated. Small wonder that keener observers noticed, behind the propaganda of success, some unhealed wounds, as well as new ones emerging regularly. One such observer was Hoefnagel, but he was not the most expressive. Let us have a look at the lower left-hand corner of *A Fete at Bermondsey*. There are two dogs grappling with one another, and a glum boy, his gaze turned away. This is the only dissonance in the picture, yet it strikes us as telling. So much so, we feel justified in speculating. As we have mentioned, the picture is dated 1569. Five years earlier, William Shakespeare was baptized. This is an astonishing parallel. Could he have been the boy portrayed? Certainly not, for what would he have been doing so far from his native Stratford, in a suburb of London over a hundred and thirty kilometers away at five years of age? And yet the same scene could have been played out in his vicinity. He too could have been terrified by the savage dogs. He too may have turned his back on the human tumult, behind which lurked uncertainty, cruelty, solitude…

The Englands of Elizabeth and William survey one another. The former was triumphant, idealized, heroic. The latter was trembling, confused, chaotic. Both were very dynamic and filled with dance. Bogdan Suchodolski once wrote: "No one can match Shakespeare's passion for showing human life as a dynamic of aspirations, no one delved so deep into human actions; no writer was such a consistent and great poet of the *vita activa*, so far from an apotheosis of the *vita contemplativa*."[110] In this, Shakespeare was a child of his times, perhaps the most sensitive and insightful among them. Volumes have been devoted to the subject, but we cannot omit dance in Shakespeare, because it reveals shades of Elizabethan kinesis that we have yet to mention.[111]

Our point of conclusion will be Prospero's masque – we concur with Walter Sorell that *The Tempest* is, along with *Midsummer Night's Dream*, utterly saturated with the atmosphere of dance.[112] It focuses Shakespeare's kinetic rays like a lens. Yet we should begin our investigation with his earlier plays, as this will allow us to show the Stratford poet's image of dance as it emerged, as dynamic as the world in which he lived. We shall begin with a simple observation – Shakespeare's theater was closely tied to folk culture.[113] We see this even in the cast of characters. It

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110 Bogdan Suchodolski, *Narodziny nowożytnej filozofii człowieka*, Warsaw 1963, p. 514.

111 One of our constant points of reference is Alan Brissenden's classic *Shakespeare and the Dance*, Atlantic Highways, NJ 1981. While Brissenden writes as a literary scholar interested in dance motifs, so as to reconstruct the logic of the texts, we will be writing as cultural scholars, chiefly aiming to explore the context in which these works emerged. This makes our analyses complementary.

112 Walter Sorell, "Shakespeare and the Dance," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, July 1957, Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 381.

113 Cf. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy*...; François Laroque, *Shakespeare's Festive World: Elizabethan Seasonal Entertainment and the Professional Stage*, Cambridge 1993.

includes not only rulers, but simple folk as well. The Bard seems to look kindly on this simplicity. It was outside of the court, in the Forest of Arden, the Czech countryside, or among the craftsmen of Athens, that we find his pearls of humor and his kinetic freedom, which court life, so often claustrophobic, dark, cruel, bound by intrigues and conventions, seemed to lack. In Shakespeare, it may be true that everyone dances, the wealthy and the ordinary folk, yet these are separate dances that are viewed differently. Following Cesar Lombardi Barber, we would suggest that for Shakespeare, folk dance was a base upon which he built his kinetic imaginations. The courtly might latch onto this base and try to exploit it, yet Shakespeare saw this combination as perilous. He was not, of course, a folk poet. Yet nor was he ever an artistic spokesman for the elite. He remained strung between these two worlds – he tried to understand and view both from various and opposing perspectives. The worldview in Shakespeare's plays has the dynamism of "transitional men,"[114] their flexibility, their desire to rise above the local, the provincial, but also a longing for the simplicity of everyday life. They apprehend the people with affection, though occasionally condemn their primitive urges, not to say ignorance. He admires the court, without condoning its cold cruelty and inhuman estrangement. This means that Shakespeare's worldview is neither that of a gentleman nor a yokel. It is a landscape of ideas that fit no one estate. We want to see him as a testimony of the Elizabethan mindset at its most reflective. As such, Shakespeare will be primarily seen as a phenomenon in the field of ideas, allowing us to leave the issue of the brilliant plays' authorship to one side.[115] Whoever wrote *Hamlet*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and all the rest of Shakespeare's works was an Elizabethan at heart,[116] and thus, as we probe into them, attempting to examine how they appeared on stage at the time, we undoubtedly move closer to a fuller understanding of Elizabethan kinesis.

When we think about dance in Shakespeare's plays, we generally recall the ending scenes of his comedies, in which the protagonists move about the stage together. Thus ends *As You Like It*, as do *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Much Ado about Nothing*. This concluding dance is a symbol of accord, the diffusion of conflicts, ushering in a state of peaceful harmony.[117] Shakespeare rarely mentions what kind of dance he has in mind for his protagonists, yet we might assume that in *As*

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[114] Anthony Smith's term, cited by Mary A. Blackstone in the context of Shakespeare. "'Transitional men' [were] individuals for whom education and/or talent became the ticket to mobility – both social and spatial" (Mary A. Blackstone, "Lancashire, Shakespeare and the construction of cultural neighbourhoods in sixteenth-century England," in: Richard Dutton, Alison Gail Findley et al. [eds.], *Region, Religion and Patronage: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, Manchester–New York 2003, p. 187).

[115] A reference to the popular theories that Shakespeare was not the author of the plays bearing his name – that they were written by someone else (Edward de Vere, for example, or Christopher Marlowe), or by several authors, as in the Masonic theory.

[116] We utterly reject the wild hypotheses that the author was Miguel de Cervantes or Daniel Defoe.

[117] This role of dance in Shakespeare is stressed, above all, by Brissenden, in *Shakespeare and the Dance*.

You Like It these are static measures (the word appears in the text), in *Much Ado about Nothing* it is a quicker step, such as the *gaillarde*, and in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* the fairies in the final scene are surely performing a circle dance – a *carole* or ring. This would mean a mix of courtly and folk dances. Yet both the measures and the *gaillarde*, if they appeared on the Shakespearean stage, were not danced as the elite would have done, mainly to present their sophistication, their inborn distinction, but with a joy and verve characteristic of simple folk dances, all the more in that the actors of the troupe dancing them would have been such people.[118] They may have tried to stylize their dances in a courtly fashion, but always with a sort of distance, a dissonance. As such, it is worth looking at the dances in Shakespeare's early comedies, not only as an image of simple harmony, but as a space of tension between two cultures – traditional, communal, and folkish versus progressive, individualistic, and elite. The tension between folk and courtly kinesis is best visible in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The dance layer of this play has been brilliantly expounded by Howard.[119] As she writes, it allows us to trace the conflict between the traditional paradigm of movement, symbolized by the circle dance of Titania and her retinue, and the individualistic model that gravitates toward showy, dynamic courtly dances, performed by Oberon. This is particularly visible in Titania's monologue in the first scene of Act II:

> And never, since the middle summer's spring
> Met we on hill, in dale, forest, or mead,
> By paved fountain or by rushy brook
> Or in the beached margent of the sea,
> To dance our ringlets to the whistling wind,
> But with thy brawls thou hast disturbed our sport.
> [...]
> The fold stands empty in the drowned field,
> And crows are fatted with the murrain flock.
> The nine-men's-morris is filled up with mud,
> And the quaint mazes in the wanton green,
> For lack of tread, are indistinguishable
> The human mortals want their winter here.
> No night is now with hymn or carol blessed.[120]

Howard points out the double meaning of the word *brawl*, which can be either a quarrel or the English translation of *branle* and thus a dynamic, fiery folk dance adapted to courtly culture, as might have been the association in Shakespeare's

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[118] Howard, *The Politics*..., pp. 69–70.
[119] Ibid., pp. 70–81.
[120] William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. R. A. Foakes, Cambridge 2003, 2.1.82–102.

91. William Blake, *Oberon, Titania and Puck with Fairies Dancing*, illustration for William Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, ca. 1786

time. In court circles, the *branle* was less and less danced in a group, increasingly in couples, with the man leading.[121] Oberon's dance is just this – masculine, aggressive, slightly obsessive – as stressed in Act IV, when he stands his ground, acquiring the page-boy he desires, and then releasing Titania of the spell that made her fall in love with Nick Bottom. Then he quite forcefully declares:

> Sound, music! Come, my queen, take hands with me,
> And rock the ground whereon these sleepers be.[122]

The movement of Titania's retinue is of an entirely different sort. This is a free, organic twirling, less evocative of the salon than a country holiday (Ill. 91). It is not for nothing that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* recalls the rites of May. According to Theseus, the lovers have undoubtedly made for the forest, "[...] to observe / The rite of May […]."[123] This is a clear sign of the context in which Shakespeare has placed the events. The forest is Titania's domain, which Oberon gradually annexes, infusing it with his bravura and individuality, which is, in fact, opposed to

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[121] Cf. Brissenden, *Shakespeare and the Dance*, pp. 43–44.

[122] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 4.1.82–3.

[123] Ibid., 4.1.129–130.

nature. Let us note his at least equivocal effort to gain the young page opposed to Titania's motherly attachment to him. It is no surprise that Shakespeare describes the world after Oberon's brawl as sterile. There is fertility and life in the ring dances, while the courtly shows are merely bloodless displays to prop up the male ego. The communal dances – the ring, morris, or carol[124] – are replaced by the *branle* for couples, in which the man leads, setting the rules. There is no room for magic, for the simple joy of being in a group.

Much like Theseus' world, Oberon's is a world of decisions, rational plans, and conscious manipulation. Theseus says early in Act V, when the lovers report the events of the magical night: "[...] I may never believe / These antique fables, nor these fairy toys."[125] Oberon is similarly cocky in manipulating Titania. Here we find an instrumental approach to reality that was highly characteristic for some people of the epoch – a pragmatism bordering on arrogance. Shakespeare seems to both rue and understand this. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* can be read as chronicling a transitional period, describing a moment when the mechanisms were shifting gears.

Puck personifies the flow of Elizabethan reality, and the confusion it brought. There is something compelling in his joyous shout in Act III: "And those things do best please me / That befall prepost'rously."[126] He takes a childish glee in pranks, but also something more – he affirms the chaos, he claims that disorder is a natural state, that it rules humankind. Puck embodies dynamic transformation, he is "between" systems. Though he serves Oberon, he is always working against the latter's intentions. Titania cannot control him either. Puck is a figure unto himself, a great manipulator. It seems Shakespeare identified most with him out of all the comedy's characters, given that he let him have the epilogue. Puck as a dynamic, changeable individual, always dodging conventions, would seem to be the author's kinetic ideal.

Strung between the kinesis of Titania and Oberon, Puck's movement remains stylistically undefined. The stage directions provide no information on how he is to move about. Shakespeare nowhere mentions that Puck dances. And yet the imp's whole existence seems to be one big dance. The role practically begs for choreography in the modern sense of the word. Not that Puck should dance a particular step, but he should move in an expressive way, nimble, quick, and flexible. Otherwise he would be unable to manipulate the lovers as required in the last scene of Act III, for example, when he masterfully seduces Demetrius and Lysander. Dance emerges as a kinetic expression of a stage personality. Character emerges not only through words, but through movement. We observe a dance of stage presence.

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[124] This word has its source in dance. Before it came to mean a Christmas song, it referred to a ring dance, as we have seen. On the evolution of the word *carol*, see Mullally, *The Carole*..., pp. 242–256.

[125] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1.2–3.

[126] Ibid., A.2.120–1.

This is a highly interesting trope – the attempt to find an individualistic form in the ludic collective. Puck is a character who belongs to the world of magic, yet he is not an ordinary sprite. He is far more autonomous than the other figures in the world of Oberon and Titania. Puck is individualized, though his individualism is opposed to Oberon's arrogance. He is in constant flux, which needs an unconventional form. Shakespeare sought this brand of individuality in his other plays as well, both through his characters and the actors performing them. The expressiveness of his protagonists emerged through pairing the role and the performer. The latter was tasked with making the text move even when this was not specified by the stage directions. He did this through the conventions at his disposal, such as *commedia dell'arte*,[127] but on his own terms.

We know little about how the actor worked on his role in those days, but we do have a record claiming that the performance of traveling troupes of the day was highly dynamic.

> A "player" (compare the German *Spielmann*, Slavic *igrec*) might play instruments, play a part, play the fool, or all of these. He would need to be a master of mimicry and quick-change. English troupes could make a success of continental tours because their effects did not depend on language.[128]

Shakespearean actors came from this environment, and so we can say with full certainty that they less declaimed than embodied their scripts, using gesticulation, mime, and props. Their acting styles were full-blooded and expressive. Thus, within this prevailing idiom, thespian individuals with a proclivity for dance were created. The greatest Shakespearean performers were fine dancers. The audience demanded it, and agility made an actor stand out. Often, the regular plays were accompanied by a *postludium*, a series of dance-music-comedy sketches. These were called jigs, the word for lively dances, which were indeed often performed. The jig as a postludium adopted the spirit of the French farce and the *commedia dell'arte* – extremely dynamic, satirical, sometimes indecent, it had fight and dance scenes combined with song.[129] The jigs gave Elizabethan clowns, such as Richard Tarlton and Will Kemp, a chance to shine. It is highly probable that Shakespeare created characters like Nick Bottom and Falstaff for the latter. Will Kemp became a legend

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[127] Leo Salingar, *Shakespeare and the Traditions of Comedy*, Cambridge 1974, pp. 175–242; Kevin Gilvary, *Shakespeare and Italian Comedy*, available online at: http://www.deveresociety.co.uk/articles/KG -2004-ShakespeareItalianComedy.pdf (accessed: 01.03.2015).

[128] Burke, *Popular Culture…*, p. 136.

[129] The most well-known study of jigs remains Charles Read Baskervill's *The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song Drama*, Chicago 1929. Among more recent works, we might note Roger Clegg and Lucie Skeaping's *Singing Simpkin and Other Bawdy Jigs: Musical Comedy on the Shakespearean Stage – Music, Scripts & Context*, Exeter 2014.

92. Artist unknown, illustration for *Kemps Nine Daies Wonder*, an engraving of Will Kemp dancing a jig, ca. 1600

not only as a stage actor, but also as a man who made a dancing "pilgrimage" from London to Norwich (a distance of over one hundred miles),[130] which he described himself in *Kemps Nine Daies Wonder* (Ill. 92).[131] In the invaluable *History of Morris Dancing*, John Forrest outlines this nine-day journey,[132] during which Kemp danced the morris, quickly and energetically (such that the daredevils who tried to accompany him all fell behind),[133] in an exaggerated, sometimes grotesque manner, often hopping and jumping. These hops were one of the jig's attractions, often making it a cross between dance and acrobatics. Yet these were no impish and technically showy postludia: they were shows of comedic virtuosity that revealed the temperament and motor skills of a clown. This deserves our special notice. The

[130] One English mile is 1.609 km.

[131] The 1600 text, whose full title is *Kemps Nine Daies Wonder. Performed in a daunce from London to Norwich. Containing the pleasure, paines and kinde entertainement of William Kemp betweene London and that Citty in his late Morrice. Wherein is somewhat set downe worth note; to reprooue the slaunders spred of him: many things merry, nothing hurtfull. Written by himselfe to satisfie his friends*, is available online at: http://www.luminarium.org/renascence-editions/kemp.html (accessed: 01.03.2015).

[132] Forrest, *The History of Morris Dancing...*, pp. 237–241.

[133] This is, at least, what Kemp himself claims.

Elizabethan jig was probably the most individualized stage dance of its day. The comedic jig joined two qualities – individual expression and ludic joy from simplicity defined by and experienced as a collective. Shakespeare, it seems, admired this combination the most, playing out the comic capabilities of dance seemingly against his characters, but in fact, through his actors' fiery performances, for their benefit. To demonstrate this, we should return to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. It features one more dance, of which we have yet to speak – the *Bergomask*,[134] "*a dance of Clowns*," as the stage directions phrase it.[135] It takes place after the infamous performance prepared by the craftsmen in honor of Theseus and Hippolyta. As Howard notes,[136] the Italian *bergamasca* was a kind of folk dance in which, after the dance procession in a ring, there was a dance of two or more couples. Shakespeare, who brilliantly adapted the Italian model, uses only one couple, but it is surely an unconventional one.

It is generally accepted that the bergomask closes the satire of incompetent country folk trying to emulate the nobility. But this satire could be double-edged. The folk choreography puts the two men dancing together, one of whom is disguised as a woman, in the unsettling light of Oberon's dance, in which he led Titania in the previous act. Oberon's gesture, aiming to stress his authority and power, was a way of disguising the sexual ambivalence in the fairy king's fascination with the Indian page. Oberon veiled his weakness with masculine bravura. The craftsmen's *bergomask* exposes him through parody. By the same token, this is not a parody that seeks to utterly discredit the simple folk – the craftsmen do not perform a courtly dance, which would have been compromising. In dancing the bergomask they become themselves, aligning themselves with folk culture. From this perspective the grotesque "romance" between Nick Bottom and Titania is far more natural than her relationship with Oberon. Both represent the same element, from which Shakespeare also derived. This means the bergomask dance need not be in opposition to the fairy dance that follows, as interpretations often claim; it can also usher in the dance of the fairies. They both demonstrate the power of culture that draws from tradition to build complex personalities in motion.

Shakespeare's satires on country bumpkins are pointed, yet kindly. He is never cold and mocking, and we often see his sympathy. In Act V of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* we see it clearly, though we will change the scenery a bit and have a look at Act IV of *The Winter's Tale* instead. This is the most dance-oriented part of the play, and also a testimony of the author's ambivalent relationship to folk kinesis. Let us juxtapose two fragments from Scene Four:

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[134] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, A.1.340.

[135] *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, New York 1990, p. 172.

[136] Howard, *The Politics...*, p. 77.

1)
FLORIZEL But come, our dance, I pray.
Your hand, my Perdita; so turtles pair
That never mean to part.
PERDITA I'll swear for 'em.
[...]
2)
CLOWN Come on, strike up!
DORCAS Mopsa must be your mistress; marry, garlic, to mend
To mend her kissing with![137]

The latter exchange of opinions reveals the kinetic space of primitive folk culture. The kisses taste of garlic. At the same time, it does not take much for real, sublime love to bloom in this space. In practically the same shepherd's dance, beautiful Perdita appears, unaware she is the king's daughter; perhaps this is why she dances so charmingly, spontaneous and joyful. Thus, this garlicky dance evokes joy, for which Polixenes and Camillo long so dearly, as they are clearly delighted to observe things develop that they would never have had the chance to see at court.[138] This means the shepherd's dance is mocked and idealized all at once.

In *The Winter's Tale*, Shakespeare came to appreciate kinetic ambivalence, as, only a few pages later, we come across another description of dance. This time it resembles a morris, which the Servant announces as follows:

Master, there is three carters, three shepherds, three neatherds, three swineherds that have made themselves all men of hair. They call themselves saltiers, and they have a dance which the wenches say is a gallimaufry of gambols, because they are not in't; but they themselves are o'th' mind, if it be not too rough for some that know little but bowling, it will please plentifully.[139]

This foreshadows a display in the style of Nick Bottom and company from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. "A gallimaufry of gambols" sounds less than enticing. Yet Shakespeare complicates matters with the Servant's line. The statement is ironic, but it also promises a remarkable show: "One three of them, by their own report, sir, hath danced before the King; and not the worst of the three but jumps twelve foot and a half by th'square."[140] Was a show of masterful leaps really performed here, or did the twelves satyrs, well versed in jig arcana, have a chance to

[137] William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. Susan Snyder and Deborah T. Curren-Aquino, Cambridge 2007, 4.4.153–5 and 4.4.162–4.
[138] "She dances featly," says Polixenes (ibid., 4.4.168).
[139] Ibid., 4.4.306–12.
[140] Ibid., 4.317–9.

show their abilities? The text leaves us guessing. The characters do not mention the performance when it is finished, much as Theseus does not mention the bergomask in his monologue, though he is always commenting on the craftsmen's art to his companion. Polixenes is also silent. Is this not because the performances disarmed them? Perhaps something unsettling in them precluded paternalistic commentary.[141] Was it the dancers' energy? Their infectious humor, giving them a certain power over the viewers? These questions must remain unanswered, but their very asking points the way to our further inquiries.

If something separates the dance of the craftsmen from the dance of the fairies in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, it is the former's dynamism. The bergomask probably left room for kinetic freedom, combining elements of the morris dance and jig. Kemp likely danced it, given that Shakespeare scholars assign him the part of Nick Bottom. Thus, we cannot exclude the possibility that he took the opportunity his role provided to show his charismatic moves. Shakespeare and his actors staged theater on ludic foundations, but made to fit new times. They were separated by a gap from the previous generations that created morality plays and farces. The characters became increasingly complicated, and had to be performed with more nuance. Social relations had become more complex, people became increasingly conscious of their individuality, it was harder and harder to classify them by type, which had been the basis of the medieval theater. Flesh-and-blood protagonists were born.

The playwright's approach to (at least some) women, we should note, is inscribed in the individualization process. Shakespeare gives them individuality as well, making them strong characters. Lady Macbeth is the standard example here. We must recall that men played the female roles in the Elizabethan theater, yet this does not weaken the symbolic weight of this move. The power of women is particularly evident in two Shakespearean plays, even though their endings fit a patriarchal mold. Dance plays a substantial role in each. These are *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Much Ado about Nothing*. In the former, we ought to note a significant scene in which a dance is refused. We clearly see who is in fact controlling the situation, and who is a ruler by name only:

> ROSALINE Play music then! Nay, you must do it soon!
> Not yet? – no dance! Thus change I like the moon.
> KING Will you not dance? How come you thus estranged?
> ROSALINE You took the moon at full, but now she's changed!
> KING Yet still she is the Moon, and I the Man. The music plays – vouchsafe some motion to it.

[141] Brissenden suggests this interpretation, taking the satyrs' dance as foreshadowing Polixenes' burst of rage shortly thereafter (Alan Brissenden, "Jacobean Tragedy and the Dance," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 1981, Vol. 44, No. 4, p. 249).

