

An Arrogant Joseph Hall...

and an Angry Edward de Vere

....in *Virgidemiarum*, 1599

Carolyn Morris



noteworthy literary event occurred in December 1599 with the publication of *Virgidemiarum*,¹ a compilation of two earlier books of satires: *Toothlesse Satyrs* (March 1597) and *Byting Satyres* (March 1598). Only six months earlier, it prominently sat atop the list of works to be collected and burned in the Bishops' Ban of 1 June 1599. The author was identified by name: "*Satyres termed Hall's satyres viz. Virgidemiarum or his toothles or biting satyres.*"² It should have been destroyed, as had the satires and epigrams of other authors, yet there it was in December, newly printed and available to the public with the notation, "Corrected and amended with some Additions. By I. H."³

Before the Bishops' Ban, the books had been printed as anonymous works, but now they were known to be by Joseph Hall, a 24-year-old fellow of Emmanuel College Cambridge, an academic star of the Loyal Puritan faction, those who gave their support to Queen Elizabeth, but who wanted the Church of England to be more pure. With the publication of *Virgidemiarum*, there was no more anonymity; Hall would have to own what he wrote.

Why the work was allowed to be published after it had been banned with such notoriety remains unanswered. A second document, issued by the bishops only three days later on 4 June, listed *Virgidemiarum* and one other publication, *Caltha Poetarum* (1599) by Thomas Cutwode (also known as Tailboys Dymoke) to be "staid," or not burned. "*Willobies Advise to be Called in,*" of uncertain authorship (1594), was added to the list to be burned.⁴ There were two main reasons for the Bishops' Ban: lasciviousness and, more importantly, satirical personal attacks on highly placed people that came too close to exposing them. Allowing *Virgidemiarum* to be published

may have been a veiled threat to those people. From an opposite point of view, it may have been a way to embarrass Loyal Puritans by identifying one of their own as the author of a lascivious work.

The Latin title, *Virgidemiarum*, means a small bundle of rods to be used for scourging, with the sense of Hall's satires as the rods. Hall describes *Tooth-lesse Satyrs* as "gentle Satyres, pend so easily," with relatively gentle scourging. He says of *Byting Satyres*, "I write in crabbed oake-tree rinde, search they that meane the secret meaning finde."⁵ He's going to be much rougher and he wants to be clear that his satires contain covert meanings.

Hall deals in general with perceived vices of the age; he deals specifically with persons hidden under Latin or allegorical names, often using numerous names and characters for one person, or combining two or more people into one character. He breaks apart people and events and puts them back together into an abstract, but recognizable, form to those with inside knowledge. His aim was to be obscure, and this obscurity gave him the credible deniability that every writer of satire needed to protect himself from charges of libel or exposure.

This article is composed of excerpts from the whole of *Virgidemiarum* that, I propose, concern Edward de Vere and reveal the deeply hidden story that he is William Shakespeare. The approach is to be conceptually simple and to follow a single thread of a larger, intricate tapestry. It is an analysis of Hall's words and focuses on those satires that concern de Vere. It is Hall who drives the story that evolves, one which contains a surprisingly vivid portrayal of de Vere, although from a Puritan point of view. My analysis looks to what Hall has said, but I also seek his hidden meaning as well as his apparent one. Evidence that Hall is writing about de Vere grows stronger as the satires progress and build upon each other; they tell of other scandals in his life, not only of the "baseness" of his participation in the public stage as William Shakespeare. I have chosen not to include some allusions to de Vere because they are too general or obscure. One concerns a mature, lusty courtier with auburn locks whose wig is blown off by a gusty wind and it's revealed that he is bald underneath. A "yonker" (a dignified gallant) picks up the wig from a deep ditch.⁶ I think that allusion is to de Vere as the lusty courtier and to William Shakespeare of Stratford as the yonker. Another satire concerns a poor, rustic gallant named Ruffio, a "fayre yonker" (a dignified gallant) who struts around London in the latest foppish fashions, walks the aisles of St. Paul's and is compared to a "Shak-forke."⁷ I think that is another allusion to William Shakespeare, who is ironically called a "Shak-forke" instead of a Shake-speare. I have omitted a few concise allusions, i.e., "I loath... *Labeos* poems or base *Lolios* pride..."⁸ There are likely other allusions that I have not recognized.⁹

One can see a progression in the satires, starting late in Book 1 and continuing into Book 2, with a scourging of de Vere for writing lewdly in *Venus and Adonis*. It leads to a harsher, more personal scourging in Book 4, which contains five satires in a row that concern him, and then Book 6 contains the ultimate recantation of all the scourging that has preceded it. *Virgidemiarum* is an exceptional source for information about de Vere. It calls for much more study than this essay provides.

The text for the excerpts is from the 1599 edition with its use of italics and capitalization and it uses the corrections and additions listed at the end of the book, as by "I.H." The letter *u* has been changed to *v* where appropriate, e.g., "love" instead of "loue," "ever" instead of "euer." The interpretations of Hall's text which follow each excerpt are mine. Portions of the work presented below first appeared, in slightly different form, in "Did Joseph Hall and Ben Jonson Identify Oxford as Shakespeare?" *The Oxfordian* vol. 15 (2013).

TOOTH-LESSE SATYRS: The first three Books (March 1597)

Hall did not use mottos for his satires in the first three Books. The subtitles quoted are those supplied in 1825 to help identify the content.¹⁰ They refer to the apparent meaning of the satire, not to the hidden meaning.

HIS DEFIANCE TO ENVY: A poem prefixed to the satires

Nay: let the prouder Pines of Ida feare
The sudden fires of heaven: and decline
Their yeelding tops, that dar'd the skies whilere.

(1-3)

From the first lines, Hall says what he intends to do. The proudest people in Queen Elizabeth's court, the highest Pines, need to fear Envy and the attacks of the gods. Hall defies Envy because, he later implies with false modesty, he isn't important enough and his poetry isn't good enough. He presents himself as the instrument of Nemesis, the goddess who chastises the proud. He wants those with great pride to bow their heads and repent.

Edward de Vere was England's preeminent earl, the 17th Earl of Oxford. John Aubrey says, quoting King Charles I, "The three ancientist families in Europe were the Veres in England, Earls of Oxford...Fitz-Geralds in Ireland...and Momorancy in France."¹¹ De Vere was known for great pride about his ancient heritage.¹² He was closely associated with Queen Elizabeth from the age of twelve, when he became her ward upon his father's death in 1562, and came to live in the home of William Cecil, her chief councilor and Secretary of State.¹³

The influence of *Virgidemiarum* on other writers can be shown in that many of them imitated the use of a prefatory poem or prose: John Marston, *To Detraction in The Scourge of Villainie* (1599); Thomas Middleton, *His Defiance to Envy in Micro-Cynicon* (1599); John Weever in prefatory verses, *Epigrammes* (1599); Thomas Cutwode, a prose preface, *To the Conceited Poets of Our Age in Caltha Poetarum* (1599).¹⁴

Book 1, Satire IX: *An Obscene Poet*

Envie ye Muses, at your thriving Mate,
Cupid hath crowned a new laureat:
I saw his *Statue* gayly tyr'd in greene,
As if he had some second *Phoebus* beene.
His *Statue* trim'd with the Venerean tree,
And shrined faire within your Sanctuarie.

(1-6)

Hall has overtly mentioned or covertly alluded to many authors by this point in the satires: Spenser, Sidney, Marlowe, Stanyhurst, the poets of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, sacred poets, sonneteers, the poets of Roman hexameters, legendary and romantic poets, and drunken poets. But he has not noted Shakespeare, whose two long poems, *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594), were still popular.

Hall now deals with a poet whom critics have been unable to identify. It has been conjectured that he was some obscure scribbler of the day, but the poet is successful (“thriving”) and Cupid has crowned him a “new laureat,” a poet of acclaim. The Muses should feel envy at the superiority of the author. Hall sees fit to devote a whole satire to him.

When one thinks of a popular poet who was newly being acclaimed as Cupid’s laureate, and who wrote so well that the Muses should envy him, Shakespeare has to be considered. The name was publicly unknown until 1593, when it first appeared in print on *Venus and Adonis*. That work was a bawdy, sophisticated and beautifully written poem about love that was avidly read by the public and the court, but was thought to be obscene by Loyal Puritans. It, along with *The Rape of Lucrece*, had been published in numerous editions.¹⁵

The poet’s statue or likeness is gaily attired in green. As has often been noted, the French word for “green” is “vert” and is a homophone of “Ver,” an alternate spelling of de Vere’s name. The pronunciation of *vert/Ver/Vere* rhymes with “fair.” “Green” had become a frequent covert indicator for de Vere in the literature of the 1590s. Thomas Nashe combined “Ver” and “green” in *Summer’s Last Will and Testament*, first performed in 1592, but not published until 1600 (another noteworthy event, as all of Nashe’s works had been banned by the Bishops). Ver, a character representing Spring, merrily enters the stage with a large number of singers and dancers dressed all in green moss. Rita Lamb, a Stratfordian, has identified Ver as de Vere.¹⁶

Hall, in his *Virgidemiarum*, says that it’s as if the poet is a second Phoebus. De Vere had been compared to Phoebus Apollo by Gabriel Harvey in the widely known *Gratulationes Valdinenses* (1578). Apollo is named in the Latin motto on the title page of *Venus and Adonis*, from Ovid’s *Amores*, Book I, Elegy 15. Marlowe translated it: “Let base-conceited wits admire vile things, /Fair Phoebus lead me to the Muses springs.”¹⁷

“Trim’d with the Venerean tree” means adorned with myrtle, which was

considered a wanton tree that grew on laurel stock. Erato was crowned with myrtle when erotic poetry was the subject. The word “Venerean,” in Early Modern English, meant connected with or related to Venus. “Shrined faire within your Sanctuarie” employs a usage of the word “faire” that, when applied to literature, meant eloquent or polished. *Venus and Adonis* was an eloquent and polished poem. “Faire” is also suggestive of an allusion to Ver. In Old English, *F* in the initial position of a word was always pronounced as *V*.¹⁸ The same pronunciation was sometimes found in the middle of a word, such as “behoofe” for “behoove.” The carryover to Early Modern was common; for example, in the 1580 will of Agnes Arden, Mary Arden’s stepmother, the body of the will contains a bequest to a Richard Petyvere, who becomes at the end of the will a witness, Richard Petifere.¹⁹ In *King Lear*, Edgar says in IV.v, “without vurther ‘casion...let poor volk pass... zo long as ‘tis by a vortnight.” Thus, “faire” could be synonymous with “Ver.” The covert indicator “faire,” added to Phoebus in the motto of *Venus and Adonis*, points to de Vere.

A definition of “Shrined” or “enshrined” was to conceal within a shrine. The Oxford English Dictionary gives an example of this usage from Spenser in *Hymne in Honour of Beautie*, (1596), “What booteth that celestiall ray, if it in darkness be enshrined ever?” In this sense, Hall suggests that de Vere is concealed in the Muses’ sanctuary, a place of safety. He is a hidden poet. Spenser’s line is evocative of de Vere’s hiddenness as well, but it is a sidetrack that won’t be followed.

Whiles th’itching vulgar tickled with the song,
Hanged on their unreadie poets tongue.

(11-12)

The public was “tickled” with what he wrote and eagerly read everything. However, the “unreadie poet” didn’t want to be recognized. He was not ready or was unavailable for use. It is again emphasized that de Vere was a hidden poet. The public was enthralled with *Venus and Adonis*.

But Arts of Whoring: stories of the Stewes,
Ye Muses, will ye beare and may refuse?
Nay, let the *Divell* and *Saint Valentine*
Be gossips to those ribald rimes of thine.

(33-36)

The Muses are asked not to accept or condone overt, lewd, sexual poetry like *Venus and Adonis*. Then Hall makes reference to “the *Divell* and *Saint Valentine*,” two works by Thomas Nashe: *Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Divell* (1592) and *The Choice of Valentines* (early 1590s).²⁰ *Pierce Penniless* was Nashe’s most successful work, a satire in prose that addressed the wickedness and evil in the world. The title character has been identified as an allusion to both de Vere and to Nashe.²¹ *The Choice of Valentines* was an extremely erotic poem, not printed until 1899, but widely circulated and

known. A definition of “gossip” in Early Modern English was godparent. Hall is saying that Nashe’s two works, not the Muses, should represent the obscene author’s “ribald rimes.”

Within the first six lines are three words with strong covert meanings that allude to de Vere: “greene,” “Phoebus” and “faire.” The poet is a challenge to the Muses, is thriving, is Cupid’s new laureate, is entwined with an erotic Venus, is obscene and is hidden in the Muses’ sanctuary. Cupid’s new laureate is William Shakespeare, the author of *Venus and Adonis*, and he is Edward de Vere, a hidden poet. If this seems like a huge leap without enough evidence, coming satires will provide more clarity. Hall’s elliptical writing makes it imperative to read to the end to fully understand preceding allusions.

This is the first satire that deals covertly with de Vere as Shakespeare.

*Or beene the Manes of that Cynick Spright,
Cloth'd with some stubborn clay and led to light?
...That so with gall-weet words and speeches rude,
Controls the maners of the multitude.
Envie belike incites his pining heart,
And bids it sate it selfe with others smart.
...angrie Nemesis...that scourge I beare,
And wound and strike and pardon whom she list.*

(Book 2, Prologue, 1-12)

Hall asks if Diogenes of Sinope, the Cynic who could mock Alexander the Great and the elite and get away with it,²² has come back to life with his bawdy and biting work that is so popular with the public. The prologue and the following satire refer back to the immediately preceding satire, Book 1, Satire IX, *An Obscene Poet*. The laureate whom Cupid has newly crowned was extremely talented and, by implication, could mock Elizabeth and the mighty and get away with it. His lewd *Venus and Adonis* was so popular with the public that it influenced public behavior. Hall recognizes the “smart,” the scathing wit, the biting humor of the author even as he scourges the content of his work.

At this point, Hall reveals himself in his guise as Nemesis. He feels entitled to go after anyone with his scourging or to pardon them. He has told us he will attack the proud, but he himself has assumed an arrogant, godlike persona.

For shame, write better, *Labeo*, or write none,
Or better write or *Labeo* write alone.

(Book 2, Satire I: *Immodest Poetry*, 1-2)

Labeo is told not to be lewd, but to “write cleanly,” as the last couplet of this satire says, or not to write at all. He’s also told to write by himself, “alone,” under his own

name (this translation will be seen as accurate when a later satire is introduced). Labeo is the author with whom Diogenes wants to sate his pining heart. Labeo is the author whom Hall compares to Diogenes.

