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Out of this World: Did Elizabethan court society really want to dance with the planets?

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I was recently hired to work at the Old Vic Theatre Company, to give practical dance instruction to the actors in preparation for their forthcoming production of Webster's Jacobean tragedy *The Duchess of Malfi*. The dance scene in Act Four features a dancing astrologer; a mad astrologer, to be precise. He has lost his sanity because he had declared that a certain day in the month would be a day of doom, and when his prediction did not come true, he 'ran mad.'[1] In the play, this astrologer has been sent to entertain the Duchess, supposedly with the intention of curing the Duchess of her melancholic disposition, but really as part of the ongoing torture trials instigated by her cruel brother. Along with this 'astrologian' come other people deemed 'mad': a lawyer, a priest, a doctor, a tailor crazed by fashion, a gentleman usher, a farmer and a broker. As they are all insane they are all now, in effect, outside of 'normal' society. However the types of men these dramatic characters represent, as men with defined professions, in reality may have had links, associations or indeed have been members themselves in their younger days of one society which allowed a good amount of time for dancing during the Elizabethan period: the Inns of Court.

Situated in the heart of London, with over a thousand young law students, the Elizabethan Inns of Court lodgings were filled to capacity and expanding each year, forming the largest single group of literate and cultured men in London.[2] Receiving the epithet as the 'third university' after Oxford and Cambridge, historical records from Sir John Fortescue in the Fifteenth Century declare the purpose for this society: it existed for men to not only study law but also 'such other exercises as might make them the more serviceable to the King's court'.[3] I would like to propose that one such skill that would make a young Elizabethan man more serviceable to Queen Elizabeth's court would indeed be social dance. And the first of these men from the Inns of Court society I am calling to stand witness to this is Sir Christopher Hatton.

Christopher Hatton was enrolled in the Inner Temple in 1560, having studied previously at Oxford University. During his early twenties he gained a reputation for dancing publicly at the Inns of Court where it was known that Queen Elizabeth attended performances, such as the 1562 festivities. From this moment, the myth was created that his rise to power was obviously *only* due to the Queen admiring his dancing skills. [4] By 1577 he had become established as Vice-Chamberlain of the Household and was knighted by the Queen. Certainly by this time in his life *Sir* Christopher Hatton had also developed an interest in astrology, for a number of manuals were dedicated to him, such as John Dee's major compendium *General and Rare Material* in 1577 and John Maplet's *Dial of Destiny* in 1581, both of which promote the application of astrological knowledge.[5] One of the final instructions to the dance pupil in the 1588 French dance manual *Orchésography*, is to 'practice these dances thoroughly and make yourself a worthy companion to the planets who are natural dancers.' [6] Surely it would be the astrologers in this society that would be the best dancers, as they would be in the best position to study planetary motion?

An examination of one of the portraits of Christopher Hatton brings together these two things that surrounded his reputation: dance

and astrology. The painting, attributed to the studio of William Segar, is peculiar in that it is a double-sided painting. [7] Although one side includes Hatton's head and shoulders depicted in the centre as usual, other figures connected to dance and astrology are featured in different areas of the canvas. For example, there is a couple standing side by side, a man and woman, hand in hand, with a musician at their side, clearly signifying that they are dancing. Awareness of time is needed for both dance and astrology– and the figure of Tempus is given prime place at the top of this side of the canvas, with the dialogue at the lower part of the painting relating to Time as a force in human destiny. The figure next to the dancing couple is one of the fates, by the name of Lachesis, who with the thread representing the span of a man's life, measures the length of time allotted. Dance shares this same metaphor of measured time on this portrait, made even more pertinent by knowing Hatton's reputation for filling his own courtly life with hours of dancing.

Even the side of the painting featuring the typical head and shoulders representation includes astrological imagery. An artist at an easel is shown in one bottom corner to imply that this actual act of portraiture is capturing forever Hatton's physical appearance at this exact time, as the Latin words on the scroll protruding out of the artist's mouth is saying 'eternity painted it.' However, there is a parallel image in the opposite corner, where an astrologer points his stick to the zodiac band of the armillary sphere, reading the horoscope of Hatton, with the astrologer's scroll declaring that 'eternity made it.'