ROSALINE Our ears vouchsafe it.
KING But your legs should do it.
ROSALINE Since you are strangers, and come here by chance,
We'll not be nice – take hands – We will not dance.
KING Why take we hands, then?
ROSALINE Only to part friends.
Curtsy sweethearts, and so the measure ends.[142]

This is utterly different from the dance in which Oberon leads Titania. There the man preferred to play and orchestrate the dance. Here the king is incapable of giving a commanding reply to the challenge of the woman he longs to win. It is a sign of the monarch's impotence, undermining his self-confidence.[143] He cannot keep up with Rosaline, who exposes his bravado. She holds the cards: "no dance!" We might say that this time Titania triumphs over Oberon.

In *Much Ado about Nothing*, we find an equally independent female protagonist, capable of winning a dance for her own purposes. This is Beatrice, who, in the masque that opens Act II, shows special eloquence in a double sense – a mastery of words and movement. We quote a fragment that is often cited in dance history literature, a sober appraisal of the fate of women in the society of the time:

wooing, wedding, and repenting, is as a Scotch jig, a measure and a cinquepace: the first suit is hot and hasty like a Scotch jig (and full as fantastical), the wedding mannerly modest (as a measure) full of state and ancientry, and then comes Repentance, and with his bad legs falls into the cinquepace faster and faster, till he sink into his grave.[144]

The cinquepace, of course, is an English variant on the *gaillarde*. The dance terms show us what styles were popular when the comedy was written. But essential to us here is Beatrice's ability to read the symbolic value of the dances she lists. She clearly shows that she sees through the social game of appearances. Behind the sensual pleasures the woman is promised, she finds bitter fruit that she still must eat. We would not say that she enters this dance blindly. She must show a sober mind and a hardy spirit. This lesson Beatrice gives is almost immediately translated into dance practice. After the monologue comes a masked court dance. We see the couples in turn. First, the second main character, the ethereal Hero, and her suitor, then others, then finally Beatrice and Benedick, with whom she banters throughout the play, only to give him her heart (to her misfortune, if we are to

142 William Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. John Dover Wilson, Cambridge 1962, 5.2.211–221.
143 Brissenden analyzes *Love's Labour's Lost* as a play about what is unfinished, interrupted, incomplete, and thus the crisis of male power (Brissenden, *Shakespeare and the Dance*, pp. 35–41).
144 William Shakespeare, *Much Ado about Nothing*, ed. F. H. Mares, Cambridge 2003, 2.52–7.

credit her general evaluation of marriage). At this stage, they seem to be foes. Their dance ends with a significant exchange of views:

BEATRICE We must follow the leaders.
BENEDICK In every good thing.
BEATRICE Nay, if they lead to any ill, I will leave them at the next turning.[145]

Behind these witticisms, negotiations are afoot. Beatrice does not care for the role of the foolish goose, just waiting to succumb to her suitor. She knows her worth and is certainly capable of dancing it. She will not be seduced as Titania was by Oberon. Her dance with Benedick is a clash between two equal opponents. True, Beatrice ultimately succumbs to convention, yet we must appreciate all her earlier struggles, her talent for words and dance culture. She is decidedly a stronger personality than Hero. Even the governor of Messina, where the action takes place, is incapable of catching Beatrice off-balance. She converses with men on her own terms – and so too, we believe, does she dance.

Different conflicts occur through dance in Shakespeare. Dance is a highly capacious stage motif. It allows the writer to reveal a great variety of temperaments, to express various personalities. It is a sign of the characters' inner strength, manifesting itself in many ways. Shakespeare's kinesis includes a whole spectrum of forces. Let us now turn to the tragedies. Though they feature dance less frequently, or often only in words, these references constitute a remarkable, often pessimistic "choreography." Let us recall the demonic entrance of the witches in *Macbeth*, whose folk ring dance creates not harmony, but the reverse – a catalyst for a calamitous fate:

The weird sisters, hand in hand,
Posters of the sea and land,
Thus do go, about, about,
Thrice to thine, and thrice to mine,
And thrice again, to make up nine.
Peace, the charm's wound up.[146]

We can scarcely doubt that the dance lurking behind these words is a kind of dark morris. The witches holding hands create a sinister picture, exhibiting a grotesque physical quality. An element of pantomime is clearly signaled. The same goes for the comedies,

[145] Ibid., 2.12–4. In the Polish translation by Stanisław Barańczak quoted by the author, Beatrice's lines make direct reference to dance, and hence the exchange of views becomes even more significant in the dance context that in the original. Here's a literal translation of the translation: "BEATRICE: We must dance as the tune dictates; BENEDICK: "so long as they play well. BEATRICE: If it becomes clear that the games will end badly, I will stop dancing before the melody ends. (translator's note).
[146] William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. A. R. Braunmuller, Cambridge 1999, 3.30–5.

at any rate. This pantomime sensibility is worth bearing in mind. Here it evokes a sense of horror, yet it remains (a most Shakespearean ambiguity!) irrefutably comical. Dance need not symbolize harmony. It can also stand in for the horror of the world.

No less menacing than the witches' dance is the spectacle from Act I, Scene 2, of *The Life of Timon of Athens*. Women dressed as Amazons are led by Cupid during a feast at Timon's. They put on a dance show (probably of a courtly variety, surely also unsettling, perhaps horrifying, as it is danced by warriors),[147] only to form couples with the host and his guests. A mood of both erotic excitement and gallantry prevails. The dance is undoubtedly distinguished, somewhat similar to what we will encounter at the ball at the Capulets. Only one Apemantus takes no part in the revelry, cursing it:

> Hoy-day, what a sweep of vanity comes this way!
> They dance? they are madwomen.
> Like madness is the glory of this life
> [...]
> I should fear those that dance before me now
> Would one day stamp upon me. 'T has been done;
> Men shut their doors against a setting sun.[148]

His words are utterly fulfilled. We may read the dance scene in *Timon* as expressing an aversion to the glamor of the court, to the vain and extravagant forms, the pretenses and delusions that rule worldly life. Courtly dance is a game in which people succumb to kinetic forms to gain something for themselves – perhaps material benefits, like the women at Timon's court, or, like the king in *Henry VIII*, sexual gratification. This is quite a different dance from what we observed in *As You Like It*. While the latter is innocent, and charms Shakespeare, the former repulses yet fascinates him, for, as we see in the histories, as well as in *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *King Lear*, he is drawn to power with a shade of evil.

Power is one of the key themes in Shakespeare. Not only on an anecdotal level, in the sense of creating a tale about rulers, but more broadly – his work is, in part, an attempt to define the strength of man, if indeed it ought to be ascribed to him. As such, we could say that Shakespeare's theater is a meditation on the agency we have been pursuing. Shakespeare was essentially a philosopher attempting to develop a kinetic politics that reconciled individual human life with humility toward the world, which transcends human reckoning. To this end, he sought to

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147 Brissenden notes that, in Shakespeare, Amazons are always perilous women, fundamentally unfeminine. He also observes that the only other women in *Timon* are the two prostitutes. This assembles into a picture of depraved and destructive femininity, resulting from the degeneration of Timon's entire world (Brissenden, *Shakespeare and the Dance*, pp. 72–75).

148 William Shakespeare, *The Life of Timon of Athens*, ed. John Dover Wilson, Cambridge 1957, 2.132–45.

salvage the joy of ludic dance, while giving it a humanist subtlety. While criticizing the tyrants, he believed in the power of critically thinking and dynamic individuals dancing a rakish jig on the world's stage.

Though Shakespeare was of the Renaissance, he is modern in many places, which partly explains his undying popularity. Let us examine how dance operates in Shakespeare's "modernity," having a look at the greatest choreographer he created – Prospero from *The Tempest*. This will be, so to speak, the final chord in our variations on Shakespeare, as it is the last drama he wrote alone and, in terms of kinetic sensibility, it is the most complex of his plays.

We have called Prospero a choreographer because he is a maestro who, through his good servant Ariel, arranges several dances in the play. But he is also a choreographer in a more fundamental sense – as a demiurge setting reality in motion, initiating incidents and supervising their progress. Prospero is the active principle, but he is a far cry from triumphalism. His complicated social status is particularly interesting here. He is a former Prince of Milan, who lost his throne to his brother thanks to his interest in books: he named his brother his stand-in in order to devote himself to study, but his brother and the King of Naples took the opportunity to send Prospero and his young daughter, Miranda, into exile. When the play begins, we encounter this exiled sovereign, uprooted from the institutional sphere of power, but who never aspired to this power himself. He is more of an intellectual or a bookkeeper than an aristocrat or a magnate. And yet Prospero has a fatal flaw: his fiery pride. He has never found solace in his books. His wounds have not healed; in his bookish circumstances he longs for revenge. This makes him socially ambivalent, a kind of intriguing mix. He lives like a simple man, yet simple he is not. He is an aristocrat, but aristocracy sickens him. As he knows all too well, he only fits in on this mysterious island, where fate has abandoned him, yet in the depths of his heart he longs to leave it, to become a prince once more, though this surely would not bring him happiness.

These are contradictions of a consciousness that did not fit its epoch, painfully acknowledging its incompatibility, while also taking some pride in it. It is not difficult to find echoes of Montaigne, whom Shakespeare read avidly.[149] Prospero himself seems saturated with the spirit of the *Essays*. Let us recall an important fragment: "We have no communication with being, because every human nature is always midway between birth and death, offering only a dim semblance and shadow of itself, and an uncertain and feeble opinion."[150] Compare this with Prospero's most famous quote: "We are such stuff / As dreams are made on, and our little

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[149] On their spiritual kinship cf. Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespeare's Montaigne*, in: Stephen Greenblatt, Peter G. Platt (eds.), *Shakespeare's Montaigne: The Florio Translation of "The Essays": A Selection*, New York 2014. Available online at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/10877821/Stephen-Greenblatt-on-Shakespeares-debt-to-Montaigne.html (accessed: 01.03.2015).

[150] Michel de Montaigne, *Essays*, trans. Donald M. Frame, New York 2003, Vol. II, p. 553.

life / Is rounded with a sleep."[151] The similarity is striking. Both Shakespeare and Montaigne realized the fragility of the human condition, which led them to doubt the value of acting. They stood to one side, therefore, taking no direct part in politics. Yet this did not make them static. On the contrary, they both had a constant rush of ideas, pictures, feelings. This movement is a sign of their inner strength, and a testimony to the weakness of the human mind, which cannot reach a state of absolute certainty. What is the subject of the *Essays,* on the one hand, and *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, or *The Tempest* on the other? The disquiet of the individual existence, a disquiet which draws comfort from the thought of the tranquility of the universe as a whole, yet is unable to stop itself. Here is the depth of the bourgeois condition, the choreography of the bourgeois drama – a sense of the power to shift the earth under one's feet, only to impotently become a lone "power."

When *The Tempest* opens, Prospero is living with his daughter on an island in the Mediterranean Sea. His magic abilities have made him ruler over the sole inhabitant he has found since his arrival – the monster Caliban, son of the deceased magician Sycorax. Caliban despises Prospero, and yet he must serve him. Prospero is revolted by Caliban, and yet he is possessed by the thought of him. They are bound by a strange knot. The same goes with the spirit Ariel, whom Sycorax trapped in a tree trunk and Prospero has freed. Ariel lives for the promise of total liberation, but only if he serves his new master well. Prospero rules over him sternly, yet is helpless without him, as Ariel brings his plans to life. We have here a quandary, two forces driving each other on. Ariel is agility and light, Caliban is heaviness, gloom, and awkwardness. They complement each other, as two sides of Prospero's soul – on the one hand he is a gentle thinker revolted by power, on the other a ruthless manipulator who contrives to use his abilities to bring misfortune upon the ship sailing nearby. This is his "choreography" – strung between condemnation and forgiveness.

With Ariel's help, Prospero sends a storm to meet the ship carrying those who once exiled him from Milan – his brother Antonio and the King of Naples, Alonso, with his brother Sebastian, as well as those accompanying them, such as Ferdinand, the Prince of Naples, in love with Miranda, requited as the story develops. The whole play details how they stumble across the island, plagued by the spells of Prospero, who sets up everything so that their abuses are finally confessed and his position is restored. Dance appears literally in two of the play's scenes. The first time is in Act III, Scene 3, when Prospero tantalizes the starving Alonso and his companions with a feast. The stage directions read: "*Solemn and strange music. Prospero above, invisible. Enter several strange Shapes, bringing in a banquet. They dance about it with gentle acts of salutation, and inviting the King, &c., to eat, they depart.*"[152] The invisible Prospero is an intangible power pulling the strings of

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[151] William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. Burton Raffel, New Haven–London 2006, 1.156–8.
[152] Ibid., 3.3.17.

reality. He places a dream before his victims only to dissipate it. This makes him a force that sets dreams in motion, then dispels them. He seems to be practically life itself, the central force of the cosmos of which Ariel speaks in declaring: "I and my fellows / Are ministers of Fate."[153]

Prospero takes on an inhuman task. He believes his books will allow him to access the mystery of creation, the source of the primordial power that drives the universe. This power is both evocative and merciless. On his command the alluring feast vanishes before the castaways can dig in, "*Then soft music, and the Shapes enter again. They dance, with mocks and mows, and carry out the table.*"[154] The dance of power may seem beautiful and friendly, yet it is cruel and terrifying. Prospero understands this and wants his enemies to feel the uncertainty and instability of reality. Thus, we can see the scene with the mirage feast as a dark epiphany, spoken by Ariel, though it is Prospero's *gnosis*:

> Lingering perdition (worse than any death
> Can be at once) shall step by step attend
> You, and your ways, whose wraths to guard you from,
> Which here, in this most desolate isle, else falls. [...][155]

This is the experience of the sorcerer himself. He has experienced it, internalized it, he draws his strength from it. In man's heart is a spark of darkness. We do not entirely control this force, it walks in our footsteps, slowly sapping our energy. This drain is the real subject of *The Tempest*, the weakening of Prospero's knowledge. There can be no happy ending, though Shakespeare creates an illusion of reconciliation. This falls remarkably flat. Prospero himself speaks of fiction in the closing monologue. The happy end has not transpired:

> Now my charms are all o'erthrown,
> And what strength I have's mine own.
> Which is most faint. [...][156]

And a few lines later:

> Now I want
> Spirits to enforce, art to enchant,
> And my ending is despair [...].[157]

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153 Ibid., 3.60–1.
154 Ibid., 3.3.82.
155 Ibid., 3.77–80.
156 Ibid., Epilogue.1–3.
157 Ibid., Epilogue.13–5.

Final unification and joy are impossible. A touch of doubt always creeps in, as Montaigne so brilliantly showed. A dark cloud of uncertainty always looms above, an anxiety that obscures happiness. It seems this is the topic of the fragment of *The Tempest* where dance appears quite literally – Prospero's famous masque.[158] In the first scene of Act IV we see the magician deciding to put on a theater and dance spectacle to honor the love of Ferdinand and Miranda. Ariel is the master of ceremonies, and the lesser spirits are the actors. Ancient gods of motherhood and fertility appear on stage: Juno and Ceres. They are heralded by Iris – a mediator between the worlds of people and the gods. They bless the young people with a song, and then call upon the naiads, or water nymphs, to do a joyful dance with the country lads. Iris initiates it as follows:

> You sun-burned sickle-men, of August weary,
> Come hither from the furrow, and be merry,
> Make holiday. Your rye-straw hats put on,
> And these fresh nymphs encounter every one
> In country footing.
> *Enter Reapers, who join with the Nymphs in a graceful dance.*[159]

We are transported once more to a rural Arcadia. Again we have a folk dance similar to those in *A Winter's Tale* and *As You Like It* (Ill. 93). In this picture, Prospero's yearning is for something he has never possessed, and to which, in fact, he has no access. For he is not a simple man of the people, even if, on his island, he lives a fairly simple life close to nature. His soul has a will to power that destroys the idyll. The steps of the rural dance are replaced by the stomping of the inhuman. Before the masque ends, Prospero comes to, deeply affected by his thoughts:

> I had forgot that foul conspiracy
> Of the beast Caliban, and his confederates
> Against my life. The minute of their plot
> Is almost come.[160]

Why is Prospero so terrified? He has Caliban utterly under his command, under the sway of his magic. His cohorts are two drunks from Alonso's court – a butler

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[158] On this topic, see: Brissenden, *Shakespeare and the Dance*, pp. 99–102; Clifford Davidson, "The Masque within 'The Tempest'," *Notre Dame English Journal* 1976, Vol. 10, No. 1/2, pp. 12–17; Ernest B. Gilman, "'All eyes': Prospero's Inverted Masque," *Renaissance Quarterly* 1980, Vol. 33, No. 2, pp. 214–230; Irwin Smith, "Ariel and the Masque in 'The Tempest'," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 1970, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 213–222.

[159] Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, 1.134–8.

[160] Ibid., 4.1.139–142.

93. Walter Crane, *The Dance of the Nymphs and the Reapers*, illustration for William Shakespeare's *Tempest*, 1893

and a jester. Prospero knows all the details of their intrigues, he manipulates them as he pleases, so why be afraid? The masque occurs at a special moment of Prospero's crisis, as he grows weaker and weaker. He feels that the power that the incompetent Caliban represents[161] is beginning to get the better of him. The inhuman cannot be tamed.[162] Perhaps this is why Prospero is hastening to leave the island. Miranda notes something unusual in her father's behavior: "Never till this day / Saw I him touched with anger so distempered."[163] Could it be that, having seen an idyll to which he will never have access, Prospero has a breakdown? The truth is clearly and irrevocably before his eyes. In Act III he dabbled with cosmic energy, playing the lord of Fate, but such games have their consequences. Prospero's spells, his flirtations with the will to power, preclude a carefree existence. Knowledge allows him to act, but acting destroys him. The knowledge of himself he gains from the books instills a permanent disquiet. Man is not a creature that can deal with forces that surpass him. Nature has placed clear boundaries on his powers, and with these he should not tamper. He will never be a ruler of the cosmos, as Prospero clearly confesses in his famous monologue coming at the close of his masque:

> And like the baseless fabric of this vision,
> The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve
> And like this insubstantial pageant faded
> Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
> As dreams are made on [...].[164]

This consciousness pains him deeply. It instills disquiet, the anxious spirit we also found in Montaigne. Ariel and Puck are children of disquiet, but so are Hamlet and Macbeth. It strikes man at the least expected moments, often when experiencing beauty, when things seem to be working out for the best, and the world is harmonious. It can consume a mature man, like Prospero, but also children, like the boy in Hoefnagel's picture. We do not know precisely what stirs it – probably Fate, with which *The Tempest*'s protagonist toys. We know how it comes – to "my beating mind,"[165] as Prospero says, sending off Ferdinand and

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[161] A very interesting text worth mentioning in this context, as it calls attention to the inhumanity of Caliban's character, is: Kevin Pask, "Caliban's Masque," *English Literary History* 2003, Vol. 70, No. 3, pp. 739–756.

[162] Prospero bitterly concedes defeat: "A devil, a born devil, on whose nature / Nurture can never stick. On whom my pains, / Humanely taken, all, all lost, quite lost [...]" (4.1.188–90).

[163] Ibid., 4.1.144–5.

[164] Ibid., 1.151–7.

[165] Ibid., 4.1.163.

Miranda. Did Hamlet not hear the same beating, did it not drive Macbeth mad? This noise that the inhuman generates is beyond comprehending, it can only be felt. In this feeling might be the greatest lesson Shakespeare gives his reader – a lesson in humility.

This unrest, the dynamic character of Shakespeare, is, to our mind, the crucial "choreography" he left behind. The dance sequences in his plays merely gesture at this more existential dance, marking a trace of it, for indeed the whole work is a "choreography," a turbulent dance of the consciousness. In Shakespeare's dramas we encounter a shaken and unstable subject in search of his or her essence. This is another step on a trail blazed by Montaigne. Shakespeare speaks of the individual cast into the deep water of independence. They long for the security of the simple, communal life, yet are aware they cannot participate in it, for the Shakespearean person is too reflective. They seek power, long to be a full subject, but understand that they lack the tools, they are too weak to shoulder the burden of agency. Agency in Shakespeare is indifferent and silent Time, human and inhuman all at once.

Looking at Alonso and his companions in the final act, Prospero speaks of their "brains / now useless, [that] boil within thy skull."[166] Such are people – constantly trying to rationalize what inevitably eludes them, for people can understand only what is human, and thus, their own misery. This is a diabolical vicious circle. Prospero curses: "There stand / For you are spell-stopped."[167] And yet he knows he is "[o]ne of their kind, that relish all as sharply, / Passion as they," and motionlessness is not his lot.[168] Thus the optimism of Elizabethan propaganda is paired with contemplation, or even doubt. Together they portray the kinesis of the era, which was remarkably complex and ambivalent – highly animated, yet dreaming of stability, of peace, which remained an ideal, despite the floundering of the excited consciousness.

The Elizabethan epoch is marked by a kinetic sensitivity in which we still perceive medieval colors. The pastoral yearnings observed in the court spectacles of Elizabeth and in Shakespeare are a relic of older times, as are, above all, the decisiveness, or even brutality, in everyday life. To this day, we encounter the opinion that the latter half of the sixteenth century was a golden era for England. This ignores the violence and cruelty that was encountered by all those who attempted to speak critically of the monarch – mainly the Catholics. If it is true that Shakespeare himself was a Catholic,[169] we ought not to be surprised at the pessimistic slant of his plays, encouraging a contemplative stance, an appreciation of motionlessness. This

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166 Ibid., 1.59–60.
167 Ibid., 5.1.60–1.
168 Ibid., 1.23–4.
169 So claim the proponents of the "Lancastrian Shakespeare theory."

is Prospero broken by life. At the same time, Elizabethan England exhibited a nearly modern insatiability, a special kind of existential unrest that drove individuals and societies ever-onward. In moments of triumph they imbibed themselves in it, uncritically believing in their powers. This is Prospero toying with the castaways, dazzling them with marvels. At the intersection of these opposing tendencies we find the Shakespearean subject, designing their dance against the horizon of a joyous, carefree community – a longing to join a simple ring or *carole*. At the same time, they no longer know how to be a mere link in a chain. They seek to accentuate their individuality with a stomp – this is their rakish jig. Yet their energy can be exhausted. The subject meets resistance. Merciless time brings "[t]h' oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely / The pangs of disprized love, the law's delay, / The insolence of office, and the spurns / That patient merit of th' unworthy takes."[170] Human displays – spectacles, elegant dances, masques – are nothing more than an attempt to cover up their fundamental impotence. Nonetheless, they dance, because the Elizabethan was seldom as reflective as the Prince of Denmark. England was less a society of Hamlets than one of Oberons – a bourgeois society gradually working through the trauma of Time.