The source of the name Labeo has two strong contenders, who, when added together, more fully reveal de Vere. Using a name associated with two plausible historical figures is a literary device that Hall used frequently. One candidate is Labeo Attius, a court poet of the emperor Nero, who became the eponym for a bad poet. Hall indicates that his Labeo is a bad poet, although “bad” is directed at content and not skill, and tells him to “write better.” Hall says that, in large part, he writes his satires in the manner of Persius.²³ Persius derided Labeo Attius in his Satire I: “Do you, who are old enough to be wiser, put together such obscene and filthy stuff in order to be food for your libidinous hearers? I tell you plainly, and without disguise, that you are an old trifler, to pretend to wit or poetry.”²⁴ The whole of Persius’s Satire I concerns bad writing like Labeo’s, who, near the end says, “Tell me the truth about myself,” to which Persius replies, “You are just a fool, you old bald pate, ye blue-blooded patrician.”²⁵

A second candidate for Hall’s Labeo is Quintus Fabius Labeo, from an old, distinguished family associated with Rome’s beginnings.²⁶ He was a Praetor in 189 BCE and was later Second Consul of the Republic. He also wrote plays. The Roman biographer Santra (c. 44-39 BCE) surmised that Terence was more likely a front for this Labeo (or for Gaius Sulpicius Gallus or Marcus Popillius) as the author of the plays for which Terence was given credit, than for Laelius or Scipio, who were younger men.²⁷

Both Labeos point covertly to de Vere. They are upper class, mature men, poets and playwrights. Labeo Attius is a fool, he is bald, he has written obscene and filthy works to feed lascivious readers. He asks for the truth about himself. Quintus Fabius Labeo’s heritage is associated with the founding of Rome, as de Vere claimed his was, and it is suggested that someone else was given credit for this Labeo’s work. A compelling and complicated picture of de Vere is seen in the two Labeos.

Hall detracts from de Vere’s name both as an author and, as we shall see, as a person. John Marston, in *Reactio*, Satire IV of *The Metamorphosis of Pigmalion’s Image & Certain Satyres* (1598), which was a direct response to *Toothlesse Satyrs and Byting Satyres* before *Virgidemiarum* of 1599 was published, says: “What cold Saturnian/Can hold and hear such vile detraction?” He used a prefatory poem, “To Detraction,” in *The Scourge of Villainie*. Marston saw Hall’s work as detraction, he personified him as “Detraction,” and he saw his work as vile. Marston also specifically identified Labeo as the author of *Venus and Adonis*.²⁸

Another small hint to Labeo’s identity may be the last two letters of the name—*eo*. Edward de Vere was variously known as Edward Oxenford or the Earl of Oxford and he used the initials *E.O.* on poems and song lyrics from his early years. Hall plays with the end of names in other satires, i.e., Cyned becomes Cynedo, Pontice becomes Pontian.

Nay, call the *Cynick* but a wittie foole,
Thence to abjure his handsome drinking bole:
Because the thirstie swaine, with hollow hand,
Convey'd the streame to weet his drie weasand.

(Lines 3-6)

Hall is again comparing Labeo with Diogenes, who is called a witty fool, and we have seen Persius's use of a fool who pretends to wit. Hall is saying that Labeo has given up something of value to behave like a commoner. He is stooping from his high position. De Vere's association with the public theater would have been a disgrace within the social mores of the day. It would have been considered base or common or vile for a nobleman, especially one of highly esteemed lineage who was also Lord Great Chamberlain, to write for or act on the public stage, although it was acceptable to write or act for the entertainment of the court. Diogenes was singularly odd, to use a phrase applied to de Vere,²⁹ who was widely known for his wit and for being a fool.

A riddle

*Write they that can, tho they that cannot doe:
But who knowes that, but they that doe not know?*

(Lines 3-6)

Those who are able to write (and publish), do so, though those who aren't able to write (because of their high position), also do. But who knows that they write? Only those who have said that they do not know that they write (who have sworn not to reveal the authors).

The riddle is an important part of Hall's message. It tells of concealed aristocratic writers. Labeo is one. The riddle says that those who know their identities keep that knowledge hidden. In Book 4, Satire IV, *Plus beau que fort*, a motto by Hall, he says, "Have I not vow'd for shunning such debate/ (Pardon ye satyres) to degenerate?"—the debate being about Shakespeare.

So, lavish ope-tyde causeth fasting-lents,
So extravagant spring causes the leanness of Lent.

(3-6)

An archaic translation of "ope-tyde" is early spring. It was the time when flowers first started opening, or the time before Ash Wednesday. "Ver" means spring in Latin and we remember the character Ver, who represented Spring, in Nashe's play. In the context of the satire, Hall is saying that de Vere needs to stop writing so voluminously, which causes a shortage of paper and quills for lesser writers and makes them expensive. In his personal life de Vere was called lavish and spent money

extravagantly.

And each man writes: *Ther's so much labour lost.*
That's good, that's great: Nay much is seldome well,
Of what is bad, a littl's a great deale.
Better is more: but best is nought at all.
Lesse is the next, and lesser criminall.
Little and good, is greatest good save one,
Then Labeo, or write better, or write none.

(3-6)

Italicized sentences always indicate that Hall is saying something important. Hall makes an allusion to Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*. He includes references to Shakespeare in parts of the satires that deal with de Vere, and links them repeatedly. The line also shows his disapproval of the writings of most authors. On a covert level, the use of "each man," meaning *every* man, is an allusion to de Vere, and Hall specifically decries his voluminous writing. "Every" alludes to E. Ver or Edward de Vere, who used "ever" in his own *Echo Verses: Sitting alone upon my thought in melancholy mood* and in *Ann Vavasour's Echo* (c. 1580) to refer to himself as E. Ver and as an anagram of Vere.

There are three colons in this section. "Labour lost" follows the first, an evident allusion to the title of the play. Following the second colon are "much" and "well," and following the third are "nought" and "all." They are simple words, but used together, and following the example of "labour lost," they evoke *Much Ado About Nothing* and *All's Well that Ends Well*.

Tush, in small paynes can be but little art,
 Or lode full drie-fats fro the forren mart
 With *Folio-volumes*, two to an Oxe-hide.

(27-29)

The lines are a specific allusion to Oxford/de Vere. The "Folio-volumes" alluded to are *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. The hide of *one* ox produced *two* folios. It isn't difficult to see the de Vere word *Oxe*. We now have "greene," "Phoebus," "faire," "Oxe," "lavish," and "ope-tyde/Spring."

"Drie-fats" were vats used to ship dry items. They were often lined with waste paper from printers to protect the items. Hall means the lines as an insult to *Venus and Adonis*, that it should be so used.

So may the Giant rome and write on high,
 Be he a Dwarfe that writes not there as I.

(35-36)

Earlier critics with deep classical backgrounds have not been able to understand this couplet.³⁰ With our eyes on de Vere, the meaning appears. He was the premier earl, a giant, but he was rather short.³¹ Hall refers to small stature numerous times in relation to de Vere. The giant, great, ancient Oxford writes for the court, the highest social level. It's all right with Hall that he writes there, but again the implication is that it isn't acceptable for him to write for the public. The word "high" is an indicator for de Vere. A quote from Sidney's *The Lady of May* (1598) uses similar language: "The highest note comes oft from basest mind, / As shallow brooks do yield the greatest sound..." It corresponds with Hall's frequent reference to de Vere as base, even though he is of highest station.

The use of "rome" is an obscure allusion to de Vere's claim to trace his ancestry to Aeneas, the legendary founder of Rome, and to Troy, as Aeneas was a Trojan hero. The lines immediately following this section refer to Troy. There are further allusions to Rome, Troy and Aeneas. We can add them as indicators that make us look for covert meanings that point to de Vere.

But well fare *Strabo*, which, as stories tell,
Contriv'd all *Troy* within one walnut shell.
His curious ghost now lately hither came,
Arriving neere the mouth of luckie Tame.
I saw a *Pismire* struggling with the lode,
Dragging all *Troy* home towards her abode.

(37-42)

Strabo is wished well. According to myth, Strabo made all of Troy in miniature; he essentially made the history of Troy in miniature. Someone like him, "new Straboe," as Hall will refer to him in line 52, has recently appeared near the mouth of the Thames (in London at the public theaters, or at Hampton Court at the royal theater), and is making the history of England in miniature, "new Straboes Troy" (on the stage). Even the least of those in London can take it into their lives. They can learn English history and understand it by watching a play. Hall approves of New Strabo/Labeo/de Vere/Shakespeare's heroic writings of kings and victories. He specifically says so in Book 6, Satire I, *Semel Insaniuimus*, "Tho Labeo reaches right (who can deny?)/ The true straynes of heroicke poesie." Having jumped ahead, we can see "true" as another word attached to Labeo that points to de Vere, as "vere" in Latin means "true."

Hall is referring to new Strabo's history plays, new Troy, and thinks well of them since everyone can identify with what it means to be English, a unifying theme for both Catholics and Protestants. "All Troy within one walnut shell" is an allusion to *Hamlet*, II.ii, "I could be bounded in a nutshell and count myself a king of infinite space...."

Now dare we hither, if we durst appeare,
 The subtile *Stithy-man* that liv'd while eare;
 Such one was once, or once I was mistaught,
 A Smith at *Vulcans* owne forge up brought,
 Another Smith, brought-up at Vulcan's own forge,
 that made an iron-chariot so light,
 The coach-horse was a Flea in trappings dight
 The tame-lesse steed could well his wagon wield
 Through downes and dales of the uneven field.
 Strive they, laugh we....

(43-51)

At this point, Hall wants us to have courage and to draw nearer to what he's really saying. It's a strong hint to a hidden meaning. The words "dare" and "durst" emphasize that he realizes the danger in writing of it.

The clever "Stithy-man," or Smith, Vulcan, is the learned and brilliant Sir Thomas Smith who had lived a little earlier ("while eare"). Smith died in 1577. The other Smith, "such one was once...a Smith," is de Vere, who was brought up at Thomas Smith's ("Vulcan's") own home ("owne forge"). De Vere spent a large part of his childhood in Thomas Smith's home.³²

The other Smith/de Vere created a strong, but frothy, light, iron vehicle—a comedy—that was seen everywhere in public and was commanded or led by an untamed little steed all dressed up in trappings or in lavish clothing. The "chariot" is made of "iron," and the French word for iron is "fer," which, we have seen with the interchangeability of the letters *f* and *v*, can also refer to Ver. The untamed "Flea" is de Vere himself, referring to his rash behavior and his small stature. He was known as among the best for comedy of his day.³³

They work hard to create. We laugh at their creations. What they create and we laugh at are the comedies. Hall approves of them because he laughs at them. His dual opinion of de Vere's writing is evident, as he recognizes his intelligence and ability in the history plays and the comedies, but scourges his misuse of it in *Venus and Adonis*.

...meane while the black storie
 Passes new *Strabo*, and new *Straboes Troy*.
 Little for great: and great for good: all one:
 For shame or better write or *Labeo* write none.

(51-54)

Continuing with his satire, Hall comes back to Labeo after dealing with the history plays, "new *Straboes Troy*," and the comedies, "an iron-chariot so light," and approving them. He returns to shaming Labeo for writing so lewdly in *Venus and Adonis*. He says that writing of little worth is considered great because it's so popular

with the public. If it's so popular, it must be good. It's all considered the same. "All one" may be an allusion to Southampton's motto, "One for All and All for One," and to him as the dedicatee of *Venus and Adonis*.

But who conjur'd this bawdie *Poggies* ghost,
From out the *stewes* of his lewde home-bred coast;
Or wicked *Rablais* dronken revellings,
To grace the mis-rule of our Tavernings?
Or who put *Bayes* into blind *Cupids* fist
That he should crowne what Laureats him list?

(55-60)

The *Factiae* by Poggio was particularly obscene. Hall compares Poggio's writing to *Venus and Adonis*. He says that Labeo wrote it from his own experiences in brothels. Hall means real brothels, he brings them in often, and he may also mean the public theater, which was associated with brothels in people's minds. He says that the writer was a wicked, giant, drunken reveler. De Vere was accused by Arundel of being drunk in taverns³⁴ and he had a reputation for vile behavior early in his marriage to Anne Cecil, while he lived at Wivenhoe on the coast of Essex.³⁵

Cupid ignores lewd writing, a reference to Cupid's new laureate of Book 1, Satire IX, *An Obscene Poet*.

Both good things ill, and ill things well; all one?
For shame! write cleanly, *Labeo*, or write none.

(63-64)

Labeo has turned evil into good and good into evil in *Venus and Adonis*. In Hall's Puritan opinion, he's a bad poet. Hall shames him with even more emphasis by using an exclamation point; it's the fourth time he's used the phrase and he opens and closes the satire with it. He again tells him to either write decently or to stop writing.

"Labeo," the "curious ghost of Strabo" (new Strabo), and the "smith brought up at Vulcan's own forge" are all de Vere and respectively represent *Venus and Adonis*, the Shakespeare history plays (new Strabo's Troy) and the comedies. They are all Shakespeare, who is a new poet. He has been crowned Cupid's laureate. Hall is showing that he knows that de Vere is Shakespeare and he knows everything that he has written, but, as the riddle says, Hall won't say that he knows. It is his "gentle" way of identifying de Vere as Shakespeare and is the second satire in which he does so.

To what end did our lavish auncestours
Erect of old these stately piles of ours?
For thred-bare clearks, and for the ragged Muse,
...Here may you, *Muses*, our deare *Soveraignes*,

Scorne each base *Lordling* ever you disdaines,
And everie peasant churle, whose smokie roofo
Denied harbour for your deare behoofe.

(Book 2, Satire II: *Neglect of Learning*, 1-14)

Why did our ancestors build stately buildings for universities? Was it merely for poor scholars whose poetry Hall considers rough and vulgar? He then invokes the Muses to scorn a base little Lord whose poetry they disdain. He is once more alluding to de Vere's small stature and is disdainning his *Venus and Adonis*. The phrase "each base *Lordling* ever" brings in the strong de Vere word "ever," and as noted, "each" means "every." The word "base" appears again to indicate that de Vere has stooped from his high position. This phrase is one of Hall's clearest allusions, with "Every," "base," "little Lord," and "E. Ver."

The beginning of the couplet—"And everie peasant churl"—is strange. What miserly peasant was asked, but refused to keep safe in his smoky rafters, works of the Muses for their own good? It seems like an allusion to William Shakspere and to his assuming the name of Shakespeare, but his refusal to harbor something for the Muses doesn't make sense with what we know, which is that William Shakspere of Stratford is credited with the works of William Shakespeare. The coupling of "everie" with "peasant churle" is a significant combining of de Vere and Shakspere.