Hatton's visage is surrounded by a circular border illustrating the traditional visual symbols for each constellation of the zodiac in the usual order. Inside this border of the zodiac are seven other small human figures, each one representing a personification of the planets. Each planet is visually represented as a human figure, costumed in an ancient style of dress typical of the ancient gods attributed to each of the 'wandering stars'. This illustration also exposes how the ruling of planets in the astrological houses could be seen as human characters with different personality qualities and types of action. Mars, for example, is depicted with his shield and sword pointing up ready for making a violent attack any second. Saturn has a crutch under one arm and a small child in the other, presumably writhing in fear of being gruesomely devoured by his father in the next moment. The personified Venus carries props usually associated with the love-child Cupid, displaying wings and holding a large arrow high in one hand ready to invoke feelings of physical love by piercing the human heart, which is displayed in the other hand in anticipation for the strike. Each planet is placed in a particular point in the circular time frame to demonstrate their position with the zodiac sign on this particular date, and the mathematical calculations for this location are written underneath the feet of each planet god. It is the combination of these personified deity qualities and their astronomic alignment that interested astrologers as they considered the influence of planetary positions to human actions. The human qualities attributed to the seven known planets was the basis of the manual dedicated to Hatton by Maplet in 1581, around which time this portrait has been dated.[8]

A good number of Inns-a-Court men had begun their education at either Oxford or Cambridge, so it is worth noting that one of the subjects taught as part of the Quadrivium of the Liberal Arts at these universities was Astronomy, along with Music, Maths and Geometry. Certainly three of these arts can be seen as providing skills useful in practical dance performance: connecting to the instrumental music, the arithmetical measure and the understanding of three-dimensional geometry of space. Would dance also benefit from the knowledge of 'judicial astronomy' too?[9]

Sir Christopher Hatton himself was not a dancing astrologer at the Inns of Court, although Sir William Lower, however, probably was.[10]

William Lower left Oxford University in 1589 and spent his early twenties as a member of the Middle Temple. Later in life, he would contribute to the development of astronomy in correspondence with Thomas

Harriot, studying the new theories proposed by Johannes Kepler, such as the 1596 *Mysterium Cosmographicum,* which proposed a new scientific way of considering the harmonic relationship of planetary spheres.[11] William became a very good friend of another young man who had joined the Middle Temple a year before him, a man called: John Davies.

John, a third son of a Tanner from the rural village of Tisbury, had left Oxford after only a few years without a degree and joined this London society of the Inns of Court. Maybe his ambition was to follow the steps of Christopher Hatton a generation before him, and dance his way into favour with the Queen and improve his position in society?

The name of Sir John Davies is well known to any historian of dance for his celebrated poem of dancing. *Orchestra* was first entered into the Stationer's Register on 25 June 1594, copied in the hand of a fellow Middle Temple man, Leweston Fitzjames in 1595, then amended and revised for publication in 1596 before being revised and reordered again in 1622, with the word 'unfinished' printed on the titlepage. Surveys of dance history from as early as 1899 to recently updated internet sites often select a handful of lines from Davies' poetry to support a theory that there was an astrological way of looking at dance at this time.[12]

Some of these propositions have been very eloquently put. For instance, in 1973 Roy Strong explained his view of 'Renaissance Spectacle and the Theatre of Power' by proposing that:

> To the Renaissance mind the dance essentially represented harmony in its capacity as a reflection of heavenly order. It was held that the dance arose through an imitation of the movements of the stars and planets.

