Maniculed Psalms in the de Vere Bible:
A New Literary Source for Shakespeare

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As a practicing psychoanalyst, I distinctly recall my disappointment when I first learned many years ago that Freud made the embarrassing "error" of thinking some obscure nobleman wrote the works of Shakespeare.To my surprise, in 2002 the usually reliable *New York Times* now claimed that Roger Stritmatter had earned his Ph.D. with a dissertation using Edward de Vere's Geneva Bible to strengthen existing evidence that Freud was actually correct—at least about Shakespeare. When I re-read this article a few months later, I was intrigued to discover that de Vere's Geneva Bible is owned by the Folger Shakespeare Library.

I received "reader" privileges at the Folger and I spent many hours over the ensuing years examining de Vere's Bible. During the first three of those years, my research interests took me in unexpected directions. For example, I noticed that two anonymous poems in the 1585 edition of *Paradise of Daintie Devises* were likely by de Vere.[1] In addition, I was intrigued by the parallels between Julius Caesar's dying words in Latin and Jesus's dying words in Aramaic.[2]

Reanalyzing Stritmatter's extensive data on de Vere's Bible, I helped show that de Vere and "Shakespeare" had comparable levels of interest in a given biblical verse. There are 450 Biblical verses that Shakespeare cited in the canon just once; only 13% of these verses are marked in de Vere's Bible. However, of the 160 verses Shakespeare cited *four* times, de Vere marked 27% of these. There are even eight verses that Shakespeare cited *six* times – de Vere marked 88% of these.

Then, while looking at the metrical psalter at the back of de Vere's Bible in July 2008, I noticed a parallel between a phrase in one of the psalms that de Vere annotated and the words in a Shakespeare sonnet. Psalm 12:4 states, "Our tongues are ours, we ought to speak./ What Lord shall us control?" Sonnet 66 includes the

line: "And art made tongue-tied by authority." The latter is thus the antithesis of the former. I found similar echoes and parallels of other marked psalms in Shakespeare's works. Scholars knew that Shakespeare's work frequently echoes the Psalms, and we know that de Vere's uncle, Arthur Golding, dedicated his translation of John Calvin's commentaries on the Psalms to de Vere in 1571. In his dedication, Golding wrote, "And David… exhorteth you by his own example… to talk of [the Psalms] afore kings and great men, to love it, to make songs of it…" (Anderson 439). That is just what de Vere did.

The version of the Psalms bound at the end of de Vere's Bible was *not* in the Geneva Bible's translation of the Psalms, nor in the Coverdale or Bishop's translations, but in a now obscure translation of the Psalms that was phenomenally popular in de Vere's day and for the next century (it went through almost 1,000 editions). In fact, it was often bound with Bibles and Books of Common Prayer. This was the translation begun by Thomas Sternhold under Henry VIII, and later completed by John Hopkins and others. It was published as *The Whole Book of Psalms* (WBP). (Consult the appendix for a complete list of the WBP psalms that de Vere annotated.)

I was struck the first time I saw these psalms in de Vere's Bible that he drew ornate manicules, or pointing hands, in the margins next to many of them. He marked one psalm with a large and elaborate fleur-de-lys. He marked the summaries of additional psalms in the introductory "Treatise of Athanasius," which directs the devout reader to specific psalms to recite under specific conditions. Moreover, WBP was a metrical version of the psalms, written as "fourteeners," with seven iambs per line, often printed as one line of four iambs, followed by a line of three iambs. The simple, fixed meter meant they could be set to music in what is still referred to as "Common Meter" in current hymnals. WBP did in fact constitute an Elizabethan hymnal. As Beth Quitslund has explained in her recent book on WBP, by 1560 English congregations were singing hymns together (previously, only the choirs did the singing).[3] So de Vere's intense interest in WBP may have been influenced by both the text and the music, as he was nearly 50% more likely to annotate a psalm that was printed with the music on the same page (most of the psalms directed the reader to another psalm for the music).

Starting in the 18th century, the literary quality of WBP came in for some criticism, in particular its awkward phrasing. In C.S. Lewis' mostly authoritative summary of 16th century literature, he observes that WBP was of poor quality, but that it did no damage since it had no influence on literature.

After two years of research on the topic, I beg to differ. In fact, I am discovering that WBP may have had a wider and more significant influence on de Vere than any other book of the Bible, and it certainly was more influential on his work than any other translation of the Psalms. Unfortunately, there is still a widespread lack of interest in biblical influences in general on Shakespeare. It is a sad fact of human nature that we remain largely trapped within our own psychology, treating the outside world as one big ink blot, onto which we project the contents of our own mind, overlooking most of what we cannot relate to.

