The *Chronicles* of Hall and Holinshed:
Published under Pseudonyms ?

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In this paper,[1] I review the major publications of Chronicles or Histories during the Tudor Period and argue a case that the two most famous Histories, Edward Hall's *Chronicle* (1548) and Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicle* (1577 and 1587), were pseudonymous. Both Hall and Holinshed were historical figures in England, but neither one was known for any other writings during the period; a case emerges that they were used as "front men" while the actual authors were able to conceal their involvement and avoid personal attacks, possible imprisonment and retributive punishment.

During the Tudor period, many writers outside the ruling groups ("outsiders") raised issues and criticized the government; to avoid recriminations, they resorted to various stratagems, e.g., satire, continental exile or anonymous and pseudonymous attribution. Among the most famous critical works were the anti-Marian publications of the mid-sixteenth century, the anonymous *Leicester's Commonwealth* (1584) and the Marprelate tracts (1588-1591). Understandably, the writers of these works concealed their identity to avoid government retribution.[2]

At the same time, it seems that some publications were covertly commissioned by the government; the Marprelate tracts were answered by anonymous pamphlets written by government supporters such as John Lyly and Thomas Nashe.[3] On a much larger scale, the *Chronicles* of Hall and Holinshed – written by "insiders" – are notably propagandistic in following an official agenda by supporting the Protestant reformation and endorsing the Tudors' claim to the Crown. In particular, it is argued that William Cecil, Lord Burghley (named Cecil throughout this paper), was involved in the covert commissioning of these works, not only to provide a quasi-official account of the legitimacy of the Tudor dynasty but also to invent a Protestant English history. Shakespeare's plays, by contrast, seem to exhibit both "outsider" criticism (e.g., of the Queen by depicting the infatuation

of Titania with a buffoon) and "insider" propaganda (e.g., an ahistorical portrayal of the murderous Richard III). Cecil may have been sufficiently stung by such effective criticism as to bring the playwright "inside the tent" and direct his venomous wit at outsiders. In this context, it is likely that an author would publish anonymously as happened with the plays of Shakespeare until 1598, and thereafter (as many believe) under the pseudonym of William Shakespeare.

Increasing Anonymity Among Bible Translators

The only works of greater importance than the chronicles during the Tudor period were the Bibles in English. Those who prepared the translations increasingly withheld their identities during the period 1525-1611, either by use of a pseudonym or through group authorship.[4] The tetracentenary of the publication of the King James Bible was celebrated in 2011. We know that from the time of the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, it took seven years to complete. The King himself said that he

> . . . could never yet see a Bible well translated in English; but I think
> that, of all, that of Geneva is the worst. I wish some special pains
> were taken for an uniform translation, which should be done by the
> best learned men in both Universities, then reviewed by the Bishops,
> presented to the Privy Council, lastly ratified by the Royal authority, to
> be read in the whole Church, and none other.[5]

In other words, the King did not trust any *one* person with the translation, but ordained groups of scholars to translate and approve this new authorized version. About forty-seven translators were known to have taken part and they were organized into six committees, meeting variously at Westminster, Cambridge, and Oxford. The work was carefully reviewed, prepared for printing, and dedicated in very obsequious terms to King James. Its translators, however, remained anonymous: we only know that John Bois was involved in part of the final revision from a manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford;[6] the only indication that the final revision and dedication were written by Miles Smith is contained in another work published in 1632.[7] Clearly, it was possible to contribute to this great work and yet remain invisible to the average reader.

Returning to the earliest printed translations of the scriptures, William Tyndale published his translation of the New Testament in 1525 in Cologne and Worms. In 1530, he published his translation of the Pentateuch in Antwerp. Tyndale remained in hiding and was working on the next books of the Old Testament when he was arrested in 1534. After being handed over to the local authorities, he was executed for heresy in 1536. Tyndale acquired fame indeed, but at a terrible price.

By this time, of course, Henry VIII had broken with Rome and allowed Miles Coverdale to print the first complete Bible in the English language, known as the

Coverdale Bible. Coverdale was a friend and disciple of Tyndale and he too spent much of his adult life abroad. After the arrest of his mentor, Coverdale supervised the printing of the first complete Bible in English in 1535, probably in Antwerp. Coverdale, however, remained on the continent for much of his adult life. He returned to England under Edward VI and was appointed Bishop of Exeter; under Mary, he was stripped of his bishopric and went into exile, spending some time in Geneva. Soon after Elizabeth came to the throne, Coverdale returned to England and lived in obscurity until his death in 1569.[8]

The second complete translation, the Matthew Bible, came out in 1537, under the name of Thomas Matthew, a pseudonym for John Rogers, the actual editor and translator, who had been another friend and disciple of Tyndale. Having witnessed the persecution of Tyndale, Rogers found it prudent to obscure his own role in the translation. Like Coverdale, he returned to England and gained preferment under Edward VI. Unlike Coverdale, he did not escape the Marian persecutions and was to become the first Protestant martyr under Bloody Mary. Rogers had worked on his translation in exile and published it under a pseudonym.[9]

The Matthew Bible was well received and Henry VIII's minister, Thomas Cromwell, commissioned Miles Coverdale to use the Matthew Bible as a basis for the Great Bible, so called because of its large size. Cromwell sent an order to all parish priests, saying that a copy of the Great Bible was to be placed in every church and made available to parishioners. Shortly afterwards Cromwell fell from power; among the charges against him was heresy. He was executed in 1540. The Great Bible was also known as Cranmer's Bible because Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote a preface to the second edition. However, with the accession of Mary, Cranmer was arrested and eventually executed at Oxford in 1556.[10]

Subsequent Bibles were prepared by committee; no single figure was associated with their translation. The Geneva Bible, published in the "City of Saints" in 1560, was apparently translated and edited primarily by William Whittingham, who returned to England but was not known for this work. Similarly with the Bishops' Bible of 1568, produced at the instigation of the Queen under the watchful eyes of Archbishop Parker and William Cecil, no one person was associated with the entire translation. According to Bruce, Parker tried to ensure that the bishops would initial their own contribution "to make [the translators] more diligent, as answerable for their doings."[11] However, they did not always follow this practice to the letter. Protected by the near anonymity of the committee approach, biblical translators could sleep soundly in their beds – and die there. However, those political figures who had been involved in the commissioning and publication of the work, Cecil and Leicester, allowed themselves the luxury of including their portraits in the Bible.[12] The Douay-Rheims Bible, published in 1610, was the collaborative work of English Catholics in exile in France. The King James or Authorised Version of the Bible was prepared by groups of scholars and published anonymously in 1611.

To recap, we can see that being famous for Biblical translations was most injurious to one's physical health: Tyndale, Rogers, and Cranmer were all executed; Rogers had lived in exile and used a pseudonym. Miles Coverdale managed to escape

the stake by living in exile and obscurity. From 1560, Bibles were prepared and edited anonymously by groups of people.

Tudor Historians: Polydore Vergil and John Foxe

Whereas the history of the Bible in English displays the rise of the anonymous translator, Tudor chroniclers seemed happy to proclaim their authorship of historical works. Before the reign of Elizabeth, two major historians lived abroad and published some of their works on the continent. The earliest Tudor historian, Polydore Vergil, was an Italian writer who first came to England about 1501.[13] He was approached by Henry VIII to write *Historia Anglica* (A History of England) in Latin and had close contact with the King. The work appeared in three distinct versions. The first, which was not published until 1534 (Text A),[14] covered events up to 1509. A displeased Henry VIII ordered many changes. Having seen the rise and fall of favorites such as Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas More, Vergil returned to Italy in 1538, where he prepared a revised edition of his work, published again in Basel in 1546 (Text B). Aware that he would antagonize one faction or another when writing a history of England during the turbulent break with Rome, Vergil remained in Italy until his death in 1555. During this time, he prepared a third version (Text C), taking events in England up to 1537. This third version was with the publisher in Basel when he died and was published posthumously.

Apart from withholding a chronicle until close to death (as is generally believed to be the case with Vergil's 1555 third edition), an author might avoid the enmity of the authorities by publishing abroad. Tyndale remained in the Low Countries, not far enough to avoid the reaches of Henry VIII's commissioners. Vergil withdrew to Italy and published in the Swiss Cantons. Likewise, John Foxe – author of *History of the English Church* (later known as the *Acts and Monuments*) – fled the country under duress and published abroad. Having started *Acts and Monuments* in England under Edward VI, the rise of Mary Tudor in 1533 forced him to flee to Strasbourg, where he published the work in 1554 in Latin. A longer Latin version was published in 1559 in Basel.

Foxe's work was enthusiastically received by Elizabeth, so he returned to England; starting in 1563 he published four further, expanded editions, now in English and licensed by the Queen.[15] Like the *Chronicles* of Hall and Holinshed, Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* was really an agglomeration of works by other writers (collaborators, correspondents, reporters, and transcribers of eyewitness reports) with Foxe acting as compiler and editor. Foxe must have felt secure in the protection of the Queen and her secretary, Cecil, as he did not conceal his name on the work.[16] He died of natural causes at the age of seventy in 1587.

Foxe's work was printed in England by John Day, another man of strong Protestant persuasion. Unlike Foxe, Day did not flee abroad during the reign of Mary, but at first withdrew to Lincolnshire. There he published many anti-Catholic polemics trying to hide his identity under the pseudonym "Michael Wood."[17] These seditious

works were thought at the time to have been published on the continent. However, a passage in *Acts and Monuments* (1563: 1681) refers to a clandestine press set up by Day in Stamford, Lincolnshire, on which he had printed *De vera obedentia* (October 1553, STC 11585), a polemic against Archbishop Gardiner. Foxe writes:

> So also coming to Stamfort, I might just have the occasion to say of W. Cooke, who not only susteined trouble but was also committed to vyle prison, for that he suffered this oure printer [John Day] to print the book of Wint *De vera obedentia Obed*.

According to Foxe, John Day actually spent time in prison with the biblical translator John Rogers, who was executed in February 1555. Shortly afterwards Day was released from prison and allowed to work as a printer in London, possibly because of the shortage of printers caused by the large numbers who had gone into exile.[18]

Day's clandestine printing activities in Lincolnshire must have involved William Cooke's brother-in-law, William Cecil. Cecil owned land in Lincolnshire and rented a cottage and two acres to John Day in the village of Barholm, about five miles northeast of Stamford.[19] John Day was known by 1547 as a printer specializing in Protestant tracts. During the reign of Edward VI, his reputation rose as he gained patents to print bibles and catechisms. William Cecil would have first known Day when Cecil become a junior counselor to Henry VIII. In May 1547, Cecil had become secretary to the Lord Protector Somerset and then Secretary of State. He signed Edward VI's *Devise for the Succession*, which nominated Lady Jane Grey as Edward's successor, but later obtained a pardon from Mary. He declined a role in the Marian government before withdrawing to his home in Stamford.[20] Cecil seems to have invited Day with him as Day had no other known contact with Lincolnshire. Cecil and Day seem to have colluded in anti-Marian propaganda, but in such a secret manner that they avoided the suspicions of Mary's commissioners. Soon after Elizabeth's accession Day was established as a master printer, earning a good living. He published Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* in 1563 and gained a lucrative contract to print the expanded second edition which Cecil ordered in 1571 to be purchased by every parish church in England.

Cecil was ready and available to take over as personal secretary to the new queen.

Edward Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families.*

Apart from withholding a publication until the approach of death (as is generally believed with Vergil) or avoiding making enemies by living and publishing abroad (as Vergil, Foxe and various biblical translators tried), it is my contention that two major chronicles were published under false names: that Edward Hall and Raphael Holinshed were used to "front" the publications of others.

In 1548, Richard Grafton published the chronicle attributed to his deceased friend, Edward Hall, under the title *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and Yorke*.[21] This work, commonly known as Hall's *Chronicle*, appeared a year after Hall died and was reissued in 1550. In narrating the course of the Wars of the Roses, with much moralizing against the evils of civil dissension, Hall has been described as a staunch supporter of Henry VIII and of the Tudor Dynasty.[22] The *Chronicle* is also seen as an attempt to invent a strong Protestant history of England.[23]

In the dedicatory epistle to Edward VI, Hall writes that his chronicle starts with the reign of Henry IV, "the beginnying and rote of the great discord and deuision" and continues up until the marriage of Henry VII to Elizabeth of York, "the godly matrimony, the final ende of all discensions, titles and debates" which took place in January 1486. It seems that this marriage would be the logical end of a history detailing *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and Yorke*, although it could stretch to the death of Elizabeth of York in 1503 or even to the death of Henry VII in 1509. Clearly, however, the addition of a lengthy chapter on the "triumphant reigne" of Henry VIII, which added half as much again to the work, went far beyond the original purpose and invites explanation by its contradiction of the epistle.

But who was Edward Hall and why was his work published posthumously? Born around 1498, Hall had attended Eton College. John Stow (in his Preface to *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles*, 1570) describes how the author

> . . . after certaine yeares spent in the Kings Colledge of Cambridge, was admitted felow of Grayes Inne at London, where he profited so much in the lawes of the Realme, that he was chose under-sheriffe of ye Citie. *At that time (being stired up by men of Authorities*) he writ with a lustye and florishing stile the union of the houses of Lancaster and Yorke.

Stow did not mention that Hall was also a Member of Parliament and common serjeant of London in 1533. Hall clearly had sufficient Latin to read Polydore Vergil's 1534 edition of *Anglica Historia*, upon which the earlier part of the *Chronicle* relied, but, as he approached his own times, it is said that he added his own accounts, particularly of London scenes. Hall was compiling his chronicle after 1543, since he reported verbatim Grafton's *History of Richard III*, which was published that year in his continuation of John Hardyng's *Chronicle*. In his will, Hall asked that his chronicle be published, but we do not know how much Hall actually wrote, to what extent the published work was Hall's own efforts or how far he might have collaborated.

To add to the doubt that Hall was responsible for all of the *Chronicle,* there is no contemporary document suggesting that Hall had particular access to archive material or other histories. He wrote no other history and was not known as a pamphleteer. Furthermore, it is unclear why the author should have wanted to extend his original intention of chronicling the *Union of the Two Noble and Illustre*

Families of Lancastre and Yorke beyond its logical conclusion at the marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York in January 1486. The Union of the two Houses was certainly achieved by the time of Henry VIII's accession in 1509, rendering superfluous any account of the reign of Henry VIII.

In fact, the word "FINIS" ends the account of the Reign of Henry VII and appears to signal the end of the book as a whole. That word does not conclude any other chapter and is not used at the end of the section on Henry VIII. In other words, it seems clear that the entire *Chronicle* was planned to finish in 1509, and that the additional account of "the triumphant reigne of king Henry viij" (which increased the work substantially) was not part of the original plan.

Hall's work was published by Richard Grafton (c. 1511-1573), like John Day, a highly skilled printer of strong Protestant persuasion who had established himself in the 1540s. He was appointed personal printer to Prince Edward and in due course became the King's Printer. Grafton claims to have been merely the printer of Hall's work (not the editor as we might conceive it), admitting only to writing up Hall's notes on events post-1533. In his preface to the reader, Grafton explains:

> I professe that I haue as nere as in me lay, nether altered nor added any thyng of my selfe in the whole woorke, otherwise the~ [than] the aucthor writ thesame. But this is to be noted, that the Aucthor therof, . . . writt this historie no farther then to the foure and twentie yere of kyng Henry the eight [1533]: the rest he left noted in diuers and many pamphletes and papers, whych so digently & truly as I coulde, I gathered thesame together, & haue in suchewise compiled them, as may after thesaied yeres, apere in this woorke.

Grafton reinforces the point when he adds: "but vtterly without any addicion of myne."

That Grafton was the actual author, at least of the History of Henry VIII, is not an original idea; it was argued by Robert Smith in 1918, who noted a marked change in style from that part of the *Chronicle* which dealt with events up until 1509 (being dense with Latinate terms, obscure legal expressions, balanced words, phrases and speeches). According to Smith, Hall "introduces every reign with a grand flourish of imposing sentences, and then proceeds copying the texts of his sources but frequently interrupting it with sententious moralising." In contrast, a more restrained and prosaic style is used to describe events during Henry VIII's reign. Unlike the earlier part, the account of Henry VIII is full of interest in the pageants of the court as well as in the life and gossip of the people of London. According to Smith, this was due to a change in authorship from Hall to Grafton.[24]

It is my contention that Richard Grafton, as printer to Edward VI, was keen to publish a version of Henry VIII's reign with a favorable inclination towards the boy king and to the Protestant Reformation; such an account would be to the detriment of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth. Grafton would have been aware of the dangers of associating with one party. He had been involved with the printing

and selling of the Matthew Bible in 1537 and of the Great Bible in 1540. Soon after Thomas Cromwell fell from favor, Grafton printed a famous sermon by Thomas Wimbledon from about 1387 as a means of invoking an imaginary Protestant past and maintaining the Protestant reformation.[25] He was arrested and spent six weeks in prison for publishing excessively Protestant material (probably Wimbledon's sermon). He was arrested again, this time for breaking the 1539 Act of Six Articles, which reaffirmed some important Catholic doctrines such as transubstantiation. Upon his release, he started publishing histories: Fabyan's *Chronicle* (1542) and John Harding's *Chronicle* (1543), to which he openly appended his own prose "continuacion of the storie in prose to this our tyme, now first imprinted, gathered out of diuerse and sondery autours yt haue write[n] of the affaires of Englander." He was arrested again in 1543 with other evangelical protestants "for printing off such bokes as wer thought to be unlawfull."[26] He was released and appointed printer to Prince Edward in the mid-1540s. In 1547 he was granted sole right to printing the statutes and acts of Parliament. He printed the first Book of Common Prayer in 1549 and enjoyed a very successful time as a printer to King Edward VI.