I offer a speculation, based on my research on Book 4, Satire II, *Arcades Ambo*, which concerns a rustic becoming a gentleman: William Shakspere of Stratford might have refused to be an openly recognized allonym for William Shakespeare, the poet and playwright, while he, Shakspere, was alive, even though he may have plagiarized some sonnets for personal effect. His father, John, had been trying to become part of the gentry for a long time, which would have meant that William, as eldest son, would also be elevated. It was a continuing desire, a passion. John first applied for a coat of arms in 1569 when William was five, but it was not granted until 1596, some twenty-seven years later. Neither William nor his father would have wanted him to be identified as an actor for the public stage, as it was considered a common, base occupation which would have barred him from rising into the gentry. William could play the role of a gallant around London and be involved in somewhat nefarious activities, or even go into debt, but he could not openly act on the stage or write for it for pay, and be granted a coat of arms. The earlier allusion to "everie peasant churle" who "denied harbour" for the Muses benefit has some suggestion that Shakspere's position was to deny that he was the author Shakespeare.

Ye palish ghosts of *Athens*, when, at last,
Your patrimonie spent in witlesse wast,
Your friends all wearie, and your spirits spent,
Ye may your fortunes seeke: and be forwent
Of your kind cosins and your churlish sires,
Left there alone midst the fast-folding Briers.

Have not I lands of faire inheritance,
Deriv'd by right of long continuance
To first-borne males...?
(33-41)

The plural “ghosts” is used here. Hall uses the plural in other places to mask the singular, and he shifts into the singular in line 39. The allusion to Athens may be to Pallas Athena, the virgin patron of Athens, the goddess of the arts associated with the theater. A statue of Pallas Athena was said to have guaranteed the safety of Troy and was later taken to Rome by Aeneas to guarantee its safety as well.

Academics referred to Cambridge University as Athens. De Vere was associated with Queen’s College in 1558 when Thomas Smith placed him there after Queen Elizabeth’s ascension. He matriculated at St. John’s College in 1559, but never graduated, having been taught by private tutors, as was the custom for noble scholars. He received an honorary Master of Arts degree from the University in 1564. William Cecil, his guardian and father-in-law, was a graduate of St. John’s College and became Chancellor of the University.³⁶ De Vere’s connection to Cambridge was strong, although he spent little actual time there.

By the 1590s the only route left for de Vere was to marry wealth (“your fortunes seeke”), since he wasn’t getting the preferment he sought from Queen Elizabeth, his “kind cosin,” and he had sold or pawned his properties to churlish usurers. If he married a fortune, he could forgo asking for financial help. He moved to Stoke Newington and later to Hackney, both at that time in the country (“midst the fast-folding Briers”), after marrying Elizabeth Trentham in late 1591, whose well-to-do family paid his debts over a period of time.³⁷ He was “left there alone,” a rather bleak picture, evocative of *Timon of Athens* left alone in the country with no friends. De Vere was said to be friendless during the years of intrigue surrounding the succession to the crown.³⁸ He insists that he still has ancient Ver lands inherited by being the firstborn son of a long line.

“Churlish sire,” which follows the earlier “peasant churle,” is used again later to refer to a usurer. This is an example of Hall’s elliptical writing, where a usage in one satire is brought up in a later one and refers to the same thing or person.

Or doth thy glorie stand in outward glee?
A lave-ear’d Asse with gold may trapped bee.
(63-64)

Here is another allusion to Shakespeare, to Bottom in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*. It’s also an insult to de Vere, as he had long earlobes and he was entitled to use gold on his clothing as a member of the higher nobility. “Asse” is capitalized, indicating a person. Hall uses the allusion to drooping ears many times. If one looks at portraits of other men of the era, their earlobes are much shorter than de Vere’s long lobe in

the Welbeck Portrait, a copy of the original painted in Paris in 1575.³⁹

Some say my Satyrs over-loosely flow,
Nor hide their gall inough from open show:
Not riddle-like obscuring their intent:
But packe-staffe plaine uttring what thing they ment.

(Book 3, Prologue, 1-4)

This is the first indication that someone has criticized Hall's content as being too plainly recognizable and not obscure enough. We shall see more of this.

The Conclusion:

Thus have I writ in smoother Cedar tree,
So gentle Satyrs, pend so easily.
Henceforth I write in crabbed oake-tree rinde,
Search they that meane the secret meaning finde.
Hold out ye guiltie, and ye galled hides,
And meete my far-fetch't stripes with waiting sides.

(Tooth-lesse Satyrs, 1-6)

As noted, Hall says that he will write with a rougher intent in *Byting Satyres* and specifically tells readers to search for his secret meaning. He warns the guilty, whom he has already scourged, to be ready for even more.

BYTING SATYRES: The last three Books (March 1598)

Hall supplies Italian, French, Latin and Greek mottos in *Byting Satyres*. They give a hint to his covert message. A few of them are nicknames for well known works, i.e., *Semel Insaniuimus* and *Arcades Ambo*. Hall also uses nicknames in the body of the satires, i.e., *Hos Ego* and *Arma Virum*. They will be discussed below.

Book 4, Satire I: *CHE BAIAR VUOL, BAI* ("Vile tho his principles, his conduct base [his heap'd treasure protects him from disgrace]"⁴⁰). The motto is from Ariosto, Satire II (1518).

De Vere married Elizabeth Trentham in late 1591. Her wealthy family paid his huge debt over time, and invested his remaining assets.⁴¹ Queen Elizabeth continued a grant to him of £1,000 per year.⁴² He did possess "heap'd treasure," although he had lost most of his lands. The rough treatment that Hall has threatened begins immediately, with the use of vile principles and the emphasis on base conduct as a description of his character.

Who dares upbraid these open rimes of mine
...Which who reads thrise, and rubs his rugged brow,

And deepe intendeth every doubtfull row,
Scoring the margent with his blazing stars,
And hundreth crooked interlinears,
(Like to a merchants debt-role new defac't,
When some crack'd *Manour* crost his book at last).

(Lines 1-10)

Someone is upset about Hall's earlier satires, which originally circulated as pamphlets, and has criticized them. He has put angry stars and notes in the margins of his copies. "Blazing stars" is an allusion to the de Vere family badge of a star that was prominent on the coat of arms, was carried into battle on a flag, and was inscribed in buildings with a de Vere connection.⁴³ There is much marginalia, something that is also seen in de Vere's personal copy of the Geneva Bible at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC.⁴⁴

The parenthetical remark about a merchant finally being paid from the sale of a decrepit manor is an allusion to de Vere's loss of lands and patrimony. "Merchant" has a double meaning of a buyer and seller of commodities, but, more strongly in Hall's satires, of a usurer.⁴⁵ We have previously seen references to a churl in the sense of a usurer. They are all related to the merchant who is introduced here and usury is the important link. We will see this merchant again.

De Vere had recognized himself in Book 2, Satire I, *Immodest Poetry*, as Labeo/Shakespeare and was angry.

Stamping like *Bucephall*, whose slackned raines
And bloody fet-lockes fry with seven mens braines.

(Lines 13-14)

Bucephalus, Alexander the Great's horse, had a star on his forehead and the shape of an ox head on his flank, both allusions to de Vere. The name in Greek translates to Ox Head.⁴⁶ "Fry with seven mens braines" is an allusion to *Henry VI, Part I*, I.iv, "Your hearts I'll stamp out with my horse's heels / and make a quagmire of mingled brains."

The word "fry" has various senses to do with undergoing fire or intense heat by fire. Bucephalus's reins were slackened. He was given his head, or license to do as he chose, to satirically go after, or fry, a number of men; "seven" is used here to suggest an indeterminate number. Since Hall alludes to de Vere as Alexander's horse, it was Alexander who slackened the reins, an allusion to Queen Elizabeth. She gave de Vere license to write what he did. She knew what he was doing.

Yet wel bethought...reads a new;
The best lies low, and loathes the shallow view,
Quoth old *Eudemon*, when his gout-swolne fist
Gropes for his double ducates in his chist;
Then buckle close his carelesse lyds once more,

To pose the pore-blinde snake of *Epidaore*.

After more thought, de Vere decided it was best not to say anything. He felt he could control the situation using his wealth. He was well aware that Hall was referring to him as Labeo and as Shakespeare, but decided not to say anything because he saw that the reference was deeply hidden.

Hall is suggesting that de Vere had gout, a possible reason for the unwell body and lame hand that are mentioned in his later letters.⁴⁷ It is in addition to his lameness from a wound. Gout comes and goes; a person can function well at times, but be painfully laid up at others. It mainly affects the big toe, but can disable other joints including heels, knees, wrists, and fingers. This allusion is also suggestive of William Cecil, who had great wealth and was well known to have gout, showing that Cecil knew de Vere was Shakespeare and that he used his wealth to keep it hidden.

“Double ducates” in his chest refers to *The Merchant of Venice*. In my research, all of the Early Modern search results for “double ducates” were to *The Merchant of Venice*, II.viii, “A sealed bag, two sealed bags of ducats/ Of double ducats, stolen from me by my daughter!”

Lines 37-44:

Labeo is whip't, and laughes mee in the face;

Why? for I smite and hide the galled place.

Gird but the *Cynicks* helmet on his head,

...Long as the craftie *Cuttle* lieth sure

In the blacke *Cloude* of his thicke vomiture;

...Who list complaine of wronged faith or fame,

When hee may shift it to anothers name?

Hall now identifies his character as Labeo, whom he has already scourged, but Labeo laughs in his face because he recognizes that Hall has hidden his meaning so well that no one can see it. When Labeo is put into Diogenes's place of mocking the mighty in the guise of a witty fool, no one can complain of libel or betrayal of secrets, because he has shifted his writing to someone else by using their name. A helmet signifies hiddenness and it is related to the name William.⁴⁸ Hall is referring to Labeo as a hidden witty fool, a writer named William. Labeo feels safe in his voluminous writing and no one can complain about what he writes. He feels safe to “fry” many men. Hall again intimates that de Vere wrote voluminously, yet we have only small amounts that have come through the ages, unless, as openly stated, he wrote using other men's names.

Lines 66-75:

Now see I fire-flakes sparkle from his eyes,

Like a *Comet's* tayle in th' angry skies;

His pouting cheeks puffe up above his brow,

Like a swolne Toad touch't with the Spider's blow;

His mouth shrinks sideward like a scornfull *Playse*,
To take his tired Eares ingratefull place;
His Eares hang laving like a new-lug'd swine,
To take some counsell of his grieved eyne.
Now laugh I loud and breake my splene to see
This pleasing pastime of my poesie.

(19-24)

A wonderful picture of an angry de Vere is presented, where fire shoots from his eyes, reminiscent of Harvey's *Gratulationes Valdinenses*. The allusion to a comet is astronomical, as opposed to astrological. De Vere was well versed in astronomy, as was Shakespeare.⁴⁹ His cheeks are puffed out, his brow is furrowed, his mouth is pulled so far sideways in a wry expression that it almost meets his dangling ear, and his eyes are unhappy at what he's reading. Hall loves his own verse and delights to see the effect it has had. Was this merely the unheeding work of a brash, arrogant, young Puritan, academic or did he feel safe because he knew that he had powerful Puritan supporters?⁵⁰

There is reference to dangling ears again, like a male swine, a boar, with a lug or ring in its ear, an allusion to the de Vere heraldic crest of the blue boar.

Shall then that foule infamous *Cyneds* hide
Laugh at the purple wales of others side?
Not, if hee were as neere, as by report,
The stewes had wont to be to the Tennis-court;
Hee that while thousands envie at his bed,
Neighs after Bridals and fresh mayden-heade;
While slavish *Juno* dares not looke awry,
To frowne at such imperious rivalrye,
Not tho shee sees her wedding jewels drest,
To make new Bracelets for a strumpets wrest;
Or like some strange disguised *Messaline*,
Hires a nights lodging of his concubine....

(92-103)

Hall becomes specific, though he uses Latin names and a different one for Labeo. He again accuses de Vere of going to brothels and brings in the tennis court in reference to his infamous argument with Sidney. De Vere shouldn't laugh at others, or mock them on the stage, when he has so many faults himself. Hall has shifted the name to Cyned; it is still Labeo he writes about. Cyned comes from the Latin *cinaedus* which translates as "adulterer," "effeminate man," or "homosexual." Hall probably means all three, although most of his allusions are to brothels and prostitutes (presumably female prostitutes), except for one mention of an "obsequious page" later in this satire as a possible object of Cyned's "dog days rage," or sexual desire of

an older man.

Hall refers to de Vere's marriage to Ann Cecil and to the fact that other men wanted to marry her, i.e., Sidney and Rutland, but then he "neighs after" or sexually desires "bridals," a wedding, with "fresh mayden-heade," a virgin Queen Elizabeth who is the "imperious," royal rival. The faithful wife had to look away and not frown at their dalliance. The bed-trick is alluded to, as Ann had to disguise herself as a wanton woman ("Messaline") and bribe his mistress to let her sleep with her own husband.

Most of this was common gossip about de Vere and is found in contemporary accounts. "As by report" shows that Hall heard of it from others. The bed-trick, the tennis court, plus his flirtation with Queen Elizabeth particularly evoke de Vere. No one else fits the whole of this commentary. It clearly, although covertly, identifies him as Cyned and starts Hall's personal attacks on him.

O *Lucine!* barren *Caia* hath an heire
After her husband's dozen yeares despaire.
And now the bribed Mid-wife sweares apace,
The bastard babe doth beare his fathers face;
But hath not *Lelia* past hir virgine yeares?
For modest shame (God wot) or penall feares.
He tels a Merchant tidings of a prise,
That tells *Cynedo* of such novelties;
Worth little lesse than landing of a whale,
Or *Gades* spoyles, or a churles funerale:
Go bid the baines and point the bridall day,
His broking *Baud* hath got a noble prey.
A vacant tenement, an honest dowre
Can fit his pander for her paramoure,
That he base wretch, may clog his wit-old head
And give him hansell of his Hymen-bed.

(114-129)

De Vere's marriage to Elizabeth Trentham is now scourged. The model, new wife, who had never had a child, has now delivered an heir after her husband had despaired of one for a dozen years. There was a span of about twelve years after de Vere reunited with Ann Cecil in late 1581 to resume his marriage and try to produce a male heir, until Henry de Vere was born in February 1593 to the new wife, Elizabeth Trentham. Finally, an heir for the venerable de Vere line, one of the most respected and ancient in Europe. The new wife was past her virgin years. Elizabeth Trentham was thirty-one when she married de Vere, and she didn't have to worry about being thrown into prison, like Ann Vavasor, because the queen approved this marriage.

Cynedo tells his merchant-usurer that he's had a huge prize, and can now pay his debts. Hall adds a final *o* to Cyned's name, another hint that he is Oxford. So go

ahead with the wedding. The bawd, Elizabeth Trentham, has made a business deal and her prize is a noble title. She is depicted as a predatory “broking Baud,” a deal-making prostitute who has captured her “noble prey.” Hall intimates that her child, Henry, “the bastard babe,” wasn’t de Vere’s, but was instead her lover’s son. He also intimates that de Vere gave her lover “hansell of his Hymen-bed,” or first use of his marriage bed, which prevented him from being a cuckold. One again wonders how did Hall dare write such things and where did he get the information?