These days, few of us have any interest in the Bible, and that lack of interest carries over into Shakespeare research. In the past, Shakespeare scholars have argued that Shakespeare was a "secular" writer whose occasional allusions to the Bible are of minimal significance. They thereby fail to step outside themselves, and miss the enormous importance that religion, theology, and the Bible had for Elizabethans, including de Vere. (When some scholars say that Shakespeare of Stratford only knew the Bible through hearing it read in church, I do not dispute them. The Bible he heard there, by the way, was by law the Bishop's Bible, not the Geneva translation that is widely agreed to be the one quoted most in Shakespeare's works.)

In July, 2008, I shared my discoveries about Psalm 12 with Roger Stritmatter. He told me he was unaware that anyone had noticed that parallel and he encouraged me to follow up on this lead. Naseeb Shaheen's comprehensive list of biblical echoes in Shakespeare mentions only a couple of echoes of WBP in his index; there are a few more in his book that are not indexed.[4] However, Shaheen did not realize how important WBP was for Shakespeare.

What to do with my discoveries? We psychiatrists routinely tell patients who are feeling overwhelmed by a task to break it down into manageable components, and pursue them one at a time. What was I going to do with all my data? Stritmatter proposed a "mousetrap strategy." That is, to submit selected discoveries to a mainstream journal, deleting all mention of de Vere's Bible. We both believed that explaining this source of my discoveries would in all likelihood lead my article to be rejected. Mainstream journals practice an unwritten "don't ask, don't tell" policy with respect to the authorship question—they publish articles by Oxfordians, as long as those articles refrain from overt endorsement of de Vere as Shakespeare.

In September of 2008, I submitted to *Notes & Queries* a brief note on "Psalm 8 as a Source of Sonnet 21." Characteristically, I found that de Vere's allusions to the WBP psalms strongly influence our interpretation of his work. For example, I discovered that Sonnet 21's "that Muse" was not some Elizabethan poet, as many had assumed, but was none other than the psalmist—traditionally, King David. The sonnet echoes so many phrases and concepts of Psalm 8 that it is clearly structured as a reply to that psalm, implying that de Vere was comparing himself with King David. Even more blasphemously, the sonnet thus compares the Fair Youth with God himself (or herself). I thus compared Shakespeare's poems with "holy psalms turned to lovers' sonnets," reversing John Lyly's words in his novel, *Euphues*.

I received a polite acknowledgement from *Notes & Queries* that they would consider my submission. That was all the encouragement I needed to write more, and that journal's format of publishing brief articles made the writing task seem more manageable. A few days later, I sent them "Echoes of Psalm 51 in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*." This "chief penitential psalm" is echoed frequently in the play. Most saliently, its echoes in Lady Macbeth's "Out damned spot" speech highlight the gap between her primitive fears of punishment and Psalm 51's characterization of the genuine state of contrition that can lead to God's forgiveness.

By the time this note was acknowleged a week later, I had a third note to submit. It was on "The Sternhold and Hopkins Psalms as Sources for *The Rape of Lucrece*." Here, the echoes are extensive. Shakespeare uses the word "warble" only

once in all his poetry, in line 1080 of *Lucrece*. That word is also found only once in WBP, in Psalm 137:5. An earlier phrase says of Lucrece that "she that never coped with stranger *eyes*" could not "read the subtle-shining *secrecies/ Writ in* the glassy margents of such *books*" (lines 99-102). Not only do all five highlighted words come from Psalm 139:15-16—this psalm captures much of the theme of *Lucrece*, including efforts to conceal sin in the darkness of night, and its eventual revelation and punishment.

I sent four additional notes on WBP and Shakespeare to *Notes & Queries* over the next few weeks. During this period I attended a lecture by David Schalkwyk, the new Director of Research at the Folger, and *Shakespeare Quarterly* editor. His comments on Sonnet 125 in his lecture led me to re-examine the previous sonnet. Two days later, I sent him my 10-page article on the many allusions to Psalm 103 in Sonnet 124. Schalkwyk generously replied that my article changed his reading of this sonnet. In another note, I showed the influence of that same Psalm 103 on a second sonnet, Sonnet 69. (I later found it prominently echoed in *Edward III*, II.1.)