Grafton therefore could appreciate better than most the dangers inherent in writing any account of Henry VIII's reign, since it would have to interpret the question of his marriages and his children's legitimacy, and would offend more people than it would impress. There were many political and religious works at the time where the authors are clearly worried for their safety. Lambeth Palace contains a similar work of Protestant persuasion; Richard Tracy's *Supplycacion to our moste soveraigne lorde Kynge Henry the eyght* (Antwerp, 1544) begs for a more thorough reformation of the Church than Henry VIII would allow. About this work the librarian at Lambeth Palace states that "the author wisely published the work anonymously, and abroad."[27] Similarly threatened, Grafton would find it much safer to conceal his role by appending his account of Henry VIII's reign to Hall's *Chronicle* and passing off the Protestant inclinations to an author who had recently died.

Even a pseudonym, however, did not protect Grafton from retribution. When Mary came to the throne, Hall's work was publicly burned. In 1555, Mary issued a proclamation against heresy, prohibiting "seditious and Heretical Books," including the works of Hugh Latimer, John Bale, William Tyndale, Thomas Cranmer, Miles Coverdale and "the book commonly called *Hall's Chronicle*."[28] The wording clearly indicates confusion as to the actual author. Grafton was imprisoned for a short time for printing Edward VI's proclamation naming Lady Jane Grey as Edward's successor; he may have avoided execution only because he had also printed the proclamation announcing the accession of Mary (or possibly because Mary was short of high quality printers; see note 12). And yet, if Grafton had been named as the author of Hall's *Chronicle* and not just the printer, he would almost certainly have been executed along with Latimer, Cranmer and about 290 other Protestant martyrs.

While in prison, Grafton began to prepare *An abridgement of the chronicles of England, gathered by Richard Grafton, citizen of London. Anno Do. 1563. Perused and allowed, according to an order taken* (dedicated to Leicester in 1563) which left out many rhetorical speeches and obscure words that had been characteristic of Hall's

style. In 1568 Grafton published *A chronicle at large and meere history of the affayres of Englande and kinges of the same deduced from the Creation of the vvorlde, vnto the first habitation of thys islande: and so by contynuance vnto the first yere of the reigne of our most deere and souereigne Lady Queene Elizabeth: collected out of sundry aucthors, whose names are expressed in the next page of this leafe,* dedicated to William Cecil.[29] By this time, Grafton was able to publish these potentially controversial works under his own name, presumably because he had the open support of both Leicester and Cecil, the two most powerful men in England. As he had fallen on hard times, Grafton was doubtless glad of the publicity to help him survive his poverty. In the 1560s John Stow began to publish his own chronicles and accused Grafton of what we would call plagiarism. Grafton answers Stow's complaint in the preface to the 1570 and 1572 editions, saying that "the greatest parte of the same [Hall's *Chronicle*] was myne owne chronicle and written with myne owne hand." In a manuscript note elsewhere, it is said of Grafton that he "composed the greatest parte of Halles chronicle, contenting himself with the paynes, yealding unto Hall the prayse." *Catalogue of Harleian Mss.* 1812, I, 212, no 367(9).

It is almost certain that Grafton had obtained the permission of the Lord Protector Somerset to publish Hall's *Chronicle* in 1548 and again in 1550. Somerset relied on a favorable interpretation of Henry VIII's marriages for his own position. He also wished to pursue a more Puritan reformation of the church than had been achieved under Henry. Somerset's personal secretary at this time was a young lawyer named William Cecil. It is highly likely that Cecil had considerable input into the content of Hall's *Chronicle*, especially the section dealing with Henry VIII's marriages and children.

Apart from managing Somerset's day-to-day business, Cecil was involved in publishing material which supported Somerset's Protectorate and the Protestant reformation. In 1549 the Book of Common Prayer was published, which many conservative nobles resented. Cecil's role in controlling the publishing industry was confirmed in August 1549, shortly after the first appearance of Hall's *Chronicle*, when he was named as one of the censors of all English books.[30] At this time appeared the pseudonymous publication of *Lamentations of a Sinner,* apparently by Henry VIII's widow, Catherine Parr (1547).[31] This work, which was reissued in 1548 and 1563, advocated an "evangelical programme" [of ecclesiastical reform], which had cost several people their lives as late as 1546. By writing the introduction and arranging the printing, D. M. Loades infers that Cecil announced that he "was of the same persuasion."[32]

Cecil's rather pompous preface begins thus:

> Wiliam Cicill hauing taken muche profit by yᵉ reading of this treatyse folowing, wisheth vnto euery christian by yᵉ reading therof like profit with increase from god.
> Moste gentle & Christian reader, yf matiers shoulde be rather confirmed by their reporters, than the reportes, warraunted by the maters, I might iustely bewayle our tyme wherin euil deades be well woorded, and good actes euill cleped.

Throughout his time in government, Cecil continued to license publications of key works. He helped draft the Royal Injunctions of 1559, which made comprehensive provision for licensing by the queen herself, six members of the Privy Council, the two archbishops and the local bishop (a responsibility that was eventually transferred to the two archbishops and the Bishop of London in 1586). Cecil (or his office) approved the publication of Grafton's *Abridgement,* which was "perused and allowed, according to an order taken" and of Graftons's *Chronicle at large* (dedicated to Cecil, 1568). Cecil also worked as a censor to prohibit certain books: in 1573, Elizabeth issued a proclamation for the "Destruction of Seditious Books," which Patterson believes was aimed primarily not at works criticizing Elizabeth herself but at those attacking Cecil. *A Treatise of Treason* (1572)[33] did not name Cecil or the Lord Keeper, but was clearly aimed at them. The pamphlet had been written in French by Belleforest and translated into English, perhaps by Henry Howard.[34] Cecil was attacked for the treatment of the Duke of Norfolk, who had been executed the previous year, and it was claimed that Cecil was the architect of Elizabeth's religious policy and therefore guilty of torture and treason. Cecil himself could also publish anonymously. In 1569 he seems to have authorized John Day to publish *A Discourse touching the Pretended Match between the Duke of Norfolk and the Queen of Scots.* This work (probably composed by Thomas Norton and printed anonymously, without the name or location of the printer) clearly served Cecil's own purpose in deflecting public opinion against the Duke of Norfolk.[35]

In 1583, Cecil issued his own anonymous tract, *The Execution of Justice.*[36] This work, which also appeared in Latin and in Dutch, attempted to defend the state against charges of torture and wrongful application of the law of treason against certain publishers. Furthermore, Cecil can be seen as a commisssioner of suitable works. His involvement with the Bishops' Bible (1568) against the Geneva Bible has been noted. Following the deaths of Richard Grafton and Reyner Wolfe in 1573, Cecil (perhaps together with Leicester and Cobham) seems to have commissioned a longer work on the history of England than had hitherto appeared, to which would be added histories of Ireland and Scotland. This work would uphold the Tudor regime and promote the Protestant Reformation. In this, Cecil was the unseen mover of a major publication which generally supported the government, but sometimes promoted even his own minority view against the rest of the Privy Council.

Holinshed's Chronicles

In 1577 Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* was published, containing a far larger history of England (from the earliest times until 1572), along with a history of Ireland (to 1547) and a history of Scotland (to 1571) than had appeared in any previous historical publication.[37] Holinshed's *Chronicle*s was a substantial publishing enterprise of 2,835 small folio pages as well as preliminaries and indices. While the work has been described as polyvocal and inclusive, it is very supportive of the status quo in England, both politically and religiously. However,

it was also very controversial in its treatment of Scotland, then a foreign country, whose queen, Mary Stuart, had been held in English "protective custody" for almost a decade, and who was widely believed to be responsible for various plots against Elizabeth's life. Although the title page gave the credit for the work to Raphael Holinshed, the *Chronicles* seems to have been a joint production by about eight authors. The editors of *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* believe that Holinshed was overall editor of, and the major contributor to, the first edition, but died before the revisions for the second edition were made.[38]

The work is dedicated to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, with the usual apologies of unworthiness. In his dedicatory epistle, Holinshed explains:

> Where as therfore, that worthie Citizen *Reginald VVolfe* late Printer to the Queenes Maiestie, a man well knowen and beholden to your Honour, meant in his life time to publish an vniuersall Cosmographie of the whole worlde, and therewith also certaine perticular Histories of euery knowen nation, . . . , it pleased God to call him to his mercie, after .xxv. yeares trauell spent therein, ...
> I therefore moste humbly beseeche your Honour to accept these Chronicles of Englande vnder your protection.

In this preface Holinshed claims to have worked for Reyner (or Reginald) Wolfe, the Queen's printer, who had died in 1573 without completing his universal history. A year later, Wolfe's widow died and in her will she assigned to Holinshed the "benefit profit and commoditie" promised by her husband "concerning the translating and prynting of a certaine Crownacle." Few people notice that Wolfe's planned *Universal Cosmographie* was changed into a far different set of Chronicles of England, Ireland and Scotland.

Annabel Patterson[39] has suggested that *Chronicles* was "clearly not presented as a state history," citing the opening address to Cecil in the 1577 edition:

> Confidering with my felfe, right Honorable and my fingular good Lorde, how ready (no doubt) many wil be to accufe me of vayne prefumptiõ, for enterprifing to deale in this fo weighty a worke, and fo farre aboue my reache to accomplifh: I haue thought good to aduertife your Honour, by what occafion I was first induced to vndertake the fame, although the caufe that moued mee thereto, hath (in parte) ere this, bene fignified vnto your good Lordfhippe.

Holinshed asserts, apparently in an address to Cecil but really for the wider audience, that he is now bringing this work to publication out of deference to his friend. Patterson also claims that Holinshed's *Chronicles* was a private enterprise, involving the personal finance of John Harrison, Lucas Harrison and George Bishop.

I argue that not only was Holinshed's *Chronicles* politically motivated and

approved, but also that Raphael Holinshed was a front man, his name being in effect a pseudonym, intended to deflect criticism and reaction away from the actual authors and from Cecil, who had promoted it. Firstly, its authors repeatedly draw attention to the difficulties inherent in being associated with such a publication; Stanihurst, for example, calls it a "dangerous" task, especially when the parties are now living.[40] It would therefore be most helpful to their purpose to put someone else's name to the whole book.

A second reason for believing that Holinshed's *Chronicles* was commissioned derives from the astonishing range of sources consulted, amounting to about 600. By contrast, Grafton had listed only about 70 authorities for his *Chronicle at Large*. At the beginning, Holinshed's *Chronicle* lists about 185 sources used by the authors (the same list appears at the beginning of both editions). Another 200 sources are named within the text and a further 200 anonymous sources are mentioned, sometimes in the margin. Most of these sources are in Latin or French; many were in manuscript. The question immediately arises as to where the authors could have gained access to so many texts. Since the work is dedicated to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, the authors are likely to have used Cecil's extensive personal collection of books and manuscripts as sources. Since Leicester and Cobham are co-dedicatees, their libraries may also have been used. If so, these political figures would have insisted on some kind of editorial control.

A third reason for believing that the *Chronicles* must have been sanctioned was that Cecil was the minister ultimately responsible for all publications in the kingdom. The work was not printed by a clandestine press or a second-rate printer, but by Henry Bynneman, who held the royal prerogative to print "all Dictionaries in all tongues, all Chronicles and histories whatsoever."[41] Bynneman could not have printed this work without some kind of approval. Nevertheless, Holinshed's *Chronicles* seems to have appeared without the permission of the Privy Council, who wrote to the Bishop of London, John Ayler, in December 1577 noting that a History of Ireland by one Stanihurst had been published with false records. The bishop was to summon the printer, question him and withhold further copies. Thirdly, the earl of Kildare was ordered to send Stanihurst to the Privy Council. Finally, *Chronicles* was not registered until July 1578, after printing had been completed (the imprint states 1577).

In short, it seems most likely that Cecil commissioned, assisted and financed the project, perhaps without the full knowledge of the Privy Council. While the preface states that the publication had "beene signified to your good Lordship," Cecil was content to maintain a notional distance from it.

Who Was Holinshed?

Who was this writer who took over Wolfe's great enterprise and changed it from a universal cosmography into an insular history? The editors of the Oxford Handbook suggest that he "probably originated in Cheshire, where the surname

proliferated, and may have been the son of Ralph Holinshed of Copshurst, a hamlet of Sutton Downes, north-east of Macclesfield."[41] Such uncertainty shows that there is scant independent documentary reference to Holinshed.

There is little corroboration that he ever worked with Reyner Wolfe, apart from the dedicatory epistle. Shortly after the publication of this great work, with a greater, more comprehensive work to follow, Holinshed was acting as steward on a small estate to a little-known landowner, Thomas Burdet of Bramcote in Warwickshire, as stated in Holinshed's will of April 1582. Nevertheless, the second, expanded edition (1587) continued to bear Holinshed's name, thus showing how a name could be very useful posthumously.[42] Apart from the *Chronicles,* however, Holinshed was unknown to his contemporaries as a writer.

After relating the few "facts" inferred from the *Chronicles*, especially from the dedication, the editors of the Holinshed Project give very detailed biographies of the other writers, all of whom are known independently as writers. Chief among them were William Harrison,[43] who later became a radical Protestant, and two writers who later became militant Catholics, Richard Stanihurst and Edmund Campion.[44] It is now generally agreed that the second edition, which came out in 1587, was edited and expanded mainly by Abraham Fleming with help from John Stow, William Patten and Francis Thynne.[45] All of these contributors have extensive records documenting their writing activities and their interest in antiquity. Holinshed stands out as someone who left no record of any interest in literary or historical matters.

I contend that Raphael Holinshed had little or nothing to do with the project and was chosen by Cecil to "front" the publication precisely because he was unknown.[46] In promoting a Protestant view of history, Cecil would ensure that his own view of orthodoxy would be disseminated. By choosing an otherwise unknown person as the "author," Cecil could always deny his own interest in the project. Such a front man would guarantee the safety of the actual authors from future retribution and avoid personal animosities such as had been publicly aired between Grafton and Stow.[47]

Patterson has shown that Cecil's own interest was served throughout the later stages of the *Chronicles*, especially in the account of Parliamentary proceedings between 1566 and 1571. Holinshed makes no mention in his record of the 1566 Parliament of Wentworth which intertwined "the problems of the succession with the grant of the subsidy."[48] The report of the 1571 session of Parliament is limited to one sentence, omitting reference to Richard Bell's speech (advocating the withholding of a subsidy until certain licenses were withdrawn) or William Stickland's demand for a reformed prayer book, for which Stickland appeared before the Privy Council and was temporarily forbidden from attending the House of Commons. For 1572, Holinshed's account merely mentions the creations of certain baronies and legislation against vagabonds; there is no mention of the anonymous *Admonitions to Parliament,* which caused a great stir.

As we have seen, Cecil actually had a record of assisting in pseudonymous or clandestine publishing. He had promoted *Lamentations of a Sinner* in 1547 and the many anti-Catholic tracts from the press of "Michael Wood" during the Marian

period. Earlier, it has been argued that Cecil was instrumental in the preparation and publication of Hall's *Chronicle.* Like many others during the turbulent years of Elizabeth's reign, Cecil himself was not above writing pamphlets and publishing them anonymously. He issued the anonymous *Execution of Justice in England* (1583), which appeared verbatim in the second edition of the *Chronicles*, and which might be taken, as Patterson suggests, as "proof of the political, and religious loyalty of the chroniclers."[49] While *Chronicles* allows some opposing views to controversial issues, it sets the limit for debate. William Allen responded to *The Execution of Justice* with *A True, Sincere and Modest Defense of English Catholics* (Rouen, 1584, STC 373), but Allen's response was not included in the second edition.

It is quite possible, even likely, that the 1577 *Chronicles* was commissioned secretly by Cecil with the support of Leicester and Lord Cobham (joint dedicatees) without the knowledge or permission of the rest of the Privy Council. Clearly, it was most helpful to name an insignificant person as the author. So who really prepared the first edition? Certainly, *Chronicles* was not written by Cecil himself, as he would have been too busy with affairs of state. On present evidence, we don't know. Perhaps John Stow, whose *Summarie of Englyshe chronicles* (first published in 1565, but later reprinted) seems to have anticipated the range of material in Holinshed without going into the same degree of detail. An argument against Stow's involvement in the project is his complaint that his own great work, the *Annales,* was "prevented by Printing and reprinting without warrant, or well liking) of Raigne Wolfe's collection." Stow owned many manuscripts (he had bought Wolfe's collection in 1573) and in the *Annales* claims to have lent divers manuscripts to Holinshed.[50] Another good candidate would be William Harrison, author of the *Description of England*.

Shakespearean Plays

The publication of the Shakespeare plays was originally anonymous and, according to Oxfordians, after 1598 pseudonymous. The plays present interesting possibilities; some are clearly "outsider" publications critical of the government, others are "insider" publications, supportive of the government. Either way, it would be advantageous to conceal the identity of the author.[51]

The earliest Shakespeare play to be published was probably *Titus Andronicus*, which appeared anonymously in 1594. *Titus* presents a picture of the past greatness of Rome with its current decadence – an obvious reference to Spain. The play in particular seems to depict the horrors of the Sack of Antwerp, known as the Spanish Fury, committed by Spanish Catholics against the Dutch Protestants, which began on 4 November 1576. Saturninus is clearly to be identified with Philip II of Spain and Tamora as Mary Stuart. Lavinia represents both Queen Elizabeth and the city of Antwerp, ravished "within its walls and in its low-lying situation" by the Spanish Fury. The play seems intended to enlist sympathy for the Dutch even if it antagonized Philip II. Clearly, if Oxford and Cecil were known in diplomatic circles to be behind this play, it would reduce impact on the Queen and court who would have seen it.

It might even prove very awkward for Cecil to maintain his position as Elizabeth's counselor.

A more important play in this regard was *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, first published in 1600. While it is usually assigned to a year in the mid 1590s, it seems to have openly satirized Queen Elizabeth as Titania for dallying with a fool, Bottom, representing the Duc d'Alençon. Although not published until 1600, this work clearly militates against Elizabeth's proposed marriage with Alençon in 1579-80. In 1579, John Stubbs had expressed similar sentiments in a work called *Gaping Gulf.* For this, both he and his printer had been condemned to lose their right hands, yet the stated author of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was never brought to book.