Spectacles of State

Despite her growing power, Elizabeth was a ruler who knew her limits. She was no stranger to pathos, of course, but she also avoided extravagant expenditures for show. With the help of a sensible advisor, Cecil, she ran policies of calculation, not triumphalism. The aristocracy competed with the bourgeoisie, the gentry with the older nobility, the Protestants with the Catholics. Elizabeth played the role of arbiter, tipping the scales wherever it suited the interests of the Crown. Yet she knew she could not permit herself absolute rule. Parliament, especially the House of Commons, had to be consulted.

> The truth is that the House of Commons was the political instrument – indeed largely the expression – of the gentry and was bound to become more important with the growth in power of that class. Already, beneath the magnificent face Elizabeth put on affairs, the balance of social forces was altering.[171]

Here we see an irresistible process on a macro scale. English society continued moving toward a bourgeois model, in which production and trade dictated the rules.

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[170] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. David Bevington et al., New York 1988, 3.3.72–5.

[171] Rowse, *The England...*, p. 345.

The middle strata were the driving force – they were internally diverse, but with a common interest, whose voice was Parliament. Though the rule of Elizabeth seemed mighty, in an important sense, it was limited. The queen herself seemed to recognize that she was not a ruler of her people, but *for* this group of people.

Elizabeth I passed away in 1603. Her place was taken by the son of her rival, King James VI of Scotland, who became James I. This meant a change in dynasties, the Stuarts replacing the Tudors, and an attempt to change policies. The position of the monarchy was increasingly weak, and so the new king opted for defensive attacks, an approach his son continued. Ultimately, this was the undoing of the Stuarts, as ought to come as no surprise. Whenever the absolutist model arises in the political sphere, rulers find it alluring. It is hard to keep a leash on an appetite for power. A sense of suspicion, even tragic pessimism is needed for the task, and these were found in the childless and, in the end, heroically solitary life of Elizabeth. James was an utterly different sort of person. "He seemed more decisive and less elaborately formal than his predecessor. His generosity was a welcome contrast to the late queen's parsimony."[172] There was much less Shakespeare in him, more Davies. And though his reign was fairly[173] peaceful, it commenced the process of destabilizing the delicate balance of power that Elizabeth achieved. Rowse is again worth quoting here:

> [T]he phrase 'Tudor Despotism' is quite contrary to the truth: it was a monarchy subject to the law and operated through law. The Tudors never justified their prerogative by a theory of absolutism – not even Henry VIII; only James and Charles were fools enough, or un-English enough, to do that. It was fashionable abroad, but it did not go down here.[174]

James I was of the opinion that Parliament should execute his will. When it did not, he dissolved it, to rule independently, which caused growing frustration in its noble members and those whom they represented, chiefly the gentry. The king conducted a risky fiscal policy, which even Robert Cecil, his main advisor, was incapable of curtailing. The expenditures grew, eventually triggering a financial crisis. Yet the king believed he was justified in spending, as he was the king, thus free of humility, or even modesty, a quality his predecessor knew how to show.

The monarch's lack of inhibitions was echoed in the court spectacles. Under James they truly flourished, as compared to the days of Elizabeth. The queen liked to dance, and she enjoyed watching the performances from the nearby theaters that were brought to the palace, but she was not an especially generous patroness.

[172] John Miller, *The Stuarts*, London–New York 2004, p. 2.

[173] It began rather unfortunately, for directly after James took the throne he was made the object of several unsuccessful conspiracies, including a Catholic one in 1605, presently known as the Gunpowder Plot.

[174] Rowse, *The England...*, p. 382.

94. Artist unknown, engraving of a Stuart-era court masque, early 17th century

Her successor changed all this, beginning a golden era of masques at court, which lasted until the end of his son's reign. Spectacles of this sort expressed the Stuarts' dream of absolute rule. They were a way of building royal majesty, toying with it; their thoughts, though they may occasionally have strayed from the official line, were always carefully veiled, and thus were rather non-threatening, at least in the concrete political context.

Masques were panegyric spectacles that joined dramatic passages with music and dance. Most of them had a very simple plot that served as a pretext for bringing out luxuriant costumes, breathtaking visual effects (Ill. 94),[175] and, above all, dance.[176] This last element was the most important, though the poets who made

[175] Highly inventive machinery was sometimes created for the masques, generating such spectacular effects as flying in the clouds.

[176] The most complex analysis of the masques, primarily as dance spectacles, comes from Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque. Dance, Costume, and Music*, Oxford–New York 2006. This work is our main, though not exclusive, source. An excellent synthetic introduction is found in Jeffrey Mark's "The Jonsonian Masque," *Music & Letters* 1922, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 358–371, with its special attention to the spatial aspect of the masques, describing how the halls were arranged for their performance. We also recommend a splendid anthology: David Bevington, Peter Holbrook (eds.), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, Cambridge–New York 2006, and two monographs: Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture*, Cambridge–New York 2009; Jerzy Limon, *The Masque of Stuart Culture*, Newark 1990. Among classic works, see: Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry and the Revels*, Cambridge 1927; Allardyce Nicoll, *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage*, London 1937; Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque*, New York 1981. The

the scripts – including Ben Jonson, who was the most prolific writer of masques – tried to make the literary and dramatic features compete.[177] Words are inevitably less effective and require more mental effort than an effusion of costumes and moving props.[178] The visual creators of the masques, foremost among them Inigo Jones, enjoyed using this kind of mechanism, bringing an expressive quality that was new to English spectacles; this also had an impact on authors who were not working directly for the court, such as Shakespeare and John Webster.[179]

The development of the masques highlights changes in the theatrical kinesis. Dance no longer functioned in plays as it had in Shakespeare.[180] This is generally supposed to be a result of the development of bourgeois culture, but aristocratic culture was still in good shape, having an effect on what was happening in the city outside the palace. Thus, the masque was a kinetic spectacle of a new/old variety, on a scale previously unknown in England – a court dance interwoven with a plot. We might see this as a "Continentalization" of English kinesis, making it more privileged and refined. Peter Burke notes:

> By the early seventeenth century, the public theatres, where Shakespeare had been played to noblemen and apprentices alike, were no longer good enough for the upper classes, and private theatres were established where a seat cost sixpence. The Elizabethan jig

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last of these is considered a breakthrough. Various aspects of masques have been covered in articles that will be cited later in this book. In terms of editions of source texts, we might begin with: David Lindley (ed.), *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments, 1605–1640 (World's Classics)*, Oxford–New York 1995, moving on to a volume edited by Stephen Orgel: Ben Jonson, *The Complete Masques*, New Haven, CT–London 1969. Also worth consulting is: Stephen Orgel, Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: Theatre of the Stuart Court*, Berkeley 1973.

177 On the subject of masques expressing Jonson's moralizing ambitions, cf.: Nathaniel Strout, "Jonson's Jacobean Masques and the Moral Imagination," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 1987, Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 233–247; Lynn Sermin Meskill, "Exorcising the Gorgon of Terror: Jonson's 'Masque of Queenes'," *English Literary History* 2005, Vol. 72, No. 1, pp. 181–207.

178 Small wonder that this spirit is felt in Shakespeare. We have mentioned the masques in *Timon* and *The Tempest*, but this pales in comparison with his *Henry VIII*, written with John Fletcher, which John D. Cox calls "an experiment in adapting the principles of the court masque to the dramatic tradition of the public theatres" (John D. Cox, "'Henry VIII' and the Masque," *English Literary History* 1978, Vol. 45, No. 3, p. 391).

179 The dance of the madmen in Act IV, Scene 2, of *The Duchess of Malfi* is famous. Inga-Stina Ekeblad has indicated its kinship with the anti-masques, "The 'Impure Art' of John Webster," *Review of English Studies* 1958, No. 9, pp. 253–267. This article is cited, and complemented with observations by Ekeblad, in Frank W. Wadsworth's very interesting study, "'Rough Music' in *The Duchess of Malfi*: Webster's dance of Madmen and the Charivari Tradition," in: John J. MacAloon (ed.), *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals toward a Theory of Cultural Performance*, Philadelphia 1984, pp. 58–78.

180 An interesting study of the role of dance in the tragedies of the James I era is in: Brissenden, *Jacobean Tragedy and the Dance*. The author shows that, unlike in the comedies, in the early seventeenth-century tragedies dance was not a symbol of harmony, it was a tool of manipulation, staging appearances that were a smokescreen for evil intentions. So it is in works by Marston, Middleton, Webster, and Ford.

> [...] had been popular with everyone, but for the dramatists writing for the new private theatres, 'jig' became a pejorative term referring to a 'low' form of art.[181]

The country's most important stage was, of course, in the royal palace.

The Stuart-era masques derived from spectacles organized at the courts of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I,[182] yet they were comparatively far more splendid and spectacular, and more complex in content. There were several staged annually. The authors of *libretti* under James I were Samuel Daniel, Thomas Campion, Thomas Middleton, and, above all, Ben Jonson. The scenography was the work of architect Inigo Jones. The first full-fledged masque of the Jamesian epoch is thought to be Daniel's *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* of 1604, and the last, *The Fortunate Isles and Their Union* by Jonson, twenty-one years later. It would be of great interest to go into a detailed analysis of the various spectacles that premiered between them, but this would exceed our space restrictions. We will content ourselves with a general overview of the masques' content, in an attempt to give some idea of the political resonance of these seemingly occasional[183] and purely entertaining spectacles.

When it appeared at the Stuarts' court, the structure of the masque was quite clear.[184] It began with a prologue presenting the theme. Then came the first dance featuring the participants in the masque. When it concluded, unlike in the French court ballets, the dancers wandered out into the audience, among whom they chose partners for the social dances, known as revels. The revels were the longest of all the parts of the masque. Upon their completion, the last dance was held and the final lines delivered. Later on, this base structure grew more complicated, variations appeared, the number of dances increased, and the revels were sometimes omitted, in order to focus on the theatrical spectacle.[185] The most important innovation was Jonson's introduction of two segments in *The Masque of Queens* in 1609: the antimasque and the masque proper, which came afterward and led into the revels. This created a model that was perfectly suited for propaganda.

The antimasque was the part of the spectacle that was grotesque and fantastical. It presented the forces of disorder, rebellion, crudity, foreignness, and rampant

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[181] Burke, *Popular Culture...*, p. 376.

[182] On the masques presented at court under Elizabeth's early reign, cf. W. Y. Durand, "A Comedy on Marriage and Some Early Anti-Masques, March 5, 1565," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 1907, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 412–418.

[183] An analysis of this aspect is provided by an article by Leah Sinanoglou Marcus, "'Present Occasions' and the Shaping of Ben Jonson's Masques," *English Literary History* 1978, Vol. 45, No. 2, pp. 201–225; see also idem, "The Occasion of Ben Jonson's Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 1979, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 271–293.

[184] For example, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* in the 1880 edition, with an interesting introduction, is available at: https://archive.org/details/visiontwelvegod00danigoog (accessed: 01.03.2015).

[185] Cases where the revels were omitted are covered by Anne Daye, "'Youthful Revels, Masks and Courtly Sights': An Introductory Study of the Revels Within the Stuart Masque," *Historical Dance* 1996, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 12–13.

95. Inigo Jones, costume design for the witches for the court masque *Oberon* by Ben Jonson, 1611

sensuality: the satyrs and witches in *Oberon, the Faery Prince* (Ill. 95), the Irish country bumpkins in *The Irish Masque at Court* (1613), the alchemists in *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists at Court* (1615), the Bacchus-worshipers in *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618), and even the "birdmen from the moon" in *News from the New World Discovered in the Moone* (1621). This tactic was meant to be a source of comedy, which meant it was highly popular, but the antimasque was also of service to the masque proper. It was meant to show the world in chaos, stripped of leadership, which had to be introduced at whatever the cost. In each of the spectacles mentioned, the elements were reined in by an infinitely greater power (His Majesty), personified by various subjects: in *Oberon*, by the titular prince, played by the royal son Henry, in *The Irish Masque* by Irish MPs declaring fidelity to the Crown, by the god Mercury in *Mercury...*, by Hercules in *Pleasure…*, and, finally, by courtiers led by Prince Charles in *News…* The representatives of the ruler gave the signal to dance in a graceful, orderly, harmonious fashion. While in the antimasque the dance was stilted, exaggerated, and defied conventions, in the masque proper the movements were refined and flowed smoothly. The message was plain: the monarch, looking down on the spectacle from the height of his throne,[186] was the force that mobilized the process of giving order. This is why the masques are presently called "spectacles of state."[187]

186 King James I, unlike his sons, did not dance in the court spectacles.

187 "State" also once referred to the place where the King sat. For more on this subject, see: Eugene M. Waith, "Spectacles of State," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 1973, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 317–330. We

We should note that the state had imperialist ambitions. There were often masques in which the plot spoke of taming what England saw to be peripheral cultures. This was the case in *The Masque of Blackness* (1605), in which Queen Anne and the ladies of the court appeared in blackface in the roles of Nubians who came to the English court to be cleansed of their blackness.[188] This they managed to achieve in *The Masque of Beauty*, performed a year later. *The Memorable Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn* (1613) by Chapman had a similarly imperialist theme, alluding to the conquest of America. There were also plays promoting the idea of a united Britain, which were quite dear to the king: *Hymenaei* (1606) and *Lord Hay's Masque* by Campion[189] (1607) and *The Irish Masque*.[190] These built an image of the king's paternal authority, to which foreigners voluntarily gave tribute, admiring his cultural superiority. The resulting image of the world was unified under the watchful eye of the monarch, a world ruled by English values: order, cooperation, refinement, and unity.

An instructive tone is basically characteristic of all masque authors, but it is particularly nuanced in Jonson.[191] For him, too, the masques were a tool of pedagogical authority. He himself appeared in this role, but not on his own, for it was clear that the king had delegated him for educational tasks. For the courtiers, and in fact for the nation at large, they together ran a school for the adoration of the monarchy – Jonson was its priest, James its deity. And yet Jonson was far more than a panegyrist. The works he assembled were full of new and astonishing ideas. There were also plenty of purely philosophical ideas. Jonson was driven to keep the spectacles from being vain amusements. He recalled that it was infantile and dangerous to succumb to stage illusions.[192] This is why his work with Inigo Jones grew increasingly complicated. Jones was primarily interested in the visual side of the spectacles, he wanted to dazzle the audience. Jonson had broader ambitions, best seen in his *The Vision of Delight* (1617), *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, and *Time Vindicated to Himself and to His Honours* (1623), in which the relationship between the viewer and the spectacle was problematized, encouraging the former to make sense of what they saw, to think critically and not merely be a passive receiver.

The artistic strategy that emerges is based on rationalism, characteristic of the entire project of the absolutist monarchy. National interest was perceived rationally,

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might also explore the strategies by which the king's sons were glorified as exemplified by Daniel's *Thetys' Festival* on Prince Henry, cf. Anne Daye, "'The power of his commanding trident': 'Thetys' Festival' as Royal Policy," *Historical Dance* 2012, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 19–28.

[188] Hardin Aasand, "'To Blanch an Ethiop, and Revive a Corpse.' Queen Anne and The Masque of Blackness," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 1992, Vol. 32, No. 2, pp. 271–285.

[189] Cf. David Lindley, "Campion's 'Lord Hay's Masque' and Anglo-Scottish Union," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 1979, Vol. 43, No. 1, pp. 1–11.

[190] James M. Smith, "Effaced History: Facing the Colonial Contexts of Ben Jonson's 'Irish Masque at Court'," *English Literary History* 1998, Vol. 65, No. 2, pp. 297–321.

[191] Strout, *Jonson's Jacobean Masques...*

[192] Ibid., pp. 235–236.

imperialism was explained through reason. The play was meant to both depict and justify majesty. The monarch acquired full power not by imposing his will on his subjects by force, but through the right physical/intellectual discourse. The masques were one such discourse. This is why Jonson insisted that sensory pleasures should always be accompanied by reflection. To this end, he set in motion a complex and erudite apparatus, showing humanist sophistication and an imagination based on a profound knowledge of ancient culture.[193] The spectacles he created swarmed with mythological figures, but not as in a kaleidoscope; he used concrete dramaturgical gestures. Every masque had a clear idea, a concept. It was not just entertainment, it was a philosophical exploration.

We should note that Jonson's rationalism was shot through with idealism, it had a Platonic edge to it. Thomas M. Greene writes of the recurring allusions to Orphic cosmogony in Jonson's masques, primarily in *The Masque of Beauty*.[194] The masques were not just to be appealing, they expressed Jonson's deep yearning for equilibrium. Pradier, in turn, notes the impact that humor theory had on Jonson.[195] Its basis was, indeed, the notion of balance that was to be achieved at all costs. The antimasques contained satires on what was exaggerated, criminal, allowing for order to be introduced in the masque proper. The aim was to enthrone balance. It was embodied by the monarch, but Jonson was in fact striving to show something else – cosmic harmony. Thus far, we have seen a fairly consistent picture. The masques seem to be an internally coherent propaganda strategy. And yet they left room for insinuation. This was not only a form that expressed the prevailing worldview, it was also a space for negotiating meaning.

The masques featured heterogeneous motifs and characters, not always for propaganda purposes. Hillary Gatti, for instance, points out motifs drawn from the philosophy of Giordano Bruno in *Thetys' Festival* by Samuel Daniel.[196] Bruno had spent a great deal of time in England, mingling with the radically Protestant circle of aristocrats focused around Leicester, Philip Sidney, and Fulke Greville, where he probably met Daniel. They were interested in the progress of the new science, the Copernican

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193 An outstanding analysis of the influence of ancient culture and the Continental Renaissance on Jonson's masques is found in John C. Meagher, "The Dance and the Masques of Ben Jonson," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 1962, Vol. 25, No. 3/4, pp. 258–277.

194 Thomas M. Green, "Labyrinth Dances in the French and English Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly* 2001, Vol. 54, No. 4, Part 2, pp. 1,448–1,452.

195 Jean-Marie Pradier, *Ciało widowiskowe. Etnoscenologia sztuk widowiskowych*, trans. Kinga Bierwiaczonek, Warsaw 2012, pp. 238–239. The "comic worldviews" emerged most fully not in the masques, but in Jonson's comedies, such as *Every Man in Humor*. The basic idea they express is that balance is perfection. Jonson "believed in the presentation of boldly conceived types, each representative of some folly or vice, in order that, through the resultant satire, men might laugh and be cured of their errors" (Allardyce Nicoll, *World Drama from Aeschylous to Anouilh*, New York 1976, Vol. I, p. 233).

196 Hillary Gatti, "Giordano Bruno and the Stuart Court Masque," *Renaissance Quarterly* 1995, Vol. 48, No. 4, pp. 816–820.

cosmology, and, thus, the philosophy of Bruno, who wrote of an infinite universe without a Highest Being. Gatti believes this had political consequences – Bruno was opposed to unlimited royal power. If there was no transcendental God, nor should there be an absolute monarchy. The ruler had to be limited by a greater value – truth. This is why Bruno objected to the decadence of the Renaissance courts. He dreamed of moral reform, centered on the concepts of work and humility.[197] He wanted a world in which everyone, including the ruler, mainly strove for the love of God/the universe, and therefore sought to learn its laws and live according to them. For Bruno, this meant humble work, not tyranny. Daniel attempted to smuggle thoughts of this kind into his spectacle. Then he wrote no more masques. We do not know if this was because his allusions were understood. Nonetheless, it is worth noting, as it problematizes the theory of the masques as simple propaganda. In fact, the masques were basically ambivalent as a result of the division into antimasque and masque proper. The message was seemingly simple: the antimasque depicted what had to be driven away, setting the stage for the main attraction – the coming of order. And yet it was the antimasque that grabbed the viewers' attention, as it was the more dynamic and attractive part, and much of the energy was devoted to its staging. The courtiers were unable to take part in the antimasques, as to do so would have been beneath their dignity, which is why they hired professional actors, including Shakespearean ones. With them, a folk element appeared in the space of the court spectacle. The dances in the antimasques made a peculiar impression, they were forceful and dynamic. They could incorporate "kinetic humors," pushed onto the margins by the prevailing courtly sophistication. The antimasques gave a voice to the "dissident" dance paradigms from the jig and morris dance traditions.

Moreover, the taboos were gradually broken down, and the courtiers began to appear in the antimasques. *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* (1621) set a precedent. It was written by Jonson for the royal favorite George Villiers, Lord Buckingham,[198] who came from a moderately wealthy noble family, and yet rose to become one of the most important men in the state.[199] His looks and dance abilities were not irrelevant here. Buckingham danced very dynamically, with a fondness for high leaps. He was schooled on the Continent, soaking up French mannerisms, and was accused of being overeager to gesticulate, as this was associated with professional actors and did not suit a courtier.[200] Dashing conventions, he presented a dance based on strident gestures in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*. Playing with decorum, destabilizing the hierarchy, turned into a source of pleasure. Courtiers playing parts generally reserved

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[197] Eugenio Garin, *Filozofia Odrodzenia we Włoszech*, trans. Krzysztof Żaboklicki, Warsaw 1969, pp. 282–286.

[198] Barbara Ravelhofer, "Burlesque Ballet, a Ballad and a Banquet in Ben Jonson's '*he Gypsies Metamorphos'd*' (1621)," *Dance Research* 2007, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 144–155.

[199] His position, from which he sometimes gained dishonest profit, outraged many, which led to him being assassinated at the age of only thirty-six.

[200] Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque*..., p. 69.

for the lower estates made fun at their expense, on the one hand, and on the other, professed these roots. Buckingham was, after all, a typical Elizabethan, a kind of self-made man, who had the energy of the middle estates to deny aristocratic tradition. This energy was also found in Jonson's unconventional masque, clearly indebted to the French *ballets burlesques*, which we identified in Chapter Three as subversive tactics. Of course, the masque was not aimed directly at the king. The plot showed how, under his influence, Gypsies turned into average courtiers. Yet the struggles along the way demonstrated a kind of subtle game Buckingham played with the majesty, even an attempt to gain it for his own ends. The monarch had no monopoly on organizing the masques. They were staged by the wealthy and by legal corporations. They were a place where competing interests clashed, as Ravelhofer has splendidly showed.[201]

Another ambiguity we encounter in the masques is in the erotic. Signs seem to show that Buckingham and the king had an intimate relationship. James I was known for his affection for beautiful men. This fondness was a main reason why he so enjoyed watching the masques – they were laced with the erotic, as Douglas Lanier observes.[202] The masques often used fertility symbols, which were meant to "heat up" the courtiers, to build an image of a vital Crown, full of sexual energy, translating into the country's well-being. But the images were far from unequivocal, and the erotic symbolism was not evidently heterosexual. According to Lanier, homosexual touches are found in *Masque of Flowers* (1613) and, above all, in *The Irish Masque*. They do not overwhelm Jonson's work, which generally tried to promote a traditional model of sexuality, as only this could guarantee the continuity of the Crown, yet we should note that this diversity did exist. The masques' eroticism became especially ambiguous when Buckingham was made a favorite. Homosexual desire turned out to be a real challenge for the masques to address. While adamantly praising fecundity, they admitted the pertinence of homosexuality, seeing it as a real threat. The court spectacles certainly did not offer a simple update of heteronormative models. They were more of an erotic game of influence that was painful for some participants, negotiating desire between the queen, the king, and his favorites.