In early 2009, I was delighted to receive an email from *Notes & Queries* asking me to write an article incorporating all seven notes. I promptly did this and submitted it a week later. In April, they notified me that my article had been accepted, including the strong claim of its title — "The Sternhold and Hopkins' Whole Book of Psalms is a Major Source for the Works of Shakespeare" (December 2009, 56:4, 595-604). It is my understanding that *Notes & Queries* seldom publishes long articles, so I was especially pleased that they thus seemed to be endorsing the significance of these discoveries.

I want to emphasize how I found these allusions to WBP in Shakespeare's works: *Each of the ten psalms I wrote about in my article was marked by de Vere*. It was de Vere himself who "pointed me" to these psalms through his marginal manicules.

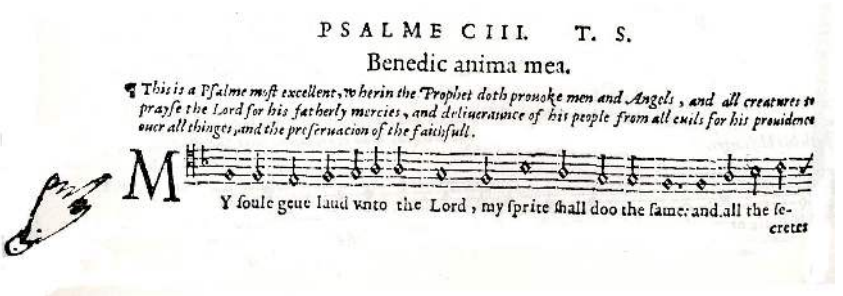
But I voluntarily "manacled" my impulse to tell the "manicule" part of my story in a mainstream journal. I decided the better part of valor in this case was discretion about my "source." I remained "tongue-tied" by the authority of the Shakespeare establishment, afraid that the subversive implications of my discoveries for traditional authorship assumptions might lead to their suppression. I will probably never know if my fears were well-founded.

Stritmatter's discoveries about the hundreds of connections between de Vere's annotations of his Bible and biblical echoes in Shakespeare's works have not yet received the recognition they deserve. Among the counter-arguments that have been offered are the claim that de Vere and Shakespeare merely showed interest in biblical passages that were of interest to all Elizabethans. Although Stritmatter has refuted this counterargument by showing that a preponderance of marked verses were *not* in fact popular ones among other Elizabethan writers, insidious dismissals still hold sway. Similarly, the so-called "seven penitential psalms" were translated by Elizabethans far more often than any other psalms. Yet de Vere marked only two of these in his WBP (6 and 51). Again, de Vere shows a distinctive, idiosyncratic interest in psalms that were less popular among his contemporaries.

Will the echoes of WBP in Shakespeare's works be harder to dismiss? These allusions had been virtually ignored for 400 years (along with WBP itself in the past 200 years). I seriously doubt that some later owner of de Vere's Bible noticed all the

echoes of WBP in Shakespeare's works, and took the trouble to draw 16th-century manicules next to those psalms (and only those psalms). Scholars' blind spots about WBP means that there is a rich lode of sources for Shakespeare to mine here. I do not think it was a coincidence that my Oxfordian perspective on authorship, which led me to immerse myself in de Vere's Bible, in turn led me to wonder if the psalms he marked might have influenced his literary works.

I believe the onus is now on Stratfordians to show that psalms *not* marked in de Vere's Bible had more influence on Shakespeare's works than those that de Vere did mark. He marked a total of 20 psalms in a variety of ways, leaving 130 unmarked psalms. My research thus far has naturally yielded many echoes of unmarked psalms in Shakespeare's works and is consistent with Stritmatter's discoveries with the rest of de Vere's Bible.


PSALME CIII. T. S.

Benedic anima mea.

¶ This is a Psalme most excellent, wherin the Prophet doth prouoke men and Angels, and all creatures to prayse the Lord for his fatherly mercies, and deliuerance of his people from all euils for his prouidence ouer all thinges, and the preseruacion of the faithfull.

MY soule geue laud vnto the Lord, my sprite shall doo the same: and all the se-

cretes

Figure 1. Psalm 103, as marked with a manicule in the Folger Library de Vere copy of STC 2106 (Shelfmark 1427).