Similarly, in *Hamlet,* published in 1603 but likely to have been written much earlier, the resonance with the trial and execution of Mary Queen of Scots was unmistakable. While a printer named William Carter had been hanged, drawn and quartered for printing *A Treatise of Schism* in 1583, the author of a work openly critical of the Queen's treatment of Mary went unpunished. Furthermore, the satire of Cecil (portrayed as Polonius) and his son (portrayed as Laertes) was apparent, especially as the first quarto referred to the King's counselor as Corambis, which was changed in the second quarto to Polonius. Cecil's motto was COR UNUM VIA UNA, "one heart, one way." Other playwrights were punished for presenting matter which was hostile to the government: for the play *Isle of Dogs*, Ben Jonson was imprisoned in 1597. Yet the author of *Hamlet* remained unscathed. Pseudonymous writing was clearly essential to avoid the wrath of the Queen and of her main minister (from 1598), Sir Robert Cecil.

Most seriously, however, there was the anonymous publication of *Richard II* in 1597. Although the deposition scene was omitted from the published text, the play dealt with the deposition of a king and the accession of a usurper, neither of which was palatable to an aging and heirless Queen. It was an historical fact that Richard II had been deposed, but like Hall's *Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and Yorke* (published fifty years earlier, apparently with Cecil's support), it showed that the consequences of the usurpation of the throne by Henry IV were disastrous for the country. When the second edition of the play came out the following year, it was attributed to William Shake-speare, a member of the theater group. The play was performed on the night before the Essex rebellion in 1601; the Privy Council interviewed many people regarding that performance, but unaccountably failed to question the author. The only likely explanation is that "William Shake-speare" was a pseudonym and that the play *Richard II* had received a covert imprimatur from the man ultimately responsible for licensing printed works, William Cecil.

Conclusion

There are many reasons why a politically motivated dramatist (as we believe Oxford to have been) would avoid having plays attributed to him in print. Many Bible

translators were executed, resulting in the move towards anonymous publication during the Tudor period. Many historians had seen fit to hide their identities and pass off their reworkings of history as belonging to someone who had just died or to an unknown author. Similarly, it is possible that Oxford was sensible enough to withhold his name from the publication of these plays, not only to protect himself against possible recriminations but also to increase the impact of the work on the intended audience.

Endnotes

[1] A shorter version of this paper was read at the De Vere Society meeting at Oxford University in April 2011 and at the Joint SOS / SF Conference in Washington D.C. in October 2011. I would like to thank Ms. Aliyah Norrish for careful reading of the paper to avoid many errors and others who made helpful suggestions, including Eddi Jolly, Roger Stritmatter and Robert Detobel.

[2] A recent review of anonymity in the period, concentrating on literature and pamphlets, may be found in *Anonymity in Early modern England; What's in a Name?* Eds. Janet Wright Starner and Barbara Howard Traister (2011).

[3] See *The Martin Marprelate tracts: a modernized and annotated edition* by Joseph Laurence Black (2008).

[4] The account of the Bible translations follows F. F. Bruce, *History of the Bible in English* (1978; 2002); Gerald Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible* (1982); David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (2003); See also William Paul, *English Langauge Bible Translators* (2009).

[5] Quoted widely, e.g., by Bruce, 96.

[6] John Bois's notes appear in Manuscript C. C. C. 312 of the Fulman Collection, Corpus Christi College Library, Oxford. See *Translating for King James* by Ward Allen (1969).

[7] The biographical preface to the 1632 edition of Miles Smith's published sermons (STC 22808) states:

> He began with the first, and was the last man of the translators in the work: for after the task of translation was finished by the whole number set apart for that business, being some few above forty, it was revised by a dozen selected ones of them, and at length referred to the final examination of the learned Bishop of Winchester [Thomas Bilson] and Doctor Smith, who happily concluded that worthy labour. Which being so ended he [Smith] was commanded to write a Preface, and so he did in the name of all the translators, being the same that now is extant in our church Bible, the original whereof I have seen under his own hand.

[8] Coverdale lived abroad at least during the following periods: 1528-1535, 1540-1547 and 1553-1559.

[9] For further details on John Roger's edition of the Bible and subsequent execution, see F.F. Bruce (64-6) and Daniel (191-7).

[10] Foxe's martyrologies contain descriptions of the executions of Cromwell, Rogers and Cranmer. For details of Thomas Cromwell, Thomas Cranmer and the Great Bible, see Bruce (69-72; 84) and Caniell (199-204).

[11] Bruce, 93.

[12] The engraving of Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester precedes the Book of Joshua, while the engraving of William Cecil was placed at the beginning of the Psalter. The engravings were included in the second edition but omitted from subsequent editions.

[13] The following account derives from Denys Hay's *Polydore Vergil: Renaissance Historian and Man of Letters* (1952).

[14] The first edition of Vergil's *Historia Anglica* was published in Basel, probably because English printers were unequal to the task. The Great Bible was published in Paris for the same reason.

[15] Editions of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* appeared in 1563 (STC 11222), 1570 (an expanded edition, STC 11223), 1576 (a reissue, STC 11224) and extensively revised 1583 (STC 11225).

[16] See J. N. King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' and Early modern Print Culture* (2002, 21-69).

[17] For John Day's pamphlets issued under the imprint of Michael Wood, see Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage* (2008, 29-37).

[18] The number of printers in London was reduced by half, from eighty to forty-one, according to Patricia Took, "Government and the Printing Trade," cited by Evenden, *Patents* (2008, 40).

[19] National Archives, State Papers 11/9, no. 71, quoted by Evenden, *Patents* (2008, 32).

[20] William Cecil's life is well documented, e.g., Conyers Read, *Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (1955) and *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (1960), or more succinctly by David Loades, *The Cecils* (2009).

[21] The suggestion that there was an earlier 1542 edition, published by Berthelet, has now been discredited. G. Pollard's "The Bibliography of Hall's Chronicle," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 10: 28 (1932), 12-17. Pollard mentions the fact that Hall enjoined Grafton in his will to print his chronicle and the statement by Stow that Hall's account of Sir John Oldcastle was not in print by 1544.

[22] Stuart Gillespie, *Shakespeare's Books* (2002: 223).

[23] See Felicity Heal, "Appropriating History: Catholic and Protestant Polemics and the National Past," in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68: 1-2 (March 2005), 109-32.

[24] Grafton's authorship of the Henry VIII section of Hall's *Chronicle* was suggested by George Krapp in "Henry VIII in Hall's *Chronicle*," *Modern Language Notes,* Vol. 31: 3 (Mar. 1916), 135-38, and argued by Robert Smith in "The Date and

Authorship of Hall's *Chronicle*," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 17:2 (Apr. 1918), 252-66.

25 Grafton's *A sermon no lesse fruteful then famous made in the yeare of our Lorde God M.CCC.lxxxvij in these oure latter dayes moost necessary to be knowen nether addyng to, neyther demynyshynge fro, saue tholde and rude Englysh ther of mended here and there.* 1540 (STC 25823). For the purpose behind this publication, see Alexandra Walsham, "Inventing the Lollard Past," in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 58 (2007), 628-55.

26 J. A. Kingdon, *Richard Grafton: mercer and printer* (1901), 91.

27 Cited in the *Lambeth Palace Library Research Guide King Henry VIII (1491-1547),* 14.

28 Hampton Court, 13 June 1555, 1 and 2 Philip and Mary; cited by Patterson (1994, 235) and by J. A. Young, *The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens* (1976, 199).

29 Grafton had come into conflict with John Stow. At the request of Archbishop Parker (who died in 1575), Stow compiled a "farre larger volume," a history of Britain, but "circumstances were unfavourable to its publication and the manuscript was lost." Stow's *Chronicles of England* (STC 23333) did not appear until 1580 and his most famous work, *Survey of London,* was not published until 1598.

30 D. M. Loades, "The Press under the Early Tudors: A Study in Censorship and Sedition," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1964-5) 29-50.

31 The full title is: *The lamentacion of a synner, made by ye most vertuous Ladie, Quene Caterin, bewayling the ignoraunce of her blind life: set furth and put in print at the instaunt desire of the righte gracious ladie Caterin duchesse of Suffolke, [and] the earnest requeste of the right honourable Lord, William Parre, Marquesse of North Hampton.*

32 Loades, *The Cecils* (2009, 31).

33 Patterson, 255, cites *Tudor Royal Proclamations* 2,376-79.

34 Cecil's reaction has been recorded by Conyers Read, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (190, 95-96). The possible involvement of Henry Howard, younger brother to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, was suggested by B. M. Ward in *The seventeenth Earl of Oxford* (1928, 131).

35 Cecil's involvement is inferred as the tract clearly supports the Privy Council's agenda. See Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (2005, 153) who refers to the work as "little more than government propaganda."

36 The full title of the forty-page pamphlet is: *The execution of iustice in England for maintenaunce of publique and Christian peace, against certeine stirrers of sedition, and adherents to the traytors and enemies of the realme, without any persecution of them for questions of religion, as is falsely reported and published by the fautors and fosterers of their treasons.*

37 For most of this section, I have used as invaluable guides both Annabel Patterson's *Reading Holinshed's Chronicle* (1994) and *The Holinshed Project,* ed. Felicity

Heal et al, online at www.cems.ox.ac.uk/holinshed. The *Oxford Handbook to Holinshed's Chronicle* (2012) edited by Palina Kewes, Ian W. Archer, and Felicity Heal, was published after this article went ot presss and confirms that Holinshed's known contribution was small compared to those made by other writers. They do not seem to have considered the possibility, as argued here, that Holinshed was chosen as a front man to help protect the actual writers and the main backers.

[38] The opening chapter of *The Oxford Handbook* outlines the involvement of various writers in both editions.The full title of the second edition was: *The first and second volume of Chronicles, comprising 1 the description and historie of England, 2 The description and historie of Ireland, 3 The description and historie of Scotland: first collected and published by Raphaell Holinshead, William Harrison and others: now newlie augmented and continued (with manifold matters of singular note and worthie memorie) to the yeare 1586 by Iohn Hooker alias Vowell gent. And others. With conuient tables at the end of these volumes.*

[39] Patterson, 10-15.

[40] "For (as Terence saith) faire words and soothing speeches bréed fréendship, but plaine telling of truth makes enimies. Wherfore it is a dangerous thing to speake euill against him, though the occasi|on be neuer so iust, as who can foorthwith auenge the same. And it is a matter more dangerous, and he aduentureth himselfe verie far, which will contend in manie words against him, who in one or few words can wreake the same. It were suerlie a verie happie thing, and that which I confesse passeth my reach, if a man intreating of princes causes might tell the truth in euerie thing, and yet not offend them in anie thing." Richard Stanihurst in his introduction to the *Description of Ireland* (Holinshed, 1587, III 29).

[41] *Oxford Handbook*, 701.

[42] Holinshed's will was proven on 24 April 1582. For the little that is known about Holinshed, see Henry Summerson, "Raphael Holinshed: new light on a shadowy life," *Oxford Handbook*, 701-6.

[43] According to the editors of the Holinshed Project, William Harrison (1535-1593) was a Londoner who studied at Oxford and developed strong Puritan ideas. Harrison contributed a long and interesting "Description of Britain" in three books which prefaced the historical narrative.

[44] According to the editors of the Holinshed Project, the scholar and future Jesuit martyr Edmund Campion (1540-1581) had studied at Oxford and wrote a history of Ireland with the help of Richard Stanihurst (1547-1618). Stanihurst later revised the History of Ireland and added a "Description of Ireland." Stanihurst later became a militant Catholic refugee.

[45] According to Patterson, Francis Thynne had spent over two years in prison for debt and had appealed to Cecil for assistance. For the 1587 edition, he prepared four massive catalogues, listing the Archbishops of Canterbury, the earls of Leicester, the House of Cobham and the Lord wardens of the Cinque Ports. All of these lists were deleted at the insistence of the Privy Council.

46 Another historical reference to Raphael Holinshed was claimed by Alan Nelson in *Monstrous Adversary*. In 1567, a man named Rudolph Holinshed served on a jury of seventeen men who heard the case of the death of Thomas Brinknell, an under-cook at Cecil House. The jury decided that Brinknell had committed suicide. According to Oxford's biographer, Alan Nelson, Cecil had an uneasy conscience for influencing the jury to find that the unfortunate cook committed suicide by deliberately running onto the point of the sword. Nelson (*Monstrous Adversary*, 2003, 46-47), quotes from a translation of the coroner's report (originally in Latin) but seems to have misread Rudolph for Raphael. The closeness of the Christian names and the unusual surname might indicate that a Holinshed family was attached to Cecil's household.

47 In 1565 Grafton published *A Manuell of Ye Chronicles of England from ye creacion of ye World tyll anno 1565* and claimed he had been "abused by one who counterfeited my volume, and hath made my travail to pass under his name." Grafton was referring to Stow's *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* which had appeared in 1565 (STC 23319) under license of the Stationers and of the Archbishop. The Stationers' Company summoned both Stow and Grafton to hear their case but apparently Grafton refused to attend.

48 Patterson (124) derives knowledge of the Parliaments from Jennifer Loach, *Parliament under the Tudors* (1991).

49 Patterson, 130.

50 According to the *ODNB*, Stow was a prolific manuscript collector whose interests included chronicles, charters, ecclesiastical and municipal records, wills, literary works, and learned treatises. It is likely that Stow was the most knowledgeable record collector of the sixteenth century. Stow claimed in the *Annales* to have contributed much to the second edition of Holinshed, such that it was previously thought that he had been the editor of the second edition. However, it seems to be well established that Fleming edited the second edition.

51 Oxfordians, asserting that the plays of Shakespeare were really written by Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, argue that some of the plays, mainly the histories, were composed at the instigation of Oxford's father-in-law, William Cecil, Lord Burghley. According to this view, Oxford was writing history plays, drawing on Hall and Holinshed, during the 1580s at exactly the same time as the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicle*s was being prepared.

The Importance of *Love's Martyr* in the Shakespeare Authorship Question

Katherine Chiljan

One of the most critical years for both Queen Elizabeth I and William Shakespeare was 1601 – so critical, in fact, that either one could have been killed or executed. Historians have well noted this about the queen because of the attempted coup d'état in February by Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, but not about Shakespeare, even though he was linked to it.

Essex and his supporters specifically used Shakespeare's play *The Life and Death of Richard II* on the eve of their February 6 revolt. They evidently believed that the performance of this play, which showed the successful deposition of an English monarch, would help persuade Londoners to support regime change. They were wrong. After the revolt failed, the authorities questioned actor Augustine Phillips of the Lord Chamberlain's Men, the company which performed the play at the Globe Theatre, but not its author. Not questioning the author was strange because before the rebellion, a portion of the play – the deposition scene – was perceived as politically dangerous or seditious. All three printed editions (1597-98) had omitted it, possibly at the order of "Master Warden Man" of the Stationers' Company.[1] More damning for Shakespeare was his well-known admiration for Essex's co-conspirator, Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton. In 1593 and 1594, Shakespeare had dedicated two printed poems to him, poems that became wildly popular. In addition, orthodox scholars believe that Shakespeare had lauded Essex in *Henry V* (5.1), a play they date to circa 1599. For these reasons, the authorities should have, at the very least, questioned Shakespeare.

Evidently to account for this irregularity, a few scholars doubt that the pre-rebellion play was Shakespeare's, but this is unrealistic. Actor Phillips described it as "the play of the deposing and killing of King Richard the second,"[2] which uniquely

characterizes Shakespeare's play. Queen Elizabeth, in her post-rebellion chat with William Lambarde, remarked, "I am Richard II. Know ye not that?" Referring to Essex, she added: "He that will forget God, will also forget his benefactor; this tragedy was played forty times in open streets and houses."[3] Shakespeare's play was the only known "tragedy" -- as it is described on the title page of both the first 1597 and second 1598 quartos -- on this subject. Also, Essex liked *Richard II*: Sir Walter Ralegh said so in a 1597 letter, after he and Essex saw a private performance.[4] This is further confirmed by state notes relating to Essex's hearing in 1600 for misconduct in Ireland. Essex was accused of promoting John Hayward's 1599 history of Henry IV, the nobleman responsible for ousting King Richard II, and for repeatedly attending a play on the same subject:

> ... but also the Earl himself being so often at the playing
> thereof, and with great applause giving countenance to it.[5]

With these facts in mind, Shakespeare's play seems to have been alluded to at Essex and Southampton's treason trial. The prosecuting attorney, Sir Edward Coke, accused the two earls of attempting to capture the queen. Southampton challenged Coke to say what he thought would be done to her if they had. Coke replied, "How long lived King Richard the Second after he was surprised in the same manner?"[6] Furthermore, Essex paraphrased a Shakespeare line during his sentencing when he said, "I owe God a death"; in *Henry IV, Part 1*, Prince Hal said to Falstaff before a battle, "Thou owest God a death" (5.1.126).[7]

The rebellion play was Shakespeare's play, but again one wonders, how did its author escape reproof? This is especially important because the queen admitted that she was behind the political allegory in the play. Elizabeth, in fact, was linked to Richard II through the greater part of her reign, according to historian Lily Campbell.[8] It was because, like Richard, Elizabeth's policies were more influenced by her personal favorites than by her counselors. Citizens made this comparison in private letters, and in print, like the treasonous *Leicester's Commonwealth* (1584). Shakespeare's play illustrates this aspect of Richard's reign, and the fatal result. That the play enjoyed so many performances, that it was printed (albeit without the deposition scene), and that the author was undisturbed by the authorities is beyond miraculous – it implies the queen's tacit approval of the play and its author. The reaction to Hayward's 1599 book, however, was completely opposite. Like Shakespeare's play, Hayward's history was more about Richard II than Henry IV, and included an account of his deposition. It was also tied to Essex because it included a Latin dedicatory epistle to him. That letter was immediately suppressed, and the book's second edition, also printed in 1599, was burned. Hayward was questioned about the book and his connection with Essex. In 1600 he was imprisoned, and was released only after Elizabeth's death in 1603.