Here we arrive at the last sort of symbolic conflict that took place in the masques – the battle between the sexes. Not only men organized the masques. Queen Anne was a very active patroness, at least in her first years on the throne. She appeared in them herself, unlike her non-dancing husband, James, and participated in working out their concepts. It was she who suggested Jonson write antimasques. Small wonder that feminist literature stresses that the masques were, to a large degree, a field for articulating a feminine kinetic sensitivity.[203] Kathryn Schwartz speaks most powerfully on this count:

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201 Ravelhofer, *Burlesque Ballet...*

202 Douglas Lanier, "Fertile Visions: Jacobean Revels and the Erotics of Occasion," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 1999, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp. 327–356.

203 Aasand, "To Blanch an Ethiop..."; Kathryn Schwartz, "Amazon Reflections in the Jacobean Queen's Masque," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 1995, Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 293–319; Clare McManus,

> [the stage is] a space in which female sovereignty, as dramatic fiction, may effect the disruption or displacement of male power. The space between the masque and its royal observer becomes a place of alternatives in which the queen's representations do not obviously defer – or refer – to the king.[204]

The anxiety generated amid male observers by such ideas as the queen and the ladies of her court playing Africans shows that, to some extent, Schwartz is correct. Her face blackened and wearing an odd costume, "Queen Anne transmorgifies the typical allegorical representation of royalty into a grotesque mockery of orthodox ideology that threatens the conventional image of beauty and dominance."[205] The very fact that the queen was the *spiritus movens* of the spectacle contradicted the accepted notion of female passivity.[206] When we add the surprising subject matter and the temperament of the dance, it generates an impression of independence that the male segment of the court, starting with the king, sometimes found hard to accept.

We can see that the masques were disarmingly ambiguous, harboring various shades of the dominant ideology, and sometimes even making an effort to destabilize it. But we have yet to describe how the dance itself looked. We have mentioned that there was a division between the theatrical part and the revels. The latter part consisted of the popular social dances of the era.[207] The courtiers learned its secrets under the watchful eye of instructors, around half of whom, such as Mssrs. de la Garde, La Pierre, and Robinser, came from France.[208] Among the styles the dancing masters taught were the static measures[209] and the lively *courante*, *gaillarde*, and *volta*. These were danced during the revels, of course, but not exclusively. There were also *branle*, *passamezzo*, *canary*, and even morris and country dances. We can see French dances were the main source of pleasure, but there were also local touches. In terms of the dance in the antimasques and masques, they were specially composed for the given occasion by "choreographers." We know very little about these people. Only a few names survive, including Thomas Giles, Prince Henry's dance teacher, and Jerome Herne and Nicolas Confesse. We know just as little about the movement

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Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquiring in the Stuart Court (1590–1619), Manchester 2012; idem, "When Is a Woman Not a Woman? Or: Jacobean Fantasies of Female Performance (1606–1611)," *Modern Philology* 2008, Vol. 105, No. 3, pp. 437–474.

204 Schwartz, *Amazon Reflections...*, p. 293.

205 Aasand, "To Blanch an Ethiop…," p. 272.

206 Of course, we mean a situation where the king rules the state, and not, as under Elizabeth I, when a queen was the king.

207 Daye, *'Youthful Revels...'*.

208 Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque...*, s. 61.

209 The ambiguity of this term in the context of the masques at the Stuarts' court is addressed by Robert Mullally, "Measure as a Choreographic Term in the Stuart Masque," *Dance Research* 1998, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 67–73.

sequences themselves. None have survived to our day. There are only observers' descriptions of performances, a few characteristics jotted down by Jonson, and a few musical compositions that accompanied the dances. On their basis we can hazard a few speculations.[210] The antimasques included a grotesque pantomime derived from the tradition of itinerant comedians, minstrels, folk farce, and jigs, formalized by costumes and the context. There were highly varied "characters," from simpletons and demons to trees.[211] A certain notion of the choreographic arrangements might be gathered from Jonson's words on the witches' antimasque in *The Masque of Queens*:

> [the witches] fell into a *magicall Daunce*, full of praeposterous change, who at theyr meetings, do all thinges contrary to the Custome of Men, dauncing, back to back, hip to hip, theyr handes joyn'd and making theyr *circles* backward, to the left hand, with strange phantastique motion of theyr hands, and bodyes (Ill. 96).[212]

There was quite a different quality on show in the masques proper. The dance arrangements were probably close to the noble style emerging on the Continent.[213] This was seen in the geometrical harmony, the synchronization of the sophisticated movements. News of the *Ballet Comique* had reached England. Jonson had a copy of its description, to which he added numerous notes.[214] The dancing masters doubtless took this route as well, as might be demonstrated by the dance arrangement in *The Masque of Queens*, which Jonson described thus:

> than which a more *numerous* composition could not be seene: *graphically* dispos'd into letters, and honoring the Name of the most sweet, and ingenious *Prince*, *Charles*, *Duke* of *Yorke*, Wherin, beside that principall of perspicuity, the motions were so euen, & apt and their expression so just; as if Mathematicians had lost proportion they might there have found it.[215]

This suggests strategies not unlike those applied in the court ballets of the Valois. The basic compositional unit was the geometrical figure: the square, rhomboid, rectangle, triangle, circle, as well as other shapes, such as letters. In general, we ought

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210 As does John M. Ward, "Newly Devis'd Measures for Jacobean Masques," *Acta Musicologica* 1988, Vol. 60, Fasc. 2, pp. 111–142. Many of our thoughts in this section are based on Ward, and on Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque*...

211 In Francis Bacon we find a long list: "Let antimasques not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wildmen, antics, beasts, sprites, witches, Ethiops, pigmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statuas moving, and the like" (Francis Bacon, *Essays*, London 1856, pp. 353–354).

212 Quoted in: Ward, "Newly Devis'd...," p. 113.

213 Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque*..., pp. 77–78.

214 Françoise Syson Carter, "Number Symbolism and Renaissance Choreography," *Dance Research* 1992, Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 29.

215 Quoted in: Ward, "Newly Devis'd...," p. 113.

96. Johann Heinrich Fussli, *Scene of Witches*, illustration for *The Masque of Queens* by Ben Jonson, 1785

to stress the formations of disciplined groups of dancers, headed by the main protagonist of the masque – under James, his sons received these roles.

The geometrical nature of the dance arrangements in the masques proper takes us back to Jonson's idealist intellectualism, to the harmony he desired, radiating from a motionless center. Despite various cracks, soft spots, and dusky zones, the courtly masques initiated a kinetic politics on a sure foundation – the stable body of the king, who observed the spectacle. All else was to gravitate toward him. The king was the subject who created order – the cure for the growing sense of instability.

The Commanding Subject

The dream of a powerful subject, of a ruling power, was highly characteristic of the days of the first Stuart. This is the English variation on the theme of absolutism. In it we see a kind of wishful thinking, for the king, in flexing his royal muscles, essentially showed that his position was less strong than it may have seemed. If the king's authority had been unquestionable, it would not have been necessary to stress it. Analyzing the masques, we ought to note that while Jonson was surely not the conqueror type, many of those who appeared in the spectacles he arranged were. Buckingham's special talents are elevated to a symbol here – the ability to spring high in the air. This impressed the king, for in the depths of his heart he himself wished to be dynamic (but was not).

The response to the quandaries of worldview and morality that certain masques displayed, the royal reaction to the weakening of his power, was a doubly commanding and aggressive stance. Absolutist and imperialist tendencies were united with rationalism to protect the Crown's shaky position. It was for good cause that, while still the King of Scotland, James stood up for the doctrine of divine right against emerging contractual theories, writing a treatise called *The True Law of Free Monarchies; or, The Reciprocal and Mutual Duty Betwixt a Free King and His Natural Subjects* (1598). This was a dual gesture – on the one hand, absolutist, on the other, rationalist. In addition to splendor, knowledge was a means of exerting power. In a world of shattered symbolism and competing images, reason was to serve as a bulwark.

In stressing the marriage of absolutism and rationalism, we reach the foundations of the culture of the era of the Stuarts. To take a closer look, we shall turn to Sir Francis Bacon – a key figure, who owed his honors and social advancement to James. This strikes us as an appealing point from which to view the court spectacles and, above all, the dances that were part of them. On the surface, the masques and Bacon's philosophy have little in common. Yet Bacon was James's political second. He was clearly on the monarch's side in the struggles with Parliament. What joined them? It would seem, above all, this was the dream of a commanding subject, parallel to the Continental strengthening of absolutist subjecthood, though original in where the stress was laid. James wanted to embody the ruling subject in politics, Bacon in science. In both we find the same specifically dynamic kinesis.

In writing on Bacon's dynamism, we have in mind his active stance toward reality – longing less to contemplate it than to organize it. The world can, and perhaps should, be transformed as reason dictates. Bacon spoke of this with a scientific terminology that was quite remote from both politics and art. Yet in the Baconian figure of the scientist is a holistic anthropology that is not insignificant for spectacles and,

with them, how we think about the body in motion.[216] As a co-creator of early-seventeenth-century kinesis, Bacon proposed a kinetic politics that was diametrically unlike Shakespeare's. In juxtaposing them, we begin to understand the shift from Elizabethan times to the Jamesian epoch through how movement was imagined.

Bacon's approach might be termed a turn toward things.[217] He was utterly disgusted by what he saw as scholastics, a devotion to rhetorical nuance and dialectical finesse at the total expense of empirical particulars – the material object. Yet his empiricism was not extreme, it sought a golden mean. The model research method and good life are described in a well-known aphorism from Book One of *The New Organon*: "Empiricists, like ants, simply accumulate and use. Rationalists, like spiders, spin webs from themselves; the way of the bee is in between: it takes material from the flowers of the garden and the field; *but it has the ability to convert and digest them*."[218] For Bacon, the modern educated man was to become a bee of this sort – the creative individual, striving not only to find his place in the world, but also seeking to shape it.[219]

True, another famous passage seems to indicate a far more modest program: "Man is Nature's agent and interpreter; he does and understands only as much as he has observed of the order of nature in fact or by inference; he does not and cannot do more." Yet two sections later, we find a more battling rhetoric, which interests us in particular: "Human knowledge and human power come to the same thing, because ignorance of cause frustrates effect. For Nature is conquered only by obedience; and that which in thought is a cause, is like a rule in practice."[220] Here we find the ideal of the subject-conqueror, which many commentators have noted.[221]

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216 Our study is seeking to delve into the "spirit," not the letter, of Bacon's philosophy. He mainly interests us as a philosopher, not as a scientist. On Bacon's role in the development of modern science, see: Herbert Butterfield, *The Origins of Modern Science*, Free Press 1997, pp. 108–129.

217 "But those who are determined not to guess and take omens but to discover and know, and not to make up fairytales and stories about worlds, but to inspect and analyse the nature of this real world, must seek everything from things themselves. No substitute or alternative in the way of intelligence, thought, or argument can take the place of hard work and investigations and the visitation of the world, not even if all the genius of all the world worked together" (Francis Bacon, *The New Organon*, Cambridge 2000, p. 19).

218 Ibid., p. 79, emphasis – W. K.

219 The *Essays* provide a similar lesson: "The aim to which Bacon strives [in them] is not the contemplative existence, alienation, and distance from a career and power – his ideal is the *vita activa*. His morality is shot through with the imperative to know, to reshape and control the world" (Robert Zimmer, *Moraliści europejscy. Przewodnik*, trans. Piotr Graczyk, Warsaw 2008, p. 52).

220 Bacon, *The New Organon*, p. 33.

221 Kazimierz Leśniak thus summarized the messages of Bacon's program: "humanity can achieve a high level of well-being when it harnesses nature and forces it to work for its benefit. As a matter of priority, man should learn the structure and mechanism of nature, and teach it to change, transforming its creatures to be of special value to him" (Kazimierz Leśniak, *Bacon*, Warsaw 1967, p. 51). In Crombie we find a parallel comment: "The purpose of science was to gain power over nature. The object of the Great Instauration, or new method, was to show how to win back that

Bacon himself expressed this in his famous utopia, *The New Atlantis*, which presents the vision of a state organized around scientific concerns. In the perfect city, the most important role is played by a research institute, Salomon's House. It is guided by one basic aim: "The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes, and secret motions of things; and *the enlarging of the bounds of human empire*, to the effecting of all things possible."[222] This striving for usurpation is confirmed by other fragments of Bacon's writing, such as the following, which speaks of an experiment in which the scholar saw a method of "*forcing* nature to make the right response"[223]: "nature reveals herself more through the *harassment* of art than in her own proper freedom."[224]

According to Bacon, man's task was to break into the unknown territory of the world and shape it to fit his needs. Science was to proceed neither by only speculating on a higher reality, nor by simply affirming nature. Science was a project that strove to recreate, put to good use, and give purpose to the material world. The most important thing was its practical application.[225] True, we do find these words in *The New Organon*: "the actual seeing of the light is a more excellent and finer thing than its many uses,"[226] and: "we are looking only for experiments that are enlightening, not productive experiments,"[227] but this seems to be a kind of idealistic facade, as in the first aphorism of Book Two we read: "The task and purpose of human Power is to generate and superinduce on a given body a new nature or new natures."[228] Science, or, more broadly, knowledge, was there to increase this power.

dominion which had been lost at the Fall. In the past, science had been static, while the mechanical arts had progressed, because in science observation had been neglected. It was only through observation that knowledge of nature could be gained; it was only knowledge that led to power; and the knowledge that the natural scientist was to look for was knowledge of the 'form,' or causal essence, whose activity produced the effects observed. Knowledge of the form gave mastery over it and its properties, and so the positive task of Bacon's new method was to show how to obtain knowledge of the form" (A. C. Crombie, *Medieval and Early Modern Science*, Vol. II, New York 1959, p. 286).

222 Francis Bacon, *New Atlantis and the City of the Sun*, New York 2018, p. 31, emphasis – W. K.

223 Leśniak, *Bacon*, p. 65, emphasis – W. K.

224 Bacon, *The New Organon*, p. 21, emphasis – W. K. Hannah Arendt also calls attention to this facet: "In the experiment man realized his newly won freedom from the shackles of the earth-bound experience: instead of observing natural phenomena as they were given to him, he placed nature under the conditions of his own mind, that is, under conditions won from a universal, astrophysical viewpoint, a cosmic standpoint outside nature itself" (Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, London–Chicago 1998, p. 265).

225 Even if we disagree that practical purpose was the main aim for Bacon, the principle of the practical test was always vital to him: "A discovery or explanation which was barren of works could hold no positive merit not because it was useless to man, but because it lacked contact with reality and possibility of demonstration. Since Bacon's science was to deal with real things, its fruits must be real and perceptible" (A. Rupert Hall, *The Revolution in Science 1500–1750*, London–New York 1998, p. 192).

226 Bacon, *The New Organon*, p. 101.

227 Ibid., p. 93.

228 Ibid., p. 102.

Machiavelli took a similar stance when it came to the political use of a knowledge of history. From our perspective, the worldview shaped by such statements was brilliantly encapsulated by Zygmunt Bauman when, stressing its kinetic aspect, he wrote:

> What lurks behind Bacon's words is a polemic with the dominant idea of development as an effort to attain a stable and immutable state of perfection pre-ordained once and for all for each type. Bacon in fact proposed to replace the idea of perfection, which involves condemnation of all attempts to transgress the boundaries between "ideal forms" assigned to different types, with the concept of perfectibility, which stresses movement rather than an end-point, and sets no limits to development, refusing even to discuss its supposedly final frontiers.[229]

Bacon's commanding subject turned out to be quite remote from the Platonic vision of humanity, so close to Jonson, whose Orphic, idealistic worldview, still essentially Renaissance, had nothing in common with empiricism. It was a kind of dogmatism that stifled activity. It presupposed the eternal existence of the harmony of the universe, which instills humility and submission. Thus, for example, in another author who inspired him – Bruno – a Platonic politics eliminated the possibility of absolutism. As we have seen, Jonson's masques, though declaring the power of His Majesty, had an ambiguous symbolic layer. Bacon stood on the other side, performing a transition from Renaissance to absolutist subjecthood. He criticized hermetic, contemplative attempts at grasping reality conceptually, a vision of human existence as a mystery play of harmony. Scientific activity was the model for activity, but ultimately the point was to transfer this model to politics – to strengthen the subject, to make the ruler a conquering scientist. This translated into Bacon's response to spectacles, including dance, in the *Essays*, as described by Françoise Syson Carter.[230]

Let us look at a highly significant piece, essay no. XXXVII, *Of Masques and Triumphs*. Bacon presented his views on spectacles here, justifying his comments by care for the state: "since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegance, than daubed with cost."[231] It might have been stated by Jonson, as might have this: "Dancing to song is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it that the song be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken music, and the ditty fitted to the device."[232] At this stage it should be clear that Bacon only superficially admired dance.[233] He goes on to confirm this:

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[229] Zygmunt Bauman, *Socialism: The Active Utopia*, New York 2010, p. 8.

[230] Carter, *Number Symbolism...*, pp. 34–35.

[231] Bacon, *Essays*, p. 390.

[232] Ibid.

[233] It is debatable, though for several reasons probable, that Bacon was the author of *The Masque of Flowers* (1614), which he sponsored as a gift for royal favorite Robert Carr and Lady Frances Howard, daughter of Lord Chamberlain, on the occasion of their wedding. This theory is defended by

"Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace – I say acting, not dancing (for that is a mean and vulgar thing)."[234] Whence this disdain? Perhaps the answer should be found in the following words: "and the voices of the dialogue would be *strong* and *manly* (a bass and tenor, no treble), and the ditty high and tragical, not nice or dainty."[235]

For Bacon, dance's greatest sin was presumably its lack of masculinity, which came with its trivial themes. Despite the dancing masters' concerted efforts to give it intellectual depth, Bacon saw dance in the masques as less than serious: "Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity."[236] "Turning dances into figure" is nothing other than the operations used by court choreographers. Bacon was averse to them, which led him to a veiled conclusion: "but all this is nothing, except the room be kept clear and neat."[237]

What made Bacon suppose that the most important part of organizing masques was making certain the room was clean? To answer this question, we should look into the notes of one John Bulwer, which we might call the kinetic manifestation of Baconism.[238] Bulwer was a doctor. He published works that came from a fascination for the expressive capabilities of the human body, grounded in anatomical science. Muscles were Bulwer's main interest. He believed in their power, and that universal communication was possible through gestures and facial expressions. This came from acknowledging movement to be man's greatest perfection.[239]

Because man moves, he can communicate with those ignorant of his language. Movement is surer than language in communication. As such, Bulwer developed a rhetoric manual in *Chirologia; or the Naturall Language of the Hand* (1644) (Ills. 97, 98), and, in *Pathomyotomia, or a Dissection of the significant Muscles of the Affections of the Mind* (1649), produced some complex thoughts on facial expressions and head movements as means of communication. These books show the importance of gestures and facial expressions in the public sphere in seventeenth-century England. In Bulwer we observe an aim characteristic of Bacon, and for the whole

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Christine Adams, "Francis Bacon's Wedding Gift of 'A Garden of a Glorious and Strange Beauty' for the Earl and Countess of Somerset," *Garden History* 2008, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 36–58. This article claims that Bacon produced another masque staged in this period, *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* by Francis Beaumont. If indeed this was so, then dance was surely a less important aspect of these spectacles for him than the text, music, and set.

[234] Bacon, *Essays*, p. 390.

[235] Ibid., emphasis – W. K.

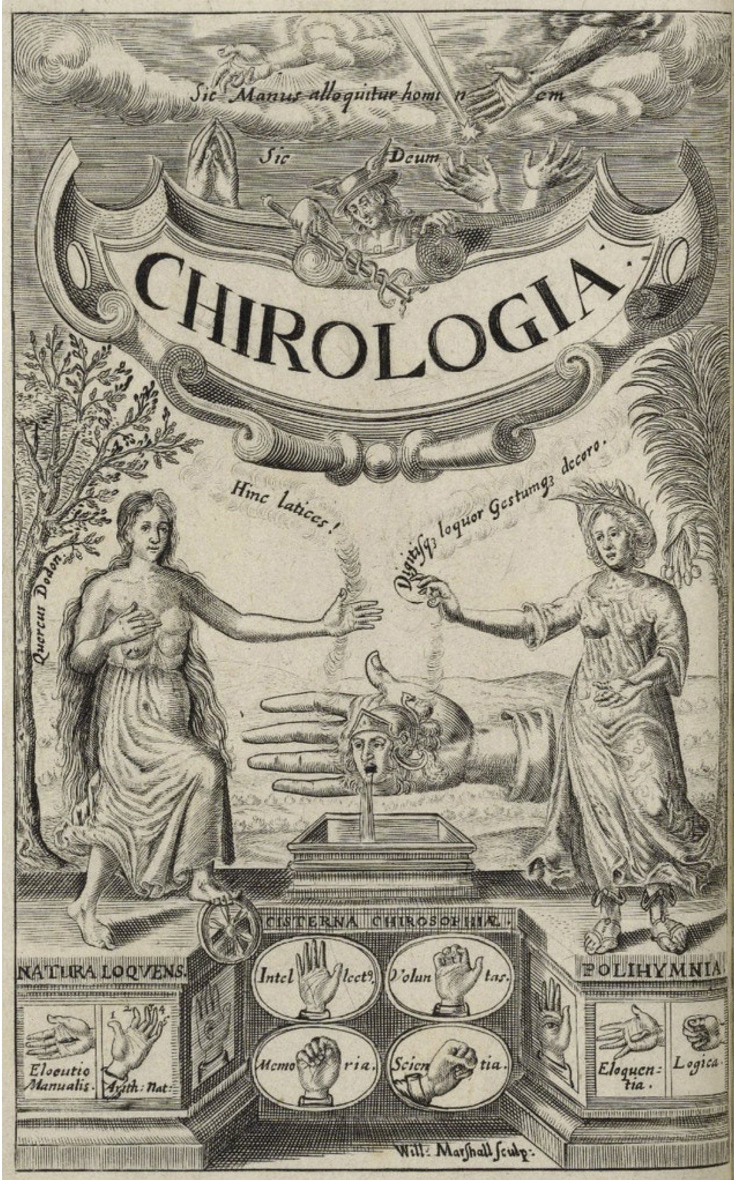
[236] Ibid.