Following a sample of only eight lines from Davies' poem he goes on to state that

> For Renaissance theorists the dance was a moral exercise affording virtuous contemplation and giving pleasure to the intellect. The passionate Renaissance belief in correspondences between the celestial and the sublunar worlds gave dancing and music, to which it was allied, a place of tremendous importance in attempts to relate one to the other. The power of movement, itself a reflection of the action of the spheres, was intensified by its union with music, similarly a terrestrial manifestation of a celestial phenomenon, the music of the spheres. [13]

Readings of this nature evidently developed from the critical thinking supporting a particular Elizabethan view of the world, firmly established by 1947, when E. M. W. Tillyard would glorify Elizabethan dance as 'cosmic dance.' [14]

John Davies' poem can be considered as nothing else but epic when it comes to the sheer number of words written specifically about dance. Each of the 136 verses gathered under the title of a poem of *Orchestra* relate in some way directly to a definition of movement which the poet would like us to see as being a form of dance. But why would a young twenty-something Inns-a-court man spend so much energy writing such a long poem about dance anyway? Didn't he have anything better to do with his social life than write about dancing? We had better see what the social life at the Inns of Court was like for young Mr. Davies.

The social life of the Inns of Court centred around presentations of argument, posing counter-arguments, what we might generally call 'mooting'. [15] Such mooting occurred in the Great Hall, with the large stained glass windows allowing the sun to shine through daily, glorifying the year 1570 when building work was completed. And it was here in the Great Hall that arguments would occur – before meals, during meals, after meals, - initiated by a 'Reader' who would stand at the wooden 'cup-board' - supposedly made from timber of Sir Francis Drake's Golden Hind that had only recently circumnavigated the world. Placed centrally on the raised dais, and speaking to the fellow members of this closed society, the artistic skills of the Trivium would now be tested: grammar, logic and rhetoric. Davies' *Orchestra* was published as a poem, but the 1596 titlepage also declares it to be 'judicially proving the

true observation of time and measure, in the authenticall and laudable use of dancing.' [16]

If we consider this poem as this – a moot – a verbal argument expounding on the commendable nature of dancing as a social art, then the reason why so many verses are connected to the same theme becomes clear: as many examples as possible are needed to strengthen his argument against criticism of the activity of dance. The poem is a form of defense or 'apology' – like a case put forward as a trainee lawyer. A moot was a display of the reader's ability to cite relevant ancient and biblical works, and passages from Cicero on natural philosophy combined with Lucian's writings on dance and pantomime specifically can be identified, with ideas from Plato, Pythagoras, Plotinus, and re-interpreted by translators such as Marsilio Ficino, who in the fifteenth century had reformed ancient ideas to comply with Christian neo-platonic thought.

This cosmic theory attributed to Ptolemy was based on a system of spheres that were imagined to circle the centrally placed earth, and this acts as Davies' map to make his journey through the dancing universe – his cosmic dance "sat-nav" – (satellite navigation system)! There are many contemporary illustrations of this classical concept, such as the Sphere Macrocosmos, in Peter Apian's 1584 *Cosmographia.*[17]

Moving from earth through the elements of water, air and then fire, the first planetary sphere reached would be that of the moon. The moon was considered the first of the planets, orbiting around the world in one sphere, beyond which were envisaged spherical orbits for Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, until the circular band of the zodiac was reached. Discussions of the place and quality of the sun as a more powerful force in this system was debated by many ancient astronomers and philosophers, including Aristotle, but the word planet, meaning a 'wandering star' in ancient Greek, unified the seven planets as all being forms of light, and this is how they appear poetically in *Orchestra* where the five planets are called 'wandering flames' with the Sun as the 'King of Day' and the Moon as the 'Queen of Night'.[18] Human personification of the planets is implied, as all seven planets are described as dancing independently, performing their own solo galliards. The sun and the moon are given human relationships, as brother and sister, and both interact with the female personification of mother earth. The observed motion of the planet Venus justifies her poetic personification as a 'flattering Dame' dancing forward and back, flirting with the Sun. [19]

But the poem does not only relate back to the ancient ideas of the cosmos. Davies shows knowledge of the more recent heliocentric theories:

> Although some witts enricht with Learnings skill
> Say heav'n stands firme, and that the Earth doeth fleete
> And swiftly turneth underneath their feate[20]

In the grand scheme of the poem these theories which threaten the Ptolemaic order can be dismissed quickly – for being facetious with wit and word play is most important here: the world was of course called 'world' because it 'whirled' around.[21] And even radical ideas of Epicurus and Lucretius are referred to which, at the time, were being re-examined as scientific proposals for a non-harmonic theory of the universe: 'undivided motes' are those things now identified as atoms.[22] To uphold Davies' argument such theories had to be 'brought together' into this Love-centric cosmos:

> They err that say they did concur by chance,
> Love made them meet in a well-ordered dance.[23]

Davies was not unique in using this idea of Love as the creator of order in the universe. This theme had inspired other poetic treatments such as *An Hymne in Honour of Love* by Edmund Spenser, also published in 1596, with verses resonating with the identical Lucian idea of the four elements being ordered by Love:

> The earth, the ayre, the water, and the fyre,
> Then gan to raunge them selues in huge array,
> And with contrary forces to conspyre
> Each against other, by all meanes they may,

> Threatning their owne confusion and decay:
> Ayre hated earth, and water hated fyre,
> Till Loue relented their rebellious yre. [24]

However, the thing that is unique to Davies, is the narrative upon which he hangs all these arguments.

He presents a new episode added to the ancient story of Queen Penelope, waiting for her husband Odysseus to return from the Trojan war. Many suitors try to convince her to forget about him and take one of them as her new lover. Davies imagines that one way a suitor would have tried to woo Penelope would have been with dancing. The arguments put forward in the poem are not those of Davies, the Elizabethan law-student presenting a moot, but those used by this ancient Greek suitor, Antinous, asking the Queen to dance. This married Queen believes that dance – as a 'frenzie and rage' in this 'new- fangled age' – has no place in her society.[25] She may admire the poetic conceit of cosmic dance, finding beauty in the movement of the stars and 'if that be dancing, will a Dancer be' - but what she does not approve of is the 'frantic jollity' which is how she sees the physical practice of dance on the earth.[26] She is not convinced that dance on the earth has any relationship with the cosmos whatsoever, and we must consider whether the members of the Elizabethan Inns of Court audience would have either?

When the verbal poetic arguments fail, Antinous calls for actual physical action – he summons the character of Love to appear and with the muse of astronomy, Urania, in order that they can look into the future. Penelope is presented with the image of an Elizabethan court dancing in harmony with an imagined dancing cosmos. For this reason, the *Orchestra* poem has been seen to uphold the notion – or more specifically the motion - that Love, Dance and Order were the actual ideal of the Elizabethan courtly society. But was Love, Dance and Order combined in real physical terms in the society of the Inns of the Court?

Maybe the best place to look for this physical reality is at The Revels. The Revels in the Inns of Court at least combined Dance with Love and Misrule! At the Middle Temple, the chief Lord of Misrule of this occasion was given the title: The Prince of Love. If the activities detailed in the script of the1597/8 Prince of Love Revels were typical, then the event was bawdy, to say the least. [27] The Clerk of the Council was required to read the charge to all the assembled officers of the Prince of Love, who had all sworn their oaths, each repeating at the end: 'So help thee Cupid and his gentle mother Venus.' The list of duties for each of these several officers are full of intensely extreme vulgar sexual innuendo, with each officer being required to aid the access of wooing and lovemaking with their mistresses. Each duty is based on the real traditional role of a noble court– but with the opposite intention: for instance the Lord Chamberlain should 'keep all rooms void of spies' and the Lieutenant of the Tower must not let any lady escape, keeping them imprisoned for lovemaking. There is a Master of Revels elected as one of the officers of the Prince of Love, whose job it is to make sure 'no Gentleman's Voice drown the base Viol; that they dance in measure and Love beyond measure.' This part of the ceremony concludes with a very lengthy mock astrological prognostication based on an analysis of a 'new heaven nearer at hand, more sensible, though of equal uncertainty, which is - a woman.' It begins with the two astrological Poles being the two legs of the mistress: 'the supporters and movers of the whole fair frame' and gradually the analogy becomes more lewd and extremely pornographic, as signs of the zodiac and astrological terms are given a vulgar interpretation. However, amidst such references to the physical body, it is still possible to link to my subject of a celestial cosmic dance, as one of the predictions states that

> Some Revellers shall receive great down-falls, for presuming to imitate the heavens in their circular motion

which I would suggest would not be due to a lack of dance technique but rather because of over-indulging in the plentiful food and drink at the Revels' banquets.[28]