The writers and actors of the comedy *The Isle of Dogs*, performed in 1597, are another unfortunate example. The play was immediately deemed seditious; its co-author and actor, Ben Jonson, and two other actors, were jailed and interrogated by

Richard Topcliffe, "chief of the Elizabethan secret police."[9] The play was so offensive to the Crown that all copies were destroyed and the Privy Council ordered the demolition of two theaters (the Curtain and the Theatre), although the order was not carried out. Co-author Thomas Nashe avoided capture by fleeing London just in time, but the authorities raided his residence and seized his papers; he remained a fugitive for about eighteen months. Moreover, not long after Nashe returned to London, Archbishop Whitgift commanded (June 1599) that Nashe's works were to be banned from print and that his remaining books were to be burned.[10] The text of *The Isle of Dogs* no longer exists, but the title provides a tantalizing clue about its subject matter. The Isle of Dogs is a place name for an isthmus. At that time, it was a seedy area that faced Elizabeth's palace at Greenwich. This fact, as noted by Charles Nicholl, and the swift reaction to the play by the highest authorities, could indicate the play satirized the queen or her court. Nicholl also observed that the Northumberland Manuscript (circa 1597-1603), which contained controversial and seditious works, included a fragment of *The Isle of Dogs* as well as Shakespeare's *Richard II*.[11]

Although Shakespeare was only indirectly involved with the Essex Rebellion, his play was part of the plan. At the very least he should have been questioned, arrested, or disciplined. But the queen evidently took no offense towards the author, and her relationship with the Lord Chamberlain's Men remained unchanged – in fact, they performed before her the night before Essex's head was chopped off. That the authorities ignored the Stratford Man, the presumed Shakespeare, after the Essex Rebellion strongly suggests he was not the author of *Richard II*. Besides ample contemporary evidence that "William Shakespeare" was a pen name used by a nobleman,[12] two clues that the play was written at least seven years before its orthodox dating of circa 1595-96 also argue against the Stratford Man's authorship. First, actor Phillips said his company discouraged Essex supporters to have "that play of King Richard" performed because it was "so old & so long out of use that they should have small or no Company at it."[13] This is not indicative of a four- or five-year-old play. (The play was evidently not performed in public theaters, but in "open streets and houses," as the queen mentioned.) Christopher Marlowe, in his circa 1588 play, *Dr. Faustus*, apparently alluded to *Richard II*, and another Shakespeare play, in one line.[14] Marlowe describes Helen of Troy:

> *Was this the face* that *launched a thousand ships* … ?
> (5.1.92)

The first part of Marlowe's line repeatedly appears in Shakespeare's *Richard II* (4.1.281-85):

> *Was this the face*, the face
> That every day, under his household roof,
> Did keep ten *thousand* men? *Was this the face,*
> That like the sun, did make beholders wink?
> Is *this the face* …

The second part of Marlowe's line appears in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (2.2.81-82), which also described Helen of Troy:

> ... Why she is a pearl
> Whose price hath *launch'd* above *a thousand ships* ...

There are at least sixteen more instances of similar phrases and unusual word clusters between these writers. Because there is no evidence that the Stratford Man was in London in the 1580s, orthodoxy routinely accepts Shakespeare as the borrower, but a plethora of evidence demonstrates that it was the reverse.[15]

Even though "William Shakespeare" was not prosecuted in 1601, something very curious happened: during that year there were no printings of his plays or his popular narrative poems. In fact, in 1601 the steady stream of his printed works since 1593 came to a sudden halt after reaching a crescendo of seven editions in 1600. This indicates that in the immediate aftermath of the rebellion publishers feared, or were prevented from, printing anything authored by Shakespeare. But there was one interesting exception: 67 lines of verse in *Love's Martyr*.

The publication of *Love's Martyr* was the second seditious event in 1601 that involved Shakespeare. If he were the Stratford Man, then his execution that year would have been assured. This poetical work, described as allegorical, can only be viewed as thinly veiled commentary about the succession of Queen Elizabeth. Written by Robert Chester, it is the story of the mythological phoenix and its search for a lover so it can reproduce. Dame Nature assists the Phoenix by pairing it with the Turtle Dove. After burning together, "Another princely Phoenix," as described by Chester, emerged from their ashes. The legend of the phoenix, however, has nothing do to with acquiring a mate – it is a beautiful rare bird that renews itself every 500 (or 1000) years solely by self-immolation. No story about the phoenix and a turtle dove existed before *Love's Martyr*.[16]

Love's Martyr featured a separate section, "Diverse Poetical Essays," comprising poems on the same topic by "the best and chiefest of our modern writers," according to the title page. They were Shakespeare, John Marston, George Chapman, Ben Jonson, and Ignoto. That Chester and company were allegorizing Queen Elizabeth is unmistakable as the phoenix was one of her most constantly used symbols. In the year of her accession, 1558, a coin featured her portrait on one side and a burning phoenix on the reverse.[17] A medallion with similar images was issued in 1574, today called "The Phoenix Badge"; it most notably featured "ER" (Elizabeth Regina) above the phoenix's head, and a crown above that.[18] In the "Phoenix Portrait" by Nicholas Hilliard (c. 1574), the queen wears a large phoenix jewel that hangs from a collar of pearls and three jeweled Tudor roses, her family emblem; her hand, which holds a red rose, is positioned just below the phoenix pendant. In 1596, a large portrait engraving of the queen was published. On either side of her is a column – one holds a burning phoenix, and the other a pelican, another of her personal symbols.[19] In late 1601, the queen was compared to a phoenix in a speech addressed to her at parliament: "God has made you a phoenix and wonder of the world, since no maiden Queen ever ruled so long and happily."[20] Posthumously, the queen was depicted

in a full-length statue with a phoenix beneath her feet.[21] Shakespeare specifically described the infant Elizabeth as a phoenix in *Henry VIII* (5.5.39). These are only a few examples.

More evidence that Chester and company's phoenix represented the queen is that the phoenix legend was altered to suit her: traditionally the phoenix is characterized as male, while their phoenix is female; conversely the Turtle dove is traditionally female, but their turtle dove is transformed into a male. Chester's subtitle, moreover, plainly states that the Phoenix and Turtle Dove were "allegorically shadow[ed]," announcing that they represented real people and a real love story:

> Love's Martyr: or Rosalin's Complaint. *Allegorically
> shadowing the truth of Love*, in the constant Fate of the
> Phoenix *and Turtle*.

That Elizabeth was the phoenix of Chester's work is stressed again in another title that occurred on the first page of his narrative:

> Rosalin's Complaint, metaphorically applied to Dame
> Nature at a Parliament *held (in the high Star-chamber) by
> the* Gods, for the preservation and increase of *Earth's
> beauteous Phoenix*.

The "complaint" of Rosalin, who throughout the text is called Dame Nature, is presented at "a Parliament" in the "Star Chamber," which was a courtroom in Westminster Palace, the seat of Elizabeth's government. In addition, Dame Nature describes the Phoenix not as a bird, but as a woman: she has hair, forehead, cheeks, chin, lips, teeth, arms, hands and fingers. And in the section titled "Cantos," the Phoenix is described with the terms "rose," "queen," "empress" and "sovereignty," and she is chided by the Turtle Dove for her "chasteness," an undisguised reference to Elizabeth's much vaunted virginity. The Phoenix is even described as aging, as noted by Anthea Hume: the Phoenix says her "golden Feathers" are quickly falling out (24); she fears her beauty "wilt perish" (27); she describes herself as ripe in years (29).[22] Queen Elizabeth was sixty-eight in 1601. Jonson's two poems about the Phoenix in *Diverse Poetical Essays* described it as a "Woman" and a "Lady," one with quick wit and "graces," whose "Judgment (adorn'd with Learning) /Doth shine in her discerning," qualities often attributed to Elizabeth.

Other writers understood that Chester's Phoenix symbolized Queen Elizabeth. In *The Mirror of Majesty* (1618), attributed to Sir Henry Goodyere, Queen Anne (consort of James I) was likened to a phoenix. She emerged "From old Eliza's urn, enriched with fire .... " This was a direct reference to *Love's Martyr* because it was the first work to associate an urn with the phoenix – in Shakespeare's poem, "Threnos," and in Ignoto's poem.[23] Goodyere had also taken a near-verbatim line from Ignoto's poem: "One Phoenix born, another Phoenix burns." Josuah Sylvester used the phoenix and urn imagery in recalling the late Queen Elizabeth in his *Bartas his Divine*

Weeks and Works (1605): "From Spicy Ashes of the sacred URN /Of our dead Phoenix (dear ELIZABETH)." Also, when *Love's Martyr* was republished in 1611, the prefatory poem, "The Author's request to the Phoenix," was dropped, presumably because the addressee, Elizabeth I, was dead. The evidence that Queen Elizabeth was "allegorically shadowed" as Chester's Phoenix is overwhelming. Most commentators acknowledge it, but they never connect her to the story, to the message behind Chester's allegory – that she had a lover and a child who should be recognized to settle the succession crisis.

The complaint of Rosalin, or Dame Nature, is about the Phoenix's "preservation and increase," which in the context of Elizabeth I could only mean the succession, a topic she refused to deal with and which was illegal to discuss. The name Rosalin is significant because it suggests rose, the Tudor family symbol.[24] The queen was often portrayed with a rose. Nicholas Hilliard's "Pelican Portrait" of Elizabeth (c. 1574), for example, displays a large red rose with a royal crown above it. Another notable example (c. 1600) is a portrait engraving of the queen surrounded by roses and eglantine and the words "Rosa Electa."[25] Rosalin-Dame Nature fears that the rare and beautiful Phoenix will die childless, i.e., the Tudor ancestors of Elizabeth fear that their dynasty will end unless she produces an heir. The head god, Jove, instructs her to take the Phoenix to Paphos, an island associated with the goddess Venus. There the Phoenix will find her mate, the Turtle Dove. The Turtle Dove's importance to Phoenix-Queen Elizabeth is also stressed in the title – he is "Love's Martyr." The Phoenix's "Love" martyred himself by jumping with her onto the pyre to produce their child, "Another princely Phoenix." Just as the Phoenix was described as a woman, rather than a bird, the Turtle Dove was described as a man, rather than a bird: "his name is Liberal honor" (19), and he has curly hair and a rosy complexion (20). Chester prays to Christ that the Phoenix will have a child: "Let her not wither Lord without increase, /But bless her with joy's offspring of sweet peace. Amen. Amen" (23).

The poem that follows is titled "To those of light belief," presumably addressing those who may not take seriously the story about to be told, which is described as "Plain honest Truth and Knowledge" (23). Rosalin-Dame Nature meets the Phoenix, who is sullen and weeping. "Envy" has arisen, the Phoenix says, "A damned Fiend o'er me to tyrannize" (28). Rosalin-Dame Nature replies, "he shall not touch a Feather of thy wing, / Or ever have Authority and power, /As he hath had in his days secret prying." As the reader has been advised that this is a true story, it appears that Envy (note the initial capital "E") allegorizes the Earl of Essex, who very recently had attempted to "tyrannize" Queen Elizabeth with rebellion. Essex had held great "Authority and power" as Earl Marshal and as the commander of a large army in Ireland. Rosalin-Dame Nature banishes Envy, just as Elizabeth had banished Essex from court after he returned in disgrace from Ireland. In relief the Phoenix says:

> What is he gone? Is Envy pack'd away?
> Then one foul blot is moved from his Throne,
> That my poor honest Thoughts did seek to slay....
> (29)

Envy-Essex evidently wished "to slay" the Phoenix-Queen Elizabeth and divest her of her "throne" – a blatant reference to the Essex Rebellion. Phoenix-Queen Elizabeth also refers to the Rebellion by saying Lady Fortune "did conspire / My downfall" by sending to her "Envy with a Judas kiss" (31). Needless to say, the phoenix myth has nothing to do with envy, conspiracy, or traitors.

Rosalin-Dame Nature takes the Phoenix out of Arabia in a flying chariot, and one hundred pages later, they land in Paphos. The Turtle Dove sees the "beauteous Phoenix," they pair up, and both commit to "sacrifice" their bodies "to revive one name" (136). In this context, the name that would need reviving is Tudor. "Of my bones," says the Phoenix, "must the Princely Phoenix rise," a "creature" that "shall possess both our authority" (138-39). Chester's allegory has Queen Elizabeth declaring that a child from her own body, a prince, will rule after her. In the last line of this dialogue, Chester writes: "And thus I end the turtle Dove's true story. Finis. R.C." (139).

Chester also wrote a conclusion to his story, or rather an announcement: A new phoenix does arise from the ashes of the Phoenix and Turtle Dove.

> From the sweet fire of perfumed wood,
> Another princely Phoenix upright stood:
> Whose feathers purified did yield more light,
> Than her late burned mother out of sight,
> And in her heart rests a perpetual love,
> Sprung from the bosom of the Turtle-Dove.
> Long may the new uprising bird increase,
> Some humors and some motions to release,
> And thus to all I offer my devotion,
> Hoping that gentle minds accept my motion.
>   Finis. R.C.
>   (142)

Chester offers devotion "to all" three figures – the newborn "Another princely Phoenix," its father, the Turtle Dove, and its "late burned mother," the Phoenix. Queen Elizabeth had been specifically called a "princely Phoenix" ten years previously in printed verses:

> And with our Queen that princely Phenix rare,
> whose like on earth hath seldom times been....[26]

Chester hopes that "gentle minds" will "accept" his "motion," which in this sense is "a proposal, suggestion, or petition" (*OED*). With such clear language and symbolism, Chester and company certainly believed that the queen had given birth to an heir and successor. Marston described the child in *Diverse Poetical Essays* as alive and "grown unto maturity," "wondrous," and "perfection." Shakespeare, conversely, described the Phoenix ("Beauty"), the Turtle Dove ("Truth"), and their

child ("Rarity"), as "cinders" lying in an "urn" in the second of his two poems, titled "Threnos." It is a lamentation of the three dead birds, allegorically prophesying the downfall of the Tudors.

> Beauty, Truth, and Rarity,
> Grace in all simplicity,
> Here enclosed, in cinders lie.
>
> Death is now the *Phoenix* nest,
> And the *Turtle's* loyal breast,
> To eternity doth rest.
>
> Leaving no posterity …
>
> To this urn let those repair,
> That are either true or fair,
> For these dead Birds, sigh a prayer.
> ("Threnos" 1-7, 13-15)

Shakespeare's first poem, which is untitled, is solemnly dramatic. An unidentified voice, possibly his, calls upon the Phoenix, "the bird of loudest lay [song]," to be the sad herald of specific birds, calling them to the scene of the Turtle Dove's funeral and immolation. Predatory birds like the owl ("shrieking harbinger") are to be excluded with the exception of the royal eagle, the "feath'red king." The swan, acting as priest, and the crow, which according to legend reproduced merely through the exchange of breath, are allowed to be among "our mourners."[27] After the description of the approved birds, they sing an "Anthem" about the now-dead birds. Shakespeare does not describe the immolation scene. The poem includes many terms relating to government, such as "session," "interdict," "king" and "tyrant." Shakespeare also uses "augur," which in ancient Roman times was a government official who used omens to predict future events; the omens often "derived from the flight, singing, and feeding of birds" (*OED*). "Herald" and "trumpet[er]," as noted by Hume, indicate that the funeral is "a great public occasion."[28]

Shakespeare's first poem in *Love's Martyr* is based on rare Latin and Anglo-Saxon (Old English) sources.[35] Ovid in his *Amores* (2:6) summons birds, only the "pious winged kind," to a funeral of the parrot. They are to sing mourning songs. The swan, phoenix, crows (daw and raven), and chief mourner, turtle dove, are among those invited. Shakespeare's poem also called for the same non-predatory birds to attend the phoenix's funeral (he added the eagle), and were to sing. The first printed edition of Ovid's story, translated by Christopher Marlowe, appeared after 1602 (STC 18931). In "The Phoenix," an elegy by Lactantius (c. 240-320 AD) that is another obvious source for Shakespeare's poem, pious birds surround the phoenix in flight as a sacred function, but do not sing; the swan acts as priestess (as does the swan in Shakespeare's poem), and both Lactantius' phoenix, like Shakespeare's, is uncharacteristically female. Lactantius' poem had seen print only once before *Love's Martyr* — an edition dated to circa 1522.

In the Anglo-Saxon poem "The Phoenix," usually dated to the late 10th century, the phoenix is the "king" of birds, is their "lordship" and is a "noble bird"; other birds flock around him in flight and sing, which marvels mankind watching below. The Anglo-Saxon phoenix, besides having a beautiful voice, also has the loudest: "no trumpets, nor horns, may equal that sound" (line 134).[36] Similarly, Shakespeare's phoenix has the loudest birdsong, as described in the first line, "the bird of loudest lay [song]," and is a queen. Those two characteristics for the phoenix were unique to Shakespeare and the Anglo-Saxon poem.[37] The Anglo-Saxon poem existed only in manuscript, in an anthology today called The Book of Exeter, which has been stored at Exeter Cathedral since the 11th century. Only a tiny group of scholars were studying Anglo-Saxon during Elizabethan times. Shakespeare evidently had knowledge of, or access to, an extremely rare manuscript, and possibly could even read this language.