[237] Ibid., p. 391.

[238] Bulwer's views are discussed by Stephen Greenblatt in "Toward a Universal Language of Motion: Reflections on a Seventeenth-Century Muscle Man," in: Susan Leigh Foster (ed.), *Choreographing History*, Bloomington–Indianapolis 1995, pp. 25–31. We base our reconstruction of Bulwer's theory on this article.

[239] Ibid., pp. 26–27.

97. John Bulwer, *Chirologia*, illustration, 1644



98. John Bulwer, *Chirologia*, frontispiece, 1644

project of the commanding subject: absolute clarity in the sphere of power. Bulwer responded to "the utopian element implicit in Bacon's program, the dream of recovering the primal power whose key was the primordial language spoken before the confounding of tongues."[240] This is how we might understand the "clear and neat" room Bacon mentioned. The masques were too hermetic an ideal for him. Their geometrical symbolism and stylized movement were incapable of generating a clear kinetic message. Another strategy was needed. "Bulwer is determined to recover and to analyze the pure and unfallen communicative system of humankind, and this system must by definition enhance the power of the human will."[241] This was indeed an undertaking in the Baconian spirit.

Bacon dreamed of a subject-conqueror, leading a rational investigation into the world, focused on practical gain, which translated into a growing sense of power. This was a move toward light and clarity. As a commanding subject, James I acted based on convictions of his own might gained in "rational" study (the treatise on absolutism), and longed to communicate his will in similar fashion – with absolute clarity. He sought Bulwer's pure communication, Bacon's effectiveness. The problem was that the "clear and neat" room in which this was to transpire was an arena of increasingly intense conflicts. While people like Jonson spun fantasies of symbolic absolutism in the masques, and people like Bacon created absolutism in knowledge, the real power of the king was waning. The social forces represented by Parliament – the new nobility, the influential bourgeoisie, the independent aristocracy – were on the rise, leaving the Crown to seek new allies. This bore fruit in a remarkably interesting gesture from the monarch. It might be interpreted – heeding Bacon's disdain for "turning dances into figure" – as an attempt to leave the cloistered frame of the court in his kinetic politics, using folk energy that previously empowered Queen Elizabeth. Here we speak of the famous *King's Majesties Declaration to His Subjects Concerning Lawfull Sports to be Used*, released by James I in 1618.

The *Declaration* was the result of

> a previously seething conflict between the Puritan rigorists [an important element of the anti-absolutist opposition], who lobbied for the unconditional observance of the Sunday, the denial of all sinful recreations in human life, and the royal court, seeking to win over subjects through permitting harmless recreation, and incidentally increase their capacity to wage war.[242]

We will soon examine this conflict. But first, let us take a look at the declaration itself, in that it gave the kinesis of the early seventeenth century an important

[240] Ibid., pp. 26.
[241] Ibid., pp. 29.
[242] Wojciech Lipoński, *Dzieje kultury brytyjskiej*, Warsaw 2006, p. 252.

element – official support for folk recreations as an effort to strengthen the commanding subject.

So far our portrait has centered on court culture. We have signaled, however, that this dominance was not strictly unilateral. We have shown, for instance, how the lower social strata became part of the masques, giving the court spectacles a certain ludic quality. Yet we have not mentioned how people danced outside of the palace, which makes our image of the kinesis of the era of the first Stuart incomplete. Let us quote the *Declaration*:

> Our pleasure likewise is, That after the end of the Divine Seruice, Our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from an lawfull Recreation; Such as dauncing, either men or women, Archerie for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmlesse Recreation, nor from hauing of May-Games, Whitson Ales, and Morris-dances, and the setting vp of May-poles and other sports therewith vsed, so as the same be had in due and conuenient time, without impediment or neglect of diuine Seruice.[243]

This list indicates that social dances were popularly held, and clearly in various configurations of genders (in couples, or in single-gender groups), as were spectacles in the form of morris dances, which, at the time, were a well-established form of ludic dance comedy with widely-known protagonists[244] (Ills. 99, 100). These forms accompanied holidays of various kinds – secular festivities and religious ceremonies. We do not have precise descriptions of the period's folk dances, but we can suppose that they were an extension of medieval ones. The influence of high culture was increasingly prominent, yet folk dances remained distinct, far more joyful and energetic than the court dances.

James I decided to harness the energy of the people. He did not imagine an exchange between equal partners. Even if he managed to find favor with the people, the king had his interests. He wanted to use the physical energy of folk kinesis for his own purposes, much as troupes of theater actors were used for the masques. The *Declaration* took a clearly paternalistic approach to folk culture. Unlike Elizabeth, James stressed he was the king of *his* subjects, not *their* king. They belonged to him, not he to them. Let us note the essence of the *Declaration*: "To increase their [subjects'] capacity to wage war."[245] Basically, James was not seeking to subjectify the people, but to turn them into a backup army. In the same way, the masques

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[243] *The King's Majesties Declaration to His Subjects Concerning Lawfull Sports to be Used*, Philadelphia 1886, p. 8.

[244] Forrest (*The History of Morris Dancing…*, pp. 140–258) shows in detail how the morris dance developed from a recreation at the royal court to a folk presentation featuring popular types: the hobby-horse, Maid Marian, the jester… We can gather a sense of how it looked through a picture titled *Thames at Richmond* (ca. 1620) (Ill. 100).

[245] Lipoński, *Dzieje kultury brytyjskiej*, p. 252.

99. Artist unknown, *Thames at Richmond*, detail, ca. 1620

100. Artist unknown, illustration of typical figures in a seventeenth-century morris dance, engraving from a later period

essentially sought to discipline bodies. The May Day "antimasque" led to "military service masques." The commanding subject again takes the stage, using dance instrumentally. As we recall, things took a similar turn in France. Yet there the king was increasingly powerful. In England it was quite the contrary.

Puritan Revolt, Puritan Dance?

When Charles I took the English throne after James, social tensions rose. He was even more driven toward the absolutist model than his father, becoming embroiled in serious conflicts with Parliament. James I nurtured the idea of the absolute monarchy, he fantasized of being the commanding subject, yet in moments of crisis he could show political realism and the ability to compromise. He knew how to navigate between various interests and how to back down when necessary. His son, on the other hand, was far less flexible, which eventually brought him to the gallows. We will not pursue this tragic story, we shall only have a look at the society in which it occurred, showing the role of dance in the power struggle that led to the brief establishment of a republic in England.

Under Charles I, several groups were actively toggling for power. First were the royalists, including the king himself and aristocrats supporting him, such as Buckingham and, later, the Earl of Strafford and Prince Rupert. They came to be called "Cavaliers." On the other side was the parliamentary faction, whose members were called "Roundheads." This was not an entirely united group, as Parliament itself was essentially divided into two factions: the less radical adherents in favor of limiting royal power but preserving the monarchy and the radicals in favor of a republic. Among the royalists were mainly traditional aristocrats, but this camp also included those who owed their social advancement to the king. The Roundheads gathered mainly petty nobility and bourgeoisie, and also had a great deal of support among the people. This does not mean, however, that the division was strictly a question of estates. Among the royalists were those of the lower estate, and some aristocrats spoke up against the king.

To complicate this picture even more, we should mention that these divisions overlapped with religious differences, which played a major role in English politics and, above all, in everyday life. We should recall that, in seventeenth-century society, religion had far greater importance than it does at present, in our age of the secularization and privatization of religion. For the English of the times of the Tudors and Stuarts, religion was the basic indicator of lifestyle, a key point of reference in identities. Being a Catholic or Protestant was not a private affair, it was an essential trait of an individual. People took religion extremely seriously, which translated into fierce religious conflicts and led to the aforementioned violence against those who thought

"improperly." Religious differences thus made for sweeping social divisions. Here we should set apart three main camps in the Charles I period: a) the dominant Anglican Church, attended by the royalists, but by many Roundheads as well, b) the Puritan faction, extreme Calvinists demanding Church reform in the spirit of Presbyterianism, or even Congregationalism, in other words, a leveling of the hierarchy, and finally c) Catholics, viewed with suspicion by both of the main sects of Protestantism, which made the Catholics more in favor of the moderately-tolerant Crown.

The main force of political change was the parliamentary Puritans, around whom gathered those discontent with the monarch. This social discontent also often had its roots in economics.

> But because, as later in France, a rising economic order was restive under the restrictions of an outworn order, the Puritan protest found capable allies at hand, and supported by the money and arms of the commercial interests, it passed under the control of the latter and set about the great business of making England over in accordance with the new plans and specifications. On the whole it is no mistake to regard the Puritan revolution as primarily a rebellion of the capable middle class, whose growing trade interests demanded a larger measure of freedom than a paternal king and a landed aristocracy were willing to grant.[246]

Yet the fighting was not only over economic interests. Puritanism cannot be merely reduced to a smokescreen for a mercantile mindset,[247] much as the political opposition cannot be reduced to Puritanism. Principles were also important – lifestyles were being defended. In the parliamentary camp, headed by Oliver Cromwell at a key moment, the concept of liberty was pivotal. For the royalists, the Crown was sacrosanct, as an authority that could not be denied. In the 1640s, it turned out that these values could not be reconciled into a single political structure. The country was on its way to a civil war.

These tensions were only fueled by the monarch's stance, which was far from conciliatory. Charles shared his father's conviction that the king had a divine right to rule and, being anointed by God, his word should be regarded as such. He believed that Parliament was obliged to carry out his ideas, otherwise he would simply not convoke it, as in the 1630s. Yet he was unable to cope with the rebels in Scotland. To set out against them, he required more funds than usual for the army, which meant appealing to Parliament. In the early 1640s, the latter was more geared toward rebellion than the king supposed. Small wonder that frustration grew in the nation, and the ideological differences between the royalists and the rest of

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[246] Vernon Louis Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought: The Colonial Mind 1620–1800*, Norman, OK 1987, p. 7.

[247] Tawney showed this quite some time ago in *Religion*...

society became increasingly evident. The organic harmony Elizabeth and her advisors sought was a thing of the past.

We get a concentrated look at the fundamental social divisions in the time of Charles I when we look at the dance life of the day. In the 1630s, when Charles took personal rule,

> [Charles's] court became more and more formal and remote. Access was restricted, and the nobility and gentry were urged to leave London and live on their estates. The culture of the court was refined but also removed from reality. Court masques celebrated the love of the king and queen, which was shown calming storms and bringing order out of chaos.[248]

This was the proverbial calm before the storm, a superficial social accord to the rhythm of the new dances. Interestingly enough, these were country dances. Firsthand reports speak plainly of the crisis of the "noble" measures.[249] One observer wrote: "So in our Court in Queen Elizabeth's time Gravitie and State was kept upp. In King James's time things were pretty well. But in King Charles's time there has binn nothing but Trenchmore and Cushion dance, *Omnium gatherum tolly polly, hoyte come toyte*."[250] Country dances, such as the Trenchmore and Cushion dance, introduced a stylized folk culture that was a good match for political strategies like Charles's renewal of the *Declaration on Sports*. The Crown wanted to build a kinetic utopia of merriment based on folk culture, one example of which was Walter Montagu's pastoral masque *The Shepherd's Paradise* (1633), produced with great verve. As usual, the point was not to create authentic folk kinetic culture. The paternalistic slant was even stronger here than it was under James I, to say nothing of the reign of Elizabeth. Dances at Charles I's court were stylized folk dances, and not authentic rural forms. They were "country" in name only. Charles was in no respect a people's ruler. He felt he soared above his subjects. He treated them as a kind of droll amusement. The dancing masters around him knew how to use this, composing "country dances" that were easy for those who lacked experience and courtly civility,[251] but had almost nothing in common with the authentic English folk dances of the day.

As such, the masques under Charles were a space of evident symbolic manipulation, and for this the right people were needed. In the early 1630s, Jonson wrote two masques for Charles,[252] but then he was replaced by Cavaliers William Davenant

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[248] Miller, *The Stuarts*..., p. 87.

[249] Mullally, *More about the Measures*..., p. 419.

[250] Quoted in: ibid.

[251] The popularity of country dances was maliciously attributed to the careers of such people as Buckingham, whose relatives, who had seemingly overtaken the court, were unable to dance more complicated measures, to say nothing of the *gaillarde*.

[252] These were *Love's Triumph Through Callipolis* and *Chloridia*, both of 1631. In later years, Jonson no longer worked for the Crown, though he did write two more masques: *The King's Entertainment at Welbeck* (1633) and *Love's Welcome at Bolsover* (1634), both commissioned by Cavendish.

and Thomas Carew and even an aristocrat and sometime poet, William Cavendish. The spectacles they prepared were even more extravagant than those under James, bordering on the bombastic. They had Latin titles: *Coelum Britannicum* (1634) by Carew, *Luminalia* (1638) by Cavendish, and *Britannia Triumphans* (1638) and *Salmacida Spolia* (1640) by Davenant. Though some scholars stress the critical aspect in Carew's work,[253] even here the contemporary reader is struck by the extremely courtly nature of these entertainments. Jonson had already used an ancient backdrop, it was quite common in the Renaissance, but Carew and Davenant gave it more pomp. True, in Carew the Momus character injects a welcome bit of insolent humor, but this is ironed out by the final scene of the royal couple's deification.

101. Inigo Jones, costume designs for *Salmacida Spolia* by William Davenant, the last court masque staged before the overthrow of the monarchy, 1640

[253] Gatti interprets *Coelum Britannicum* as an adaptation of Bruno's ideas, suggesting that the masque was "written in line with the lively but indirect forms of criticism of absolute monarchy" (Gatti, *Giordano Bruno...*, p. 827). Yet she also admits that the opposite interpretation is possible, which Orgel and Strong assert in *Inigo Jones…* In this case, we side with Orgel and Strong.

The source of merriment, the vital element, it ultimately smoothed out and defanged, conforming to the basic premise of the masques and their origins. This is even more visible in *Salmacida Spolia*[254] – the antimasques feature a whole gallery of stock incendiary characters (Ill. 101), probably various sorts of country dances, to pave the way for the choir song begging the king for peace in the kingdom. The subjects are depicted like stray children in desperate need of parents (the royal couple), who appear in the play's finale to dance in two majestic arrangements. We know nothing about these choreographies, yet we will indulge ourselves in some speculation which will lead us, by a winding route, to the language of Charles's absolutism in dance.

An important detail in our story is the fact that Charles I's wife, Henrietta Maria, was a Frenchwoman, the last daughter of Henri IV. She was raised in French dance culture, which she later promoted in England.[255] Henrietta Maria initiated and inspired the court spectacles and willingly took part in them. It was by her influence that the revels were moved to the end of the performance, turning into a ball.[256] In that period, under the rule of Henri IV and the first part of Louis XIII's reign, court ballets in France were, we recall, less rigid than in Britain – the aristocracy could take part in comic dances, which were reserved for professional actors in England. There was more liberty in the French spectacles, and their structures were looser. In the period we are now examining, the French models began to exert a powerful influence on the spectacles in England, and not just through the queen. We have mentioned that Buckingham was a great dancer, in part, because he was taught on the Continent.[257] Others walked in his footsteps, seeking to shine at court.[258] French influences at the English royal court were increasingly evident. We might call attention to *Running Masque* (1620), which Ravelhofer considered the English equivalent of the *ballets burlesques*,[259] or *Tempe Restored* (1632) by Aurelian Townshend, a masque that adapted *Ballet Comique de la Reine*. We might add that, as early as the 1620s, we can speak of a French camp in the English

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[254] The text of the masque, as Volume Two of *The Dramatic Works of Sir William Davenant* published in 1872, is available online at: https://archive.org/stream/dramaticworks02dave#page/300/mode/2up (accessed: 01.03.2015).

[255] For a highly interesting description of Henrietta Maria's contribution to the masques, see: Anne Daye, "At the Queen's Command: Henrietta Maria and the Development of the English Masque," in: Lynn Matluck Brooks (ed.), *Women's Work: Making Dance in Europe before 1800*, Madison, WI–London 2007, pp. 71–95.

[256] Ibid., p. 81. See also: Daye, *'Youthful Revels…'*.

[257] Two important dance treatises of the period are dedicated to him, showing he knew how to show his gratitude for the lessons. These are *Apologie de la Danse* (Apology for Dance, 1623) by François de Lauze and *Louange de la danse* (In Praise of Dance, ca. 1620), written by Barthélemy de Montagut (Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque…*, p. 53).

[258] Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque…*, p. 61.

[259] Ravelhofer, *Burlesque Ballet…*

court.[260] Among the most influential dance teachers of the day there was Jacques Cordier, known as Bocan, who was active throughout Europe, staying in England during the first Stuart's reign, and Barthélemy (Bartholomew) de Montagut, who worked with Buckingham and with Charles I himself. Under Charles, the choreography in spectacles was also the work of Frenchmen: Bocan, as well as Herne and La Pierre.[261] Anne Daye writes that *Love's Triumph Through Callipolis*, one of Jonson's final masques and one in which the visual side decidedly prevailed over the poetry, was danced "in the French style and featur[ed] an opening *ballet à entrées*."[262] Henrietta Maria was also fond of geometrical ensemble dances, which were, it seems, inspired by French ideas.[263] Over time these influences grew stronger, becoming a tool for subverting absolutist tendencies, as well as their expression. With the fashion for all things French on the rise, demands set before dancers also grew. The documents of the time tell us that a great deal of time was devoted to preparing spectacles, in which dance played an important role – from a few weeks to several months, as was the case with *Shepherd's Paradise*. As Ravelhofer points out,[264] this means the country dances, which were meant to be simple, were not the main part. This is why we believe that the majestic dances concluding *Salmacida Spolia* were probably composed in the increasingly popular French style, something like a proto-noble.[265] They danced in high-heels to raise their height. Montagut recommended "*pliés, relevés* on tiptoe, and turnouts of the feet."[266] This technique decidedly distinguished a person of the courtly elite from all the other classes. It also served brilliantly to deify the ruler and his wife, which was Charles I's main aim. The stylized country dances worked best in the antimasques and during the balls; the masque proper was meant to be noble, in its kinetic aspect as well. In this light, the *relevé* was a symbol of the commanding subject.

The above process shows how a kinesis evolved at Charles's court that seemed unacceptable to the anti-royal camp, as it was deemed excessive, manneristic,[267] and indecent. It could even earn suspicions of Papism, a particularly dire stamp in a country whose identity had, for over a century, been built on its opposition to Rome. The Puritan logic ran as follows: France is a Catholic country, the French Henrietta Maria is a Catholic, and so her entertainments are Catholic as well.

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[260] Daye, "At the Queen's Command...," p. 75.
[261] Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque...*, p. 217.
[262] Daye, "At the Queen's Command...," p. 80.
[263] Ibid., p. 88.
[264] Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque...*, p. 44.
[265] Ravelhofer appears to agree, ibid., pp. 225–226.
[266] Ibid., p. 225.
[267] We can find out how the middle class perceived courtly mannerisms by consulting Thomas Middleton's comedies, which provide a satirical image of the courtly dances. The author was tied to the community of London bourgeoisie and, to some degree, had Puritan convictions. Howard discusses him in *The Politics...*, pp. 133–158.

This reasoning was not without its logic, as after the Council of Trent the Catholic Church had taken a strategy that was moderately in favor of dance. We have mentioned that the Jesuits used dance for educational purposes. Small wonder, then, that the most radical Protestants cried out loudest against it. Under Charles I, this opposition already had a long-standing tradition.

When Puritanism began dynamically developing in England under Elizabeth I, with Protestants returning from the Continent inspired by rigorous Calvinist ways, numerous pamphlets appeared that targeted all sorts of recreations – from festivals, games of skill and chance, and beer holidays to dance, theater, and even some types of music. These included John Northbrooke's *A treatise wherein dicing, dancing, vaine playes or enterludes, with other idle Pastimes, &c., commonly used on the Sabboth Day, are reproved by the Authoritie of the Word of God and auntient writers* (1577),[268] Stephen Gosson's *The Shoole of Abuse containing a Pleasant Invective against Poets, Pipers, Players, Jesters, &c.* (1579),[269] Christopher Fetherston's *A dialogue against light, lewd, and lascivious dancing: wherin are refuted all those reasons, which the common people use to bring in defence thereof* (1582),[270] and, perhaps the most well-known, *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583) by Philip Stubbes. To give an idea of these works, we will cite a fragment of the chapter "The horrible Vice of pestiferous dauncing used in Ailgna"[271] from the last title:

> Dauncing, as it is vsed (or rather abused) in these daies, is an introduction to whordom, a preparatiue to wantonnes, a prouocatiue to vncleanes, & an introite to al kind of lewdenes, rather than a pleasant exercyse to the mind, or a holsome practise for the body [...] For what clipping, what culling, what kissing and bussing, what smouching and slabbering one of another, what filthie groping and vncleane handling is not practised euery wher in these dauncngs?[272]

A bit later, we read: "Some haue broke their legs with ſkipping, leaping, turning, and vawting, and ſome haue come by one hurt, ſome by another, but neuer any came from thence without ſome part of his minde broken and lame: ſuch a wholſome exerciſe it is!"[273] It is true that Stubbes allows dance if it is for the adoration

[268] This text is analyzed by Howard, *Rival Discourses...*, pp. 37–40. For a reprint of the treatise published in 1843, see: https://archive.org/details/treatiseagainstd00nortiala (accessed: 01.03.2015).

[269] The original title is even longer, a sign of the author's remarkable ardor. Lipoński writes: "His own plays were not a success, and it was probably for this reason that he turned ferociously against the community from which he was scorned" (Lipoński, *Historia kultury brytyjskiej*, p. 260), online transcription: http://pages.uoregon.edu/rbear/gosson1.html (accessed: 01.03.2015).