Since *Notes & Queries* accepted my article, I continued to write further articles on WBP, having found that Psalm 103 is echoed throughout *Edward III*, thus helping to establish its authorship by Shakespeare/ de Vere. Psalm 137 is echoed repeatedly in *Richard II*.[5] Moreover, the play *Henry VI, Part One* echoes Psalms 8, 51, and 137. *Notes & Queries* asked me to combine the three articles I sent them on these plays, and published them in 2010.[6] Once again, de Vere marked three of these psalms with his pointing hands; he marked Psalm 8 with a flower in the Treatise of Athanasius. The unmarked psalms have *not* proved to be as rich a source for previously undiscovered allusions in Shakespeare's works.

One Stratfordian emailed me that all Oxfordians suffer from the "fact" that we lack even a single "electron" of evidence for de Vere's authorship of Shakespeare's works. As the adage advises, "don't get mad—get even." So I wrote a paper whimsically titled, "An Oxfordian Quark or a Quirky Oxfreudian? Psalm Evidence for de Vere's Authorship of Shakespeare's Works." This paper was accepted for presentation at the 2010 Southeastern Renaissance Conference, and it will be published in *Renaissance Papers*. It summarizes my findings, and adds fresh material on echoes of the maniculed Psalm 77 in Sonnet 28 and in *Hamlet*.

Let me give some further examples of echoes of WBP in de Vere's works. The maniculed Psalm 12 contributes significantly to Sonnet 80.[7] Sonnet 80 is a detailed response to Christopher Marlowe's poem *Hero and Leander*.[8] Naturally, de Vere often

blends more than one source of literary allusion in a single work.[9] In this case, the allusions to Psalm 12 effectively contradict his ostensible praise of Marlowe as the rival poet. Sonnet 80 seems to lavish praise on the rival's superior poetic powers ("a better spirit,"[10] "the proudest sail"[11] in contrast with de Vere's "tongue-tied," "humble," "inferior," "worthless"[12] self-portrait). After calling Southampton's worth "wide as the Ocean is," de Vere compares himself to a "saucy[13] bark (inferior far to his" [i.e., Marlowe's].[14] "On your *broad main*" echoes the only previous use of this phrase in EEBO, by Arthur Golding, in his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses:* "So shall we on the *broad main* sea together jointly sail." But, by also echoing Psalm 12, de Vere subtly but effectively turns all this around on his more voluble rival. This psalm characterizes those who speak so freely as "vain," "flattering," "deceitful," "proud," "ill," "wicked" men who "lie," "feign," "make great brags," and are "full of mischiefs."

Helen Vendler acknowledges her puzzlement about Sonnet 80. Addressing the couplet's rhyme, she says, "I confess that I am somewhat at a loss here to explain what Shakespeare had in mind… Why, one wonders… does Shakespeare use a rather unidiomatic word like *decay* for shipwreck and being cast *away*, when *–ay* is a sound easy to find [other] rhymes for?" (359). In fact, Psalm 12 begins with this very rhyme with which Sonnet 80 ends: *decay/away*. The first line announces that it is "good and godly men" who "do perish and decay." So de Vere's reference to "my decay" would thus mark him as a "good and godly" man. Verse 1 begins with the plea, "*Help*, Lord"; line 9 of Sonnet 80 refers to Southampton's "shallowest *help*," one of many psalm echoes that implicitly compare Southampton with God.

Psalm 87, though unmarked, also drew de Vere's interest. 87:1-4's "Upon the holy hills…*Full glorious* things… are said of thee, thou city of our God./ On Rahab I will cast an *eye*" is beautifully echoed in Sonnet 33's opening line, "*Full* many a *glorious* morning[15] have I seen,/ Flatter the mountain tops with sovereign *eye*…" ("Full" occurs four times in this psalm.) Thus, "full," "glorious," and "hills" or "mountain tops" open the sonnet and occur in the first half of the psalm. "Pale streams" in the sonnet echo "my fountains and my pleasant springs" of the psalm. "My *love*" echoes "God *love*s the gates of Sion best… He *love*d them more than all the rest."

Sonnet 33 also offers some significant contrasts with Psalm 87. For example, Psalm 87's argument [or summary] locates "misery" solely in the past, during the Babylonian captivity. The argument states that "The holy ghost promiseth that the condition of the Church, which was a misery after the captivity of Babilon, should be restored to great excellency." The psalm offers several forms of assurance that the current condition of God's grace "shall full well endure"; "can no *time decay*"; and "doth there abide." By contrast, Sonnet 33 places the poet's *happiness* with the Fair Youth solely in the past, and mourns the fact that the youth "was but one hour mine." Likewise, "this dis*grace*" of the sonnet contrasts with "his [God's] *grace* doth there abide" of the psalm. Vendler says that Sonnet 33 is "the first sonnet to remark a true flaw in the friend" (178). Perhaps de Vere sought in the promise of the psalm's argument some comfort that the Youth's favor will one day be restored and will then "shine" on him again.