Of course, such profanities should probably remind us of another legal student who was renowned for being rather smutty when it comes to describing the practice of dance, with vulgar comments made in macaronic Latin about breaking wind on the dance floor, tying your codpiece on tightly, and making sure you remove your gloves, gentlemen, if you want to get to know your female partner better. The giver of this advice, Anthonius Arena, writing to his legal friends "*ad suous compagnos,"* in the early sixteenth century (published 1529 onwards with many subsequent editions)[29] actually tells his dancers 'don't be stargazers like the astrologers.' [30] Rather, keep your eyes looking around you, and look your lady in the eye when you reverence. There are no dancing planets to consider here, only real women needing attention. Arena is being serious, however, as his instruction manual offers valuable detailed technique and words of wisdom from someone who knows what makes a dance look good, feel good, and to make sure your partner is feeling respected.

How you dance is vitally important: 'No dance is worth anything if grace is lacking.' [31] But the reason for this art is very clear: you must persevere to win over your special lady as 'women often refuse what they ardently desire to have' of course. [32] So he tells his lawyer friends to practise their technique until it becomes graceful, learn the basse dance sequences perfectly, and all the while keep courteously caressing the hand of the lady you desire!

Jehan Tabourot, author of the *Orchesography* dance manual, had knowledge of Anthonius Arena. Tabourot imagines Arena as the old teacher of his fictional instructor Monsiuer Arbeau, in particular when it comes to the technical justification for using the left leg to make a reverence. One could muse whether Arena's first name – Anthonius - was the name Tabourot had in his mind when he is making the anagram Thoinot Arbeau? Thoinot has an echo of Anthony – and the name appears in large print on the frontpiece of the publication. Tabourot would also attach Thoinot Arbeau as the pseudonym to his own astrological text, a manual for calculating the movements of the sun and moon to comply with the newly introduced Gregorian calendar, written at the same time as the dance manual.

'Anthony' resonates with the name of the poetical protagonist of *Orchestra*: Antinous, and it may be worth considering if the poet of *Orchestra* knew of the French *Orchésograhie*, so that this Elizabethan-Ancient Greek-Dance-Lover would share his name with the writers of these renowned dance teachers. Unfortunately for this argument there are no extant copies of the French *Orchesography* manuals in England from this time, nor in any records of private libraries to suggest that it was in circulation by ambassadors or courtiers visiting the French court, although in 1615 the Master of Revels, Sir George Buc, will call the art of dancing *Orchestice*, stating that dance was "commendable and fit for a Gentleman" if " modestly used." George Buc had been a society member of Middle Temple from 1585. [33]

Even if the men at the Inns of Court were not familiar with the French dancing manuals and the names of their authors, Davies' choice of the name Antinous for the wooing suitor in this new episode in Queen Penelope's story is relevant for its obvious classical context. Tillyard in 1947 wanted us to see Antinous as a "good courtier," but in the original Homer, Antinous is an evil, sinister, ruthless, dangerous man who encourages his fellow men to abuse the hospitality of Queen Penelope by consuming livestock, drinking wine excessively and plotting to have Penelope's son murdered. The Inns-a-court men would have known their Homer in Greek, and if not they would only have to wait until 1598 to read Chapman's translation into English. The suitor Antinous is basically a liar, and will say anything to try to get his way. I would propose therefore that when wooing Queen Penelope, Antinous is using these moral arguments to hide his real immoral intentions – and for this he is listing as many virtuous examples as he can, and the cosmic idea of dance as celestial harmony is perfect for this cause.

But surely our poet of celestial dance did not intend his poem to be read as part of the

Prince of Love persuasions of a mistress to engage in immoral behaviour? Well, he attaches a quotation direct from the main text that all Prince of Love society members had to agree to uphold: from Ovid's *Ars Amandi* – the Art of Love – the salacious textbook for which the poet Ovid was reputedly expelled by the Emperor. The Middle Temple revelers of the Prince of Love had to swear to forfeit their mistress for half a year if they slandered this particular Art of Love textbook. The quotation on the title page of the 1596 publication of *Orchestra* reads:

> Si vox est, canta: si mollia brachia, salta:
> Et quacunque potes dote placere, place.
>
> If you have a voice, then sing – if your arms are soft, then leap

[*that is, I assume, if you have moveable limbs then dance*]

> and if you have the capacity to please someone then please them!