[270] Online transcription: http://www.winerock.com/sources/fetherston_dialogue.html (accessed: 01.03.2015).

[271] Stubbes slightly veils his description of English society, writing of the very famous island of "Ailgna."

[272] Stubbes' treatise is available online: https://archive.org/details/cu31924013145499 (accessed: 01.03.2015). The quoted fragment is on pp. 154–155.

[273] Ibid., p. 156.

of God or in the quiet of one's home, for health, and even for pleasure. Yet this he does with no special enthusiasm.[274]

The first Puritans' extreme disdain for dance had several causes. First, as we have said, they saw it as tied to the papism of Europe's largest courts, in Spain and France. Second, they saw it as a pagan relic, which confirmed their view of Catholicism as hedonistic idolatry. Third, as we see clearly in the list of dance's indecencies Stubbes compiled, it was seen as an opportunity for free physical contact, which every sort of Christianity forbade. Fourth, dance was seen as a main feature of recreations that were slipping out from the ruler's control, capable of upsetting the social order. And fifth, and perhaps most critically, dance was seen as unproductive, a waste of time and energy, which the pious Christian would better spend in prayer or, above all, at work. As Rowse notes: "Contrary to what is widely supposed, the Puritans were not preoccupied with the next world [...]. Their concern was with this world, with the interminable struggle to reach the standard of conduct they set themselves."[275] Going by Max Weber's famous thesis, we might add that in these standards the virtues of industriousness, humility, severity, and productivity were of considerable significance. Dance, at least insofar as the Puritans perceived it, stood in clear opposition to all this. It is extremely difficult to assess the Puritans' role in the process of shaping modernity. Some see them as "the standard-bearers of individual freedom, the representatives of the sober, diligent, 'middling sort,' and the natural proponents of parliamentary democracy."[276] In this regard we could see Puritanism as a force that prevented absolutism from strengthening in England, but which was, in a sense, just as commanding as the monarch. The parliamentary model shaped with the Puritans' participation was proof that the monarchy could be limited without causing a total crisis of statehood, and this pointed the way for the rest of Europe. Then we might add an issue that Vernon Parrington saw fit to mention: "In its deeper purpose Puritanism was a frank challenge of the traditional social solidarity of English institutional life by an emergent individualism."[277] A sense of individual responsibility was of the utmost importance in Puritan culture (though they also promoted conformism). This was less about individuality in the spirit of Montaigne than a departure from the hierarchic model in social relations, from the medieval spirit of paternalism characteristic of the monarchy and the aristocracy, toward private initiative. The economic dimension of this process has been reconstructed by

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[274] For more on Elizabethan anti-dance texts, see. Ann Wagner, *Adversaries of Dance: From the Puritans to the Present*, Urbana–Chicago 1997, pp. 32–35.

[275] Rowse, *The England...*, p. 536.

[276] John Spurr, *English Puritanism 1603–1689*, Basingstoke–London 1998, p. 2. Spurr himself takes a cautious approach to this thesis, stressing that Puritanism was chiefly a religion, not a political program.

[277] Parrington, *Main Currents...*, p. 5.

Weber,[278] though he did not limit this process to the sphere of religion, obviously. The Puritans flew the flag of individual freedom in their independent quest for the path to God, with the support of a community of equals. The model Puritan was an individual working for himself, and thus building collective prosperity. Of course, the individualism of modern culture in England is not solely indebted to the Puritans. We have mentioned, for instance, Elizabethan humanism from gentry circles. Nonetheless, we cannot overlook the Puritan contribution, as its moral rigor gave substantial dynamism to human actions. On the one hand, the Puritans deeply desired to believe they were destined for salvation; on the other, they were afraid this conviction could be mistaken. Thus, they put all their effort into shaping their existence, while attempting to avoid vanity.[279] The result was constant internal anxiety, vented through ethical rigor. This in turn made their existence highly dynamic.[280] Let us recall how Weber reconstructed the views of the leading Puritan preacher, Richard Baxter:

> According to the will of God, which has been clearly revealed, only activity, not idleness and enjoyment, serves to increase His glory. Hence, of all the sins, the wasting of time constitutes the first and, in principle, the most serious. [...] The loss of time through sociability, 'idle talk,' sumptuousness, and even through more sleep than necessary for good health (six to eight hours at most) is absolutely morally reprehensible. [...] Thus, inactive contemplation is without value and in the end explicitly condemned, at least if it occurs at the expense of work in a calling.[281]

Puritanism was thus a vital element in the modern man's devaluation of the *vita contemplativa*.

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278 "The 'organic' societal organization, in the form of the fiscal monopoly it assumed in the Anglicanism under the Stuarts [1603–1714] and especially in [Archbishop William] Laud's [1573–1645] conceptions, involved specific features. First, a coalition of state and church with the 'business monopolists' arose. Second, this alliance became anchored in Christian social ethics. Puritanism stood against this coalition. They passionately opposed this type of economy, one in which the state offered privileges to merchants, cottage industries, and colonial capitalism. Instead, Puritans upheld a kind of capitalism in which a person's competence and initiative-taking capacity provided the individualistic motivation for rational-legal acquisition. In England, where the industrial monopolies privileged by the state as a whole soon disappeared, Puritanism decisively participated in the creation of newly emerging industries. It did so in spite of and against the state's authoritarian powers" (Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the 'Spirit' of Capitalism*, trans. Stephen Kalberg, Chicago–London 2001, p. 122).

279 Ibid.

280 We quote Tawney's rousing words: "For it is will – will organized and disciplined and inspired, will quiescent in rapt adoration or straining in violent energy, but always will – which is the essence of Puritanism, and for the intensification and organization of will every instrument in that tremendous arsenal of religious fervour is mobilized. The Puritan is like a steel spring compressed by an inner force, which shatters every obstacle by its rebound" (Tawney, *Religion*..., p. 201).

281 Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*..., pp. 113, 114.

Crucially for us, activist Puritanism was an important step in shaping the modern bourgeoisie, standing up against the ostentations of the aristocracy and rural insouciance.[282] As Rowse comments, "the [middle] class was behind the movement of the time, and was now emerging as having the formative influence,"[283] with such leaders as John Pym and Oliver Cromwell. We have mentioned that Puritanism cannot be reduced to a single class, as they included both aristocrats and simple folk. We can say, however, that Puritans expressed a 'middle-of-the-road' spirit, that they were bourgeois less in a sociological than a cultural sense:

> classes [not one class] in society which combined economic independence, education, and a certain decent pride in their status, revealed at once in a determination to live their own lives, without truckling to earthly superiors, and in a somewhat arrogant contempt for those who, either through weakness of character or through economic hopelessness, were less resolute, less vigorous and masterful, than themselves.[284]

Such middle-of-the-road thinkers used Puritan slogans to articulate their interests, seeking to create a more equal, modest, and industrious society,[285] without an elite above the community, living off their labor. Courtly dance, with its French mannerisms, flaunting its desire for distinction, its moral promiscuity for the select few, was for these bourgeoisie an evident symbol of the social evils they rejected.

In 1632, William Prynne's over-one-thousand-page (!) *Histriomastix, or the Players Scourge* was released, the summation of several decades of crusading against theater, holidays, and entertainments of all sorts.[286] Prynne recounted all the traditional arguments against spectacles, adding a virulent attack against women on stage. The courtly community read this as an open attack on Henrietta Maria. Charles responded with rare aggression – he ordered Prynne to be seized. He was sentenced to life imprisonment, given a massive fine, stripped of his professional and academic titles, and his ears were cut off (!). The whole affair demonstrated

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[282] We see this in the aversion to unproductive recreations: "This enmity remained, regardless of whether the enjoyment of life presented itself in the form of monarchical-feudal society's sports or in the common man's visits to the dance floor or the tavern" (ibid., p. 113).

[283] Rowse, *The England...*, p. 407.

[284] Tawney, *Religion...*, p. 202.

[285] Weber wrote: "[The Puritans'] struggle with the king was pursued for decades under the war cry 'down with the monopolies' which were granted in part to foreigners and in part to courtiers, while the colonies were placed in the hands of royal favorites. The small entrepreneur class which in the meantime had grown up, especially within the guilds though in part outside of them, enlisted against the royal monopoly policy, and the Long Parliament deprived monopolists of the suffrage. The extraordinary obstinacy with which the economic spirit of the English people has striven against trusts and monopolies is expressed in these Puritan struggles" (Max Weber, *General Economic History*, New York 2007, pp. 349–350).

[286] The full title fills several dozen lines. It is available online at: https://archive.org/details/maspla00pryn (accessed: 01.03.2015).

the gulf that divided the Puritans and the monarch, and how adamantly the king imagined himself as omnipotent. He would tolerate no critique of his lifestyle, not to speak of his person. He was incapable of taking a rational step back from himself. Prynne explained that his attack was not meant to be personal, that it was a question of principles. Charles was deaf to these pleas. He was determined to make culture as he wished. The attack on *Histriomastix* was part of a wider program of quashing opposition, a challenge to any other kinetic sensibility. This might also apply to Charles's re-edition of the *Declaration of Sports*. After some years, the battle over dance and theater had become a battle over the state of the country. As we have mentioned, the Puritans attracted those who were dissatisfied with efforts to introduce absolutism, with the limitation of traditional liberties symbolized by Parliament. There were clashing visions of the state, but the conflict was also of a profoundly aesthetic nature. We might argue that the civil war was a conflict between styles of being, a clash between different models of sensuality. Charles and his circles were making a showy and extravagant model based on external forms. The Puritans, republicans, and radicals were fighting for a different model – spare, modest, based on the inner life. This is why they found the reforms in the Anglican Church under Charles, engineered by Archbishop Laud, to be unacceptable, as they again aestheticized religion. These reforms were one cause of the conflicts, with radical MPs demanding Laud's head. We mention all this because the conflict between the Puritans and the Archbishop also signaled a conflict in the kinetic space. Relationships toward dance were obviously connected to ways of existence that a faction condemned, tolerated, or supported.

This conflict grew into a civil war, which led to the beheading of Charles I in 1649. This was an event of enormous importance, paving the way for the French revolutionaries. The English showed that the king was not untouchable. The execution exposed his earthly body, it symbolically tore away the monarch's metaphysical robes. The king, it turned out, was a man – on the one hand, he could be sentenced like any criminal, on the other he stirred sympathy. Here we might speak of the close of an epoch. A centuries-long authority had come crashing down. This was a sign of impending tempestuous social transformations. Essentially, an absolute monarchy ruling with an iron fist did not fit the society – it did not acknowledge the new elite's desire for freedom in economics, thought, and shaping politics. Thus, we might say they disposed of it in an obsessive fashion. True, it was short-lived, given the Restoration was only twelve years away. Yet a Restoration king could no longer dream of the respect a ruler commanded before the revolution. Civil war meant an irreversible change in English consciousness.

This England without a king created a republic. The revolutionary change in the system of rule ushered in a new order, a new lifestyle. Its symbol may be Oliver Cromwell's New Model Army. In a sense, it materialized a kinetic ideal at the heart of the republican coup. Before we present this kinetic ideal, we should say a few words

about dance in the brief and stormy period of the republic, as it casts special light on Cromwell's New Model Army project, and essentially, on republican England as such.

To this day we hear that the Puritans did not dance. This is untrue. Of course, in 1642, the Puritans pressed for the closing of theaters, which brought an end to practically all public spectacles, yet the relatively free private space remained. This is where we can speak of dance in the republic period.[287] It was a compromise of sorts between the distinguished court dance, the folk entertainments, and the Puritans' ascetism when it came to dance.[288] Under Charles I, the noble dance model was already the object of satire. People mocked the artificiality and mannerisms of the French dance teacher, as in William Cavendish's play *The Variety* of the 1630s (published in 1649). When the republic was born, it was clear that the distinguished courtly model had to be discarded. Yet the dancing went on. Some of the new elite – John Hutchinson, George Monck, and, above all, Cromwell – were sympathetic toward it. They saw it as healthy, joyful, relaxing entertainment. Yet they knew it had to be formally regulated. The objections of the radical moralists could not be ignored. In this context, country dances provided a handy model for normalizing the sphere of dance.

The year 1651 saw the release of a handbook that was often reprinted and expanded, written by John Playford and titled *The English Dancing Master* (Ill. 102), featuring descriptions of over one hundred "country dances" with such names as *The Old Mole*, *Health to Betty*, *The Merry merry Milk Maids*, *Jack Pudding*, or *An Old man is a Bed full of bones*.[289] Paradoxically, as Keith Whitlock has shown, the compilation was put together by a printer with royalist sympathies, likely in order to prove that the Charlesian kinesis was not so degenerate as the French, as the Puritans claimed, but had a robust local sense of humor; it was lively, simple, and sincere.[290] Whitlock supports the thesis that Playford's assistant editor for the collection was Richard Brome, previously an assistant to Jonson, and that *The English Dancing Master* was less a collection of folk dances recorded in the field than folk-styled dance compositions used in the masques, as we have described. In

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[287] Bernard Capp, *England's Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and Its Enemies in the Interregnum, 1649–1660*, Oxford 2012, pp. 19–22.

[288] Ibid., p. 19.

[289] The text is available at: http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/playford_1651/ (accessed: 01.03.2015). An interesting contextual (though now rather outdated) discussion of *The English Dancing Master* is in a series of articles by Margaret Dean-Smith and E. J. Nicol: "'The Dancing Master': 1651–1728," *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 1943, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 131–145; "'The Dancing Master': 1651–1728: Part II. Country Dance and Revelry before 1651," *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 1944, Vol. 4, No. 5, pp. 167–179; "'The Dancing Master': 1651–1728: Part III. 'Our Country Dances'," *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 1945, Vol. 4, No. 6, pp. 211–231.

[290] Keith Whitlock, "John Playford's '*The English Dancing Master*' 1650/51 as Cultural Politics," *Folk Music Journal* 1999, Vol. 7, No. 5, pp. 548–578.

The Dancing-Master:
Or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin.
The Tenth Edition Corrected; with the Addition of several new Dances and Tunes never before Printed.
THE DANCING SCHOOLE.
Printed by J. Heptinstall, for H. Playford at his Shop in the Temple-Change, or at his House in Arundel-street in the Strand, 1698.

102. John Playford, *The English Dancing Master*, title page, 1651

this sense, it is material for reconstructing court entertainments, not folk culture. Of course, the court's country dances were inspired by folk dances, yet they were different. These subtleties must have escaped people using the handbook. When dance parties were organized, as they were by some Puritans,[291] the compositions of the court choreographers were a reference point for republican entertainment.

A basic aspect of Playford's collection that was so admired by the elite was the collective nature of the country dances. Unlike the French courtly dances,[292] these were for a group, sometimes in a circle or a rectangle, most often in rows of separate couples. This last formation helped to join two experiences – the intimacy of male-female relations and the power of the collective. This helped deflect accusations of dance's licentiousness, as the couples would rotate. Everyone danced with everyone else, making it possible to say that it strengthened the communal body – the Commonwealth. But this is not the only reason why the country dances were appealing. People admired their innocent, joyful simplicity, the healthy sensuality they exuded. They helped avoid a double trap – courtly hedonism and Puritanical mundanity.

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291 Cromwell allowed mixed dancing at his daughter's wedding (Capp, *England's Culture Wars...*, pp. 19–20).

292 "Margaret Dean-Smith, in her annotated edition of *The English Dancing Master* [...] argues that the title of the work itself is meant to draw attention to the notion that the dances contained therein were specifically *not* French, and it is certainly true that Playford was passionately anti-French in his general writings on dance" (Forrest, *The History of Morris Dancing...*, p. 298, emphasis – J. F.).

The country dances were a perfect match for the kinetic politics of the main stream of the English Revolution, which was far less radical than it may have seemed from the execution of the monarch, as proved by the fact that the Restoration was carried out with no major impediment in 1660. Essentially, English society was not prepared for republicanism fused with moral rigor. It did not want to be a morally ascetic society of work without pleasure, of movement without joy. The most enlightened people of the revolutionary camp realized this perfectly. They also understood that dance was not, by definition, indecent. We see this, for instance, in John Milton, a brilliant poet and Commonwealth official; one of his first poetic accomplishments was written for the Earl of Bridgewater, *A Mask presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634*, known as *Comus*.[293] This masque concludes with country dances juxtaposed with the previous deformed and grotesque dance of Comus' procession,[294] a symbol of the victory of virtue over lust, the mind over the body, purity over sin. Here Milton was playing on the traditional division between masque and antimasque, yet the road does not take us from the country dances to the noble style, as in the masques performed for the king, but from the grotesque to country dances. In the latter, harmony, decency, and modesty materialize. This kind of dance would suit even a Puritan, which people like Stubbes and Prynne ultimately admitted in their treatises. As such, it ought not to surprise us that, when the dance motif later appeared in *Paradise Lost*, this was the sublime dance of angels emulating the movements of the heavenly spheres:[295]

> That day, as other solemn day, they spent,
> In song and dance about the sacred hill;
> Mystical dance, which yonder starry sphere
> Of planets and of fix'd in all her wheels
> Resembles nearest, mazes intricate,
> Eccentric, intervolv'd, yet regular
> Then most, when most irregular they seem;
> And in their motions harmony divine
> So smooths her charming tones, that God's own ear
> Listens delighted.[296]

Milton's idealistic kinetic imagination was based on Platonism. This mysticism fired his imagination and allowed it to blossom. Milton was a fierce opponent of

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[293] A transcription of the text is available at: http://www.dartmouth.edu/~milton/reading_room/comus/ (accessed: 01.03.2015). For an interesting analysis, see: Stephen Orgel, "The Case for Comus," *Representations* 2003, Vol. 81, No. 1, pp. 31–45.

[294] Donald M. Rosenberg writes of him in, "Milton's Masque: A Social Occasion for Philosophic Laughter," *Studies in Philology* 1970, Vol. 67, No. 2, p. 5.

[295] Cf. Greene, *Labyrinth Dances...*, pp. 1,456–1,458.

[296] John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, London 1795, Book V, lines 618–628, p. 288.

purely sensual and hedonistic dance, as well as its mannerist, superficial, artificial incarnations, as he thought that dance, when felt with sufficient depth, brings the ultimate fulfillment, when "God's own ear listens delighted."

Milton's idealistic and idyllic view had something of a desperate dream divorced from reality if we take into account the anxieties coursing through England in the mid-seventeenth century. The civil war, like every conflict of its kind, was exceedingly bloody and just as hard to justify. A battle with an external foe could be understood, but a fraternal conflict within a country? The society at war with itself is a far cry from the image of angels doing their meandering dance of a cosmic order...

Paradise Lost is a portrait of a consciousness suffering from anxieties, from wandering and uncertainty. It was released after the Restoration, but it rings with the echo of the Revolution. The same went for other poets of the time. When we look at works by the second generation of English metaphysical poets, it strikes us that beneath the crystalline surface of their refined philosophical concepts, in the shadow of their complex versification we find upheaval, doubt, and trembling. And this is in the religious poets, though now from the Anglican camp. Let us cite a few stanzas. First, from "Employment (II)" by George Herbert:

> Man is no star, but a quick coal
> Of mortal fire: [...]
> Life is a business, not good cheer:
> Ever in wars.[297]

Then, in "The Pulley," in which God, in creating man, ponders the following:

> Yet let him keep the rest
> But keep them with repining restlessness:
> Let him be rich and weary, that at least,
> If goodness lead him not, yet weariness
> May toss him to my breast.[298]

In Henry Vaughan we find similar tropes. In "The Pursuit":

> Lord! What a busie, restless thing
> Hast thou made man!
> Each day and houre he is on the wing,
> Rests not a span.
> Then having lost the sunne and light,

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[297] George Herbert, *Poems*, New York 2004, p. 81.
[298] Ibid., p. 206.

By clouds surpriz'd,
He keepes a commerce in the night
With aire disguised.[299]

And in the compelling "Man":

Man hath still either toyes or care;
He hath no root, nor to one place is ty'd,
But ever restless and irregular
About this earth doth run and ride,
[...]
Man is the shuttle, to whose winding quest,
And passage through these looms
God order'd motion, but ordained no rest.[300]

This naturally brings to mind Montaigne, who had observed, several decades earlier, the religious conflict decimating France. Yet in his work, man's movement was not so restless. For Herbert and Vaughan, God is the only savior, yet it is hard to deny the impression, in their darkest fragments, that the Lord has forsaken humanity: "And poor, despised truth sate counting by / Their victory."[301]

The civil war devastated English society, sowing uncertainty and scattering individuals where once was a community. The dream of building a new and stable order ought not to surprise us. Metaphysical poets sought comfort in faith. God was to bring the peace and reprieve they desired. But there were also secular attempts to find it. Among these was Cromwell's government, which, though not a monarchy by name, certainly served a royal function. This is why his government could last – Cromwell ensured peace in a country that required a firm hand and authoritarian decisions, such as dissolving the Rump Parliament and replacing it with the Barebone's Parliament. In many people's eyes this was necessary, though unpopular, and so it hobbled Cromwell's position. This necessity was recorded in English letters by a man whose ideas are worth exploring, to see the new style forged in the battlefields of the civil war.

Thomas Hobbes thought in terms of kinetic unrest, and sought a balm for it. It is rarely recalled that a basic term in his vocabulary was "*conatus*." He tried not only to comprehend it, but also to rein it in. We have no space to explore this motif to the full,[302] so we will only sketch out the main idea. Walking in Machi-

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299 Henry Vaughan, *The Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations*, Boston 1856, p. 78.