The satire continues with debauchery in brothels by a man similar to Cynedo, with a hint that he had syphilis and was treated for it by a barber. It also deals with prostitution by a woman similar to his bawd-wife that would evoke a “For Shame!” from Hall had it been Labeo writing. It is this portion that would have drawn the attention of the bishops for lasciviousness. The following satire drew attention for coming too close to exposing a highly placed person.

Book 4, Satire II: *ARCADES AMBO* (“A Pair of Rascals”). From Virgil, Eclogue VII (c. 39 BCE). In Virgil’s eclogue, one poet dominates in skill over another. The winning poet sings that the myrtle is dearest to lovely Venus and the laurel is dearest to Phoebus. Hall is hinting to the educated in his audience, who would know this eclogue, to remember similar allusions in Book 1, Satire IX, *The Obscene Poet*, which identify de Vere as the author of *Venus and Adonis* and as a laureate. In this satire, someone is merely a plagiarist of the poetry of another, who is Caesar’s laureate. They are both rascals.

Arcades Ambo is, in my opinion, the key satire in *Virgidemiarum*. The ensuing satire—Book 4, Satire IV, *Plus beau que fort*—refers back to it and suggests the trouble Hall incurred because of it. Ben Jonson’s *Every Man Out of His Humor* (1599) significantly parallels it.⁵¹ Other authors allude to it: John Marston in *The Scourge of Villainie*, Satire III (1599); Gervais Markham and Lewis Machin in *The Dumbe Knight: A Historical Comedy* (c. 1601); the anonymous, academic play *The Comedy of Timon* (c. 1602); Thomas Dekker collaborating with Thomas Middleton in *The Honest Whore, Part I* (1604); Ben Jonson in *The Devil Is an Ass* (1616); Thomas Middleton with William Rowley in *The Changeling* (1622); Thomas Middleton with William Rowley in *The Spanish Gipsy* (1623).⁵² The Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew* has parallels to *Arcades Ambo*.⁵³ The bishops put *Virgidemiarum* at the top of their list and it was, I think, *Arcades Ambo* that was the main reason for its proscription.

I see one other allusion, which, if accurate, is compelling. In *Measure for Measure*, V.i, Lucio says about Duke Vincentio who is in disguise as a friar, “Here comes the Rascal I spoke of,” then, “This is the Rascal; this is he I spoke of,” and finally, “Come Sir, come Sir; Why you bald-pated Rascal, you must be hooded must you?” I see Lucio in part as Hall, while others have identified Duke Vincentio as a de Vere character.⁵⁴ Lucio berates Duke Vincentio when he is in disguise as a friar, while Hall berates de Vere in his disguise of Shakespeare, which is what made him a rascal. Other parallels in *Measure for Measure* will be discussed in connection with a later satire.

Arcades Ambo garnered attention even a few decades after it was written, not coincidentally, in 1616 when William Shakspeare of Stratford died, and again at the

time of the printing and publication of the First Folio in 1622-23. What was it that was so strongly intriguing?

Old driveling *Lolio* drudges all he can,
To make his eldest sonne a Gentleman;
Who can despaire that sees another thrive,
By lone of twelve-pence to an Oyster-wive,
When a craz'd scaffold, and a rotten stage,
Was all rich *Naevius* his heritage.

(1-6)

The theme of the satire is introduced in the first three couplets. Old foolish *Lolio*, a rustic, petty usurer, is trying to rise into the gentry and make his eldest son a gentleman, while rich *Naevius* has nothing left of his inheritance except the morally corrupt public theater, which implies that he has spent his heritage on the stage. There is an immediate linking and contrasting of *Lolio* and his son with *Naevius*, who, I propose, are John and William Shakspeare, here linked to and contrasted with Edward de Vere.

There are at least two possible sources for the name *Lolio*. One is Marcus Lollius, known as Maximus,⁵⁵ a Roman politician who was a “homo novus” or new man, someone about whose ancestors nothing is known. He was the first of his family to serve in the Senate and rose to prominence under Caesar Augustus, but later had a fall. He was described as a hypocrite who was only interested in amassing wealth.⁵⁶ He had a son, also named Marcus Lollius, who was often confused with his father. These brief characteristics resemble John and William Shakspeare.

In a different vein, Horace wrote an ode to this Lollius in 13 BCE. He prefaces it: “To Lollio that his Writings shall never perish: Vertue without the help of Verses is buried in Oblivion. That he will sing Lollio’s praises, whose vertues he now also celebrates.”⁵⁷ In the poem Horace sounds slightly defensive in praising his “potent friend” Lollio, whose reputation is now very bad, and it seems that he is attempting to rehabilitate him.⁵⁸ This aspect of Lollio resembles de Vere.

The second source for the name *Lolio* is Chaucer’s Lollius,⁵⁹ from *Troilus and Cryseide* (c. 1381-86), a tale taken from Boccaccio’s *Il Filostrato* (c. 1336), which was itself based on *Le Roman De Troie* (c. 1155-60) by Benoit de Sainte-Maure. Chaucer implies that he is merely translating *Il Filostrato*, but he never mentions Boccaccio and wrongly attributes it to a Lollius, who is unknown as an author. The controversy over Chaucer’s Lollius continues to this day.⁶⁰

Putting these two Lollies together, as is Hall’s wont, we find a combined picture of John Shakspeare and his son William. At the same time we see a slight image of de Vere. No trace can be found of John’s ancestors beyond his father Richard, who was a tenant farmer, a husbandman. John was the first in his family to rise to serve as mayor and chief alderman, which gave him the right to apply to be a gentleman. He was known to have dealt in large, usurious loans and to have

amassed wealth.⁶¹ William of Stratford is unknown as an author in his own name, as no literary trail can be found for him in contemporary records.⁶² There are literary records that relate to the name Shakespeare, but that is what is being questioned. Who is he? Was the name only a front? To this we add the Lollius with a greatly fallen reputation, whose “Vertue” will fall into oblivion without verses, and whose writing, it is wished, shall never perish. This is de Vere. All very complicated, but typical of satirical writing of the Elizabethan era, and not beyond the ability of the brilliant, young Hall.

Next we have Naevius, a Roman poet and playwright. He was noted to have originated Roman history plays and to have parodied the life of the elite.⁶³ He is cited by Francis Meres in *Palladis Tamia* (1598) as among the best of the Latin writers of comedy and his name appears in the same sentence as de Vere, who (as Oxford) is cited as among the best of the English writers of comedy.

Naevius, in Hall’s satire, has lost his heritage; all he has left is the stage and the cheering crowds who applaud his work. In him, we see de Vere associated with the public theater, where he presented history plays, comedies and tragedies, and in which he parodied members of court. He is identified as a poet and a playwright. He has lost his lands and patrimony because of the stage.

The intertwining of John Shakspeare and his eldest son William with Edward de Vere was hinted at earlier in Book 2, Satire II, *Neglect of Learning*, in the “each base Lordling ever” and “everie peasant churle” who wouldn’t give harbor to the Muses.

Himselfe goes patched like some bare *Cottyer*
...Let giddie *Cosmius* change his choyce aray,
Like as the *Turke* his tents thrise in a day.
...Bearing his pawne-layd lands upon his backe,
...Who cannot shine in tissues and pure gold,
That hath his lands and patrimonie sold?

(9-16)

Lolio, who is actually thriving as noted earlier in line 3, dresses in old, patched clothing and scrimps on everything to get ahead and to make his son a gentleman. By further contrast, “giddie Cosmius” (meaning worldly or cosmopolitan) wears expensive clothing and changes it three times a day, and like a Turk moves his tents three times a day. He has pawned and sold his lands and his patrimony to afford such luxury.

When we know that Queen Elizabeth nicknamed de Vere her “Turk” (or “torc,” which means boar in Gaelic and is pronounced as “turk”),⁶⁴ we see the covert connection between Cosmius and Turk. “Giddie” is the adjective for Cosmius, a synonym of fickle, a word which was used to describe de Vere in a letter from Gilbert Talbot to his father, the Earl of Shrewsbury (“If it were not for his fickle head, he would pass any of them shortly”⁶⁵). De Vere was known for changeable and strange behavior.

It is implied that Cosmius wears luxurious fabrics and has pure gold on his clothing. Only royalty or the higher nobility could wear pure gold on their clothing according to sumptuary laws,⁶⁶ and we have yet another reference to someone who has sold not only his lands but also his patrimony. De Vere had lost Castle Hedingham, his patrimony, to William Burghley and had incurred so much debt that he had no more lands to sell to pay for it.

Else is he stall-fed on the workey day
With browne-bread crusts softened in sodden whey,
Or water-grewell, or...paups of meale.....
Let sweet-mouthed *Mercia* bid what crowns she please
For halfe-red cherries or greene garden pease,
Or the first Artichoks of all the yeare,
To make so lavish cost for little cheare.

(31-50)

More contrast, this time between Lolio and a woman named *Mercia*, who pays much for the first items of spring, but receives little in return. Lolio, as usual, is miserly; he's still saving and amassing wealth. "Sweet-mouthed" has the sense of ironic sweet-talking or flattery. "Halfe-red cherries" are Royal Ann cherries, the first to appear in the spring. Green garden peas are an early spring vegetable, as are the first artichokes.

I see *Mercia* as Elizabeth Trentham, since the ancient kingdom of *Mercia* was centered on the river Trent;⁶⁷ furthermore, we have just read a satire that has her paying large amounts of money to buy a noble title, but one that has lost its lands and patrimony. Some have seen Queen Elizabeth as *Mercia* who bid many crowns, 1000 per year, for "green" or "spring" (i.e., referring to de Vere's thousand-pound annuity). In either case, it is de Vere being bid for.

For else how should his sonne maintained bee,
At Inns of Court or of the Chancery,
There to learne law, and courtly carriage,
To make amendes for his meane parentage,
While he unknowne and ruffling as he can,
Goes currant ech-where for a Gentleman.
While yet he rousteth at some uncouth signe,
Nor never red his tenures second line.
What brokers' lousy wardrop cannot reach,
With tissued paines to pranck ech peasants breech?

(53-62)

We finally meet our Lolio's son, William Shakspere, and learn something about his "lost years." He is striding around London as a young, foppish gallant, learning how

to be a gentleman at his father's behest and with miserly financial support, so the family can finally gain a coat of arms and rise into the gentry. This is the simplest and most reasonable explanation for what William did during those years,⁶⁸ and Hall provides evidence for it. The foppish, rustic character Ruffio/Shak-forke, mentioned earlier, prefigures Lolio's son. The only character with such a large role in a satire without a name of his own is Lolio's son, but we can speculate that his name is Ruffio. His father has sent him to London to mingle with gentlemen at the Inns of Court or the Chancery and to learn some law. He's unknown there, but struts around in the latest fashion as if he's already part of the gentry. He doesn't live at the Inns or Chancery, but at rough taverns, doesn't stay long at any one place and leaves without paying the bill. He wears a broker's old wardrobe, tailored to look like the latest fashionable gentlemen's clothing.

All of the foregoing fits William Shakspeare. His having no name of his own is significant if he was being confused with the famous and talented William Shakespeare, author of *Venus and Adonis*. Hall hints in the motto, *A Pair of Rascals*, that this is the case.

A subsequent section of the satire describes Lolio's son as staying in his room most of the time because he's afraid of being caught by a debt collector. He only goes out at night when it's dimly lit and he can't easily be recognized. Then he runs into a rustic countryman from home who eagerly calls out to him in his father's name and crosses the street to shake his hand.

Could never man worke thee a worser shame,
Than once to minge thy fathers odious name,
Whose mention were alike to thee as leefe
As a Catch-pols fist unto a Bankrupts sleeve;
Or an *Hos ego* from old *Petrarch's* spright,
Unto a Plagiarie sonnet-wright.

(79-84)

Lolio's son is ashamed of his father's name. A scholar at Oxford in 1487, Hugh Shakspeare changed his name to Hugh Sawnders because Shakspeare was considered too base and common, "vile reputatum est."⁶⁹ "Minge" meant to mingle or to mix. Perhaps Shakspeare used or mingled Arden, his mother's family name, which was more respectable. (A search for a William Arden in London in the late 1500s might produce some interesting information.)

Hall suggests that Lolio's son was afraid of being caught by a debt collector and he adds, as an equally bad thing, of being accused of plagiarizing sonnets. Was Lolio's son pretending to be the author of sonnets? We have the earlier comment that the "peasant churle" would not give harbor to the Muses. There is an important connection between Shakspeare and Shakespeare in this part of the satire and it shows that Shakspeare is a plagiarist, not the author. It is evident that the name William Shakespeare, as author of the courtly, elegant poems *Venus and Adonis* and

The Rape of Lucrece, and their association with the Earl of Southampton, would have conferred new status on the similar name, William Shakspere, and would have helped in the quest to gain a coat of arms.

A long section of the satire deals with Lolio's son returning home and impressing the rustic neighbors with his gentlemanly behavior and dress. They ask for his advice on mundane matters of law, like a goose getting into a neighbor's pasture. His father has finally acquired a coat of arms, which makes Lolio's eldest son a gentleman as well.

So new falne lands have made him in request,
That now he lookes as lofty as the best.

(115-116)

Lolio's son purchases new property, New Place, which makes him landed gentry, more acceptable than being a mere gentleman, and makes him "as lofty as the best." He is now "in request." It has been asked why William purchased property in Stratford in 1597, when he was supposedly in the midst of his work in London as the playwright William Shakespeare, and how could he afford it. The hidden account that Hall tells helps us to understand. John Shakspere had been reaccumulating wealth, both as a usurer and as a landlord-farmer, and he scrimped on everything. He sent William to London to learn the behavior of a gentleman. John was granted a coat of arms in October 1596, which made William, as eldest son, a gentleman as well. William purchased New Place in 1597 (impliedly with John's help) to enhance his status and become landed gentry.⁷⁰ It all fits with John and William's desires to be recognized as gentlemen of the better sort. His father had finally fulfilled his dream.

His father dead, tush, no, it was not hee,
He findes recordes of his great pedigree,
And tels how first his famous Ancestor
Did come in long since with the conquerour.
Nor hath some bribed Herald first assign'd
His quartered Armes and crest of gentle kinde.
The Scottish Barnacle (if I might choose)
That of a worme doth waxe a winged goose.

(133-140)

The description of how Lolio became a gentleman is a common one, but it specifically fits John Shakspere's route to gentlehood. He lied about who his ancestor was and claimed to be descended from someone who had served Henry VII. He claimed that his or Mary Arden's ancestor came in with William the Conqueror.⁷¹ Lolio said that he hadn't bribed the herald to get his coat of arms, but John Shakspere's name was later on a list of those who shouldn't have been given a coat because they were of base birth,⁷² which implies that he did bribe the herald.