Shakespeare's language of state accords with that on the title page and opening text of *Love's Martyr*, that Elizabeth I was being allegorized. The experts, meanwhile, remain mystified about the meaning of Shakespeare's poems; this is perhaps because they never connect his Phoenix, also called "Beauty," with Chester's Phoenix, who was Queen Elizabeth. The treasonous symbolism, that the queen had a lover and child and that the Tudor monarchy will soon end, is lost to them. Alexander Grosart in 1878 was the first to link Queen Elizabeth with Chester's Phoenix, and remarked, "The fact that Elizabeth was living when *Love's Martyr* was published fills me indeed with astonishment at the author's audacity in so publishing."[29] Interestingly, the Earl of Essex referred to Queen Elizabeth as "Beauty" and "Phoenix" in an unpublished poem, written in late 1590.[30]

Love's Martyr was issued sometime after June in 1601, the same year as the Essex Rebellion, which was prompted by, among other issues, the succession question. Many of the Essex conspirators were executed. To release *Love's Martyr* at this time, or to be associated with a work with such obvious political overtones, was strangely reckless. But Chester did devise a cover story: the title page states the book was his translation of the "venerable Italian Torquato Caeliano." No writer of this exact name ever existed. Chester evidently invented it by combining the names of the 16th-century Italian poets Torquato Tasso (d. 1595) and Livio Caeliano; the latter was the pseudonym of Angelo Grillo (1557-1629). Also, *Love's Martyr*, and separately, *Diverse Poetical Essays*, was dedicated to Sir John Salusbury. Queen Elizabeth had knighted him in June 1601 specifically for his part in quelling the Essex Rebellion. Chester and company apparently wanted the work to be associated with a man that the queen trusted. Salusbury was also known to be anti-Essex before the rebellion.[31]

It is believed that *Love's Martyr* inspired a bill, drafted c. October 1601, specifically to ban "the writing and publishing of books about" the succession that could lead subjects "into false errors and traitorous attempts against the Queen."[32] The bill was not passed. Already on the books, however, was Elizabeth's proclamation against "diverse traitorous and slanderous libels" of "our royal person and state."[33] It was issued on April 5, 1601, well before the printing of *Love's Martyr*. Hanging was a punishment for libelers of the queen/state. The obvious allegory contained in *Love's*

Martyr would certainly have qualified as a libel of "virgin queen" Elizabeth, but none of the contributors was arrested. Despite this, some evidence suggests the book was suppressed. It elicited no comments by contemporaries and the surviving copies show signs of tampering. Only one of the four copies has the date on the title page. On another copy, the date was purposely sliced off. Another copy completely changed the title page, adding a new title and date (*The Annuals of Great Britain*, 1611) and omitting the author's name. The fourth copy, recently discovered in Wales, has pages missing from the front and back.[34] Richard Field, printer of Shakespeare's earlier poems, *Lucrece* and *Venus and Adonis*, also printed *Love's Martyr*. His involvement raises the possibility that Shakespeare, the nobleman-great author, helped fund the work, and that he shared Chester's appeal to the queen to accept her child as her successor. The child was certainly not King James of Scotland, who did succeed to the English throne.

Two years after James's accession, in 1605, *Love's Martyr* contributors Chapman, Marston, and Jonson were jailed for writing a play deemed offensive to the Crown. Mutilation was intended for them, "a standard punishment for sedition,"[38] but it was not carried out. It has been argued that their play, *Eastward Ho!*, contained contained controversial satire against the Scots, but even censored passages do not appear particular offensive to modern ears. The play, however, contains a distinct and emphatic presence of Shakespeare, with allusions to *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Henry IV, Part 2*, and *Richard III*. Editor Richard Horwich also observed that the writers of *Eastward Ho!* "seem to have gone out of their way to call attention to their borrowings" from *Hamlet*,[39] including characters named Hamlet and Gertrude. Another Shakespeare reference in *Eastward Ho!* appears in the character "Touchstone," which recalls the name of the courtier-clown in *As You Like It*. Interestingly, Touchstone, his surname, is a verb-noun construct like "Shakespeare," and his first name is William. And although his trade is jewelry, Touchstone's apprentices are more concerned about crafting poetry lines. There is also a strong resemblance between Gertrude's song in *Eastward Ho!* and Ophelia's song about her dead father in *Hamlet*:

> GERTRUDE
> His head as white as milk,
> All flaxen was his hair;
> But now he is dead,
> And laid in his bed,
> And never will come again.
>
> God be at your labor.
>   (*Eastward Ho!* 3.2)
>
> OPHELIA
> And will he not come again?
> And will he not come again?

No, no, he is dead,
Go to thy death-bed,
never will come again.
His beard was white as snow,
All flaxen was his poll [head];
He is gone, he is gone,
And we cast away moan;
God ha' mercy on his soul!

And of all Christian souls, I pray God.
God be wi' you!
                    (*Hamlet* 4.5.189-200)

It is a strange fact of history that Shakespeare's passing was not noted by his contemporaries near the time it had occurred -- strange because, during his lifetime, his plays and poems were publicly regarded as great. There were, however, hints that he had died not in 1616, but before 1609. They are contained in *Myrrah, Mother of Adonis* (1607), *Envy's Scourge* (c. 1609),[40] and the dedication of *Shake-speare's Sonnets* (1609). Unrelated to the plot, Gertrude's song in *Eastward Ho!* may have been a veiled memorial to the great author, William Shakespeare, by his former associates in *Love's Martyr*.

In 1601 in *Love's Martyr*, Robert Chester explicitly identified the main character, the Phoenix, as Elizabeth I, the then-reigning queen. Chester and the other contributors of this "allegorical shadow," including Shakespeare, indicated their belief that she had a child by her lover, the Turtle Dove, who was the "Martyr" of the title. They were evidently urging Phoenix-Queen Elizabeth to acknowledge her now-grown child, "Another princely Phoenix," to continue the Tudor monarchy, allegory that could be perceived as treasonous. Oddly, no one was prosecuted, even though this was Shakespeare's second offense in one year, following the performance of his play, *Richard II*, which was staged to foment the Essex Rebellion. Throughout her reign, Elizabeth was compared to Richard II, mostly because of her reliance on flattering courtiers for policy advice. Shakespeare's play, therefore, which illustrates this very point, could be viewed as open and direct political allegory; Elizabeth herself had so acknowledged it. Although orthodox Shakespeare scholars know this, they cannot explain why Shakespeare was exempted from prosecution, unlike the unfortunate historian John Hayward, and the authors of the earlier "seditious" play, *The Isle of Dogs*.

The most logical explanation for Shakespeare surviving 1601 is that he was not the Stratford Man, but rather a nobleman with royal protection. The 1605 play, *Eastward Ho!*, was full of Shakespeare allusions and it apparently memorialized him. Its three authors, all former contributors to *Love's Martyr*, were jailed after the first performance, possibly indicating they no longer had his protection. *Love's Martyr* could be the reason why the death of the real Shakespeare went unnoted when it had occurred: because his involvement in this work advertised his position

on the succession, and his candidate was not King James of Scotland, but rather an unnamed child of the queen. (The Fair Youth of Shakespeare's sonnets was constantly described with royal terms.) To eulogize Shakespeare after King James succeeded to the English throne – using either his real name or his pen name -- was politically risky and best avoided. The first open praise of Shakespeare after his death occurred in a book of his collected plays, the First Folio (1623), in a preface that falsely suggested he was the Stratford Man. Today it is rarely noted how Shakespeare's two poems in *Love's Martyr* emerged at such a perilous time in history, or that the book contained such dangerous political allegory. Abstracting Shakespeare's texts from their original political context perpetuates their mystery, and promulgates the myth that the Stratford Man was the great author. Like the phoenix, Queen Elizabeth's image may indeed prove to be reborn after 400 years: from that of virgin queen to queen who fulfilled her duty to procreate a male child, but failed to enthrone him.

> Let the bird of loudest lay [song],
> On the sole *Arabian* tree [i.e., the phoenix],
> Herald sad and trumpet[er] be:
> To whose sound chaste wings obey.
>
> But thou shrieking harbinger [owl],
> Foul precurrer [precursor] of the fiend [death],
> Augur of the fever's end,
> To this troop come thou not near.
>
> From this Session interdict [forbidden act]
> Every fowl of tyrant wing,
> Save the Eagle feath'red king,
> Keep the obsequy [funeral rite] so strict.
>
> Let the Priest in Surplice white [garb of clergy],
> That defunctive [dead] Music can,
> Be the death-divining Swan,
> Lest the *Requiem* lack his right.
>
> And thou treble-dated Crow,
> That thy sable gender mak'st,
> With the breath thou giv'st and tak'st,
> 'Mongst our mourners shalt thou go.
>
> Here the Anthem doth commence,
> Love and Constancy is dead,
> *Phoenix* and the *Turtle* fled,
> In a mutual flame from hence.

So they loved as love in twain,
Had the essence but in one,
Two distincts, Division none,
Number there in love was slain.

Hearts remote, yet not asunder;
Distance and no space was seen,
'Twixt this *Turtle* and his Queen;
But in them it were a wonder.

So between them Love did shine,
That the *Turtle* saw his right,
Flaming in the *Phoenix* sight;
Either was the other's mine.

Property was thus appalled,
That the self was not the same:
Single Natures double name,
Neither two nor one was called.

Reason in itself confounded,
Saw Division grow together,
To themselves yet either neither,
Simple were so well compounded.

That it [Reason] cried, "How true a twain,
Seemeth this concordant one,
Love hath Reason, Reason none,
If what parts, can so remain."

Whereupon it made this *Threne*,
To the *Phoenix* and the *Dove*,
Co-supremes and stars of Love,
As *Chorus* to their Tragic Scene.

Threnos.

Beauty, Truth, and Rarity,
Grace in all simplicity,
Here enclosed, in cinders lie.

Death is now the *Phoenix* nest,
And the *Turtle*'s loyal breast,
To eternity doth rest.

Leaving no posterity,
'Twas not their infirmity,
It was married Chastity.

Truth may seem, but cannot be,
Beauty brag, but 'tis not she,
Truth and Beauty buried be.

To this urn let those repair,
That are either true or fair,
For these dead Birds, sigh a prayer.

William Shake-speare.

Endnotes

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18 *Ibid*, 124-25.

19 Roy C. Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 113; Francis A. Yates, *Astraea, The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), plate 6b.

20 *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth 1601-1603*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green, (London: Longman & Co., 1870), 115.

21 Strong, 156. The statue (by Nicholas Stone) was finished in March 1623.

22 Anthea Hume, "Love's Martyr, 'The Phoenix and the Turtle,' and the Aftermath of the Essex

Rebellion," *Review of English Studies*, New Series, vol. 40, no. 157 (Feb. 1989), 59.

[23] William H. Matchett, *The Phoenix and the Turtle* (The Hague: Mouton, 1965), 182-83.

[24] *Robert Chester's Love's Martyr*, ed. Alexander Grosart (London: New Shakspere Society, 1878), intro., p. 45.

[25] Strong, 114; Yates, plate 8b. The engraving was by William Rogers.

[26] John Phillips, *A Commemoration on the Life and Death of the Right Honorable, Sir Christopher Hatton* (London: 1591), 4.

[27] Peter Dronke, "The Phoenix and the Turtle," *Orbis Litterarum*, vol. 23, no. 3 (1968), 209.

[28] Hume, 59. Editor Colin Burrow reads "trumpet" as "trumpeter" (*Complete Sonnets and Poems*, The Oxford Shakespeare [Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002], 373).

[29] *Robert Chester's Love's Martyr*, ed. Grosart, intro., 46.

[30] *Ballads from Manuscripts*, ed. W.R. Morfill (Hertford, UK: Ballad Society, 1873), vol. 2, 250-51. Paul E.J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: the Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), 87-88.

[31] Hume, 64.

[32] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series,* ed. Green, 115-16; Hume, 65.

[33] Hume, 58.

[34] Ilya Gililov, *The Shakespeare Game: The Mystery of the Great Phoenix*, tr. Gennady Bashkov and Galina Kozlova (New York: Algora Publishing, 2003).

[35] *Ovid in Six Volumes*, tr. Grant Showerman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 2nd ed., vol. 1, 399-403; *Lactantius: The Minor Works*, tr. Sister Mary Francis McDonald, Fathers of the Church, vol. 54 (Newburgh, NY, c. 1965), 213-20; *The Exeter Book, An Anthology of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, tr. Israel Gollancz (London: Early English Text Society, Oxford Univ. Press, 1895, Part 1). Notable in these translations are words besides "phoenix" that appear in Shakespeare's poems. Ovid: *trumpet, harbinger, obsequy, swan, turtle dove, daw/raven* [crows]; Lactantius: *priestess, swan*; Anglo-Saxon: *trumpet, lay, swan, eagle, fiend, sad*. Matthew Roydon's elegy to the late poet Sir Philip Sidney in *The Phoenix Nest* (1593) draws very lightly from Ovid's story.

[36] Marie Axton also noted that the voice of the Anglo-Saxon phoenix was described as "beorhtan reorde" (line 128), which "means literally 'louder raised'" in *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), 126.

[37] The short poem about the phoenix by Claudian (circa 370-404 AD) was apparently based on that of Lactantius, but added that the newly reborn phoenix was a temporary king of birds – only while they accompanied him on his flight to Egypt (to deposit the ashes of its predecessor).

[38] Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 207-08. Some believe that Marston was not jailed, but Ben Jonson said otherwise.

[39] Richard Horwich, "Hamlet and Eastward Ho," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 11, no. 2 (Spring 1971), 231.

[40] Chiljan, 260-61.

Did Tudor Succession Law Permit Royal Bastards to Inherit the Crown?

Thomas Regnier

Some advocates of the theory that Queen Elizabeth the First had a secret illegitimate child argue that Parliamentary legislation paved the way for such a child to succeed to the throne. To support this theory, they cite a 1571 statute[1] that refers to the Queen's "natural issue" as possible heirs to the throne. The phrase "natural issue" could refer to an illegitimate child, whereas "lawful issue" would designate only persons born in wedlock. Dr. Paul Altrocchi argues that the 1571 statute no longer required that a successor to the throne be "lawfully" begotten:

> The . . . Act of Succession had specified that a legal royal heir must be "issue of her body lawfully to be begotten." In 1571, "lawfully to be begotten" was struck by Parliament, permitting royal bastards to be legal heirs to the Crown.[2]

Paul Streitz also maintains the possibility of an illegitimate child becoming the monarch, saying that the 1571 Act "specifically reversed the previous Act of Succession" and "opens up the possibility for an heir to the throne from Queen Elizabeth, even an illegitimate one."[3] Charles Beauclerk, while not asserting that the Act expressly allowed bastards on the throne, echoes this theme:

> By means of this extraordinary clause [in the 1571 Act], Elizabeth was opening the door to the possibility that even if she refrained from naming an illegitimate child as her successor, others might in time take the opportunity to do so.[4]

These writers are not the first to interpret the 1571 Act as clearing a path for bastard kings. Indeed, as William Camden wrote, the wording of the statute became the subject of general mirth around the time it was enacted:

> But incredible it is what jests lewd catchers of words made amongst themselves by occasion of that Clause, Except the same be the Natural issue of her body; forasmuch as the Lawyers term those Children natural, which are gotten out of Wed-lock . . . .[5]

Additionally, in 1584, the anonymous *Leicester's Commonwealth*[6] accused the Earl of Leicester, Queen Elizabeth's longtime "favorite," of scheming to get the words "natural issue" placed in "the statute of succession" so that, after the Queen's death, Leicester could have one of his bastard children made king by pawning him off as his and Elizabeth's illegitimate child. But did the 1571 statute actually allow for this?

In this article, I examine the theory that the 1571 statute allowed royal bastards on the throne and find that it does not stand up to scrutiny. In doing so, I first explore, as background, English common law and ecclesiastical law regarding bastardy, especially as this subject relates to the royal succession. This article discusses the role of Parliament in determining the succession and explains how statutes are interpreted and how they are revised and repealed.

The article also analyzes the changes made in the succession law by the three Acts of Succession of Henry VIII. Finally, the article examines the 1571 Act cited above, which is actually a treason statute, and demonstrates that it does not alter the requirement laid down in the Third Act of Succession that for any children of Elizabeth to inherit the crown, they would have to be her lawful issue.

Caution: Bastards

It is difficult to imagine an illegitimate person ascending the throne when, under the common law, a bastard was *filius nullius*, or "child of no one." Bastards could not inherit real property,[7] let alone kingdoms.[8] Otherwise, bastards had the same rights as other free persons.

The common law of bastardy and the ecclesiastical, or church, law were often in conflict. Church courts decided disputes about the validity of a marriage; but the common law, or secular, courts decided disputes about the inheritance of real property, which were often intertwined with decisions about the validity of marriages.

Under church law, children of adulterous relationships were bastards. The common law, however, had a strong presumption that a child born to a married woman was legitimate, even if the child was the result of an adulterous affair. For example, a legal standard often used to determine legitimacy was the "Four Seas" test:

as long as the husband was not impotent and he was *in the kingdom* at *any time at all during the pregnancy* then the child was legitimate.[9]

Shakespeare's *Richard III*, in fact, refers to the "Four Seas" test when Richard, then still Duke of Gloucester, argues his claim to the throne based on the theory that his late brother, King Edward IV, had actually been a bastard:

> Tell them, when that my mother went with child
> Of that insatiate Edward, noble York,
> My princely father, then had wars in France.[10]

It is significant that Richard points to the time when his mother "*went* with child," which covers the whole pregnancy, not merely when she *was got* with child, which would refer only to Edward's conception. In order for Edward to be a bastard under the "Four Seas" test, his father would have had to be out of the kingdom for the entire pregnancy, not just the time of conception—biological facts be damned. Richard methodically establishes the other significant fact necessary to make his brother illegitimate by saying that their father "had wars in France" during the pregnancy: in other words, he was outside the kingdom.

A 1406 Year Book, an early collection of law reports, memorably summarized the ramifications of the "Four Seas" test as "Whosoever bulleth my cow, the calf is mine."[11] The test was abandoned in 1732, however, "on account of its absolute nonsense."[12] Paradoxically, the church law, which so strongly disfavored the legitimacy of children of adulterous unions, allowed for "special bastardy," which was the legitimizing of a bastard child after the fact, if his parents should later marry. The common law, however, still held such a child illegitimate and incapable of inheriting real property.

But the common law did not consider a child illegitimate if the parents had married in good faith and the marriage later had to be annulled because of the discovery of consanguinity (a blood relationship) or affinity (a familial relationship through marriage) between the parents.[13]

A possible basis for bastardy under the common law was that the parents' marriage turned out to be invalid due to a "precontract," such as those found in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*. One kind of "precontract" was an oral agreement between a couple that they would marry at some time in the future. This agreement was binding on both parties and neither one could marry someone else without first obtaining the agreement of the original betrothed to dissolve the contract.[14] *Measure for Measure* contains two examples of precontracts: one between Claudio and Juliet, who are engaged and living together while awaiting their dowry; and another between Angelo and Mariana, which Angelo had managed to dissolve through a legal loophole, namely, Mariana's alleged lack of chastity.