300 Ibid., pp. 171–172.

301 Henry Vaughan, "The World (I)," idem, *The Sacred Poems...*, p. 156.

302 For details, see the first volume of: Thomas Hobbes, *Elements of Philosophy*, Oxford 1656, the essay in Volume Two of the Polish edition by Armin Teske, titled *Philosophia naturalis Tomasza Hobbesa*, and a study by Roman Tokarczyk, *Hobbes*, Warsaw 1987, pp. 47–62.

avelli's and Grotius's footsteps, Hobbes entirely secularized the philosophy of politics. He was among those who "began looking at the state with human eyes and extracting the laws that governed it through reason and experience, not from theology."[303] This stance fit Hobbes's overall program, which was materialist and built with a "geometrical method." His materialism was expressed in the view that matter, and all of reality, is bodies in motion. We should note that he uses the same term as Spinoza: *conatus* (in English: "endeavor"). The concept of *conatus* involves movement that we overlook in reasoning and yet still exists. This nearly leads Hobbes to the thesis that everything is in motion, that the only permanent thing is motion: "I have shown, that *whatsoever is at rest will always be at rest, unless there be some other body besides it, which by getting into its place suffers it no longer to remain at rest*."[304] Here we have an outline of a mechanistic determinism quite characteristic of Hobbes. All change is movement, and it comes from external movement. There is no self-determination, no total freedom in the sense of being an autonomous source of movement. There is only an endless chain of mutual stimuli, in which all of existence is tied up. As Roman Tokarczyk writes:

> Hobbes tried to explain human activities in terms of a theory of movement. [...] Human sensory experiences, the contents of their imagination, and thoughts as figures of movement, comparable to those in other people, stir a special form of movement in a person – a desire for ever-increasing power.[305]

Hobbes himself declared: "Nor can a man any more live, whose desires are at an end, than he, whose senses and imaginations are at a stand."[306] According to Hobbes, we chiefly possess a single drive – to satisfy our desires, which means we are never satisfied, and in turn leads us to try to increase our power. Man "cannot assure the power and means to live well, which he hath present, without the acquisition of more."[307] These words are quite devoid of idealism – man had to be seen as an element, a part of nature. Hobbes, "seeking objective foundations for knowledge of politics, simultaneously strove to cleanse it of subjective moral bias and irrational theological views."[308]

Leo Strauss made a crucial point.[309] Largely because he lived in a time of profound social crisis, Hobbes based his theory of politics on suppositions quite unlike

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303 Words of the young Marx from an article in *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842), quoted in: "Tomasz Hobbes i 'Lewiatan'," in: Tomasz Hobbes, *Lewiatan*, trans. Czesław Znamierowski, Warsaw 1954, p. XVII.
304 Hobbes, *Elements of Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 205.
305 Tokarczyk, *Hobbes*, p. 57.
306 Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Oxford–New York 1998, p. 65.
307 Ibid.
308 Tokarczyk, *Hobbes*, pp. 45–46.
309 Leo Strauss, *Natural Right and History*, Chicago 1965, pp. 166–201.

those of ancient and medieval thinkers.[310] In this he carried on the tradition of Machiavelli, but in an original way. Hobbes's point of departure, looking at man without the delusions of humanism, was the following:

> What is most powerful in most men most of the time is not reason but passion. Natural law will not be effectual if its principles are distrusted by passion or are not agreeable to passion. Natural law must be deduced from the most powerful of all passions.[311]

What is the most powerful passion? Writing in the shadow of civil war, Hobbes said it was fear of a violent death. This fear is a symptom of the self-preservation instinct. Strauss has noted that this implies a truly revolutionary shift in ethics and political theory with regard to antiquity and the Middle Ages: "the fundamental moral fact is not a duty but a right; all duties are derivative from the fundamental and inalienable right of self-preservation."[312] In this light, Strauss believes we ought to see Hobbes as the founder of modern liberalism, a doctrine absolutely key to our story.

The transition, from thinking in terms of the individual's duties to the community, to seeing the individual's rights as the foundation of the community, is revolutionary. Its germ was in Renaissance humanism, but Hobbes, at least according to Strauss, made the decisive incision. His writings initiated the individualization of politics:

> the individual is in every respect prior to civil society: all rights of civil society or of the sovereign are derivative from rights which originally belonged to the individual. The individual as such, regardless of his qualities – and not merely, as Aristotle had contended, the man who surpasses humanity – had to be conceived of as essentially complete independently of civil society.[313]

Hobbes's theory universalized a turn toward the individual, brought into religion by the radical concept of the Puritan Reformation and politics by the absolutism that gradually took shape through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Somewhat metaphorically, we might say that Hobbes thinks in the singular. The following generations would emulate him.

From this thesis of the primacy of the individual and each individual's drive to be constantly increasing their own power, Hobbes deduced his most famous thesis,

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310 Hobbes expressed a broader tendency: "In the seventeenth century a significant revolution had taken place: 'Nature' had come to connote, not divine ordinance, but human appetites, and natural rights were invoked by the individualism of the age as a reason why self-interest should be given free play" (Tawney, *Religion*..., p. 180).

311 Strauss, *Natural Right*..., p. 180.

312 Ibid., p. 181.

313 Ibid., p. 183.

that the hypothetical state of nature, from before states were established, was relentless war, every man for himself, each in search of maximum power. By nature, people were equal, they desired similar things, which led to rivalry, conflicts, and, finally, wars. Hobbes did not believe in natural social tendencies: "[M]en have no pleasure, (but on the contrary a great deal of grief) in keeping company, where there is no power able to over-awe them all."[314] He had seen religious and political strife. He had observed bloody power struggles, which should have brought him to total pessimism. This did not happen, however, because Hobbes believed in the individual. He believed in man, who by his own powers had conquered the dreadful state of nature. This is another important observation – according to Hobbes, the state is not the gift to the people from a higher power. The state is a purely human creation. This allows it to be effective. "Man as the maker of civil society can solve once and for all the problem inherent in man as the matter of social society."[315] Exactly how should the state be ruled? The answer lies in concepts that are key to Hobbes – the individual and power.[316] Human life without the state is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."[317] Only a powerful sovereign of unlimited capabilities can protect the life of man (from himself, as it were). This gave rise to the ideal of the Leviathan, a politically defined subjecthood justifying absolute rule, a remedy for the conflicts and violence of man's natural state.[318] Cromwell tried to make the Leviathan-state a reality, supported by the New Model Army.

In the tension between the figures of the Leviathan and the New Model Army we find the kinetic politics of the Commonwealth period. Hobbesian individuality is the horizon for thought and action, but it is not atomism. On the contrary, the aim was to create a new kind of community – a modern, proto-liberal type of social bond. A liberal society is based on a cult of individual power, which leads to a model of rule based on the concept of secular authority – a Great Man for the small ones to identify with. This Great Man is an entity performing the agency of the Leviathan community.

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314 Hobbes, *Leviathan*, p. 83.

315 Strauss, *Natural Right...*, p. 194.

316 "There is a term that expresses in the most condensed form the result of the change which Hobbes has effected. That term is 'power.' It is in Hobbes's political doctrine that power becomes for the first time *to nomine* a central theme. Considering the fact that, according to Hobbes, science as such exists for the sake of power, one may call Hobbes's whole philosophy the first philosophy of power" (ibid.).

317 Hobbes, *Leviathan*, p. 84.

318 There is no space here for a detailed description of Hobbes's theory of the state. The reader should consult the source, the *Leviathan*, and Book Three of *Elements of Philosophy,* titled *On the Citizen*. It is discussed in: Tokarczyk, *Hobbes*, pp. 139–162. Laurence Berns also attempts a synthesis in "Thomas Hobbes 1588–1679," trans. Arkadiusz Gornisiewicz, in: Leo Strauss, Joseph Cropsey (eds.), *Historia filozofii politycznej*, trans. Paweł Armada et al., Warsaw 2010, pp. 397–421. The classic work by Carl Schmitt is also worth a look: *The Leviathan in the State Theory of Thomas Hobbes: Meaning and Failure of a Political Symbol*, Chicago 2008, as is the aforementioned work by Strauss, *Natural Right...*

This raises an extremely important question – what should the relationship between the ruler/entity and the community/agency be? Here a voluntary but close-knit order is necessary. The New Model Army was built on this premise – it had to keep its men from breaking ranks at all costs. This striving for discipline in battle can be seen as the model kinetic politics of the republican era. Hobbes proved that the political community of the Leviathan needed a strong individual power. This, in turn, required a mighty and disciplined army. It was to be maneuverable, dynamic, stalwart, trained, and extremely well-ordered. This is why there could be no talk of factions. The republican army could not be a space of rivalry like the royal army, which was an arena for conflicts between aristocrats. Cromwell thought the New Model Army had to professional. Service was rewarded, not noble descent. It was not to be an extension of existing hierarchies, but would create those hierarchies according to its own needs. The point was to create a well-oiled war machine, made of individuals absolutely subordinate to the structure of the whole. In a sense, this was Machiavelli's dream of an extremely disciplined army come true. Cromwell could have seconded Machiavelli here: "Never lead your soldiers into an engagement unless you are assured of their courage, know they are without fear, *and are organized*."[319]

Hobbes's theory and Cromwell's practice cast an interesting light on the Puritans' fondness for country dances. This is where they found a similar discipline, though in a joyful, recreational form. Much of society yearned for order and discipline at the time. The politics of the Commonwealth were built on this yearning. We might second Carl Schmitt in noting its "mechanistic" nature.[320] The Leviathan is called an "automaton" or a "machine." So, too, is the kinetic model of society, which is what we might consider the New Model Army. In the upheavals of war, people dreamed of an automatic order, of power and efficiency, which were ultimately inhuman in nature. Schmitt wrote:

> The intrinsic logic of the manmade, artificial product 'state' does not culminate in a person but in a machine. Not the representation by a person but the factual, current accomplishment of genuine protection is what the state is all about. Representation is nothing if it is not *tutela praesens* [constant protection]. That, however, can only be attained by an effectively functioning mechanism of command.[321]

It may seem as though these words contradict what we have said before. Yet this contradiction is merely superficial, as the impersonal machine of the state is an individualized being. The Hobbesian individual dreams of the power of the automaton,

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[319] Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Art of War*, trans. Henry Neville, New York 2006, p. 161, emphasis – W. K.
[320] Schmitt, *The Leviathan*...
[321] Ibid., p. 34.

of superhuman strength. This was the vanity of Hobbes, Cromwell, and Louis XIV, later nurtured by Enlightenment ideas of the architects of the Revolution. In Hobbes we have a writer who keeps coming back to haunt modernity – a utopia of homogeneous order operating like a perfect machine. This order is essentially impossible in a human, fundamentally chaotic, and unstable world, yet it attracts those who aspire to be its creator. Part of this project is a kinetic ideal, a kind of social choreography whose form is marked by the principles of standards, discipline, drill, and hierarchy. The Leviathan dreams of infinitely staging its country dance of disciplined and power-hungry individuals.

A Dancing Restoration

After Cromwell's demise, faced with a destabilizing domestic situation as a result of the lack of charismatic figures to continue his mission,[322] English society largely agreed that, in the interest of maintaining order, the Stuarts should be invited back to the throne. Thus, the Restoration saw practically no impediment. The king was the son of the executed monarch, Charles II. This meant quashing radical political tendencies. The republicans were crushed. The most inflexible Puritans were removed from office. Yet there was no return to absolutist tendencies. Charles II was to be a king who ruled with representatives of the nation – the Parliament. He called the "Cavalier Parliament," which sat for almost the next eighteen years, longer than any other English Parliament. It caused the unification and the bolstering of society, and restored the state Anglican Church, which had been outlawed under the Commonwealth. Parliament restricted freedom of publication to stop the spread of revolutionary ideas, which chiefly struck at the dissidents, such as the Quakers or members of the Fifth Monarchy Men. Above all, it passed a whole series of economic laws of a mercantile nature, protecting trade interests and the gradually growing industry, two fields of the economy where, at any rate, competition was increasing. This meant continuing trends expressed in the Puritan revolution. The king had returned, but to a social space utterly changed by individualistic ideas, partly derived from the Renaissance, and partly from the Puritans.

The Cavalier Parliament expressed the basic social tendencies of the era – the slow shift from an aristocratic to a bourgeois model. This does not mean that the bourgeoisie took over the government, but that the aristocracy increasingly strove for bourgeois values and lifestyles. Often, members of the nobility went into business, particularly the younger sons of aristocrats. This went hand-in-hand with the overall

[322] These expectations were disappointed by Richard Cromwell, his father's appointed successor, who was unable to secure the army's support.

economic development that accompanied technological progress and the opportunities furnished by the profits of colonialism. The origins of this process ought to be sought in the reign of Elizabeth, but the Restoration hastened it. Under Elizabeth, England had begun moving toward industrial capitalism, as Habermas has brilliantly described:

> the opening up and expansion of markets for foreign trade, in which the privileged companies managed to attain monopolistic control through political pressure – in a word, the new colonialism – step by step began to serve the development of a commercial economy at home. In parallel fashion the interests of capitalists engaged in manufacture prevailed over those involved in trade. In this way one element [of two basic ones] of the early capitalist commercial system, the trade in commodities, brought about a revolution, this time in the structure of production as well. The exchange of imported raw materials for finished and semi-finished domestic goods must be viewed as a function of the process in which the old mode of production was turned into a capitalist one.[323]

This transformation did not occur overnight. It required time and the necessary systemic conditions, which were created by the mercantilism of the Cavalier Parliament, supported by the king himself. In social terms this meant an alliance, which has come to be call the "bourgeois-landowner alliance":[324] cooperation between the increasingly wealthy and powerful bourgeoisie and the mercantile part of the landed aristocracy in building a society on capitalist grounds, geared toward interest and profit, entrepreneurial and creative. Now we must look at how this affected worldviews, form of contact between people, lifestyles, and, with them, dance.

After the New Model Army was dissolved and Charles II took the throne, there was a momentary crisis in the dream of a society as a disciplined machine. The upper spheres of society, at least, yearned to be free and lighthearted. The Restoration is often described as a period when customs were relaxed. Theaters reopened, and women were now allowed to perform. People enjoyed life (Ill. 103), dabbled in the erotic, thumbed their nose at the Puritans, as in the maypole dances, which again were held.[325] Yet this does not mean the culture became utterly spontaneous and ludic once more. On the contrary.

> True, the Restoration inaugurated a season of rejoicing with ales, maypoles, and morris dances, but these were hothouse flowers, forced into bloom by the radiance of the renewed monarchy, and destined to an equally rapid decay. It is almost as if they were

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[323] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger, Cambridge 2011, pp. 18–19.

[324] A term coined by Friedrich Engels.

[325] This is described in more detail by Forrest, *The History of Morris Dancing*..., pp. 209–210.

THE
WITS,
OR,
SPORT upon SPORT.
IN
Select Pieces of DROLLERY,
Digeſted into SCENES by way of
DIALOGUE.
Together with Variety of Humors of
ſeveral Nations, fitted for the plea-
ſure and content of all Perſons, either
in Court, City, Countrey, or Camp.
The like never before Publiſhed.

PART I.

LONDON,
Printed for Henry Marſh, at the Sign of the Princes
Arms in Chancery-Lane, 1662.

103. Title page of a selection of sketches for stage, *The Wits* attributed to Francis Kirkman, 1662

> a sentimental memory of earlier times, brought out, like bunting from an attic trunk, to cheer in the new era, and then tucked away again.[326]

If the Commonwealth was meant to fulfill a dream of the democracy and emancipation of the folk, it was an utter failure. The Restoration clearly showed that the democratization of tastes was not about to happen. Style was still dictated by fashionable cavaliers. Social life flourished, and this is where charm and wit counted, as we see in reading the comedies of the time by George Etherege or William Wycherley, often quite bold from a Puritan point of view. “What matters here are manners – good customs that involved cultivating a refined charm in conjunction with a free attitude, particularly when it came to perfecting the art of flirtation and maintaining good taste in matters of love, with their very concrete prescriptions.”[327] In the Restoration comedies, the point was not to smother folk energy altogether, for in relations between the sexes we can seldom speak of sublime feeling; what mainly counted was the form. Those who could not master the etiquette

326 Ibid., p. 210.

327 Grzegorz Sinko, *Wstęp*, in: idem (ed. and trans.), *Angielska komedia Restauracji*, Wrocław 1962, p. XVIII.

and convention were mercilessly derided, they were awkward in fashionable rituals, they were over-eager, unable to keep step.

Models traditionally came from France, where the restored king had spent all his youth. This had a decisive impact on the courtly kinesis of the Restoration. There was a fashion for all things French in the circles of Charles II, especially in the latter half of his reign, when the king began showing stronger absolutist tendencies, modeled in part on his cousin, Louis XIV. Royal dancing master Jeremiah Gohory was imported from France.[328] The court presented spectacles in the spirit of *ballets de cour*. The best-known masque of the time, *Calisto: Or, The Chaste Nymph* (1675) by John Crowne, was saturated with French influences, though much remained of the local tradition as well. The local dancing masters performed in the masque, but, above all, there were French dancers. The choreography was handled by Monsieur St. André, who, several years later, was part of the Academie Royale de Danse.[329]

Through French contacts, dances popular in the court of Louis XIV triumphed at the English court (Ill. 104). This was not, however, blind emulation. The etiquette in France was more rigid, the process of discipline through choreography more advanced. Greater freedom reigned amid the English aristocracy. The king neither wanted to nor could train his courtiers like his cousin did on the Continent. This is why the dance culture under Charles II was not a mere extension of Continental kinesis, it was more a synthesis of various elements. The French influence supplied a distinguished form, but it was inflected by the domestic joy of the folk-stylized dances, supplied by Playford's handbook, which was reissued every few years and constantly enlarged. As a contemporary noted: "With us we have onely *French* dancing and Country dancing used by the best rank of people. *Morris-dancing* is an exercise that the loose and vile sort onely use, and that onely in faires and meetings of lewdness."[330] We find a similar testimony in the diary of Samuel Pepys, with a description of a New Year's ball in Whitehall:

> the King takes out the Duchess of Yorke, and the Duke the Duchesse of Buckingham, the Duke of Monmouth my Lady Castlemayne, and so other lords other ladies; and they danced the Bransle. After that, the King led a lady a single Coranto; and then the rest of the lords, one after another, other ladies. Very noble it was, and great pleasure to see. Then to Country dances; the King leading the first which he called for; which was – says he, *Cuckolds all a-row*, the old dance of England.[331]

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[328] Jennifer Thorp, "Your Honor'd and Obedient Servant: Patronage and Dance in London c. 1700–1735," *Dance Research* 1997, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 85–86.

[329] A highly interesting description of *Calisto* is found in Andrew R. Walkling, "Masque and Politics at the Restoration Court: John Crowne's 'Calisto'," *Early Music* 1996, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 27–38, 41–52, 55–56, 59–62.

[330] Quoted in: Mullally, *More about the Measures...*, p. 419.

[331] Samuel Pepys, *The Shorter Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham, Berkeley 1985, p. 246.

104. Hieronymus Janssens, *Charles II Dancing at Court Ball*, ca. 1660

Thus, as we can see, on the one hand there was a clear imperative to assert a kinetic difference from the countryside (in aversion to the morris dance), and, on the other, the urge to keep from entirely succumbing to foreign trends, given that the king organized and held an old country dance. This middle way will be quite characteristic of English dance culture later on, as well. A new quality emerged at the intersection of influences.

The syncretic *kinesis* of the Restoration was quite visible on the theater stages. The aristocrats mixed with the bourgeoisie in the audience as before, though the former had special places, of course. When the theaters reopened their doors, the king controlled the scene, giving licenses to only two ensembles: the King's Men and the Duke's Men. They competed fiercely, mainly with one tool – spectacular effects. Performances were increasingly sumptuous. The Elizabethan simultaneous stage was replaced by a perspective stage, based on a theory created in Italy and then used to great effect in France. It enabled the swift change of decor. Theatrical machinery became more technically refined, costumes more luxuriant. These were used especially effectively by the head of the Duke's Men, William Davenant, a pioneer of the English opera, already mentioned as a creator of masques. His company, as Pepys's diary shows, had gained the upper hand in the 1660s precisely because it was more spectacular than the King's Men. It knew how to reach a wider audience, presenting extravagant productions we now call "Restoration spectaculars," combining drama, music, dance, and special effects. This does not mean that this was

the only type of production theaters held. The repertories also had comedies and tragedies, particularly in the fashionable "heroic play" convention, whose leading author was John Dryden. Nonetheless, the Restoration spectaculars were particular successes.

The French accomplishments had a major impact on the Restoration theater, particularly the tragicomedies with ballet, such as *Psyche*, and Lully's lyrical tragedies, which we described in Chapter Three and to which we will return in the next chapter. They inspired Thomas Shadwell to create his own version of *Psyche* (1675), which the Duke's Men staged with enormous success. There also appeared increasingly attractive English variations on the opera: *Venus and Adonis* (1683) by John Blow, and then works by Henry Purcell: *Dido and Aeneas* (1688–1689), *Prophetess* (1690), *King Arthur* (1691), *The Fairy Queen* (1692), and *The Indian Queen* (1695). We mention these spectacles mainly because dance was an important component, though it also appeared in less bombastic performances, in comedies such as Etherege's *She Would If She Could*[332] (1668) or Wycherley's *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* (1672).[333]

In the Restoration spectacular, dance was quite sumptuous. Sometimes as many as several dozen dancers appeared on stage at once. We know next to nothing about their choreographies, but we can suppose they often borrowed from Continental models, given that the ballet master of *Psyche*, for example, was the aforementioned Saint-André. Nor can we rule out the possibility that local dances were also performed on stage, given that this occurred in the comedies of the time.[334] Purcell composed not for a Frenchman, but for the English dancing master Josias Priest.[335] Though the king evidently favored French novelties, English audiences were suspicious of all things French, forever fearing a Catholic conspiracy. As such, spectacles could not merely emulate. We observe a range of variations, in which the Continental opera was joined with the English masque. This combination is difficult to classify. *Venus and Adonis* is sometimes called an opera, sometimes a masque.

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[332] George Etherege, "She Would If She Could," *The Plays of Sir George Etherege*, Cambridge 1982, pp. 111–210. It is worth having a look at the dancing, bawdy character of Sir Joslin, brother of the main protagonist, Sir Oliver Cockwood.

[333] An interesting study of the role of comedy in the Restoration can be found in: L. T. Morrissey, "Wycherley's 'Country Dance'," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 1968, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 415–429.

[334] We might take the example of the jig danced in *She Would If She Could* by Sir Joslin's protégé, for which he announces: "you have heard them exercise their tongues a while; now you shall see them ply their feet a little: this is a clean-limbed wench, and has neither spavin, splinter, nor wind-gall; tune her a jig, and play't roundly, you shall see her bounce it away like a nimble frigate before a fresh gale – hey, methinks I see her under sail already." (Etherege, "She Would If She Could," p. 142). Elsewhere, the protagonists dance a country dance (ibid., p. 133).

[335] On the confusion in the various writings of his name, and thus the justified suspicions that there were several dancing masters in late-seventeenth-century London who went by the name of Priest, see Jennifer Thorp in "Dance in Late 17th-Century London: Priestly Muddles," *Early Music* 1998, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 198–210.