Hall makes fun of the coat of arms by alluding to the “Scottish Barnacle” that, in myth, grew on a tree, fell into water below, became a worm and eventually became a goose. This is another complex combining of de Vere and Shakspeare, as the word “ver” means worm in French. The barnacle was in a high position in a tree, but fell (became base by associating with the public theater). The worm then evolved into a goose. Hall’s choice of the Scottish barnacle is a clever, scathing allusion to Edward de Vere as Shakespeare and to William Shakspeare as somehow being a front for him.

Who were borne at two pide painted postes
And had some traunting Chapman to his syre.

(144-145)

Painted posts were placed outside the mayor’s or other local magistrates’ homes; public documents were posted on them. John Shakspeare had been mayor of Stratford. In Lolio’s case, the posts were pied or multicolored. The word “pied” was used to refer to the coat of a fool, one that was of many colors.⁷³ Hall is reinforcing the earlier foolishness of “driveling” and of a worm becoming a goose.

A “traunting Chapman” was a peddler, someone who moved around and sold goods. Peddlers were among the most base of people and would not have been considered worthy to become gentlemen. To a twenty-first century mind, all of this carries a connotation of snobbishness, but it simply reflected the social customs of the time. Snobbishness has nothing to do with the identification of Edward de Vere as Shakespeare. Only the analysis of Hall’s words and the search to find his hidden meaning are relevant.

O times! Since ever *Rome* did kings create,
Brasse Gentlemen and *Cesar* Laureates.

(147-148)

The final line recognizes the pair of rascals of the Latin motto, John and William Shakspeare (gentlemen who are created by bribery), and William Shakespeare/Edward de Vere (laureate poets who are chosen by Caesar/Queen Elizabeth).

“Ever *Rome*” refers to de Vere, making it clear that he has been chosen by Elizabeth to be crowned a laureate. *Julius Caesar* played on the stage to great public recognition, its first known presentation in 1599, but this indicates an earlier date of 1597-98 (or its circulation in manuscript). “*Cesar* Laureates” refers to the play, another Shakespeare allusion.

To recap this important satire: Lolio and his son depict John and William Shakspeare as a foolish, rustic, landlord-farmer and petty usurer who scrimps to send his eldest son to London to learn how to be a gentleman and lift the family into the gentry; the son struts around the Inns in the latest fashions, moves from place to place, goes into debt, plagiarizes sonnets, returns home and buys new property; Lolio

has gained a coat of arms but he has lied about his ancestry and bribed the herald; neither he nor his son are worthy to be gentlemen as they are baseborn.

In Naevius/Cosmius/Mercia/Cesar Laureates, and even in the name Lolio, we have Edward de Vere who is Shakespeare. He is a rich man of bad reputation, who has lost his heritage and has nothing left but the stage; he is good at history, comedy and at mocking the elite; he is a fickle man who dresses extravagantly but has lost his lands and patrimony; he is of the higher nobility and is entitled to wear pure gold on his clothing; he is compared to a Turk; he is associated with a woman who has spent lavishly on Spring, but who gets little in return; he is a poet laureate and Caesar's laureate. This representation of de Vere as Shakespeare is very clear if one looks past the abstraction of several characters combined into one.

Arcades Ambo intertwines William Shakspere and Edward de Vere/ Shakespeare, a pair of rascals, two distinct people. William Shakspere of Stratford is not the poet and playwright William Shakespeare, but is a plagiarist of sonnets. John Shakspere plays a prominent role in this satire as he does in allusions made by Marston, Jonson, Markham, Middleton and others. It is interesting to look more fully into his role. A coming satire presents some controversial ideas.

This is the third satire in which Hall identifies de Vere as Shakespeare and this one differentiates him from William Shakspere of Stratford. This satire caused trouble for Hall.

Book 4, Satire III: *FUIMUS TROES. VEL VIX EA NOSTRA* ("We once were Trojans. Truly, these things are barely ours, or we are only stewards"). *Fuimus Troes* is from Virgil, *The Aeneid*, Book II. *Vel vix ea nostra* is from Ovid, *The Metamorphosis*, Book XIII (c. 8). The motto is another reference to descendants of Troy and to Oxford's pride about his lineage. *The Aeneid* has direct relevance to de Vere as a descendant of Aeneas, and *The Metamorphosis* has direct relevance to Shakespeare, as it is recognized to be his most quoted source. Hall doesn't miss a chance to draw them together.

What boots it *Pontice*, tho thou couldn't discourse
Of a long golden line of Ancestors
...painted faces...ever since before the last conquest
...bead roles...since *Deucalions* flood
...church-windowes to record
The age of thy fayre Armes;
...Crosse-leg'd Toombe...*Buckle* that did tie
The Garter of...greatest Grand-sires knee,
...reliques...silver spurs, or spils of broken speares;
...cyte olde *Oclands* verse...
Of the wars in Terouane and Tournai?

(1-17)

The opening couplet is an almost direct quote from Juvenal's Satire VIII. *Pontice*

boasted of his antiquity and great deeds of the past but was without virtue himself. Hall goes on to list things that his Pontice/de Vere brags about, all of which are part of de Vere's background. "Spils of broken speares" refers to Shakespeare. The allusion to descent from before the Conqueror is another parallel to Shakspere of Stratford and to his ancestral claim.

Or hide what ever treasures he thee got
...in desperate lot,
...Or if (O shame!) in hired Harlots bed
Thy wealthie heyre-dome thou have buried;
...little boots thee to discourse
Of a long golden line of Ancestors.
Of a long line of noble ancestors.

(20-27)

More chastisement from Hall, including returning to the "O shame!" he used on Labeo, saying that if Pontice has lost his fortune in desperate gambles, and if he's lost his ability to have an heir because he's been with prostitutes (by implication, having contracted syphilis), he shouldn't brag about a long genealogical line that will be ending. Hall has already intimated that Henry de Vere was not his child and thus not his true heir.

Ventrous *Fortunio* his farme hath sold,
And gads to *Guiane* land to fish for gold,
Meeting, perhaps, if *Orenoque* denye,
Some stragling pinnace of *Polonian Rie*.

(20-27)

The allusion is to Raleigh, who went to South America to search for gold but failed to find it. He returned to England in 1595 from his first voyage to Guiana. Intercepting Polish ships by the English was also a topic of the time. Hall is using Raleigh as an example of a highly placed person who has done rash, but better, things than de Vere.

Wiser *Raymundus* in his closet pent,
Laughs at such danger and adventurment;
When half his lands are spent in golden smoke
And now his second hopefull glasse is broke.
But yet, if haply his third fornace hold,
Devoteth all his pots and pans to gold.

(34-39)

Baconians were correct when they saw Bacon's family motto in the "*mediocria firma*"

allusion in Marston's *Reactio of Certaine Satyres*; they were incorrect to find that he was Labeo. Bacon is Raymundus, who spent much time experimenting in turning other metals into gold. He is called the father of modern science because of his careful experimentation. Hall gives a satirical example of his methods. Raymundus was a searcher for the Philosopher's Stone and he was wiser. Bacon wrote learned papers on alchemy and was also a philosopher. Hall is citing Bacon as another example for de Vere to follow.

So spend thou, *Pontice*, if thou canst not spare,
Like some stout sea-man or *Philosopher*.

(40-41)

By implication, Hall is telling de Vere not to spend his money on the public theater. It's better to speculate on seeking gold or on trying to create it through alchemy. Did de Vere make money/gold from the theater? Hall seems to be hinting that he did. His brief allusions to Raleigh and Bacon and his comments about them as a seaman and a philosopher, with no hidden allusions to Shakespeare's works, makes it clear that he sees neither of them as the poet/playwright.

And were thy fathers gentle? that's their praise,
No thanke to thee by whom their name decays;
...Right so their titles beene, nor can be thine
Whose ill deserts might blanke their golden line.

(42- 49)

Your ancestors were noble and deserved their titles, but your bad behavior has brought shame on your family name; having gone to brothels and slept with prostitutes, you might not have a true heir because you have syphilis. Hall is again hinting that Henry de Vere was not Oxford's son.

Tell me, thou gentle *Trojan*, dost thou prise
Thy brute beasts worth by their dams qualities?
Say'st thou this *Colt* shall proove a swift-pac'd steed,
Onely because a *Jennet* did him breed?
Or say'st thou this same Horse shall win the prize,
Because his dame was swiftest *Trunchefice*,
Or *Runcevall* his Syre, himself a *Gallaway*?
Whiles like a tireling Jade he lags half-way;
Or whiles thou seest some of thy *Stallion-race*,
Their eyes boar'd out, masking the Millers-maze,
...Or dragging froathy barrels at his tayle.

(50- 61)

The question is asked of de Vere whether an animal is judged by the mother's qualities. In the Elizabethan era, a father was thought to be the dominant factor in a son's genetic inheritance. His qualities would dominate and the son would be like him. A picture is painted of a horse that comes from a great line of thoroughbred dams and of Runcevall, the sire, who is of a great line, but he (Pontice) is only a "Galloway," a small, common horse. The horse is like a tired nag who falters halfway through the race. De Vere started with great promise but quickly lost it by his bad behavior. The horse of the great line might be seen set to common chores well beneath his station, such as walking in circles to grind wheat or pulling a wagon loaded with beer (or writing plays or acting).

"Eyes boar'd out" points to de Vere and the family symbol of the blue boar.

Ah, me! how seldom see we sonnes succeed
Their Fathers praise in prowesse and great dead?
Yet certes if the Syre be ill inclin'd,
His faults befall his sonnes by course of kind.

(84- 87)

An ill inclined father has an ill inclined son. Critics of the early 1800s say this entire satire is an imitation of Juvenal's Satire VIII on Family Madness and Pride of Descent. Hall is insinuating that de Vere was unstable or mad and that he inherited it from his father, John, the 16th Earl of Oxford. His pride in his ancient Vere heritage is emphasized again here.

Book 4, Satire IV: *PLUS BEAU QUE FORT* ("More Handsome than Strong"). From *D'un Lieu de Plaisance* (From a Place of Pleasure, 1532) by Clemont Marot, a renaissance poet of the French court.

An important digression:

Can I not touch some upstart...
Of Lolio's sonne...
Or taxe wild *Pontice* for his *Luxuries*,
But straight they tell me of *Tiresias* eyes?
...*Collingborns* feeding of the crows,
...hundreth *Scalps* which *Thames* still underflowes,
But straight *Sigalion* nods and knits his browes,
And winkes and waftes his warning hand for feare,
And lips some silent letters in my ear.
...Have I not vow'd for shunning such debate
(Pardon ye satyres) to degenerate?
...Let *Labeo*, or who else list for mee,
Go loose his eares and fall to *Alchymie*.

(1-15)

The beginning of this satire is important to understanding what has become Hall's primary covert message, that Edward de Vere is the poet and playwright William Shakespeare. A large portion of *Byting Satyres* deals with the topic and with other de Vere scandals. We now have an abrupt, angry interpolation. Hall is self-righteously indignant. He resentfully asks why he is not permitted to deal with the boastful, new gentleman, Lolio's son/Shakspere, or take wild Pontice/de Vere to account for his lascivious ways. He's been summoned by someone in power who demands that he stop writing about them and threatens him with awful consequences if he doesn't. Hall is being disingenuous in shifting the warning to be about Pontice and his lasciviousness. That isn't the biggest problem.

Why would anyone care what Hall wrote about Lolio's son, an "upstart" (which means someone who was promoted to gentlehood by dishonest means⁷⁴), a rustic of relative unimportance, one who should be safe from Envy or from the lightning strikes of the gods because he is so lowly? Pontice/Labeo, on the other hand, is one of Ida's pines who needs to fear Envy as he is highly placed and comes from a long, illustrious line of ancestors. What was it that Hall wrote about them that made Sigalion, the Egyptian god of silence (possibly a Bishop or even Burghley, because of the wink and lisp⁷⁵), nod, knit his brows, wink, and wave his hands in fear to silence Hall? And what "debate" had Hall vowed to shun writing about?

When one follows the single, covert thread in Hall's satires—from the Obscene Poet, to Labeo, to New Strabo, to the Smith brought up at Vulcan's forge, to Eudemon, to Cyned, to Naevius/Cosmius/Mercia/Caesar's Laureate, to Pontice—it becomes clear that Hall has vowed not to write, at least not openly, about de Vere as Shakespeare. Specifically, he has vowed not to write about de Vere's relation to Lolio's son and to the debate about them, which is about Shakespeare and Shakspere. Hall knew the story, but couldn't tell it openly or completely.

He ends his indignant rant by telling Labeo to stop reading his satires, free his ears (another reference to lugged, droopy ears) and go do alchemy instead. We see again that Labeo has complained about Hall. We've already seen Labeo's anger, and then his ultimate laughter and acceptance that he remains safely hidden, but now he's angry about the satire that concerns Lolio's son. In *Arcades Ambo* Hall too clearly identified de Vere as Shakespeare and exposed the misdirection to William of Stratford. Hall is being warned not to write about William Shakspere and Edward de Vere. It is such a serious warning that he is threatened with a possible cruel and disgraceful death if he doesn't stop.

The authorship of Shakespeare's works is the dire problem, and somehow William Shakspere of Stratford is involved. We don't see all of the connection, although we do see that he is not the famous poet and playwright. Hall accuses him of plagiarizing sonnets, but he also says that he refused to harbor works for the Muses' benefit.

We can now understand why other contemporary authors found Lolio and his son so fascinating. We can also understand why allusions to Lolio, or to controversial

topics in *Arcades Ambo*, reappeared in works in 1616, 1622 and 1623. The literary grapevine was at work and those who knew the story were again dealing covertly with the true identity of Shakespeare.

Onely, let *Gallio* give me leave a while
To schoole him once, or ere I change my style.
Martius...in Buffes be drest...iron plates upon his brest,
...from the *Belgian garrisons*;
What shall thou need to envie ought at that,
...thou smellest like a *Civet cat*;
...thine oyled locks smooth platted fall,
...a plum'd Fanne may shade thy chalked face,
...lawny strips thy naked bosome grace.

(16-17, 41-50)

Hall now returns to the flow of his satires as if nothing has happened. He writes of *Gallio*, a much pampered young man who resembles Southampton with his long, smooth locks and white face. The name *Gallio* is similar to *Gullio* of the *Parnassus Plays* (c. 1599-1602), and the characters are similar. Some see a close connection between Hall and the Cambridge plays, and even feel that he wrote them, but the writing style is quite different.

The rest of the satire gives the description of the same vain young man. Hall shows *Gallio* examples of the bravery of many other young men, but *Gallio* is as soft as the most delicate things.