The principle that a valid precontract nullifies a later marriage was yet another legal tool that became useful to Richard III on his way to the throne. Richard

argued that when Edward IV married his queen, Elizabeth Woodville, Edward was already precontracted to another woman. This would make the children of the marriage illegitimate. In the *Titulus Regius* (Title of the King), an act passed by Parliament in 1484, Richard received after-the-fact legislative blessing on his kingship based on Edward's   invalid marriage and the consequent bastardy of Edward's sons:

> [A]t the time of the contract of the same pretensed marriage [to Elizabeth Woodville] . . . King Edward was and stood married and troth plight to one Dame Eleanor Butler . . . with whom the said King Edward had made a precontract of matrimony . . . . Which premises being true, as in very truth they been true, it appears and follows evidently, that the said King Edward during his life, and the said Elizabeth, lived together sinfully and damnably in adultery, against the law of God and his Church . . . . Also it appears evidently and follows that *all the issue and children of the said King, been bastards, and unable to inherit or to claim anything by inheritance*, by the law and custom of England.[15]

This proclamation is grounded in the longstanding common law principle that illegitimate children could not inherit real property, including, of course, the kingdom.[16]

Parliament and the Succession

The *Titulus Regius*, in which Parliament endorsed Richard III's claim to the throne, was not the first instance of Parliament involving itself in the succession. Even before King John signed the Magna Carta in 1215, English kings were not absolute rulers.[17] The king's Great Council, which had the power to prevent the king from raising taxes, eventually evolved into what we now call "Parliament" and officially assumed that name in the 1230s. While the monarch was, as Sir Thomas Smith said, "the life, the head, and the authority of all things that be done in the realm of England,"[18] Parliament was always looking over the monarch's shoulder and gradually growing in power.

When it came to the succession to the crown, there was no set formula for determining the next monarch: heredity played a large role, but considerations such as popular support, military strength, and administrative ability also mattered.[19] Succession was "determined by politics more than law when the choice of a successor was complicated by the absence of a direct and competent heir."[20] Parliamentary approval might then become the decisive factor, although in some cases Parliament did little more than meekly ratify the results achieved on the battlefield.[21]

Even before the *Titulus Regius*, Parliament had often taken an important role in determining the succession. For example, in 1327, Parliamentary pressure was a factor in the forced abdication of Edward II.[22] In 1377, when Richard II succeeded his grandfather, Edward III—skipping over Edward's still-living son, John of Gaunt—

Richard's right to the throne had already been validated by his having been made Prince of Wales, at Parliament's request, the previous year.[23] By 1399, Richard II had come full circle, as Parliament accepted his coerced resignation and allowed Henry IV to become king, despite an arguably stronger claim by Henry's cousin, Edmund Mortimer.[24] In 1460, during the Wars of the Roses, when Richard, Duke of York, claimed a superior right to the throne to that of Henry VI, he presented his case to Parliament, which decided that York's claim was stronger, but voted that Henry VI should remain as king. Parliament then passed the Act of Accord, a compromise that kept Henry as king but recognized York as his successor and disinherited Henry's son.[25]

The Wars of the Roses placed a premium on Parliamentary approval as a way to inject a sense of legitimacy into one's occupying the throne. Sure enough, when Henry Tudor, the Second Earl of Richmond, ended the Wars by overthrowing Richard III in 1485 to become Henry VII and begin the Tudor dynasty, a preamble to the new statutes enacted in his reign proclaimed him the true king, even though it gave no explanation as to how or why he was entitled to that position.[26] Succession statutes would become a feature of the Tudor era, with Henry VIII promulgating three different succession acts that changed the course of history.

Before delving into these statutes, let me offer a few words of advice about reading these, or any other statutes:

(1) Read a statute very carefully.[27] English statutes from this period tend to use excessive verbiage and often repeat the same idea several times using slightly different words, just to be sure all bases are covered. This results in extremely long sentences, in which one needs to carefully identify subjects, verbs, objects, and supporting clauses in order to understand the legal effect of the statute. In this article, I have made liberal use of ellipses when quoting statutes in order to focus on the significant, operative words of a statute. I have also modernized the spelling and typography.

(2) Start with the text itself.[28] If the meaning of the statute is clear from the plain language of the statute, one need not look any further.

(3) If any doubt remains about the effect of the statute, consider whether your interpretation of it harmonizes with other laws, such as the common law, ecclesiastical law, or other statutes.[29]

(4) If one is still uncertain, only then does one look at the legislative history for clues to a statute's meaning. This method of interpretation is only a last resort because what a few legislators may have stated at the time of a statute's enactment may not represent the understanding of all the legislators.[30] A well-written statute should be clear from the text itself, without resorting to other interpretive methods.[31]

First Act of Succession, 1533–34

With these thoughts in mind, let's look at the First Act of Succession under Henry VIII, enacted by Parliament and the King in 1533–34.[32] Although it is entitled, "An Act for the establishment of the King's succession," it touches on many subjects, including treason law[33] and laws regarding marriages between people who were already related.[34]

In creating these statutes, the monarch and Parliament were not merely creating new laws; they were creating propaganda. They provided not only rules to be followed, but also justifications to explain why these rules were for the good of the kingdom. Little, if any, emphasis was placed on the possibility that these laws might also be good for the monarch personally, although that was likely to be the case. The First Act of Succession begins with a preamble that purports to explain the reason for the statute:

> calling to our remembrance the great divisions which in times past hath been in this Realm by reason of several titles pretended to the imperial Crown . . . .[35]

This evokes memories of the civil wars that had racked England since Richard II was deposed in 1399 and had continued through the Wars of the Roses, which ended in 1485—the very subjects of Shakespeare's two great tetralogies of English history.[36] This provided a plausible public relations reason for the statute: preventing further internal strife by clearly laying out the path of succession. The preamble does not mention another motive for the statute: Henry's recent marriage to Anne Boleyn and his desire to obliterate any trace of legitimacy in his marriage to Katherine of Aragon. As the Act explained:

> The marriage heretofore solemnised between your Highness [Henry VIII] and the Lady Katherine, being before lawful wife to prince Arthur, your elder brother, which by him was carnally known, shall be definitively, clearly, and absolutely declared, deemed, and adjudged to be against the laws of Almighty God, and also accepted, reputed, and taken of no value nor effect, but utterly void and [annulled].[37]

This passage leaves no doubt as to its meaning. This is an example of the principle that, when the plain text of a statute is clear, one need not look further to understand it. The Act went on to validate the already-consummated marriage between Henry and Anne Boleyn:

> The lawful matrimony had and solemnized between your Highness and your most dear and entirely beloved wife Queen Anne shall be established, and taken for undoubtful, true, sincere, and perfect ever hereafter.[38]

In this case, "ever hereafter" turned out to be only a few years. The Act soon went on to do its main business of defining the succession to the crown:

> First the said imperial Crown . . . shall be to . . . the first son of your body between your Highness and your said lawful wife Queen Anne begotten, and to the heirs of the body of the same first son *lawfully begotten* . . . And for default of such sons of your body begotten . . . that then the said imperial Crown . . . shall be to the issue female between your Majesty and . . . Queen Anne begotten . . . That is [to] say: first to the eldest issue female, which is the Lady Elizabeth, now princess, and to the heirs of her body *lawfully begotten* . . .[39]

Note that the phrase "lawfully begotten" appears frequently. The message is clear: bastards need not apply. It was not necessary, however, for the statute to repeat "lawfully begotten" at every opportunity. For example, when the Act says, "then the said imperial Crown . . . shall be to the issue female between your Majesty and . . . Queen Anne begotten," it was not necessary to place "lawfully" before "begotten" because the Act had already established that Anne was Henry's lawful wife; therefore, any children of that marriage would necessarily be legitimate.

Revising and Repealing Statutes

The First Act of Succession was as short-lived, alas, as the marriage of Henry and Anne and was replaced by the Second Act of Succession in 1536. But before looking at the Second Act, let us consider the methods by which a statute may be revised or repealed. This will be helpful later on, when we consider whether acts of Parliament allowed the illegitimate children of a monarch to inherit the crown.

In order to illustrate the basic principles, I will use the traditional law school method of presenting hypothetical statutes from a mythical U.S. state, in this case, the state of "Calizona." There are three methods of changing a statute: (1) revision, (2) repeal, and (3) conflict (repeal by implication). Following are examples of, and variations on, each method:

Revision. Suppose the Calizona legislature enacts the following statute:

Section 310.17, Laws of Calizona (1978): Everyone must wear green on Wednesdays (effective July 1, 1978).

This seems clear. After July 1, 1978, everyone in Calizona must wear something green on Wednesdays. They don't have to wear *all* green, just *something* green. (For our purposes, we will ignore whether this statute would be constitutional.) Suppose, however, that the legislature passes the following statute fourteen years later:

Section 310.17, Laws of Calizona (1992): Everyone must wear red on

Wednesdays (effective July 1, 1992).

Notice that both statutes have the same number, 310.17. That means that the later one is a revised version of the first and completely replaces the old version. The upshot for people in Calizona is that they must now wear something red on Wednesdays, but they don't have to wear green on Wednesdays anymore.

No revision. Let's consider a different scenario. We'll start again with the older version of the statute:

Section 310.17, Laws of Calizona (1978): Everyone must wear green on Wednesdays (effective July 1, 1978).

And let's say that the legislature passes another statute that reads as follows:

Section 312.145, Laws of Calizona (1992): Everyone must wear red on Wednesdays (effective July 1, 1992).

Notice that the second statute has a different section number than the first statute. It therefore is not claiming to be a revision of the first statute. Rather, it is a separate statute that stands on its own. It has no effect on the first statute, even though they address the same subject (what color people must wear on Wednesdays). This means both statutes are in effect, and people in Calizona must wear something red as well as something green on Wednesdays. (Now we're ignoring fashion considerations as well as the Constitution!)

Repeal. To illustrate repeal, let's begin again with our original 1978 statute about wearing green on Wednesdays:

Section 310.17, Laws of Calizona (1978): Everyone must wear green on Wednesdays (effective July 1, 1978).

Fourteen years later, the legislature passes a different statute *expressly repealing* the first:

Section 621.03, Laws of Calizona (1992): Section 310.17, Laws of Calizona, is hereby repealed (effective July 1, 1992).

This means that the rule about wearing green on Wednesdays is now, as Henry VIII's Parliament would have said, "accepted, reputed, and taken of no value nor effect, but utterly void and annulled." In other words, Calizonans don't have to wear green on Wednesdays anymore.

Conflict (Repeal by Implication). To illustrate conflict, we'll begin again with our 1978 statute about wearing green on Wednesdays:

Section 310.17, Laws of Calizona (1978): Everyone must wear green on Wednesdays (effective July 1, 1978).

Later, the legislature enacts the following statute:

Section 312.145, Laws of Calizona (1992): Everyone must wear <u>only</u> red on Wednesdays (effective July 1, 1992).

Note that the second statute has a different number than the first, so it doesn't purport to be a revision of the first. It would seem, at first glance, that citizens of Calizona would be required to follow both statutes.

There's only one problem: it is physically *impossible* to follow both statutes at the same time. If one follows the second statute and wears *only* red on Wednesdays, it is impossible to wear *anything* green. Here we have a true "conflict." While the second statute doesn't say that it is repealing the first, the two are *irreconcilable* (a key word when considering conflict).

Whenever a direct conflict exists, so that two statutes cannot both be followed at the same time, the later statute prevails over the earlier one.[40] Thus, even though the legislature never said it was revising or repealing the rule about wearing green on Wednesdays, a court interpreting the two statutes would hold that the later rule effectively repeals the earlier rule by implication.

Partial Conflict. Courts do not favor repeal by implication and will find a way to reconcile two statutes if it is at all possible. Conflict is narrowly interpreted, and a court will find that a statute is repealed by implication *only to the extent of the conflict and no further*. Let's illustrate this by starting with a slightly different version of the 1978 statute:

Section 310.17: On Wednesdays, everyone must wear green <u>and</u> must whistle "Dixie" (effective July 1, 1978).

This law requires everyone to do two things on Wednesdays: wear something green and whistle "Dixie." (It doesn't say you have to whistle "Dixie" all day, so once would be enough. For our purposes, we'll ignore difficulties with enforcement.)

Later, the legislature enacts the following statute:

Section 312.145, Laws of Calizona (1992): Everyone must wear <u>only</u> red on Wednesdays (effective July 1, 1992).

As we've discussed, the part about wearing only red is irreconcilable with wearing anything green. So the later statute trumps the earlier one, and the rule is that everyone has to wear only red on Wednesdays.

But do you still have to whistle "Dixie"? The answer is yes, because there is no conflict between wearing all red and whistling "Dixie": one can easily do both things at the same time (assuming one can whistle at all). Therefore, the conflict between the two statutes is partial, and only the part of the first statute that is in conflict with the second is repealed by implication.

Second Act of Succession, 1536

Now, with an understanding of how statutes are revised and repealed, let's look at how Parliament changed the First Act of Succession, which had designated Henry's lawful issue by Anne Boleyn as heirs to the throne. The Second Act of Succession, passed in 1536, was entitled, "An Act for the establishment of the succession of the Imperial Crown of this Realm."[41] It expressly repealed the entire First Act of Succession:

> By authority of this present Parliament [the First Act of Succession][42] . . . from the first day of this present parliament shall be repealed, annulled, and made frustrate and of none effect.[43]

The Second Act of Succession soon got to its primary purpose of invalidating the King's marriage to Anne Boleyn, who had been executed for treason,[44] and the bastardizing of her only child, Elizabeth:

> The said Marriage between your Grace and the said Lady Anne was never good, nor consonant to the laws but utterly void and of none effect. . . . And that all the . . . children, born . . . under the same marriage . . . shall be taken . . . [to] be illegitimate....and barred to claim . . . any inheritance as lawful . . . heirs to your Highness by lineal descent.[45]

Again, the "no bastards" message is clear. The Second Act also reaffirmed the invalidity of Henry VIII's marriage to Katherine of Aragon. Interestingly, the First Act had not expressly stated that Lady Mary, the daughter of Katherine and Henry, was illegitimate, but the Second Act remedied this oversight by specifically bastardizing Mary along with Elizabeth. The Second Act also provided, as the First Act had done, that it was treason for anyone to contradict the Act as to who was the lawful successor to the throne.[46]

Additionally, the Second Act of Succession made Henry's lawful issue by his new wife, Jane Seymour (or any lawful wife he should have in the future), heirs to the throne. It also gave Henry the remarkable power to name anyone he chose as successor to the crown in the event that his family line should fail.[47] He could designate such successors through his will or through letters patent, a kind of executive order.[48]

The Second Act ended with an odd provision stating that the Act had to be interpreted exactly as written and that it could not be repealed. I call this provision "odd" because, as a practical matter, one parliament may not prevent a later parliament from revising or repealing an act made by the earlier parliament.[49] This practical reality is demonstrated by the Third Act of Succession, which came along to punch some holes in the Second Act.

Third Act of Succession, 1543–44

The Third Act of Succession, enacted in 1543–44 and entitled, "An Act concerning the establishment of the King's Majesty's Succession in the Imperial Crown of the Realm,"[50] perhaps gave some deference to the idea that the Second Act of Succession could not be repealed by declining to nullify the Second Act in its entirety. Therefore, anything in the Second Act that was not in direct conflict with the Third Act remained valid law. In fact, the Third Act made only a few changes in the law, although the ones it made had enormous impact.

The Third Act proclaimed that Henry's son Edward (later Edward VI) would succeed him as king. This is what the law calls a "declaratory act." That is, it was not making new law, but simply restating or clarifying what had long been the default rule under the common law and was reaffirmed by the Second Act of Succession: the eldest legitimate son gets the crown on his father's death.

But the Third Act had some provisions that were in direct conflict with the Second Act and therefore overrode the earlier provisions. Henry was by this time married to his sixth wife, Katherine Parr, who had persuaded him to reconcile with his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth. The Third Act therefore declared that if both Henry and Edward should die without other lawful heirs, the crown would default to Lady Mary "and to the heirs of the body of the same Lady Mary *lawfully* begotten." Furthermore, if Mary should die without heirs, the crown would default to Lady Elizabeth "and to the heirs of the body of the said Lady Elizabeth *lawfully* begotten . . . ."[51]

If Edward VI had lived to adulthood and produced offspring, as most people probably hoped and expected that he would, the provisions placing his two half-sisters in the line of succession would have made an interesting historical footnote. But since Edward died childless at age 15, these provisions had major consequences. Mary and Elizabeth were the first two women to be sole rulers of England, and Elizabeth's reign was one of the most remarkable in all of English history.

Although the Third Act of Succession put Mary and Elizabeth in line for the crown, it didn't expressly say that the two daughters were Henry's legitimate children. Furthermore, it said nothing about the validity of Henry's marriages to their mothers, Katherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn. One may look at this in either of two ways: (1) since the Second Act expressly invalidated both marriages and the Third Act didn't contradict that, the marriages were still invalid and the daughters still bastards; or (2) making Mary and Elizabeth legitimate successors to the crown was irreconcilable, under most views of English law, with their being the bastard fruits of invalid marriages.[52]

The second interpretation is probably the better one because statutes that deviate from the common law must be construed narrowly.[53] The first interpretation would have implicitly turned the common law upside down by allowing the bastard child of an unlawful marriage to become the monarch. Since the Third Act of Succession didn't explicitly say that it intended to make such a drastic change in

the common law, rules of statutory interpretation suggest that we shouldn't read that meaning into it. Most likely, Henry could not bear to officially proclaim his first two marriages valid and did not want to dredge up the unpleasant fact that he had bastardized his two daughters, so he and Parliament simply ignored the anomaly.

The Lady Mary, however, could not abide the anomaly, and when she became Queen in 1553 on the death of Edward VI, one of the first acts of Parliament declared Mary legitimate and reinstated Katherine of Aragon's marriage to Henry VIII, describing it as lawful, perfect, and blessed by God.[54] The statute also declared the First Act of Succession void (a complete waste of ink, as the Second Act of Succession, which was still largely in force, had already done this) and declared void those parts of the Second Act that had bastardized Mary.