Sonnet 65 also echoes Psalm 87. The psalm begins with the promise that, after the Israelites' release from Babylon, Jerusalem will "endure," and "it can no *time decay*." 87:2 asserts that "God loves the *gates*[16] *of* Sion best." By contrast, Sonnet 65 contradicts the psalm by asserting that nothing can escape the destruction of "sad mortality." Its list of objects vulnerable to time's destruction begins with brass, stone, and earth; these may allude to the trumpeters and "groundwork" or foundations of the psalm. The octave ends by repeating that neither "rocks impregnable" nor "*gates of* steel" will remain, because "*time decays*." This latter echo is the most obvious challenge to Psalm 87. (De Vere is the first author listed in EEBO who made "time" the subject in the phrase "time decays.")[17] By implication, de Vere thus claims for his poetry the "miracle" of the very sort of timeless endurance that Psalm 87 claims for God's favored city of Zion.

"Time decays" in Sonnet 65 also echoes Erasmus's "Epistle to persuade a young gentleman to marriage,"[18] which is a recognized source for the first 17 "Procreation Sonnets." The phrase occurs in a sentence that has further parallels with the imagery of Sonnet 65: "A city is like to fall in ruin, except there be watchmen to defend it in armor. But assured destruction must needs here follow except men through the benefit of marriage supply issue, the which through *mortality* do from time to *time decay*" (folio 24). De Vere similarly wrote of the destructive power of "sad *mortality*." Erasmus's military imagery is consistent with the sonnet's "Against the wrackful siege of batt'ring days,/ When rocks impregnable are not so stout,/ Nor gates of steel so strong, but *time decays*." Through the allusion to Erasmus, Sonnet 65 hints that the "black ink" of de Vere's poetry must take the place of Southampton's offspring, since he has not (yet) married.

De Vere marked verses 15 and 16 of Psalm 31 with a bracket and three dots (his only such notation in WBP)—"The length of all my life and age, O Lord, is in thy hand:/ Defend me from the wraths and rage, of them that me withstand./ To me thy servant, Lord, express, and show thy joyful face:/ And save me, Lord, for thy goodness, thy mercy, and thy grace." Psalm 31 has several echoes in Sonnet 71 ("No longer mourn from me when I am *dead*"). This fatalism of the sonnet contradicts the promise of the psalm, in the face of death. For example, the psalm begins "O Lord, I put my trust in thee." The second line of the sonnet "Than you shall *hear* the surly sullen bell" more resignedly echoes a word in the second verse of the psalm: "*Hear* me, O Lord, and that anon, to help me make good speed." The sonnet says "I am fled/ From this vile world with vildest worms[19] to dwell"; 31:17 similarly speaks of "the grave." "With vildest worms *to dwell*" also turns to a dark line from the "Creed of Athanasius" bound with his WBP: "And they into eternal *life* [note de Vere's reversal of this word through metathesis to "vile"] shall go, that have done well: Who have done ill, shall go into eternal fire *to dwell*." Line 7 is "That *I* in your sweet thoughts would be *forgot*"; Psalm 31: 12 is "As men once *dead* are out of mind, so am *I* now *forgot* (this is the only WBP psalm that thus links "I" and "forgot"). Line 11 of the sonnet is "Do not so much my poor *name rehearse*." "*Name*" occurs in 31:3, and the psalm's introductory summary includes the phrase, "first he [David] *rehearse*th what meditation he had by the power of faith when death was before his eyes." Line 12 says "But let your love even with *my life* decay." Psalm 31 is the only psalm that

repeats the phrase "*my life*" three times. Other words from Psalm 31 that are echoed in Sonnet 71 are *hand, love, and woe*.