Now, *Gallio*, gins thy youthly heat to raigne
In every vigorous limme, and swelling vaine;
Time bids thee raise..headstrong thought on hy
To valour and...chivalry
Gallio may pull me roses ere they fall,
...net...Tennis-ball...tend...Spar-hawke
...yelping Begles...halter Finches
...list...in courting...lovely dame,
Hange on... lips...melt in...eyes
Dance...joy in her jollity;
...Hy wanton *Gallio*, and wed betime,
...Seest thou the rose-leaves fall ungathered?
Then hye thee wanton *Gallio* to wed;
Hy thee and give the world...one dwarfe more,
Such as it got when thou thy selfe wast bore
...Can never happiness to soone begin.

(76-101)

Hall urges Gallio to valor and chivalry, but Gallio is only interested in entertaining himself. Hall then says that Gallio should marry quickly and not let his “rose-leaves” fall, but should give the world a child just like himself. Roses and rose-leaves are allusions to the name Wriothesley, which was pronounced variously as “Rosely” or “Risely.” Encouraging him to marry young and produce an offspring like himself is an echo of Shakespeare’s first seventeen sonnets.

Book 4, Satire V: *STUPET ALBIUS AERE* (Albius is mad for brass or he is money-crazy). From Horace’s *Sermones*, Book I, Satire IV. It immediately follows a section about Latin writers and it invokes one of them to write better or not to write at all, which, as we have seen, is a request Hall addresses to Labeo. Albius Tibullus was a Roman knight and poet who had inherited a large estate, but most of it was confiscated by Octavian and Marc Anthony. His death was commemorated by Ovid in *Amores*, Book 3, Elegy 9 (c. 16).⁷⁶ The elegy mentions Venus’s boy, Aeneas’s funeral, the wild boar that gashed Adonis’s thigh, and Troy, all of which evoke de Vere and *Venus and Adonis*.

I hesitate to include this satire because it is so controversial in what it is saying. It carries forward the character of the prior rustic, churlish usurer, the merchant usurer and the petty usurer Lolio, forming an ellipse with Tocullio of this satire. I discuss it because I think Hall shows that de Vere (as Cyned) is involved in taking out a loan, and John Shakspeare’s role in it.

Tocullio was a wealthie usurer,
Such store of Incomes had he every yeare,
By Bushels was he wont to meet his coyne
As did the olde wife of *Trimalcion*.

(39-42)

The name Tocullio means petty usurer.⁷⁷ We see that the rustic usurer is now wealthy. The “olde wife of Trimalcion” is Fortunata, the wife of Trimalchio, from a tale in the *Satyricon* by Gaius Petronius. Fortunata “measures her money by the peck.”⁷⁸ Referring to bushels to store Tocullio’s money is an allusion to grain hoarding, another source of his wealth.

Hall returns to the churlish, rustic, petty usurer and grain hoarder, Tocullio/Lolio/John Shakspeare. The names are different but the essence is the same. By referring to the old wife Fortunata, Hall insinuates that Mary Arden was the brains behind John Shakspeare. The story in the *Satyricon* describes a strong woman who is in charge of things while the husband, Trimalchio, an upstart, is wealthy, vulgar, foolish, but personable. Mary’s father, Robert Arden, had appreciated her abilities. He designated her one of the executors of his will even though she was the youngest of his eight children. He also left her a sixty-acre farm, Asbies, which was his most valuable possession. It was located in Wilmcote, a parish three miles from Stratford.⁷⁹ Interestingly, it was the neighboring parish to Billesley.

Could he doe more....
Of his old pillage, and damn'd surplusage?

(43-44)

These lines point more specifically to usury and grain hoarding. Tocullio is a pillaging small usurer and damned grain hoarder, as is Lolio. They both have the desire to advance socially and are amassing wealth. They are the same person. They are John Shakspere, who didn't do many good deeds with his wealth.

Shouldst thou him credit that nould credit thee?
Yes, and maiest sweare he swore the verity;
The ding-thrift heire, his shift-got summe mispent,
Comes drouping like a pennylesse penitent,
And beats his faint fist on *Tocullios* doore,
It lost the last, and now must call for more.

(55-60)

Should Tocullio give a loan to someone who would not give him "credit," meaning to acknowledge him as a gentleman? Yes, and you can swear that he swore the truth. We add another word in "verity" as a reference to de Vere. "True" and "truth" were widely recognized as relating to the name de Vere or to his motto, *Vero nihil verius*, "Nothing truer than truth." The spendthrift, penniless heir has spent his unearned inheritance and needs a loan. He's dejected and knocks faintly on the door. In Book 2, Satire II, *Neglect of Learning*, Hall said, "Thy spirits spent," meaning being depressed. It is the same character here. "Verity," "pennylesse," and "ding-thrift" are strong indicators for de Vere.

Soone is his arrand red in his pale face,
Which beares dumbe *Characters* of every case;
So *Cyneds* dusky cheeke and fiery eye,
And hayre-les brow tels where he last did lye;
So *Matho* doth bewray his guilty thought,
While his pale face doth say his cause is nought.

(65-70)

These lines show that Cyned/Labeo is the dejected, penniless, beater on the door. Tocullio can see by Cyned's pale face that he needs a loan. Cyned's face betrays his character "of every case" with its reddish-brown cheek, bloodshot eye and loss of hair, which are all signs of syphilis,⁸⁰ as Hall intimates, the result of sleeping with prostitutes in brothels, his reiterated theme. In his description of de Vere's countenance, Hall seems to be saying that he is bald ("hayre-les brow"). Persius in Satire I referred to Labeo as "bald-pated." Could de Vere have been bald in his later years?

Matho is involved as an agent (“his cause”) and has a guilty conscience. He is mentioned earlier in the satire as a lawyer who has taken a bribe to be quiet about a “brawl at any bar” and to “kiss the book to be a perjurer.” This is a reference to Christopher Marlowe’s death. Ingram Frizer (pronounced “freezer”) was a lawyer and was Thomas Walsingham’s business agent. He was the man who killed Marlowe.⁸¹ In a later satire, Matho is described as “freezing Mathoe.” I think that Matho is, partially, Ingram Frizer. Matho figures strongly in Cyned’s debts, along with John Shakspere. Together, they are the merchant usurer and the rustic petty usurer.

Lines 71-73:

Seest thou the wary Angler trayle along
His feeble line, soone as the Pike too strong
Hath swallowed the bayte that scornes the shore,

Tocullio isn’t used to giving such a big loan to such a big person. Once the big fish Cyned has swallowed the bait, Tocullio carefully trails him along and reels him in.

Write, seale, deliver, take, go, spend and speede,
And yet full heardly could his present need
Part with such summe; for but as yester-late
Did *Furnus* offer pen-worths at easie rate,
For small disbursement; He the banke hath broke,
And needs mote now some further playne orelook.

(80-85)

Cyned has such onerous debts that the large loan he’s just taken barely covers his present need. De Vere had gotten so deeply into debt that he was constantly in need of more money. Furnus had given him small loans at a low rate of interest, but Cyned has asked for so much that he can’t give him any more (“he the banke hath broke”). “Furnus” may be an allusion to Thomas Walsingham, who gave loans to fellow courtiers and heirs. He had been thrown into jail for debt before he gained his inheritance and he helped others to keep them from a similar situation.⁸² He is a tie to Ingram Frizer.

Ah foole! for sooner shalt thou sell the rest,
Then stake ought for thy former Interest;
When it shall grind thy grating gall for shame,
To see the lands that bear thy Grandsires name
Become a dunghill peasants sommer-hall,
Or lonely *Hermits* cage inhospitall.

(93-98)

Hall again calls de Vere a fool. It would be better if he sold all his land than go further into debt simply to pay the interest on loans he already owes. De Vere is going to be deeply ashamed at the loss of all his lands, especially if one of the properties becomes the summer home of some peasant who had a dunghill at his door. A document from 1552 shows that John Shakspere was fined for having a dunghill outside his home.⁸³ If de Vere couldn't repay his debt, John Shakspere would own one or more of his lands.

The combination of Tocullio/Matho is the same merchant/usurer as in Book 4, Satire I, *Che Baiar Vuol, Bai*, who finally gets a ruined manor in payment and it is the same merchant/usurer whom Cynedo tells of a prize so big that he can now pay his debt.

As noted, I think that Hall tells of de Vere obtaining a big loan from John Shakspere. Accompanied by Matho, a shady merchant, Cyned approached Tocullio for the loan. There is no record that shows such a transaction, but it would have been off the books if it was an illegal, usurious loan, with the deal to be revealed only in default or at death, when repayment would be demanded, at a "churls funerale."

In *The Honest Whore, Part One* (1604) by Thomas Dekker in collaboration with Thomas Middleton, mention is made of Sir Oliver Lollo, which is an allusion to Oliver ("green" and "ver")/de Vere and to Lollo/John Shakspere. In a scene set in a brothel (II.i) it is said, "What an ass is that lord to borrow money of a citizen." To which it is replied, "Nay, God's pity, what an ass is that citizen to lend money to a lord." Hall referred to de Vere as an "Asse." That is, in my opinion, another covert allusion to de Vere taking a loan from John Shakspere, who is also an ass, and it refers back to Hall's *Virgidemiarum*.

Jonson's *The Devil Is an Ass* (1616, the year of William of Stratford's death) also contains the story of a loan from a citizen, Guilt-head, to a courtier, Everill ("Ever-ill"), an allusion to a dissolute de Vere. Guilt-head wants to make his eldest son, Plutarchus, a gentleman. These are strong echoes of Hall's *Arcades Ambo* and *Stupete Albius Aere*.

With Hall's account of the loan in *Virgidemiarum* and the allusions to it in *The Honest Whore, Part One*, and *The Devil Is an Ass*, we have three legs to the stool. It can now stand upright and be considered a legitimate thesis to be examined further.

It does seem implausible that de Vere obtained a loan from John Shakspere and that he did so before the name "Shakespeare" appeared on *Venus and Adonis* and before he married Elizabeth Trentham in late 1591 and her family paid his debts. But let us recall Book 4, Satire I, *Che Baiar Vuol, Bai*, and the merchant-usurer who is told of a prize that's huge, so "Go bid the baines and point the bridall day." The inference is that Cyned is going to marry a wealthy wife and now can finally repay the loan he got from his merchant-usurer John Shakspere (and somehow Matho/Frizer is involved). Further, as a possible incentive connected to the loan, did de Vere have anything to do with helping to make John Shakspere a gentleman? Could the name Shakespeare, with all of its ironical allusions in other ways, have also been part of a deal to give the base name Shakspere greater acceptance?

There are a few ties between de Vere and John Shakspere. One is by the proximity of Mary Arden's property, Asbies in Wilmcote Parish, to de Vere's grandmother Elizabeth Trussell's property, Billesley Manor, in the adjoining Billesley Parish, an easy walk.⁸⁴ (The Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew* concerns a rustic, Christopher Sly, son of Old Sly. He is passed out drunk at Wilmcote. A lord who has a manor in the area finds him, takes him home and satirically makes him into a gentleman. They then sit down together and watch a play by Shakespeare.)

A second possible tie was found by Charlotte Stopes, a Stratfordian, who suggested a connection of Mary Arden to a branch of the Trussell family, which would make her a distant cousin of de Vere.⁸⁵ If Mary Arden was claiming to be descended from the ancient family of Ardens, they did come in with the William the Conqueror. A number of allusions to William Shakspere make this claim, so de Vere could have felt a distant kinship with him through Mary. However, nothing has been found to show Mary's connection to this distinguished branch of the Ardens.⁸⁶

A third tie with Billesley, but not to Shakspere, is that local legend has it that *As You Like It* was written at Billesley Hall, a legend still proudly referred to today.⁸⁷

Book 6, Satire I: *SEMEL INSANIUIMUS* (Omnes) ("We have all been mad at some time"). This is a well-known phrase from the *Eclogues* of Baptista Mantuanus (1498). Thomas Nashe uses it in *Have With You to Saffron-Walden* (1596). He translates it, "Once in our dayes, there is none of us but have plaid the ideots." He calls it, "that wether-beaten peice of a verse out of the Grammar."⁸⁸ Hall is indicating that he has been slightly mad, an idiot, for writing *Virgidemiarum*.

Book 6 is one long, sarcastic satire, which says that all of Hall's scourging was a mistake. The time is truly a golden age and it was wrong for him to scourge anyone. Hall begins and ends with Labeo, indicating how important he has been throughout the satires, particularly in Book 2, Book 4, and now in Book 6.

Labeo reserves a long nayle for the nonce
 To wound my Margent through ten leaves at once,
 Much worse than *Aristarchus* his black Pile
 That pierc'd olde *Homer's* side;
Whiles he his frightfull Beetle elevates,
 His angry eyne looke all so glaring bright,
 Like th' hunted Badger in a moonelesse night;
 ...Now red, now pale, and swolne above the eyes,
 ...But when he doth of my recanting heare,
 Away ye angrie fires and frostes of feare,
 Give place unto his hopefull tempered thought,
 That yeelds to peace, ere ever peace be sought.

(1-20)

Hall begins by saying that Labeo keeps a long fingernail on his satires to "wound" or

edit them. By referring to Aristarchus, who heavily edited Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and to Aristarchus's marginal symbol of a dagger,⁸⁹ which signified that a line was to be deleted, Hall is intimating that de Vere edited some of his satires "ten leaves at once." He uses the word "Pile" or *pilum* for the dagger, which also translates as "spear."⁹⁰ "Pile" is capitalized, signifying a name, another subtle allusion to Labeo as Shakespeare. "Long nayle" may also allude to de Vere's habit of drawing manicules with long fingernails in the margins of books he owned, as evidenced in his copy of the Geneva Bible and the Psalms. Hall shows fascinating personal glimpses of de Vere, who we know worked with many authors. This shows direct reference to Labeo's editing, but it appears that Hall did not welcome it. If de Vere did edit Hall's work, some rather damning things were left in, showing an honesty about himself.

It is clear that Labeo has caused Hall to be chastised, has demanded recantation, but then has granted forgiveness. Labeo's anger is reprised ("red...angrie fires") as is his fear of exposure ("pale...frostes of fear"). However, when Labeo hears of Hall's recanting, he becomes reasonable and hopeful and forgives Hall before ("ere ever") he even asked for it. *Ever* again. A new picture of de Vere is shown, as one who has "hopefull tempered thought" and who "yeelds to peace, ere ever peace be sought." He is not vile, as Hall has previously depicted him, but he shows a noble side. Hall has been repeating all the scandal and rumors that were in literary, court and Puritan circles, whether they were true or not. His satires do show the scandalous stories that were rife about de Vere, many of which were accurate.

A long retraction of Hall's criticism of the age and its vices intervenes. It is instead truly a golden age and no one should see any evil. Then we meet a new, but familiar, character.