At the time of writing his first draft of *Orchestra* John Davies did have to please someone very special – and that was Queen Elizabeth herself.

John Davies had got himself into serious trouble for being a bad boy early on in his days at Middle Temple, creating riots at Candlemas with his friends William Lower and Richard Martin, and following this disruptive behaviour, he was 'kept out of the commons.' [34]

Such a scandal would threaten his chance to better his social position, and in 1594 he would need to appeal directly to Queen Elizabeth to ask for her support for him to be re-instated as a Templar.

It continued to be held that Sir Christopher Hatton had initially impressed the Queen by his dancing. Although Hatton had died in 1591, if the Queen believed the argument in *Orchestra*, this dancing Chancellor and patron of astrological publications would now be dancing with the stars for eternity:

> For when pale Death your vitall twist shall sever,
> Your better parts must daunce with them for ever.[35]

Was there now a vacancy on earth for a new dancing courtier to win favour with the Queen? Unfortunately, the evidence we have about Davies' physical attributes leads me to imagine that John was unlikely to have been able to impress as a good dancer himself. He was mocked as someone who

> goes waddling with his arse out behinde as though he were about to make every one that he meets a wall to piss against … he never walks but he carries a clokebag behind him / his arse sticks out so far. [36]

Whereas his friend Richard Martin would take the part of the Prince of Love in the revels, being described as 'handsome' and 'graceful' and no doubt dancing well, Davies is assumed to have played the part of Stradilax**.** Considering the word associations in this name, I wonder how Stradilax would have danced a galliard?

[Here, for comic effect, a caricature demonstration of galliard steps, performed with the posterior extended in the backward direction, straddling leg motions, and a relaxed upper-body carriage.]

But Stradilax was a clever poet, and from the suggestion of his friend Richard Martin, it appears that John Davies set out to demonstrate his understanding of dance without actually taking a step onto the dance floor. What he called a 'suddain, rash, half-capriol of my wit' [37] would take its first inception as a poem of dance, written within fifteen days as a judicial argument, attached to the idea of wooing a mistress, and combining ancient astrological metaphors with the fashionable dance forms of the moment. This poem created a new concept that would later be imagined as 'cosmic dance.' His arguments were convincing, for he was reinstated into this society of the Inns of Court, and his political career leapt on. Davies would need to refashion this poem along the way, particularly when he needed to turn in another direction or join with new

political partners (it seems relevant, for instance, that his final publication of the poem in 1622 is at the very time when royal favour by King James is being given to the most accomplished aristocratic dancer of the period, George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham and Davies is needing to seek preferment in the Jacobean court!)

John Marston's words of warning to dancing courtiers published in *The Scourge of Villainy* in 1599 sounds a very relevant maxim to conclude my argument:

> Yee gracious Orbes, keep the old measuring,
> All's spoiled if once yee fall to capering. [38]

The historical view of cosmic dance ordered divinely in the heavens can artistically mask the potential dangers that physical interaction with partners might create during dancing on earth. Marston's advice could be directed to anyone contemplating a caper, including a virtuous Queen being wooed by an immoral new-fangled suitor, or indeed a physically-challenged social-climbing political-poet in the Elizabethan Inns of Court society.

Notes

[1] Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*, Act 4, scene 2, lines 45-58.

[2] Finkelpearl, p.5.

[3] *Ibid.* p.3.

[4] Wallace, 2004.

[5] Dee, *General and Rare Memorials Pertaining to the Perfect Art of Navigation* (1577) and Maplet, *Diall of Destiny* (1581). It must be noted that in addition to the popular image of John Dee as a mystic astrologer, the connection to the age of discovery and expansion into the New World meant that Dee had a scientific approach to astronomy, and the purpose of his writings was to enable knowledge to be practically used for navigation. John Maplet in his *Dial of Destiny* systematically categorises natural qualities to the astrological influence of the seven planets.