I have been asked how my 34 years of clinical work as a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst have influenced my work on de Vere. First of all, it was my admiration for Freud's intellect that led me to reconsider the possible validity of his endorsement of Looney's Oxfordian hypothesis. (That is why I now think of myself as an "Oxfreudian.") Secondly, psychoanalytic work is centrally based on the discovery that the dynamic unconscious is a vital source of human motivation. Analysts are constantly attuned to thoughts, feelings, and conflicts that may be outside a person's awareness. Blind spots are not limited to our patients—they are ubiquitous in all of us, including psychoanalysts. "Group think" is well known to lead to the fundamental cognitive error of misinterpreting fresh evidence according to a widely accepted explanatory theory, rather than attending objectively to data that are more consistent with an alternative theory. "Selection bias" filters out evidence that is inconsistent with the prevailing theory. There is a failure to re-examine previously rejected hypotheses. Members of the group value consensus above accuracy. Anyone who disagrees is stereotyped in a way that dismisses their ideas.[20] My 100 publications have frequently taken up topics that had previously been ignored because of such "group think" on the part of other analysts.

Perhaps the best example involves what used to be called multiple personality, and is now known as "dissociative identity disorder." During the first years that I was working intensively with a few patients who suffered from that illness, its very existence was highly controversial among psychiatrists and psychoanalysts. I was still earning my credentials as an analyst during those years, and I worried—somewhat realistically—that my career might be thwarted if colleagues with the power to advance or to hinder my advancement disapproved of my opinion that dissociative identity disorder was a genuine illness.

Only after I became board-certified in psychoanalysis, then appointed as a training and supervising analyst in my institute, did I write my first article about my clinical work with dissociative patients. I believe I was the first training analyst within the American Psychoanalytic Association to write such an article. I now felt I had less to lose. In fact, I felt something of an obligation to speak out on behalf of colleagues who were similarly "tongue-tied by authority." One respected colleague then told me he was disappointed in me for my alleged gullibility in believing dissociative identity disorder existed. Another warned me, when I later shared my new-found interest in de Vere, "Drop it—you'll jeopardize your reputation!" Since there seems to be a spectrum of dissociated self states or ego states in everyone, I have become fascinated with the possibility that pseudonymous authors who are creative geniuses have an unusually flexible and adaptive relationship among their various ego states. Fernando Pessoa's 70-plus "heteronyms" are the most extreme example.[21]

My earlier self-censorship about dissociative disorders has now taken a new form when I write about Shakespeare for a mainstream journal. I notice that, in the process, I give less thought to connections with de Vere. David McCollough once told an interviewer "I write to find out what I think." So not being able to write freely makes it more difficult to find out what we think. Even our private reflections are

stymied by any forces that suppress the later expression of our conclusions. Victims of child abuse, as one extreme example, are often threatened by their abusers never to tell anyone what happened. If the abuse happens to a very young child, the child is at risk of dissociating the memory of it from her conscious mind, in order to protect herself from the abuser's threats.

Another psychoanalytic influence on my Shakespeare research is the surmise that envy is a powerful but unacknowledged force in Shakespeare scholarship. It was Melanie Klein and her followers who demonstrated the powerful role of envy in the mind. Our feelings of admiration for someone we deeply respect are often admixed with painful feelings of competition and envy that this person is superior to us. Often, without realizing it, envy leaks out in the form of efforts to diminish the person we admire.

I believe that envy of Shakespeare's extraordinary works is a significant reason for the stubborn refusal of Stratfordians to look at the authorship evidence objectively. In addition, rather than own up to their unacknowledged feelings of envy, they project this problem onto Oxfordians, in the form of the *ad hominem* charge that we are snobs who cannot abide the man from Stratford because he was a commoner. That is, I suspect their insistence that he *must* be a commoner is the first of many ways they cope with their envy of his literary accomplishments. But there are many other examples. Think of all the times a Shakespeare scholar pounces on alleged errors in Shakespeare's works—Shakespeare's "embarrassing" (though imaginary) howlers about Bohemia having a coastline; someone going from Verona to Milan by boat; and anachronisms galore, such as the clock in *Julius Caesar*.

This is anything but a recent phenomenon. Ben Jonson clearly struggled with his envy of de Vere, with his snide remarks about his "little Latin and less Greek" and his wish that Shakespeare had blotted out more of his first drafts. Later, Samuel Johnson (in his 1765 preface to Shakespeare's works) excoriated Shakespeare for numerous shortcomings. Making the sort of denial of his envy that psychoanalysts call a negation (a defense that paradoxically calls attention to the underlying truth of what is being denied), Johnson said "Shakespeare ...has likewise faults, and faults sufficient to obscure and overwhelm any other merit. I shall show them... *without envious malignity* [my emphasis]... He sacrifices virtue to convenience, and is so much more careful to please than to instruct, that he seems to write without any moral purpose... The plots are often so loosely formed... and so carelessly pursued, that he seems not always fully to comprehend his own design."