But why doth *Balbus* his dead-doing quill
Parch in his rustie scabbard all the while,
His golden Fleece ore-growne with moldy hore,
As tho he had his witty workes forswore?
Belike of late now *Balbus* hath no need,
Nor now belike his shrinking shoulders dread
The Catch-poles fist; the Presse may still remaine,
And breath, till *Balbus* be in debt againe.

(163-170)

Lucius Balbus, the younger, built a theater in Rome, dedicated in 13 BCE, which is always described as magnificent. He also wrote plays.⁹¹ Hall's Balbus has let his quill dry out in a rusty, unused scabbard, with the allusion to the quill as a sword or spear. "Golden Fleece" is a reference to a noble hide or parchment. Mold has grown on the fleece. It's as if Balbus has abandoned his "witty workes." A noble playwright and theater-builder has stopped writing. He has sheathed his quill. Using Balbus as a name suggests that de Vere was responsible for building a theater or theaters in London. There are no records to show his involvement.

Hall's supposition is that Balbus doesn't have financial need at the moment and doesn't fear the debt collector. There is again an implication that de Vere was involved with the theater because he was in need and that he profited from production of his plays, all he had left of his heritage. Hall cynically assumes that he will be in debt again soon.

By the two crownes of *Pernasse* ever-greene,
And by the cloven head of *Hippocrene*,
As I true Poet am, I here avow,
(So solemnly kist he his Laurell bow,)
If that bold *Satyre* unrevenged be,
For this so saucy and foule injurie;
So *Labeo* weens it my eternall shame,
To prove I never earned a Poets name.

(179-186)

Back to Labeo, who swears by the two "ever-greene" hills of Parnassus and by the fountain of Hippocrene that as a "true poet" (and he solemnly kissed his "laurel bow" as laureate), Hall's bold satires will be avenged for such a saucy and foul injury, and Hall will "never" be recognized as a worthy poet, to his eternal shame. To seek honor for a wrong was an act required of nobility. "Ever-green," "true poet," "laureate," "never," "eternal." Hall doesn't need to throw in any more clues. Solemnly kissing the laurel crown alludes to Queen Elizabeth having granted it to him. Labeo was one of her chosen laureates.

A thought concerning de Vere's vengeance for Hall's detraction from his name: as noted, it concerns Lucio in *Measure for Measure*, who is a "fantastick," someone who makes things up, an allusion, I think, to Hall. The title of the play connotes revenge; a measure is being meted for a measure that has been done. There are more important characters than Lucio, but he is one of the story lines, and, as usual in a satirical characterization, he is not a simple, single depiction. When we first see him, he is accused by a gentleman of making up diseases in him when he is in fact healthy. "Thou art always figuring diseases in me but thou art full of error; I am sound."

Throughout the satires, Hall intimates that de Vere has gone to brothels where he contracted syphilis, and, as a result, he can no longer produce an heir, which would end the illustrious, ancient de Vere line. He hints that Henry is not de Vere's son, but a bastard. Hall lists the symptoms of a reddish rash, red eyes and loss of hair. He also mentions gout in a different satire. In *Measure for Measure*, III.i, Duke Vincentio, who is in disguise as a friar and who is seen as de Vere in disguise, is speaking to Claudio about death and life. He says about himself, "For thine own bowels which do call thee Sire,/ ...Do curse the *Gout*, *Serpigo* and *Rheume*." Gout is self-explanatory and Vincentio/de Vere seems to be confirming that he has it. Serpigo is a type of reddish rash. Rheum is a watery secretion from the eyes, accompanied

with redness as in a cold. In Vi, we recall that Lucio says about the Duke who is still in disguise, “Here comes the Rascal I spoke of.... This is the Rascal; this is he I spoke of...Come Sir, come Sir; Why you bald-pated Rascal, you must be hooded must you?”

All of the diseases, or symptoms of them, that Hall has accused de Vere of having, are dealt with in *Measure for Measure* as ailments of everyday life, not as indications of syphilis. Lucio refers to the Duke as “bald-pated,” another hint that de Vere may have been bald later in life. The allusions to the Duke as a “Rascal” are evocative of the satire *Arcades Ambo*, A Pair of Rascals. Lucio refers to the Friar/Duke as being hooded, as being in shadow or in disguise; Hall writes of Shakespeare/de Vere, his disguise for his writing for the public theater. They were both called rascals.

A final striking similarity between Lucio and Hall is that the Duke forgives Lucio at the end of the play, but makes him marry the prostitute he has forsaken, which is the revenge—the measure that is extracted. In *Virgidemiarum*, Labeo forgives Hall, but Hall is now identified by name in the Bishops’ Ban and his initials are on *Virgidemiarum* as the author. No more anonymity. He has to live with his lascivious and scandalous writing.

Measure for Measure was not published until the First Folio in 1623, but its first known staging was in 1604,⁹² a time frame within which it could be reasonably understood as a response to Hall’s satires.

The first lines of *Virgidemiarum* demand that the proud bow their heads willingly in repentance, but now it is Hall who must bow his head, even though he does so with sarcasm.

O age well thriven and well fortunate,
When ech man hath a Muse appropriate,
And she like to some servile eare-boar’d slave,
Must play and sing when, and what he would have.
Would that were all! Small fault in number lies,
Were not the feare from whence it should arise.

(233-238)

At this point, Hall seems to be throwing in random pieces he has written. Maybe he thought they were too good to leave out. He has made his point clearly, but covertly, that de Vere is the topic of many of his satires, but he continues. He makes another reference to powerful, highly placed people who write plays and songs, and to de Vere, who caused Hall to be chastised. “Eare-boar’d” parallels “eye boar’d out” and “newly lugged boar” from earlier satires also suggests drooping ears. We see “ech man” again, signifying *every* man.

Sith *Pontian* left his barren wife at home,
And spent two yeares at *Venice* and at *Rome*;
Returned, hears his blessing askt of three;
Cries out, O *Julian* law, *Adulterie*!

(241-244)

Pontian Greeks inhabited the area around Troy. The name is similar to Pontice, whom we saw as de Vere. The addition of “an” to the name could be an allusion to Ann Cecil. The story in the two couplets parallels de Vere going to Italy for about two years. When he returned, his wife had a child whom he disowned as his, intimating an adulterous affair.

Tho *Labeo* reaches right (who can deny?)
The true straynes of *Heroicke* Poesie;
For he can tell how fury reft his sense,
And *Phoebus* fild him with intelligence;
He can implore the heathen Deities
To guide his bold and busie enterprise;
Or filch whole Pages at a clap, for need,
From honest *Petrarch*, clad in English weed;
While bigge *But Ohs* ech stanzae can begin,
Whose trunk and tayle sluttish and hartless bin.
He knows the grace of that new elegance
...In epithets to joyne two wordes in one

Forsooth, for Adjectives cannot stand alone;
...Lastly, he names the spirit of *Astrophel*,
Now, hath not *Labeo* done wondrous well?

(245-264)

For the last time, Hall returns to *Labeo* and describes his writing, which he now praises. *Labeo* writes heroic poetry in “true” strains. His stories of kings and battles and heroes are well done. No one can deny that they’re good. He can write of great emotion almost leading to madness, which understanding came from “*Phoebus*” (*Lear*, *Hamlet*, *Timon*). He can implore heathen gods to help him write (*A Midsummer Night’s Dream*). He can steal whole themes from *Petrarch* and put them into English (*Romeo and Juliet*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Sonnets*). Big “*But Ohs*” start everlasting stanzas. “*Ech*” is an Old English word meaning “everlasting” and an Early Modern word meaning “every.” Since the word “*stanzae*” is plural, “every” doesn’t make sense here, but “everlasting” does, though both words follow the pattern of allusions to de Vere. The middle and end of stanzas are full of lewdness and heartlessness (*Venus and Adonis*). He uses hyphenated words as adjectives because two words are better than one (*Venus and Adonis*, *Lucrece*). And finally, he invokes the spirits of *Sidney* and *Spenser* (*Venus and Adonis*, *Lucrece*). The parallels to *Shakespeare* and to de Vere are evident.

But ere his Muse her weapon learns to weild,
Or dance a sober *Pirrhicke* in the field,
Or marching wade in blood up to the knees,
Her *Arma Virum* goes by two degrees.
The sheep-cote first hath been her nursery,
Where she hath worne her ydle infancy,
...Or else hath beene in *Venus* chamber train'd;
To play with *Cupid*, till shee had attain'd
To comment well upon a beauteous face,
Then was she fit for an Heroicke place.

(265-280)

Before Labeo began writing heroic works about knights in armor and battles, his first words (*Arma Virum*: the familiar first words and the nickname of the *Aeneid*) were of two types, pastorals and love poems; the love poems culminated in *Venus and Adonis*, which lifted Venus to a heroic level. Hall has been forced to be positive about *Venus and Adonis* after all his chastising.

He refers to the first words of the *Aeneid*, the epic poem by Virgil that details the life of Aeneas, to again allude to Labeo as de Vere. He says that Labeo's Muse tells the story of Aeneas/de Vere. His life is in his works. Even the word *Virum* evokes Ver. The Latin genitive suffix *um* means "of something," of the word it is attached to, in this case, of Vir/Ver. Consider the opening lines of the *Aeneid*: *Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris Italiam fato profugus Laviniaque venit litora* (I sing of arms and of a man who first, exiled by fate, came from the shores of Troy to Italy [Rome] and to the Lavinian shores [Lavinia was Aeneas' last wife]).⁹³ Aeneas, Troy, Rome. Exiled by fate. Edward de Vere.

Hall abruptly ends his satires after a further twenty-line derogatory description of an aging, wrinkled mistress, heavily made up with Venetian chalk, with bad teeth, but whom all the poets praise. It fits a picture of Queen Elizabeth at age sixty-five. What a rash, young, Puritan poet!

Joseph Hall probably wrote his satires between late 1595 and early 1598, when he became a fellow of Emmanuel College, the dominant stronghold of Puritanism in Cambridge, where he had spent seven years as a brilliant undergraduate. During the course of analyzing the satires, several questions arose in my mind. Was he writing at the behest of someone else, one or more of the powerful Puritans who supported him? Did they encourage him to write to denounce what they saw as evils and dissolution in Elizabethan life? Did they want to counter the strong influence that Edward de Vere, writing as Shakespeare, had on the lives of the public? Or did the naively arrogant Hall, who believed that God directed every step of his life, do it on his own?

Hall's was only one voice telling the story. During the same time, many other authors wrote satires, epigrams, pamphlets and satirical plays of an extremely personal nature, with Edward de Vere as a major hidden target of friendly and

antagonistic works.⁹⁴ These works were, in a sense, the social media of the day. The writers wrote about, and to, each other. Some of them also wrote in a covert manner that Edward de Vere was Shakespeare.

It is understandable that he became such a topic of discussion and of satire. The name William Shakespeare first appeared in print in 1593 on the celebrated but infamous *Venus and Adonis*, and was quickly followed by the celebrated, but less notorious, *The Rape of Lucrece* in 1594. Shakespeare's plays were appearing on the London stage to great applause during the rest of the 1590s, anonymously at first, then with attribution starting in 1598. The name William Shakespeare acquired a kind of celebrity status. Anything by him, even with only his initials, was eagerly seen or read by the public and, as Hall writes, "controls the manners of the multitude." De Vere's status as the premier earl of England, of an ancient, esteemed line, his scandalous life, his involvement as a patron of writers and the public stage, and, as Hall suggests in the character Balbus, a builder of theaters—all of this would only heighten the interest within the literary community. He was a larger than life figure, himself a celebrity, though of greatly fallen repute. His identity as Shakespeare was carefully effaced, as attested in his own Sonnet 72:

My name be buried where my body is,
And live no more to shame nor me nor you.
For I am shamed by that which I bring forth,
And so should you, to love things nothing worth.

The place to find his story is in hidden allusions in his own works and in the works of those contemporary writers who kept it alive.

The cumulative evidence that Hall is writing in a covert manner about Edward de Vere as Shakespeare in *Virgidemiarum* is powerful. Many allusions are remarkably specific to de Vere. The satires of Book 1, Satire IX, *An Obscene Poet*, of Book 2, Satire I, *Immodest Poetry*, and of Book 4, Satire II, *Arcades Ambo*, A Pair of Rascals, specifically tell that de Vere is Shakespeare.

Joseph Hall's arrogance caused him trouble. He was not proud of *Virgidemiarum*, he never claimed it in lists of his own works, but he savored the effect it had on people he attacked. It had an effect on de Vere. It may have helped force him into retirement from London and the stage around 1598.

As a nobleman, it was incumbent on de Vere to answer Hall's detraction, but he did so in a manner that was, in *Virgidemiarum's* own words, "hopefull and tempered." His troubled life and his anger are vividly portrayed, but so is his reasonable, forgiving nature and his brilliance as the author Shakespeare.

A suitable coda to *Virgidemiarum*:

SONNET 112

Your love and pity doth the impression fill
Which vulgar scandal stamp'd upon my brow;

For what care I who calls me well or ill,
So you o'ergreen my bad, my good allow?
You are my all the world, and I must strive
To know my shames and praises from your tongue;
None else to me, nor I to none alive,
That my steel'd sense or changes, right or wrong.
In so profound abysm I throw all care
Of other's voices, that my adder's sense
To critic and to flatterer stopped are.
Mark how with my neglect I do dispense:
You are so strongly in my purpose bred,
That all the world besides methinks are dead.

Endnotes

- ¹ Joseph Hall, *Virgidemiarum, Sixe Bookes. First three Bookes, Of Tooth-lesse Satyrs. 1. Poeticall. 2. Academicall. 3. Morall.*, London, Printed by Thomas Creed for Robert Dexter, 1597. *Virgidemiarum, The three last Bookes Of Byting Satyres. Imprinted at London by Richard Bradocke for Robert Dexter at the signe-of the Brasen Serpent in Pauls Church yarde, 1598.* *Virgidemiarum* is the title of the two books put together into the 1599 edition. *Virgidemiarum* is also part of the title of the last three books of *Byting Satyres*, published in 1598.
- ² Richard A. Cabe, "Elizabethan Satire and the Bishops' Ban of 1599," *The Yearbook of English Studies*, Vol. 11, *Literature and Its Audience*, 11 Special Number (1981), 188-193.
- ³ Peter Hall, *The Works of Joseph Hall: Miscellaneous*. Oxford: Talboys (1839), 143-144.
- ⁴ Arnold Davenport, *The Poems of Joseph Hall*. Liverpool University Press (1969), 294.
- ⁵ Hall, Book 3, *The Conclusion of All*.
- ⁶ Hall, Book 3, Satire V.
- ⁷ Hall, Book 3, Satire VII.
- ⁸ Hall, Book 4, Satire VII.
- ⁹ Alexander Waugh, "From the Pulpit—A Few Home Truths," *Brief Chronicles VI* (2015), 2-3. This has already proven to be true. Waugh deals with Great Osmond, from Hall's Book 3, Satire II, where he shows a clear allusion to de Vere that I had failed to see.
- ¹⁰ William Pickering, *Virgidemiarum: SATIRES, by Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter and of Norwich. In Six Books*. London: Chancery Lane (1825).
- ¹¹ Oliver Lawson Dick, *Aubrey's Brief Lives*. University of Michigan Press (1957), 505.
- ¹² De Vere Society, *De Vere Lineage*, <http://herebedragons.weebly.com/de-vere-lineage.html>.
- ¹³ Alan H. Nelson, *Monstrous Adversary: The Life of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford*. Liverpool University Press (2003), 34.
- ¹⁴ Davenport, 160. I have added Thomas Cutwode as another example.
- ¹⁵ Daniel Henry Lambert, *Cartae Shakespeareanae: Shakespeare Documents; A Chrono-*

logical Catalogue of Extant Evidence Relating to the Life and Works of William Shakespeare. George Bell (1904), 10, 11, 12, 13, 22, 31, 38, 45.