Purcell's works are called "semi-operas." In *Albion and Albanius* (1685) with Louis Grabu's music to lyrics by Dryden, we easily see elements of the masque.[336] Stage dance was also undoubtedly syncretic, joining French elegance and precision with English simplicity and vivacity.

These "stage mixtures" show another basic trait of this period – its dynamic syncretism. It was tied to a middle path taken by the most dynamic part of English society, the elite growing wealthy on mercantile policies, but also middle-of-the-road men like Samuel Pepys.[337] They took what was most inspiring from the competing traditions – courtly and folk cultures, local and Continental cultures – to create a new quality, a distinct bourgeois sensibility. Dance flourished in this environment.

The Restoration marked the return of dance to the public space. It symbolized the fall of the sad Puritan dictatorship, to which the precursors of the new elite subscribed, as it promised opportunities for social advancement. When the fall transpired, entrepreneurs distanced themselves from the moralist revolt. Yet they did not discard all the Puritan virtues. They remained faithful to industriousness, spurned excess, were proudly self-reliant. Yet the extremist blade had been blunted, replaced with common sense and "the golden mean," which meant a readiness to open up to some of the aristocratic cultural heritage. As Julian Hochfeld wrote: "The bourgeoisie had now become wealthy and learned a delicacy and an ease in spending money from the allied aristocracy."[338] This was not done uncritically, however. The Cavaliers tried to dictate tastes, though they themselves, as demonstrated by *The Gentleman Dancing-Master*, felt that courtly manners in the spirit of French absolutism were out of place in the new society. Much as the bourgeoisie learned delicacy from the aristocracy, the aristocracy took lessons in common sense from the bourgeoisie. Moreover, both classes drew from the energetic reservoir of folk culture (Ills. 105, 106). Country dances gained enormous popularity. This led to an original alloy of early-capitalist bourgeois cultures, a transitional form on the way to mass culture.

Pepys's diaries give us a splendid glimpse of the era's dance, mentioned a great many times. First, the author is a great theater lover, who often notes the dance in

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[336] For more on the subject, see: Paul Hammond, "Dryden's 'Albion and Albanius': The apotheosis of Charles II," in: David Lindley (ed.), *The Court Masque*, Manchester–Dover, NH 1984. The fact that masque retained its appeal after the fall of the Stuarts is shown by the fact that Dryden wrote *The Secular Mask* in 1700.

[337] In a highly Marxist but very enlightening afterword to the *Diaries* titled *Epoka, ktora wydała Samuela Pepysa*, Julian Hochfeld wrote: "Pepys was not an exceptional figure in the epoch he lived or the class to which he rose. On the contrary: in a sense, he is a typical figure" (Pepys, *Dziennik*..., Vol. II, p. 517). Elsewhere: "As a high-ranking clerk, he had access to the upper spheres of politics, and being born in a status close to the populace, he was interested in what the masses thought and felt" (idem, p. 482). For this reason, we acknowledge him to be the exemplary middle-of-the-road man of his day.

[338] Ibid., p. 513.

105. Artist unknown (attributed to Egbert van der Poel), *Dorpsscene met een feest* (Village Scene with Festival), 1661

106. Cornelis Dusart, *Vioolspeler en feestende boeren voor een herberg* (A Violinist and Celebrating Yokels before an Inn), 1684

the productions he sees, especially when it strikes him as unaccomplished. Second, he mingles with many people who enjoy dancing – primarily his wife and her lady friends. Third, at a certain juncture Pepys begins to understand that he lacks the basic dancing skills his society expects of him.[339] Having been raised in a Puritan spirit, he has initial doubts about the appropriateness of dance,[340] yet he swiftly begins to have a great fondness for it. So much so that he agrees to let his wife take dance lessons from one Mr. Pembleton, and even joins in the lessons himself. They learn both the *courantes* and *branles* of the French court and the domestic country dances, which they prefer. For a month we observe a true "dance-mania" in the Pepys domicile, which almost ends in tragedy. The man of the house begins to suspect his wife is fond of the dancing master. Pepys is consumed with envy, which concludes the lessons, and somewhat discourages him from dance. This is only temporary, however. Though he sometimes mentions it is a rather morally suspect activity, inappropriate for young girls, for instance,[341] Pepys studies the work of Playford, carefully observing the dance of the main figures and the actors on stage, and, above all, in a merry society, he does not miss an opportunity to dance, often while singing, which the music-loving diarist particularly enjoys. The numerous images of dance in the closing years of the diary reveal an interesting kinetic space, which we might call friendly dancing. It is situated somewhere in between the official ball and the folk festival. From the first it borrows the form, from the second, the vitality. We know little about the popular dances in Pepys's circle – the jig appears by name several times, we can also assume the *branles*, which might indicate a combined courtly and folk kinesis. Yet this does not keep us from intuiting the mood of these evenings – free, joyous, with mutual encouragement to dance and play music. The festivities often went on until two or three in the morning. They were attended in groups, who danced and sang together until they ran out of breath. In this they felt charmingly carefree, partly because of social position, but also a sense of community, which brought them great joy. This is expressed clearly in a few simple words Pepys wrote in March 1669, the last year he kept his diary:

> And thus till night, that our musick come, and the Office ready and candles, and also W. Batelier and his sister Susan come, and also Will. Howe and two gentlemen more,

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[339] As he claims: "The truth is, I think it is a thing very useful for any gentleman and sometimes I may have occasion of using it" (Pepys, *The Shorter Pepys*, p. 271). We should note how unlike the point of view of Puritan writers this is.

[340] Pepys was born in 1633. In his diary entry of March 27, 1661, he wrote: "at last we fell to dancing – the first time that ever I did in my life – which I did wonder to see myself do" (ibid., p. 125). He thus made his dancing debut at twenty-eight years of age.

[341] Cf. the entry of November 11, 1661, where we read: "[Captain Ferres] took me to a dancing school in Fleet Street, where we saw a company of pretty girls dance, but I do not like to have young girls exposed to so much vanity" (*The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Good Press 2019).

> strangers, which, at my request yesterday, he did bring to dance, called Mr. Ireton and Mr. Starkey. We fell to dancing, and continued, only with intermission for a good supper, till two in the morning, the musick being Greeting, and another most excellent violin, and theorbo, the best in town. And so with mighty mirth, and pleased with their dancing of jigs afterwards several of them, and, among others, Betty Turner, who did it mighty prettily; and, lastly, W. Batelier's *Blackmore and Blackmore Mad*; and then to a country-dance again, and so broke up with extraordinary pleasure, as being one of the days and nights of my life spent with the greatest content; and that which I can but hope to repeat again a few times in my whole life.[342]

In this description of an evening of dance we find the germ of bourgeois conviviality characteristic of the centuries to come. It is marked by spontaneity, familiarity, as well as mutual respect, refinement, and a certain sentimentality to differentiate the bourgeois dance party from the folk dances. This is a kinetic middle way which was to mature in the Romantic era.

Pepys is indeed an emblematic figure, as Hochfeld claimed, embodying the rising capitalist spirit of entrepreneurship, a model representative of the *nouveau riche*. Yet this ought to be seen from a wider perspective. His diary reveals a sensitivity (kinetic and otherwise) that heralds modern culture. He personified a mode of existence that was key to modernity, a mode strengthened under the Restoration, spearheading the rivalry for political and cultural influence. It is easiest to define through negation – it was neither aristocratic nor ludic. It developed in offices, money changers, on the stock market, in the salons and increasingly abundant coffee houses, and thus was tied to what Habermas called the bourgeois public sphere.[343]

Following Arendt, Habermas distinguished the bourgeois public sphere from the public sphere found in ancient and feudal cultures, drawing from the concept of the social (*das Sozialen*): "Society is the form in which the fact of mutual dependence for the sake of life and nothing else assumes public significance and where the activities connected with sheer survival are permitted to appear in public."[344] The shaping of a bourgeois/civil society (*das Sozialen*) means the triumph

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342 Available online at: https://archive.org/stream/diaryofsamuelpep04200gut/old/sp85g10.txt (accessed: 01.03.2015).

343 England was a pioneer in making the businessman a model personality: "As for that nineteenth-century favourite, the entrepreneur as popular hero, he is almost invisible in the early modern period, with one significant exception. The exception is England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where we find heroes like 'old Hobson the merry Londoner' (a wealthy haberdasher); the Berkshire clothier, Jack of Newbury, Simon Eyre, Lord Mayor of London; and especially another Lord Mayor, Dick Whittington. Dick's popularity in England and the lack of continental parallels to his career go a little way towards suggesting that England was an 'achieving society' before the Industrial Revolution" (Burke, *Popular Culture*..., p. 216). According to legend, Dick Whittington was a wealthy merchant who became Mayor of London; his cat assisted him in his social climb, achieved mainly through the riches he earned through entrepreneurship.

344 Arendt, *The Human Condition*, p. 46.

of the entrepreneurial over the chivalric ethos, bringing a characteristic reevaluation of the private. This is quite visible in Pepys. As a conscientious clerk, he was a public person, but his emotional life was ultimately private. He had nothing of the knight, he was very much a merchant. This is why his public and private spheres overlapped, with an emphasis on the private. This was the middle way. In a traditional social set-up, the aristocracy lived in the public sphere, and the common people in the private. When early-capitalist bourgeois culture emerged, private life went public. The French Enlightenment, as we shall see, drew far-reaching consequences from this.

The Bourgeoisie, Intimacy, and Sensibility – from Locke to *The Spectator*

A new bourgeoisie emerged in the Restoration, made up of various sorts of entrepreneurs and "officials of the rulers' administrations [like Pepys]. [...] Added to them were doctors, pastors, officers, professors, and 'scholars,' who were at the top of a hierarchy reaching down through schoolteachers and scribes to the 'people.'"[345] The new bourgeoisie was accompanied by a new state, in which the ruler's functional authority was key. There would be no more talk of an earthly replication of a transcendental hierarchy, of a king anointed by God, though there were efforts to use these ideas in interim politics. Charles II could have tried to make authoritarian gestures, like an attempt to draw closer to France and guarantee tolerance for Catholics, but his actions were doomed to fail, as the social transformations were no longer stoppable. The political system was veering toward the power of the public.

> "Public" in this narrower sense was synonymous with "state-related"; the attribute no longer referred to the representative 'court' of a person endowed with authority but instead to the functioning of an apparatus with regulated spheres of jurisdiction and endowed with a monopoly over the legitimate use of coercion. The manorial lord's feudal authority was transformed into the authority to "police"; the private people under it, as the addresses of public authority, formed the public [*Publikum*].[346]

This arrangement meant the king was now merely a systemic function, which means we are no longer dealing with charismatic or traditional rule, but legal rule, to use Max Weber's famous distinction.

345 Habermas, *The Structural Transformation...*, p. 23.
346 Ibid., p. 18.

The history of seventeenth-century England shows how the audience of the political spectacle increasingly demanded its part in governance. It was less and less inclined to submit to royal whims, had less and less affection for the Crown. Charles I found this out the hard way – he lost his head – but his sons were also sternly admonished for flirting with absolutism. Charles II met with evident resistance when his policies turned pro-French and when he tried to arrange succession for his Catholic brother. Things got even worse when the latter took the throne as James II. As a convert, he was a typical zealot in politics, doing whatever he could to be disliked by the Protestant majority. Ostentatious support of Catholicism was seen as a sign of authoritarian tendencies. Both factions of Parliament, the Tories and the Whigs, were incensed, and asked the royal son-in-law, William of Orange, to intervene to defend civil liberties. He graciously agreed and landed in England with his army. James II saved himself by fleeing to France. This launched the Glorious Revolution, the final act of the political transformation we are describing.

Generally speaking, the Glorious Revolution further weakened the position of the king. From then on, the Parliament became the most important political force. True, William tried to rule independently and MPs were forced to reckon with him, but he was a ruler invited to take the throne, to some degree elected, and this was not the strongest bargaining chip. The king's weakening position was symbolically stressed with the famous Bill of Rights, which the new monarch passed in 1689. This was a list of restrictions placed upon the Crown, the most important of which was a ban on maintaining an army in times of peace. Moreover, the Glorious Revolution made the king even more financially dependent on Parliament than before. John Miller writes:

> The refusal to grant William a sufficient revenue for life [which Charles II could depend on] was the key decision of the Revolution. [...] It transformed the relationship between king and Parliament. [...] 1689 also marked [...] the start of a slow and subtle process whereby monarchs found it harder and harder to use their acknowledged prerogatives.[347]

There were basically no more doubts. England had become a parliamentary monarchy, a country where the bourgeoisie – in other words, capital – had the greatest say, both economically and politically.

Habermas used a far more subtle language than Engels in summing up the socio-political repercussions of the Glorious Revolution:

> At a stage of capitalist development at which industrial capitalism was just barely emerging (still dominated by the merchant capitalism that was in any case rather more interested in the conservation of the old mode of production), even the leading representatives of

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[347] Miller, *The Stuarts*, p. 218.

> the *moneyed interests* came from the conservative strata of a high bourgeoisie in many ways intimately involved with the nobility. Its members encountered one another in Parliament on the basis of a certain social homogeneity that was aristocratic in character.[348]

This is the point of departure for further transformations – entrepreneurs, lawyers, and officials increasingly had mutual interests and crossed paths with the aristocracy. This gave rise to the modern bourgeoisie. In culture, the point of departure was the aristocratic models, but these were less and less accepted as rote. This meant changes in worldviews, the birth of a new lifestyle, a new sensitivity, new customs. The courtly model that had served as the base underwent a gradual transformation toward the bourgeois model. Valor, pathos, and largesse were replaced by entrepreneurship, common sense, and modesty.

The germ of this new cultural paradigm can, of course, be sought in various places. Yet it strikes us as particularly evident in the Whigs' favorite philosopher, John Locke. Of course, it would be hard to see his work as simply a theoretical expression of bourgeois interests, as the Marxist history of philosophy often does. This reductionism is primitive and unjust. Yet this does not mean that we ought not to see Locke through a social lens. He was, after all, very closely tied to the camp of the first Earl of Shaftesbury, the head of the Whigs, and a great opponent of authoritarianism. After the Glorious Revolution he worked in government administration, co-creating pro-capitalist policies. He came from a family of Puritan convictions, which supported Cromwell. At his studies in Oxford he began to show royalist sympathies, but meeting Shaftesbury sobered him up. He understood his place was among those who wanted to create a new reality, and not to defend what had to recede into the past.

We should cite Copleston, who stresses a basic trait in Locke, though not without reservations: "Locke, as is evident from his writings, was very much a man of moderation."[349] This moderation is a key concept. Locke, like all of bourgeois culture, clearly distanced himself from what might be called the fanfare of the culture that came before, the pomp that wound through philosophy in the attempt to build all-encompassing systems, and in politics that dreamed of an absolute monarchy. The maximalism of courtly culture in its various incarnations (the extreme discipline of the court of Louis XIV was accompanied by extreme excess) was to be tempered. This was one subject of Locke's philosophy, though it may have been indirect. It knew none of the spiritual elation or the passions we find in Pascal or even Descartes. The mystical and idealistic fire that burned in European philosophy from the Renaissance to the Baroque was snuffed. With Locke, we are on the threshold of the Enlightenment.

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348 Habermas, *The Structural Transformation...*, p. 62.

349 Frederick Copleston, *History of Philosophy*, Vol. V, London–New York 2003, p. 69.

Like Descartes, Locke showed disdain for any kind of muddled thinking. This is why he felt out of place at Oxford, where scholastic thought continued to reign. For similar reasons, he dismissed Malebranche's writing as vague metaphysics.[350] He opposed it with a seemingly modest program, discarding the expansive intellectual ambitions, and thus, the vanity of rationalism.[351] This did not mean reason was to be denied, only that it be guided in a new way. Locke's program is paraphrased by Hazard as follows:

> If there are substances external to us (as there certainly are), we have no means of grasping them in their essence; why then waste our energies in attempting to apprehend them? Let us abandon that vain endeavor. The certainty that we need resides in the mind. Let us look therein and cease to probe those infinite spaces which do but breed deceiving visions; thereon let us concentrate our attention.[352]

This minimalist cognitive project sufficed, however, to be active in the world. The first book of Locke's most important philosophical work begins: "[T]he understanding […] sets man above the rest of sensible beings, and gives him all the advantage and dominion which he has over them."[353] We must stress this moment. Locke's element was rational thinking – subject to limitations, channeled properly, and thus practical and effective. This reason was not contemplative, but activist.

In Locke's philosophy, inborn and externally implanted ideas, the same ones that played such a key role in Descartes, have vanished. The mind of a new human being is a blank page for inscribing experience.[354] This means each of us is tossed into the world as an undefined potential of knowledge and action – a *tabula rasa*. In terms of the history of modernity, it is very important to note the potential energy this concept held. Locke's philosophy is a lesson in humility, but this humility was meant not to immobilize people, but to induce them to work more effectively. This is clearly visible throughout Locke's writing. On the one hand, we are passive

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[350] Paul Hazard, *The Crisis of the European Mind 1680–1715*, trans. J. Lewis May, New York 2013, p. 243.

[351] Though empiricism cannot be said to be utterly passive, the element of humility is important. The active mind is not at the forefront. "Although this may be true in the sense that the empiricists included many unconscious and unintended activities in the understanding, they did not foreground the aggressively active intervention in the world that characterized Baconian science. Moreover, those activities were understood to be temporally subsequent to the givens that came from without" (Martin Jay, *Songs of Experience: Modern American and European Variations on a Universal Theme*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 2006, p. 45, note 16).

[352] Quoted in: Hazard, *The Crisis...*, p. 244.

[353] John Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, London 1836, p. 1.

[354] Locke describes this experience thus: "in that all our knowledge is founded; and from that it ultimately derives itself. Our observation employed either about external sensible object, or about the internal operations of our minds, perceived and reflected on by ourselves, is that which supplies our understandings with all the materials of thinking. These two are the fountains of knowledge, from whence all the ideas we have, or can naturally have, do spring" (ibid., p. 51).

receivers of events; on the other, our impressions are processed through the workings of our mind; what happens to them depends on our actions. We forge our own fate. This is why proper upbringing was so important to Locke. Man is born to act, which will bring useful results to himself and others, if only the individual avoids the traps set by various kinds of muddy ideas. This is why common sense is so important – it scatters ideological delusions in philosophy and politics, and is a kind of power that mobilizes people to act.

We will not go into the details of Locke's epistemology, which, at any rate, is fairly complex.[355] What is crucial to us is the anthropology that arises from it. Locke defined man's place in the universe more modestly than the Continental rationalists, but also released him from metaphysical anxiety. This does not mean that Locke did not believe in God,[356] but he did show that faith had nothing to do with rational action, a deduction in which he fundamentally differed from Descartes. Revelation and reason were two separate territories. One could believe in God yet pursue knowledge, which was mainly for serving practical ends, and not getting mired in muddy speculation. Thus limiting the scope of knowledge, Locke avoided the swampy ground that led to skepticism. Restricting reason to the sphere of practical experience gave it the power to act. When we focus on observing the effects of the external world upon us and how we operate in this world, we note that we are creatures bound by certain necessities, and thus our freedom is not absolute; on the other hand, we see that this freedom is not strictly an apparition.

Freedom based on man's basic capacity to make his own fortune is, in Locke's language, power:

> This at least I think evident, that we find in ourselves a power to begin or forbear, continue or end, several actions of our minds, and motions of our bodies, barely by a thought or preference of the mind ordering, or, as it were, commanding the doing or not doing, such or such a particular action.[357]

It is therefore in our power to control the course of events in which we participate, at least to some degree. We are not absolutely free, as Locke clearly stresses. We are not able to annul the choosing process, we cannot control the fact of thinking or the simple situation of being in the world, but we can steer their course. In *An Essay* we read: "But yet some ideas to the mind, like some motions to the body,[358] are such, as in certain circumstances it cannot avoid, nor obtain their absence by

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[355] This is covered, for example, by Copleston, in *History of Philosophy*, Vol. V, pp. 67–142. We might also consult the source, Locke's *An Essay*...

[356] On the role of God in Locke's system, see Strauss's insightful comments in *Natural Right*..., pp. 202–251.

[357] Locke, *An Essay*..., p. 151.

[358] Curiously, Locke uses St. Vitus' dance as an example of a compulsive action (ibid., p. 153).

the utmost efforts it can use."[359] Yet we feel that these are exceptions. Locke immediately reassures the reader: "as soon as the mind regains the power to stop or continue, begin or forbear, any of those motions of the body without, or thoughts within, according as it thinks fit to prefer either to the other, we then consider the man as a free agent again."[360]

We thus have an endless battle between freedom and necessity. Man does not have the power to control the world in its vastness, he cannot compete with God, but it is within human ability to actively change our fate, and that of our fellow men: "if only we are content to confine our investigations to the sphere vouchsafed to us, we find ourselves in a world of marvels, and we find wisdom and happiness in the bargain."[361] As such, in Locke's philosophy we perceive, as Hazard neatly phrased it, "the self-congratulation of one who has narrowly escaped drowning at sea and who, having managed to scramble ashore, has contrived to build himself a shelter with his own brave and hard-working hands."[362] In this optimism we hear an echo of the violent eighteenth century in England: the Civil War, the Commonwealth, the Glorious Revolution. The turn of the century brought respite, matters were composed in the minds of pragmatists like Locke, William Paterson, and John Houblon, for whom the essence of humanity was entrepreneurial activity. After dissolving metaphysical illusions, it became possible to build a new society in peace – one without rapture, but also without the sufferings that the old way of thinking brought with it.

According to Locke, the measure of the effectiveness of a social action was the quality of the knowledge it required, which he posited gaining by empirical methods, taking a page from Bacon. We should mention that, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, knowledge was growing at an impressive speed, primarily through the Royal Society founded by Charles II, of which Locke was a member, and which drew remarkably creative conclusions from Bacon's ideas.[363] Among the works created through the Society was one that best proved the merits of modern scientific research. In 1687, three years before Locke's main treatises, Isaac Newton's *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* was released, the result and justification of the fundamental change in thinking triggered by empirical "modesty." Cassirer described this work's method as follows:

> Instead of any general, but arbitrary, explanation based on the apparent "nature of things," there must appear simple observation of phenomena and clear designation of their empirical connection. The physicist must finally give up trying to explain the mechanism

359 Ibid., pp. 153–154.
360 Ibid., p. 154.
361 Hazard, *The Crisis...*, p. 245.
362 Ibid., p. 248.
363 For more on the topic, see: Butterfield, *The Origin...*