Maplet, John (*d.* 1592), writer on natural philosophy, matriculated as a sizar from Queens' College, Cambridge, in December 1560 and graduated BA in 1564. He was a fellow of St Catharine's College in August 1564, and was ordained deacon at Ely on 5 November of that year. He was a fellow of Gonville and Caius College in 1566/7 and proceeded to MA in 1567. On 26 November 1568 he was instituted, on the presentation of Sir Thomas Mildmay, to the rectory of Great Leighs, Essex, which he exchanged for the vicarage of Northolt, Middlesex, on 30 April 1576. Here, Maplet wrote a small book, *The Diall of Destiny*. Completed in December 1581, it was printed in London, with a dedication to Sir Christopher Hatton, the following year. In this treatise Maplet, drawing on scholarly sources, argues that the heavens influence earthly events. He discusses the properties, effects, and qualities of each of the known planets in turn (the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn), and touches on a range of subjects from elephants to earthquakes.

Extracted from: Kassell, Lauren, 'Maplet, John (*d.* 1592)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18016, accessed 15 Feb 2012]

[6] Arbeau, *Orchésography*, p.195.

[7] Cooper, 'Double-Sided Painting with a portrait of Sir Christopher Hatton, c.1581', ed. Susan Doran, *Elizabeth: The Exhibition at the National Maritime Museum,* (Chatton & Windus, London, 2003), pp.136-138.

[8] *Ibid.* Date upheld by Tanya Cooper, Curator: Sixteenth Century Collections, National Portrait Gallery & Elizabeth Exhibition, National Maritime Museum.

[9] For a history of astrological categories and distinctions between natural and judicial astrology see: Whitfield, *Astrology,* 2001, pp.80-81 and pp.110-111.

[10] Lower, William (c.1570-1615) see Roche, 2004 . In 1586 Lower matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, and entered the Middle Temple in 1589. Evidence of his interest in astrology connected him to Thomas Harriot. Letters (1607-1611) demonstrate a scientific approach, considering new developments in cosmological observation.

[11] Stephenson, 1994.

[12] For example, Edward Scott's *Dancing in All Ages* cites *Orchestra* on pages 143-144, published

in the U.S.A. by S. Sonnenschein & co., lim., 1899.

[13] Strong, p.140.

[14] Tillyard, 1959. Chapter 8 'The Cosmic Dance', pp 101-106.

[15] Middle Temple traditions are recorded in Finkelpearl, 1969, & Arlidge, 2000.

[16] Davies, John. *Orchestra*. 1596 Title Page.

[17] *Cosmography, or Description of the Universal Sphere,* by Petrus Apianus & Gemma Frisius (Antwerp, 1584)

[18] Davies, 1975, Stanza 37, p.99.

[19] *Ibid.* Stanza 38, p.100.

[20] *Ibid.* Stanza 51, p.103.

[21] *Ibid.* Stanza 34, p.99.

[22] Bate, 2009, p.415.

[23] Davies, 1975, Stanza 20, p.95.

[24] Spenser, 1970, Line 78, p.587.

[25] Davies, 1975, Stanza 16, p.94.

[26] *Ibid.* Stanza 26, p.97.

[27] Arlidge, 2000, p.126. The 1660 publication by William Leake of Fleet Street is regarded as a true transcription of Benjamin Rudyerd's script of the 1597/8 Middle Temple Revels.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] Wilson, 2012, p.149

[30] Arena, 1986, p.33 [line 489]

[31] Ibid. p.25 [line 327: ergo dansando gratia semper erit]

[32] Ibid. p.36. [line 550-51]

[33] Contained in Stow, 1615.

[34] Pawlisch, 1985. pp. 15 -26.

[35] Davies, 1975, Stanza 60, p.106

[36] *Ibid.* p.18. From John Manningham's Diary entry. BL Harl. MS 1576, fos. 562-3

[37] Davies, 1975. p.89 "To his very Friend, Ma. Rich: Martin"

[38] Marston, 1598. Satire X.

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