Johnson faulted Shakespeare for not slavishly adhering to Aristotle's dramatic unities of time and place. So there were the notorious anachronisms—"He had no regard of distinction of time or place, but gives to one age or nation, without scruple, the customs, institutions, and opinions of another." Even though we Oxfordians are often dismissed as snobs, I detect a whiff of snobbery in Johnson's allegation of Shakespeare that "neither his gentlemen nor his ladies have much delicacy, nor are sufficiently distinguished from his clowns by any appearance of refined manners."

Speaking of Aristotle, I would argue that Shakespeare scholars are fixated in what is an essentially medieval approach to their work. Aristotle's authority

distorted centuries of scholarship by ignoring new evidence because of the misguided use of deductive reasoning based on his sometimes false premises. All too similarly, Shakespeare scholars seem unable to recover from the false premise of Shakespeare's identity as the man from Stratford. This false premise is never allowed to be questioned or re-examined with objectivity. Instead, we are supposed to reason deductively from that assumption, rather than using post-medieval inductive reasoning based on a fresh examination of the evidence. To give one example, Shakespeare of Stratford is assumed to be the author of the works bearing his name, so then it must be assumed that he attended the grammar school in Stratford, and that school must have provided an outstanding education. Or, what is even worse, for centuries it was assumed that Shakespeare's rudimentary education instead proved that his genius represented the divine workings of Nature, in the absence of much educational Nurture. It was only ever so slowly that Shakespeare scholars have acknowledged the stupendous scope of Shakespeare's reading, and his profound grappling with most of the thorniest intellectual problems of his day.

So, perhaps I am being quixotic in assuming that my discoveries about the profound influence of de Vere's marked verses in WBP will lead a single Stratfordian to question her authorship premise. Instead, she will probably react like medieval astronomers who maintained a geocentric model of the universe by constructing ever more "epicycles" to account for new observations that were seemingly inconsistent with their earth-centered premise. Two prominent Shakespeare scholars have already told me my findings are "unconvincing"—that my alleged allusions to WBP are merely common words that show no evidence of WBP's influence on Shakespeare. If that dismissal fails, perhaps we will be told that these were simply the most popular WBP psalms of the era. Given the many correlations between de Vere's entire Bible and Shakespeare's works, it is only a matter of time before someone claims that Shakespeare of Stratford must have borrowed de Vere's Bible and marked it up.

Nevertheless, I agree with Freud that the small, quiet voice of reason will eventually prevail. Many major advances of science during past centuries have taken place only after furious resistance from partisans of prevailing but erroneous paradigms. We will soon reach a tipping point when young scholars of Elizabethan literature will realize they have a far brighter future if they have the courage to defy their elders and search for the truth about the authorship of Shakespeare's works.

Appendix of de Vere WPB Annotations

Psalms Marked with a Large Manicule: 6, 12, 25, 30, 51, 61, 65, 66, 67, 77, 103, 137, 139, and 146.

Psalms marked in the Treatise of Athanasius with a Small Manicule: 8, 11, 15, 23, and 59.

Other Annotations:
large fleur-de-lys next to verse 11 of Psalm 25
rounded brackets and three dots next to verses 15 and 16 of Psalm 31
large **C**-shaped drawing next to heading of Psalm 130

Endnotes

[1] "A Wanderlust Poem, Newly Attributed to Edward de Vere," *Shakespeare Matters* 7(1):21-23 (2007); "A Snail Poem, Newly Attributed to Edward de Vere," *Shakespeare Matters* 7(2):6-11(2008).

[2] "Unconscious Communication in Shakespeare: 'Et tu, Brute?' Echoes 'Eloi, Eloi, Lama Sabbachthani?'" *Psychiatry*, 70:52-58 (2007).

[3] *The Reformation in Rhyme* (Ashgate, 2008).

[4] *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Plays* (London, 1999).

[5] Hannibal Hamlin had previously discovered most of the allusions to Psalm 137 in *Richard II* (see his 2004 *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature*). He was using the Coverdale translation, however, which lacks many of the words echoed from the WBP 137 in this play.

[6] The only hint I made in the two *Notes & Queries* articles about the connection with de Vere's Bible was in a footnote, in which I stated that the psalms I wrote about were all annotated in the Folger's STC 2106—the catalogue number for de Vere's Bible.