When Elizabeth became Queen in 1558, a so-called "Act of Recognition" stated that "Your Majesty . . . is and . . . ought to be . . . our most rightful and lawful Sovereign liege Lady and Queen."[55] This part of the Act was, again, a "declaratory" act, which didn't say anything new but simply reaffirmed and restated the law of succession that was already in place. As mentioned earlier, this was a part of the function of English statutes, to create good public relations, along with legislation that benefited the monarch.

The statute did go on to say something new, however, when it declared that "your Highness is rightly, lineally, and lawfully descended and come of the Blood royal of this Realm of England . . . ."[56] Use of the phrase "lawfully descended" cured an omission in the Third Act by expressly un-bastardizing Elizabeth. But Anne Boleyn's marriage to Henry VIII, unlike Katherine of Aragon's, was not posthumously recognized as valid.[57]

The Treason Act of 1571

We now arrive at the 1571 Treason Act,[58] which some have claimed allowed for, or at least set the stage for, the ascension of a royal bastard to the throne. In those days, it was not uncommon for succession and treason to be discussed in the same statute because the two were often intertwined. Tudor succession law was so problematic that Tudor monarchs liked to add in provisions making it treason (the most serious and severely punished crime) for anyone to question the laws of succession that they established. Nevertheless, the fact that the statute was labeled a treason act suggests that it cannot be viewed as a mere revision of one of the previous acts of succession.

Neither can the 1571 Treason Act be an express repeal of a previous succession act because it contains no language stating that it is repealing *any* previous law, either of succession or treason or any other type of law. Thus, it added to the law but did not overtly subtract anything from it. Therefore, the only possible way that the 1571 Treason Act could alter the law of succession would be if some provision in it were in direct conflict with a succession provision in the Third Act of Succession.

Queen Elizabeth and her advisors were so wary of plots to overthrow her that Parliament passed a variety of treason statutes during her reign—ten of them

by the year 1581.[59] The 1571 Act declared, among other things, that anyone who pretended to the crown was a traitor. Furthermore, anyone who denied the right of the Queen and Parliament, jointly, to name her successor would be held a traitor. This was perhaps a subtle hint that the Queen and Parliament did not feel bound to follow Henry VIII's will, which had already laid out a course of succession in the event that Elizabeth should die childless.[60] It also declared anyone a traitor who should state that any person was the Queen's rightful successor, unless Parliament and the Queen had so decreed. But this last provision contained a peculiar exception:

> Whosoever shall hereafter . . . declare . . . at any time before the same be by Act of Parliament of this Realm, established and affirmed, that any one particular person . . . is or ought to be the right Heir & Successor to . . . the Queen's Majesty . . . except the same be the natural issue of her Majesty's Body . . . shall for the first Offence suffer imprisonment . . . .[61]

The peculiar exception is the phrase "natural issue of her Majesty's Body." The "natural" issue of the Queen's body, as opposed to the "lawful" issue, could include an illegitimate child. This is the phrase that leads to assertions that the succession law was changed in 1571 to allow royal bastards on the throne.

But, as stated earlier, the treason statute did not purport to be a revision of any succession act, nor did it expressly repeal any succession act. Therefore, the Treason Act could only affect the laws of succession if it were *irreconcilable* with some succession provision— that is, if the two provisions simply could not coexist simultaneously. Therefore, let us take a look at the relevant provision from the Third Act of Succession, which was still operative during Elizabeth's reign, and compare it to the provision in the 1571 Treason Act that is said to allow royal bastards to inherit the crown:

> Third Act of Succession, 1544
>
> For default of [Mary's] issue the . . . Crown . . . shall be to the Lady Elizabeth . . . and to the heirs of the body of the said Lady Elizabeth *lawfully begotten*.
>
> Treason Act, 1571
>
> Whosoever shall hereafter . . . declare . . . at any time before the same be by Act of Parliament of this Realm, established and affirmed, that any one particular person . . . is or ought to be the right Heir & Successor to . . . the Queen's Majesty . . . except the same be the *natural issue* of her Majesty's Body . . . shall for the first Offence suffer imprisonment.
>
> Are the two provisions in direct conflict?

The 1544 provision states that if Mary should die without children, the crown

would then go to Elizabeth and to the heirs of her body *lawfully* begotten. According to this passage, children of Elizabeth could inherit the throne only if they were born in wedlock.

The 1571 provision states that anyone commits treason who says that any person is the successor to the Queen, unless that person has been designated the successor by the Queen and Parliament. It contains an exception: namely, that it is all right to say that a person is the successor to the Queen if that person is the Queen's *natural* child. Therefore, the 1571 Act, at most, allowed a person to *say* that a natural child of the Queen (which could include a bastard) should be her successor without the speaker being punished for saying so.

The 1544 Act controlled who could ascend the throne. The 1571 Act defined what one could say about the succession, which was very little indeed. But the 1571 Act has no language that expressly provides that an illegitimate child has a place in the line of succession. It contains nothing that directly conflicts with the 1544 Act, so it is possible for the two acts to coexist. One could require that any of the Queen's children be born in wedlock before they would be eligible for the crown without having to punish someone who said that any natural child of the Queen should be in the line of succession.

To use an analogy from modern law, the United States Constitution provides that, if one is to be President, he or she must be at least thirty-five years old.[62] But suppose you knew someone who you thought should be President despite his or her being only thirty. Could you state your opinion on this subject without being punished? Yes, because American law generally allows free expression of political opinions. But would your freedom to state your opinion change the rule that the President has to be thirty-five ? No.

Likewise, it was the 1544 Act that defined who could inherit the crown: the Queen's lawful issue. The 1571 Act allowed a person to *express an opinion* that a royal bastard could inherit the crown, but it didn't go beyond that to provide that a royal bastard *actually could* inherit the crown. The two provisions are not irreconcilable. Those who argue that the 1571 Treason Act allowed a royal bastard to ascend the throne have simply misread the law.

Besides, as the foregoing historical and legal analysis has shown, Parliament and the monarch could simply declare a person a bastard or not. Parliament had bastardized and un-bastardized both Mary and Elizabeth. Parliament had declared that Elizabeth was "lawfully descended and come of the Blood royal" without ever explaining how that could be when her mother's marriage to the King was invalid. Indeed, Elizabeth's grandfather, Henry VII, the first Tudor king, would have had no plausible claim to royal blood had it not been for Parliamentary declarations of legitimacy on both sides of his family tree.[63]

Therefore, if Parliament and the Queen had wanted to put a particular illegitimate person in the line of succession, the first thing to do would have been to proclaim that person legitimate.[64] This would have been much more politically practical than declaring that bastards generally, even royal ones, could inherit the crown—a concept that went against some of the most deeply ingrained biases in

English law and custom.

Queen Elizabeth and her advisors did not propose the section of the treason statute that spoke of the Queen's natural issue. Thomas Norton, a Puritan member of Parliament, proposed this language.[65] The Queen had at first disliked the treason bill and thought it unnecessary because she already felt herself protected under the law as it existed.[66] When the bill was discussed in Parliament, the most hotly debated issue was whether the treason provisions should be enforced retroactively; eventually, Parliament determined that they shouldn't.[67] None of this suggests that the Queen and her closest advisors had an ulterior purpose for the bill of paving the way for royal bastards to be kings.

But was there any significance to Parliament's referring to the Queen's "natural issue" in the treason statute, rather than her "lawful issue"? Probably not. The drafters of the statutory language were still probably imagining a scenario in which the Queen would marry and produce children. They may have thought it presumptuous to suggest that any natural child of Her Majesty would be anything other than a lawful child.

Besides, since the operative language dealt only with which topics of written and spoken speech were treasonous, not with who could inherit the throne, it made little difference in that context whether one said "natural" or "lawful." Theoretically, the statute allowed one to say that if the Queen had an illegitimate child (hypothetically, of course), that child could become king or queen.

If one were to assert, however, that a certain person *was* the Queen's illegitimate child and therefore had a right to the throne, that might be going too far. Although accusing the Queen of actually having borne an illegitimate child might not violate the 1571 statute, it might make one guilty of sedition under the common law. Sedition laws, which were among the vaguest criminal laws ever devised, were used to punish people who defamed a member of the royal family or the government.[68] These would serve quite well to justify punishing anyone who was foolish enough to declare that the Virgin Queen had borne a bastard child.[69]

Conclusion

The choice of the phrase "natural issue" over "lawful issue" in the 1571 Treason Act had almost no practical effect. It didn't allow for bastards to inherit the crown; all it did was to leave a little wiggle room about what one could say about the succession. Most of those who have found great significance in the wording, both then and now, have done so because they have read much more into the statute than it actually says.

Endnotes

[1] 13 Eliz., *c.* 1. [Citation of a statute consists of (1) year of the monarch's reign during which the statute was enacted, followed by (2) name of the monarch, followed by (3) chapter number of the particular statute. Thus, *13 Eliz., c. 1* would be the first statute passed in the 13th year of Elizabeth's reign. Statutes cited in this article are found in *Statutes of the Realm*, an authoritative collection of acts of Parliament from its earliest days (c. 1235) up to 1714. It was published, at the behest of George III, between 1810 and 1825, as a series of nine volumes. Spelling and typography have been modernized for purposes of this article.]

[2] Paul H. Altrocchi, MD, "A Royal Shame: The origins and history of the Prince Tudor theory," *Shakespeare Matters* 4, no. 4 (Summer 2005): 13.

[3] Paul Streitz, *Oxford, Son of Queen Elizabeth I* (Darien, CT: Oxford Institute Press, 2001), 100–01.

[4] Charles Beauclerk, *Shakespeare's Lost Kingdom* (New York: Grove Press, 2010), 40.

[5] William Camden, *The Historie Of The Most Renowned And Victorious Princesse Elizabeth, Late Queene Of England* (1630), quoted in Christopher Paul, "The 'Prince Tudor' Dilemma: Hip Thesis, Hypothesis, or Old Wives' Tale?," *The Oxfordian*, 5 (2002): 57 (spelling modernized).

[6] Originally entitled, *The copy of a letter written by a Master of Art of Cambridge to his friend in London* (1584). First published as *Leicester's Commonwealth* in 1641.

[7] I.e., property consisting of land or buildings.

[8] See B.J. Sokol & Mary Sokol, *Shakespeare's Legal Language* (London: Athlone Press, 2000) 23–31, for a discussion of the laws of bastardy and their use in Shakespeare's works.

[9] Sokol, 25 (emphasis added).

[10] William Shakespeare, *Richard III* (3.5.86–88), *Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1974), 735. Nearly every Shakespeare play has some reference to bastardy, even if it is no more than a reference to some character as "bastard," "half blooded," "misbegotten," or "whoreson." Sokol, 26.

[11] Sokol, 25.

[12] Sokol, 25.

[13] Sokol, 25.

[14] See Sokol, 289–307, for a discussion of precontracts in Shakespeare's works.

[15] Quoted in Tracy Bryce, "*Titulus Regius*: The Title of the King," http://home. cogeco.ca/~richardiii/Titulus Regius.htm, May 2008 (emphasis added). The *Titulus Regius* does not appear in the statute books because Henry VII, on supplanting Richard III as king, ordered it suppressed and all copies of it destroyed.

[16] William I, or William the Conqueror (ruled 1066–1087), had been born illegitimate, but he gained the English throne through conquest (hence, the name) rather than inheritance.

[17] The Charter of Liberties, promulgated in 1100 by Henry I, attempted to bind the king to certain laws regarding the treatment of church officials and nobles, although monarchs tended to ignore the charter.

[18] Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum* (1583), ed. L. Alston (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1906), 63.

[19] Edna Zwick Boris, *Shakespeare's English Kings, the People, and the Law: A Study in the Relationship Between the Tudor Constitution and the English History Plays* (Cranbury, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1978), 36.

[20] Boris, 38.

[21] Boris, 38.

[22] The first statute Parliament passed after Edward II's son, Edward III, became king, detailed the evil influence that Edward II's favorites, Hugh Despenser (Spenser), the Elder and the Younger, had had upon the former king. 1 Edw. III, St. 1, c. 1–3 (1326–27).

[23] Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 17. Richard's father, Edward of Woodstock (known posthumously as the "Black Prince"— possibly because of his black shield), was Edward III's eldest son. Before the Black Prince died in 1376, he wrung from his father a promise that Richard would be the next king. Thus, the crown bypassed Edward III's still-living sons and went straight to his grandson.

[24] Saul, 418–22. As historian G.R. Elton has said of the kingship, as of 1399 and after, "usurpation by force of arms had taken the place of legitimacy." G.R. Elton, *The Parliament of England, 1559–1581* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986), 357.

[25] John A. Wagner, *Encyclopedia of the Wars of the Roses* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2001), 1.

[26] 1 Henry VII, preamble ("[Be it] ordained . . . by authority of this Present parliament that the inheritance of the Crowns of the Realms of England and of France . . . be, rest, remain, and abide in the most Royal person of our now Sovereign Lord King Henry the VII and in the heirs of his body lawfully coming . . . .").

[27] See Richard K. Neumann, Jr. & Sheila Simon, *Legal Writing* (New York: Aspen Publishers, 2008), 21–24, on analyzing statutes. Note that these rules for

interpreting statutes are still valid today.

[28] See *American Jurisprudence* 73, 2nd ed. (2012), Statutes §§ 124, 126; Neumann & Simon, 60 ("Writing about a statutory question focuses on the *words of the statute* because a legislature signals its intent primarily through the words it enacts").

[29] Neumann & Simon, 60 ("Statutes on the same subject . . . are to be construed together").

[30] Neumann & Simon, 60 ("Because of the chaotic nature of legislative work, legislative history can be incomplete and internally contradictory").

[31] See William S. Jordan, "Legislative History and Statutory Interpretation: The Relevance of English Practice," *University of San Francisco Law Review*, 29 (1994), 2 (noting the English practice of refusing to consider legislative history in interpreting statutes).

[32] 25 Hen. VIII, c. 22.

[33] The statute declared anyone a traitor who impugned Henry VIII's marriage to Queen Anne or asserted that Henry's children by Anne could not inherit the crown.

[34] The statute prohibited marriage between people who were already related, either by blood or by marriage, as laid down in the Bible's Book of Leviticus. This was clearly a retrospective attempt to justify the annulment of Henry VIII's marriage to Katherine of Aragon, the widow of Henry's elder brother, Arthur.

[35] 25 Hen. VIII, c. 22.

[36] One tetralogy consists of the plays *Richard II*; *Henry IV*, Parts 1 and 2; and *Henry V*; the other tetralogy consists of the plays *Henry VI*, Parts 1, 2, and 3; and *Richard III*.

[37] 25 Hen. VIII, c. 22.

[38] 25 Hen. VIII, c. 22.

[39] 25 Hen. VIII, c. 22 (emphasis added).

[40] Neumann & Simon, 43 ("If the two [statutes] cannot be reconciled, dates matter. A later statute prevails over the earlier one").

[41] 28 Hen. VIII, c. 7.

[42] The Act also repealed 26 Hen. VIII, c. 2, which had ratified the form of the oath that the King's subjects were required to take in vowing to obey the First Act of Succession.

[43] 28 Hen. VIII, c. 7. Since the entire First Act had been repealed in its entirety, the Second Act contained new provisions on such subjects as treason and the rules of consanguinity and affinity, somewhat modified from their forms in the First Act to apply to the new circumstances.

[44] Anne Boleyn's treason was based on alleged adulterous acts.

[45] 28 Hen. VIII, c. 7. The marriage to Anne Boleyn was considered "never good" because Henry had previously had sexual relations with Anne's sister, Mary Boleyn, making the marriage to Anne incestuous from the start. This was a new, and rather tortured, interpretation of the laws of affinity, which had before deemed a marriage incestuous only when the couple were already

related due to a previous *marriage* (not previous non-marital intercourse). See Stanford E. Lehmberg, *The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII, 1536–1547* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1977), 2, 22.

[46] "If any person or persons . . . by words . . . or act . . . do . . . any thing . . . for the interruption, repeal or [annulling] of this Act . . . or to the peril, slander, or [disinheritance] of any of the issues and heirs of your Highness, as being limited by this Act to inherit and to be inheritable to the Crown . . . then every such person or persons . . . shall be adjudged high traitors . . . ." 28 Hen. VIII, c. 7.

[47] It has been suggested that Henry VIII might have used this power to make his acknowledged bastard son, Henry FitzRoy, Duke of Richmond (1519–1536), heir to the throne. But the possibility became moot when the young man died, probably of tuberculosis, at age 17, around the time the Second Act of Succession became law. See Lehmberg, 20.

[48] Henry VIII provided in his will that if his children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, should all die without issue, the next in line for the crown would be the descendants of his younger sister Mary, who had been Queen of France. This went against the common law, which would have placed the descendants of his *older* sister Margaret, who had been Queen of Scotland, ahead of the younger sister's line. Ironically, however, the older sister's line prevailed when Margaret's great-grandson, James VI of Scotland, succeeded Queen Elizabeth and became James I of England. This result was probably due more to political realities than to faithful adherence to the common law. Of course, Parliament immediately enacted a statute proclaiming James "our only lawful and rightful liege Lord and Sovereign . . . ." 1 Jac. I, c. 1 (1603–04).

[49] This clause "was of very doubtful constitutional validity . . . ." Lehmberg, 24.

[50] 35 Hen. VIII, c. 1.

[51] 35 Hen. VIII, c. 1 (emphasis added).

[52] Lehmberg interprets the statute as "tacitly" recognizing the legitimacy of both Mary and Elizabeth. Lehmberg, 194. Mary had a possible legal loophole that Elizabeth didn't have, namely, that if the parents married in good faith and the marriage was later annulled because of consanguinity or affinity, the child was still legitimate under church law. Since Henry and Katherine's marriage was annulled because of affinity (Katherine was the widow of Henry's elder brother), it could be argued that Mary remained legitimate. See Lehmberg, 20; Sokol, 25.