- ¹⁶ Rita Lamb, <http://sicttasd.tripod.com/ttheory.html>. At the outset of her essay, Lamb issues a stern warning to Stratfordians not to read further because it identifies certain satirical characters with known Elizabethans, including de Vere as Ver or Spring. Donna Murphy, *The Mysterious Connection Between Thomas Nashe, Thomas Dekker and TM: An English Renaissance Deception?* Cambridge Scholars Publishing (2014), 5.
- ¹⁷ Patrick Cheney, *Shakespeare, National Poet-Playwright*, Cambridge University Press (2004), 86.
- ¹⁸ E-Intro to Old English – 2. Pronunciation, <http://mich.edu/medieval/resources/IOE/pronunciation.html>; Also in an email message from Leeds University, Department of English, in reply to *Ask a Linguist*, online.
- ¹⁹ James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps, *Life of Shakespeare*. London: John Russell Smith (1848), 12.
- ²⁰ Davenport, xliv.
- ²¹ Mark Anderson, *Shakespeare by Another Name*. Gotham Books (2005), 272.
- ²² *Diogenes the Cynic* http://penelope.uchicago.edu/~grout/encyclopaedia_romana/greece/hetairai/diogenes.html.
- ²³ Hall, Book 1, Satire I, “*Trumpets, and reed, and socks and buskins fine/ I them bequeath...*” is an imitation of the *Prologue* to Persius’s Satires; Book 4, Satire I, suggests Persius’s Satire I; Book 5, Satire I, “*And to thy hand yeeld up the Ivy mace/ From crabbed Persius and more smooth Horace....*”
- ²⁴ Rev. M. Madan, *A New and Literal Translation of Juvenal and Persius*. Oxford (1807), 253 n.22.
- ²⁵ G.G. Ramsey, *Juvenal and Persius*. William Heinemann (1928), 323.
- ²⁶ Alexander Waugh, *The Spectator*, Neue Shake-speare Gesellschaft, 8 November 2013. www.shakespeare-today.de/front_content.php?idart=733. Kurt Kreiler, *Anonymous Shake-Speare*, 3.5.1. Hall, *Virgidemiarum*, n.1. <http://www.anonymous-shakespeare.com/cms/index.255.0.1.html>.
- ²⁷ Antony Augostakis and Ariana Traill, *A Companion to Terence*. John Wiley and Sons (2013), 4.
- ²⁸ Anderson, 308: “*Labeo, Marston notes, once wrote that ‘his love was stone: Obdurate, flinty, so relentless none.’ This is a quote from line 199 of Venus and Adonis. (‘Art thou obdurate, flinty, hard as steel?’) ‘Labeo’ is Shake-speare.*”
- ²⁹ Gabriel Harvey, *Speculum Tuscanismi* (1580), line 15, “*In Courtly guiles a passing singular odd man.*”
- ³⁰ Davenport, 175.
- ³¹ Thomas Nashe, *Strange News* (1592), “*He is a little man, but hath one of the best*

wits in England.” Shakespeare Oxford Fellowship, *The Many Nicknames of the Earl of Oxford*. www.shakespeareoxfordfellowship.org/?s=many+nicknames+of+earl+oxford.

- ³² Stephanie Hopkins Hughes, “Shakespeare’s Tutor: Sir Thomas Smith (1513-1577),” *The Oxfordian* vol. 3 (2000), 19-44.
- ³³ Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia* (1598).
- ³⁴ Nelson, 201-202.
- ³⁵ Anderson, 59-61.
- ³⁶ Anderson, 9, 29.
- ³⁷ Jeremy Crick, “Elizabeth and Francis Trentham of Rocester Abbey,” *De Vere Society Newsletter* (February 2007), 1-12
- ³⁸ Nelson, 415.
- ³⁹ N.P.G., “Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford (1550-1604), Courtier Images of Edward de Vere.” Npg.org. Web. Accessed 12/16.
- ⁴⁰ Temple Henry Croker, *The Satires of Ludovico Ariosto*. A. Millar (1759), 50.
- ⁴¹ Crick, 1-12.
- ⁴² B.M. Ward, *The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford*. J. Murray (1928), 355.
- ⁴³ The House of Vere: References, http://www.bibliotecapleyades.net/dragons/esp_socipol_dragoncourt02_13.htm; Wikipedia, *St. Peter and St. Paul’s Church, Lavenham*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St_Peter_and_St_Paul%27s_Church,_Lavenham.
- ⁴⁴ Roger A. Stritmatter, *The Marginalia of Edward de Vere’s Geneva Bible*. University of Massachusetts (2001).
- ⁴⁵ J. Aubrey Rees, *The Grocery Trade, Its History and Romance*, Duckworth & Co. (1910), vol. I, 101-114. “In fact, he was as much a professional money-lender as a grocer (merchant)...” I am grateful to Julie Sandys Bianchi for discovering this reference.
- ⁴⁶ Basil Tozer, *The Horse in History*. Methuen (1908), 54. Wikipedia, *Bucephalus*, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bucephalus>.
- ⁴⁷ William Plumer Fowler, *Shakespeare Revealed in Oxford’s Letters*. Peter E. Randall (1986), 524 (“I have not an able body”); 593 (“If my health had been to my mind”); 607 (“by reason of my sickness, I have been unable to write”); 653 (“with a lame hand to write”); 739 (“by reason of mine infirmity, I cannot come among you”).
- ⁴⁸ Wikipedia, *William (Given Name)*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_given_name.
- ⁴⁹ Hank Whittemore, *No. 84 of 100 Reasons why the Earl of Oxford was “Shakespeare”:* *He was Involved in the Revolutionary Expanding Universe of Astronomy*. Feb. 7,

2014. Web.

- ⁵⁰ George Lewis, *A life of Joseph Hall, D.D., Bishop of Exeter and Norwich, Part 4*. Hodder and Stoughton (1886), 38-43. Among the Puritans: Henry Hastings, 3rd Earl of Huntingdon; Henry Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer and founder of Emmanuel; Laurence Chaderton, Master of Emmanuel; Sir John Popham, Chief Justice.
- ⁵¹ Carolyn Morris, "Did Joseph Hall and Ben Jonson Identify Oxford as Shakespeare?" *The Oxfordian* vol. 15 (2013), 3-26.
- ⁵² These allusions call for an essay of their own and are too extensive to go into here. The main links are to characters named Lollo or to situations that strongly parallel the content of *Arcades Ambo*, which deals with a rustic squire who wants his eldest son to be a gentleman and who claims to have come to England with the conqueror.
- ⁵³ The Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew* deals with a rustic who is satirically made into a gentleman; a farmer's eldest son claims his ancestor came in with the conqueror.
- ⁵⁴ Michael Delahoyde, *Measure For Measure*, <http://public.wsu.edu/~delahoyd/shakespeare/measure5.html>.
- ⁵⁵ Livius.org, *Marcus Lollius*, <http://www.livius.org/person/lollius/>; Encyclopaedia Britannica, *Lollius, Marcus*, http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclop%C3%A6dia_Britannica/Lollius,_Marcus; Wikipedia, *Marcus Lollius*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marcus_Lollius.
- ⁵⁶ Peter Bayle, *The Dictionary Historical and Critical of Mr. Peter Bayle*, vol. 3, 859-860. He was "a man in everything more fond of money than behaving well, and, under the highest appearances of virtue, the most vitious of men."
- ⁵⁷ William Dolle and Alexander Brome, *Poems of Horace, Consisting of the Odes, Satyrs, and Epistles. Rendered in English and Paraphrased by Several Persons*, Book 4, Ode 9. London (1680).
- ⁵⁸ Richard F. Thomas, *Horace: Odes IV and Carmen Saeculare*. Cambridge University Press (2011), 198-199: "What Horace writes, grand and dignified though the sentiments are, sounds like an attempt at rehabilitation and is a little on the defensive—an awkward situation for the poet."
- ⁵⁹ Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, <http://hompi.sogang.ac.kr/anthony/chaucer/troilus.htm>; Malissa Kent, "The Many Faces of Lollius: A Study of Chaucer's Auctour in Troillus and Criseyde," unpublished MSS.
- ⁶⁰ Jacqueline de Weever, *Chaucer Name Dictionary: A Guide to Astrological, Biblical, Historical, Literary and Mythological Names in the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*. Routledge (2014), 218.
- ⁶¹ Park Honan, *Shakespeare: A Life*. Oxford University Press (1998), 36-38.
- ⁶² Diana Price, *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography, New Evidence of an Authorship*

Problem. Greenwood Press (2001).

- ⁶³ Encyclopedia Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/401487/Gnaeus-Naevius>.
- ⁶⁴ Paul Hemenway Altrocchi, *Malice Aforethought: The Killing of a Unique Genius*. Xlibris Corporation (2010), 163-164. Paul Altrocchi and Hank Whittemore, *My Name be Buried: A Coerced Pen Name Forces the Real Shakespeare into Anonymity* (2009), 106.
- ⁶⁵ Anderson, 66-67.
- ⁶⁶ *Who Wears What*, <http://elizabethan.org/sumptuary/who-wears-what.html>, 2-25-2012.
- ⁶⁷ Barbara Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*. Routledge (2002), 102.
- ⁶⁸ Davenport, 238: "It grew more and more customary for the sons of the better class yeoman to try their fortunes in London."
- ⁶⁹ John S. Hales, *The Name Shakspeare*. The Athenaeum (1903), 230-233.
- ⁷⁰ Karl Elze, *William Shakespeare: A Literary Biography*. G. Bell and Sons (1888), 482-488.
- ⁷¹ Samuel A. Tannenbaum, *Shakesper's Coat of Arms* (1908).
- ⁷² Ralph Brooke and John Leland, *A discoverie of certaine errorrs published in print in the much commended Britannia, 1594, very prejudicial to the discentes and succession of the auncient nobilitie of the realme*. By Yorke Herault. John Windet (1599).
- ⁷³ Oxford English Dictionary: A quotation from *Brieff discours of the troubles begonne at Franckford Germany A.D. 1554* by W. Whittingham: To weare the pied coat of a foole.
- ⁷⁴ Oxford English Dictionary: Upstart 1555 H. Braham, *Inst. Gentleman* sig. Ciiij, These gentlemen are now called vpstartes, a term lately invented by such as pondered not ye groundes of honest meanes of rising or commyng to promotion.
- ⁷⁵ Charlton Ogburn, Jr., *The Mysterious William Shakespeare*. Dodd, Mead & Co. (1984), 511: "At all these love matters my Lord Treasurer winketh and will not meddle in any way." Paul Hemenway Altrocchi, "A Portrait Analysis of William Cecil," *Shakespeare Matters*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Fall 2001), 8. Altrocchi shows that Cecil had a cleft palate which would have produced a slightly lisping speech.
- ⁷⁶ Encyclopedia Britannica, *Albius Tibullus*, c. 55-19 BCE. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/595039/Albius-Tibullus>.
- ⁷⁷ Joseph Esmond Riddle, *A Complete English-Latin Dictionary*. Longmans, Orne, Brown, Green & Longmans (1838), 288.

- ⁷⁸ W.C. Firebaugh, *The Satyricon of Petronius Arbiter*, vol. 1. Boni & Liveright (1922), 80-82.
- ⁷⁹ C.C. Stopes, *Shakespeare's Family, Being a Record of the Ancestors and Descendants of William Shakespeare with some Account of the Ardens*. Elliot Stock (1901).
- ⁸⁰ Patient Trusted Medical Information and Advice, <http://www.patient.co.uk/health/syphilis-leaflet>.
- ⁸¹ Charles Nicholl, *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe*. University of Chicago Press (1992), 83-88.
- ⁸² Constance Brown Kuriyama, *Christopher Marlowe: A Renaissance Life*. Cornell University Press (2010), 99; [En.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Walsingham_\(literary_patron\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Walsingham_(literary_patron)).
- ⁸³ Elze, 8.
- ⁸⁴ *Walk in the footsteps of Shakespeare*—a guided trail around Wilmcote, Billesley and Aston Cantlow. <http://www.visitchurches.org.uk/Assets/BillesleyShakespeareprojectassets/WalkingintheFootstepsofShakespeareTrail.pdf?1331133288>.
- ⁸⁵ Stopes; William Farina, *De Vere as Shakespeare*. McFarland (2005), 66.
- ⁸⁶ N.W. Alcock and Robert Bearman, "Discovering Mary Arden's House: Property and Society in Wilmcote, Warwickshire," *The Shakespeare Quarterly* vol. 53, no. 1 (Spring 2002), 70 (see also p. 70 n.61: Only half a century after Robert's [Arden] death did John Shakespeare rewrite history by identifying him as a gentleman. Robert himself never aspired to being more than a husbandman, although he could surely have described himself as a yeoman).
- ⁸⁷ Warwickshire.livingmag.co.uk/Billesley-manor.
- ⁸⁸ A.H. Bullen, *The works of Thomas Nashe: Have with you to Saffron-Walden. Nashe's Lenten stufte. Summer's last will and testament. Shorter pieces. Doubtful Works* (1905), 79.
- ⁸⁹ Mental-floss, *5 Characters from the Margins of Ancient texts*, <http://mentalfloss.com/article/52758/5-characters-margins-ancient-texts>.
- ⁹⁰ Davenport, 250 n.3.
- ⁹¹ "Balbus," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1911, vol. 3, online edition modified 19 July 2014.
- ⁹² J.W. Lever, ed., *Measure for Measure*. London: Methuen (1965), xxi-xxv.
- ⁹³ R. Allen Smith, *Virgil*. John Wiley & Sons (2010), 105.
- ⁹⁴ Quakespeare Shorterly, <http://lookingforshakespeare.blogspot.com/2015/08/a-sin-oth-state.html>; The Festival Robe, <http://www.thefestivalrobe.com/> These are two sites that show covert allusions to de Vere in the works of other authors of the era.