[7] Another psalm may have contributed the word "soundless," which the OED suggests was coined by the Countess of Pembroke in *her* 1586 translation of Psalm 148:4 — "Then *soundless* deeps, and what in you residing low, or moves, or rests."

[8] Richard M. Waugaman, "Shakespeare's Sonnet 80, Marlowe, and *Hero and Leander.*" *Shakespeare Matters* (in press).

[9] In fact, these endnotes include many additional possible sources for the "Shakespeare" passages that I discuss. De Vere's mind was extremely associative, and also extremely synthetic. I draw attention to these possible sources so that their possible influence on him may be considered.

[10] Thomas North's translation of Plutarch described the lame Spartan ruler Agesilaus as "having a *better spirit*" when he was a boy. North's Plutarch added that the Spartan general Lysander (who ended the Peloponnesian War against Athens) "fell in love" with Agesilaus when the latter was a boy. If de Vere was conscious of this allusion,

it suggests it might actually be the lame de Vere who is the "better spirit," not Marlowe. Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, Thomas North (translator), London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1579.

[11] EEBO shows no earlier use of "proudest sail." However, in writing about England's need to defend herself against the Spanish, "T.E." wrote, "The getting [winning] ship must bear a *proud sail*" in "A tragical blast of the papistical trumpet for the maintenace of the pope's kingdom in England" (folio A4) in John Bradford, *The Nature of the Spaniards*, Wesel?: J. Lambrecht? [sic], 1556.

[12] The OED credits Shakespeare with coining the word "worthless."

[13] "Sawsie" was used in the phrase "Yet boldness's churlish challenge brave, too *sawsie* is you know," in Thomas Churchyard's *Charge;* London: John Kingston, 1580 (D1,recto).

[14] Everhard Digbie, in the preface to *His Dissuasive from Taking away the Livings and Goods of the Church*, wrote "If the envious tongue were but as the wind which changeth often… Then might I adventure *my little boat* [cf. "my saucy bark"] into the *wide Ocean* seas" (folio A2,verso), London: Robert Robinson, 1590.

[15] "Glorious morning" also echoes "Not aye doth prove the *glorious morning* show/ The fairest day, ne all that shines is gold" from Thomas Howell's 1581 "Reply to the same," in *His Devices*, London: H. Jackson. Howell's poem, like Sonnet 33, includes the trope of clouds covering the sun: "The *sun* orecast with *cloud* in time doth clear." The sonnet speaks of "golden," "gilding," and "alchemy"; Howell includes five references to "gold." Significantly, as another subtext for Sonnet 33, Howell's poem uses the trope of refining gold, and testing its purity, in order to warn that some "feigned friends" will not survive the test of "needful times." This theme amplifies Vendler's point about Sonnet 33 being the first sonnet to highlight a flaw in the youth.

[16] In a biblical context, a place of judicial assembly.

[17] This phrase in Sonnet 65 is closer to another earlier use of the same phrase: "All earthly joys, by tract of *time decays*,/ Soon is the glass run out of our good days"; this is from Thomas Churchyard's, "The Tragedie of Shores wife," in *Churchyard's Challenge*, London: John Wolfe, 1593. Churchyard worked in de Vere's service.

[18] In Thomas Wilson (translator), *The Art of Rhetoric*, London: Richardus Graftonus, 1553.

[19] Nicholas Breton's 1577 "The works of a young wit" (n.p.; on EEBO) includes a poem that begins, "If one may praise a place for harbouring a guest"; it has the lines, "If caterpiller fell, to work her heart's annoy,/ I crave of God, through all the *world* such *vile worms* to destroy." The book includes a poem that begins, "Oh wretched state of miserable man"; it includes the phrase "*this vile* and wretched *world*."

[20] Irving L. Janis, *Victims of Groupthink*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972.

[21] I explored this theory in my article "Samuel Clemens and Mark Twain: Pseudonym as Act of Reparation," in *The Psychoanalytic Review* 97:835-856 (2010). I have elaborated on the theory in the following book essays: *The Dissociative Mind*, by Elizabeth H. Howell. *International Journal of Psycho-analysis* 88: 267-271 (2007); *Feeling Unreal: Depersonalization Disorder and the Loss of the Self*, by Daphne Simeon and Jeffrey Abugel. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 57: 1504-1508 (2009); *Dissociation and the Dissociative Disorders*, edited by Paul F. Dell and John O'Neil. *Psychiatry* 73:290-296 (2010).