[53] See Neumann & Simon, 60 ("Statutes in derogation of the common law are to be narrowly construed").

[54] 1 Mary, St. 2, c. 1.

[55] 1 Eliz., c. 3.

[56] 1 Eliz., c. 3.

[57] A very short statute of the 1558–59 Parliament (1 Eliz., c. 23) restored Elizabeth "in blood" to her mother, Anne Boleyn, and thereby allowed Elizabeth to inherit from her mother. This was necessary because Anne Boleyn had

been convicted of treason, and children of traitors suffered "corruption of blood" and could not inherit from their traitorous parents. See *Black's Law Dictionary*, 9th ed. (St. Paul: West Publ., 2009), 397. But the statute did not nullify Anne Boleyn's treason.

[58] "An Act whereby certain Offences be made Treason," 13 Eliz., c. 1.

[59] See John Bellamy, *The Tudor Law of Treason: An Introduction* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 69.

[60] Henry VIII's will would have placed the descendants of Henry's sister Mary on the throne. See note 48, above.

[61] 13 Eliz., c. 1.

[62] U.S. Const., art. II, § 1.

[63] Henry VII's claim to the throne came from his mother's side of the family. Lady Margaret Beaufort, his mother, was a great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (third son of Edward III) and his third wife Katherine Swynford. Katherine had been Gaunt's mistress for about 25 years. When they married in 1396, they already had four children, including Margaret Beaufort's grandfather, John Beaufort. Gaunt's children by Katherine Swynford were legitimized by Richard II's letters patent, an Act of Parliament, and a papal decree. Henry IV declared that the Beaufort line, while legitimate, could not inherit the throne. But by 1485, when Henry VII ascended the throne, John of Gaunt's other legitimate descendants had died out. Henry VII's father, Edmund Tudor, was the child of a secret marriage (some say an illicit union) between Owen Tudor and Henry V's widow, Catherine of Valois. Edmund Tudor was created Earl of Richmond in 1452 by Henry VI, his half-brother, and formally declared legitimate by Parliament. See Neville Williams, *The Life and Times of Henry VII* (London: Book Club Associates, 1973), 17–18.

[64] Even then, it would have taken a specific act of Parliament to place such a person in the line of succession.

[65] Bellamy, 64.

[66] Elton, 182.

[67] Bellamy, 64.

[68] See *Black's Law Dictionary*, 1479.

[69] John Stubbs was convicted of sedition for publishing, in 1578, his opinions that the Queen should not marry a Catholic foreigner and that she was too old to marry. The Queen was dissuaded from imposing the death penalty; instead, she punished Stubbs by having his right hand cut off.

The Scottish/Classical Hybrid Witches in *Macbeth*

Richard F. Whalen

The three witches in *Macbeth* play a significant, double role that has not been recognized or fully appreciated by critics. They are not only Scottish witches, who are comical; they are also, and primarily, the three "Weird Sisters," that is, exemplars of the Roman *Parcae*, the three supernatural Fates of classical mythology and drama. Sometimes they switch roles in mid-scene. They begin as witches who perform outlandish, comic rituals, only to become the classical *Parcae*, the Fates who prophesy Macbeth's future. Their deceptive prophecies, however, are ambiguous; they fuel his ambition to be king of Scotland but lead him to his downfall. Focused on his ambition, Macbeth hears from the Weird Sisters what he wants to hear. With their prophecies, they personify and dramatize his self-deception, misleading him to imagine that he can seize the throne and be an effective ruler. To a large extent, his willful self-deception and consequent failure to grasp the ambiguity of their prophecies are defining characteristics of his personality.

Macbeth's self-deception was recognized long ago by two Shakespeare scholars whose insights have typically been long forgotten. Denton J. Snider, author of two volumes of essays on the Shakespeare plays, noted in 1877 that the "utterances," that is, the prophecies of the Weird Sisters, "are the internal workings of Macbeth's own mind in an imaginative form, which, however, he himself does not recognize as his own."[1] And Albert H. Tolman of Ripon College suggested in 1906 that the Weird Sisters "are but a personification, a dramatizing, of those dark promptings which swarm in every soul that is secretly inclined to 'evil.'"[2] Their insights about the dramatist's intentions have not received the consideration they deserve.

Also generally underappreciated by modern critics is the significance of the comedic elements of the witchery scenes. The witches' bawdy banter and comical antics are entertaining, but at the same time they subvert the reliability of their own alter egos as the prophesying Weird Sisters. The usual commentary on the comic role

of the witches misses their significance, diminishing the richness of the author's creation and his darker intention. Snider, however, did recognize how the comical witches can shape the audience perception of Macbeth's character. He observed of the witches/Weird Sisters and Macbeth that "when the audience stand above the hero and are made acquainted with all his complications, mistakes and weaknesses, the realm of Comedy begins."[3] Through his weakness of discernment, Macbeth falls for the deceptive prophecies of the Weird Sisters, even though they are undermined by the antics of their alter egos, the comic witches. Othello is another foolish hero of a Shakespeare tragedy when that play is understood as inspired by *commedia dell'arte*.[4]

In like manner, the Porter scene in act 2, often called "comic relief," conveys a darker meaning. The Porter's drunken ramblings depict the gates to Macbeth's castle as the gates to Hell. In the hellish castle, Duncan and his grooms will be slain, Macbeth will suffer an agony of indecision and remorse, and Banquo's ghost will terrorize him. Critics rarely mention the ominous subtext of this farcical scene.

The significance of the witchery scenes in *Macbeth* arises from the duality of their personae. The comical witches' alter egos are the prophesying Weird Sisters, and the Weird Sisters' alter egos are the witches. They are the "other self" of themselves. This brilliant conflation drives Macbeth's fatal self-deception; he fails to recognize the folly of taking witchcraft seriously and acting on the prophecies of the Weird Sisters, who personify his dark, innermost impulses.

In their final words in the play, the Weird Sisters will merge with the Scottish witches to entertain Macbeth (and the audience) and solicit his gratitude for letting him be duped by their ambiguous prophecies. Their cynical sarcasm when they dance to music to "cheer we up his spirits" (4.1.127) can be devastating dramatic irony for discerning audiences watching Macbeth go to his doom.

Even the play's nomenclature conflates the Weird Sisters and the witches. The stage directions in the First Folio call them witches, and their speaker names (or speech headings) are *First Witch, Second Witch, Third Witch,* but they are never called witches in the dialogue. Macbeth and Banquo refer to them as the Weird Sisters, and they call themselves sisters. The Elizabethan audience would have heard the characters being called the Weird Sisters, not witches, but would have recognized them as witches when the same actors performed, albeit in parody, like contemporary witches were accused of acting. The word "witch" appears only once in the dialogue, when the First Witch quotes a sailor's wife telling her to go away: "Aroint thee, witch!" (1.3.6). If priority is given to the spoken words of the play, these characters are primarily the prophesying Weird Sisters with alter egos as Scottish witches.

The three Weird Sisters in *Macbeth* are the supernatural beings from Greek and Roman mythology who knew one's fate or destiny and could control it. In ancient Greece, they were the *Moirae*, three goddesses who controlled one's destiny. In Roman mythology, they were the three *Parcae* or *Fata* from *Fatum,* meaning a prophetic utterance; hence in English, the three Fates, who could prophesy.

"Weird" apparently was something of a rare word in Elizabethan English, at least for printers and probably for most readers. In the First Folio play text, they

are called the "wayward" or "weyard" sisters, but that must have been typesetters' mistranscriptions of "weird," and all editors change the two words to "weird," as in the chronicles of Scotland. The word "weird" itself comes from the Old English, meaning "fate" or "destiny," its primary meaning for Elizabethans, not today's "strange" or "bizarre."[5] Chaucer (c.1343-1400) would write of "The Wirdes that we call destinies."[6] A decade or two later, Andrew of Wintoun (c.1350-c.1423), a Scottish poet, added the three prophesying "Werd Systyrs" to the story of Macbeth as it had been told in Latin in the first chronicle of Scotland, by John of Fordun (died c.1384). In his essay on "The Weird Sisters," Tolman notes that "a passage in the Scotch translation of Vergil's *Aeneid*, written about 1513 by Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeid [Scotland], translates *Parcae* (Book III, 379) by the phrase 'the werd sisteris.'"[7]

In the sixteenth century, Hector Boece's chronicle of Scotland in Latin (1527) carried the Weird Sisters over from Wintoun's Scottish vernacular chronicle, and Holinshed translated Boece into English for his chronicle of Scotland in the massive *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, first published in 1577. The Macbeth story, now more legend and serial invention than history, was essentially unchanged in the second edition of 1587. In Holinshed's translation of Boece, Macbeth and Banquo suddenly meet three women resembling "creatures from the elder world," that is, antiquity. "These women," he continues, "were either the weird sisters, that is, (as you would say) the goddesses of destiny, or else some nymphs or fairies imbued with knowledge of prophesy by their necromantic science."[8]

The story of Macbeth in the Holinshed edition of 1577 includes an illustration depicting the Weird Sisters as the supernatural Fates, not as witches. They are wearing fairly elaborate gowns, each with a different pattern, not the rags of witches. One wears a necklace. Another has a peaked cap with a decorative streamer attached as in some paintings of Elizabethan aristocratic women. The three are quite elegant in their personae as the Weird Sisters, who are about to prophesy to Macbeth and Banquo. The engraving is the only contemporary illustration of the scene, and it shows them as the Weird Sisters, the Fates.

Ultimately the word "weird" and the three supernatural sisters may also derive from the three sister Norns, the goddesses of destiny in Norse mythology. Tolman and other scholars suggest that "weird" comes from the name of the senior Norn, "Urthr."[9] The Norns may have been influenced by the Fates of classical Greece and Rome. Significantly, however, they could be harmful,[10] as are the Weird Sisters, whose ambiguous prophecies ostensibly help Macbeth achieve his ambition but also lead him to his downfall. In *The Wheel of Fire,* G.K. Hunter says that "the Norns had been suggested by Fleay (1876) and by Miss Charlotte Carmichael (1879); later the suggestion was lent great authority, when it was adopted by Kittredge (1939)."[11] The good/evil duality of the three Weird Sisters suggests that the author of *Macbeth* was familiar with the good/evil nature of the three sister Norns in Norse mythology.

Although the Weird Sisters are essentially the Roman *Parcae*, or Fates, who can prophesy the future, a few commentators suggest associations with several other classical mythological figures, including the three Furies. The Furies were fierce and

ruthless goddesses who avenged crimes by pursing the perpetrators to drive them mad. So the witches/Weird Sisters might be interpreted as Furies seeking revenge for Macbeth's victims, as suggested by Arthur R. McGee in his article, "*Macbeth* and the Furies."[12] The witches, however, do not express or demonstrate a desire for revenge, nor do the Weird Sisters. Nor did the Furies prophesy the future, as did the Fates in mythology and as the Weird Sisters do in *Macbeth*. McGee associates the witches solely with the Furies, not the Weird Sisters.[13] The witches, however, are comical, entertaining characters lampooned by the dramatist.

For G. Wilson Knight the Weird Sisters, the Fates, become the Furies in their last scene, the apparition scene. In *The Wheel of Fire* he suggests: "The Weird Sisters who were formerly as the three *Parcae* or Fates, foretelling Macbeth's future, now, at this later stage of the story become the Erinyes [the Greek Furies], avengers of murder, symbols of the tormented soul. They delude and madden him with their apparitions and ghosts."[14] Knight does not elaborate on this, his only comment on the Fates and the Furies in his book. He does recognize the deception of the Weird Sisters and some kind of duality with the witches but not their dual personae, as proposed in this article. Also, it is difficult to see how the *Erinyes*/Furies "madden" Macbeth. In their last scene together, he readily, almost joyfully, accepts the first three prophetic apparitions.

The play opens with the three witches preparing to meet Macbeth after his victory as the leader of the Scots against the invading Norwegians. Alone in the first scene, their launching the play calls attention to their significant role in it. The opening scene is often immensely important in Shakespeare's plays. In *Macbeth* it sets the tone of witchery and the theme of ambiguity and deception. "When the battle's lost and won," they say, and "Fair is foul and foul is fair." The witches identify Macbeth as their target, whom they will meet on the heath. The twelve-line scene tells the audience to pay attention to these witches and their alter egos, the Weird Sisters. At the end of the scene, the witches say they will "hover through the fog and filthy air," exiting by flying off stage, perhaps via ropes and pulleys and perhaps to the amusement of the audience. English witches, as it happens, did not fly, but witches on the Continent did.[15] The dramatist knew about them.

There was, of course, nothing funny about witch hunts, witch torture, witch trials and witch executions in the sixteenth century -- all of it based on malice, hysteria, and coerced testimony. Thousands of unfortunate women (and a few men) were tortured, imprisoned and in many cases cruelly executed in a textbook illustration of social hysteria. Most of the witches were older, poor women, hags who were accused of witchcraft and outlandish behavior. Not a few probably suffered from mental problems. The reputation of the witches was not for prophetic powers. They allegedly cast malevolent spells or blights that were always harmful. In *Macbeth*, however, the dramatist's bawdy humor in the witchery scenes renders ridiculous the unfounded belief in witchcraft, which was fairly widespread, even among the upper classes.

Later in act 1, the three Weird Sisters appear in their alter egos as witches. As Scottish witches, they are having a good old raunchy time, which has no apparent

connection to prophecies, personal destiny, Macbeth, Banquo or the plot. The passage is a prime example of the bawdy in Shakespeare:

> **First Witch**
> > A sailor's wife had chestnuts in her lap,
> > And munched, and munched, and munched.
> > "Give me," quoth I.
> > "Aroint thee, witch!" the rump-fed ronyon cries.
> > Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master of the *Tiger*.
> > But in a sieve I'll thither sail,
> > And, like a rat without a tail,
> > I'll do, I'll do, and I'll do.
>
> **Second Witch**
> > I'll give thee a wind.
>
> **First Witch**
> > Thou art kind.
>
> **Third Witch**
> > And I another.
>
> **First Witch**
> > I myself have all the other,
> > And the very ports they blow,
> > All the quarters that they know
> > In the shipman's card.
> > I will drain him dry as hay.
> > > (1.3.3-18)

The passsage is packed with bawdy innuendo. A chestnut has two large seeds in its husk, and "chestnuts" was almost certainly slang for testicles.[16] "Munched" means chewed audibly by moving the jaws, [17] but in Scottish it also meant mumbling with toothless gums,[18] as might an old woman. The witch wanted the chestnuts from the sailor's wife, but the wife balked: "'Aroint thee, witch!' the rump-fed ronyon cries." "Aroint" probably means "be gone." Its origin is unknown, and its first appearance is here and in *Lear*, also addressing a witch: "And, aroint thee witch, aroint" (3.4.124). This is the only time anyone in *Macbeth* says "witch," and it's the sailor's wife who's quoted as saying it. "Rump-fed" is fat-bottomed and well fed, and "to feed" was slang for grazing amorously.[19] "Ronyon" is slang for the male sex organ.[20] It's also an abusive term for a woman in Shakespeare, here and in a wildly comic scene in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* when an outraged Frank Ford shouts at Mistress Page: "Out of my door, you witch, you rag, you baggage, you polecat, you runnion" (4.2.184-86).

"Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master of the *Tiger*" is a topical reference to a 1583 voyage from London to Aleppo by merchants with a letter from the queen. The reference serves to date the play's composition, or more likely a rewrite of it, to shortly after that seemingly gratuitous reference, when it would still be topical for a court audience. It would be stale and forgotten in 1606, two decades later,

when conventional scholarship dates the composition of *Macbeth*. The First Witch continues:

> But in a sieve I'll thither sail,
> And like a rat without a tail,
> I'll do, I'll do and I'll do.

Scottish witches sailed the seas in sieves. English witches did not. [21] *Newes from Scotland* (1591) reports testimony at a witchcraft trial describing two hundred witches going to sea, each in her own sieve with a bottle of wine, drinking and carousing, and after they landed near a church, dancing and singing.[22]

A rat without a tail is probably a swimming rat with no tail for a rudder, but "tail" can also mean the sex organs, here probably the penis.[23] The repetition of "I'll do, I'll do and I'll do" given the bawdy context, probably means to have sex repeatedly to climax with the master of the *Tiger*.[24] "To do" could also mean "to exhaust."[25] Eight lines later she says, "I will drain him dry as hay," presumably through repeated sexual intercourse, cuckolding the sailor's wife in a gender reversal.

When the second Witch offers, "I'll give thee a wind," she continues the bawdy thread. A wind could be the kind of wind that fills the sailor's sails, as witches were reputed to do, but here "a wind" seems to also mean a fart.[26] The First Witch responds, no doubt sarcastically, "Thou art kind." And the Third Witch adds her own flatulence "And I another." Boys are notorious for showing how loudly they can break wind, and *Macbeth*'s witches seem to be engaged in a similar bawdy contest.

This passage of bawdy comedy serves two dramatic purposes: It would get guffaws from an aristocratic audience at court, but more significantly it undermines the trustworthiness of the supernatural Weird Sisters, the alter egos of these vulgar witches. In the rest of the scene, the First Witch continues to tell what she will "do" to that sailor, but then they hear a drum; one of them cries, "A drum! A drum! Macbeth doth come." Together they chant, "The weird sisters, hand in hand.... Thus do go about, about" (1.3.32-34). They are chanting and dancing, as did witches in Scotland, but not in England.[27] "Peace!" they cry as Macbeth and Banquo are approaching. They stop their antic dancing and chanting as they await Macbeth and Banquo, and they morph into their alter egos as the supernatural Weird Sisters, the Fates of mythology who prophesy.

How the boy actors of the Elizabethan companies played the dual roles of the Weird Sisters/witches can only be conjectured. They could have worn some sort of reversible combination of Roman robes and witches' rags arranged so they could make the switch in mid-scene, from bawdy comedy to serious prophesying, without exiting to change costumes. For example, it would be consistent with their comical roles as witches for the boys to whisk their beards (1.3.46) off and on as they switch alter egos. Or they could do a quick change offstage.

The first Weird Sister welcomes Macbeth with his inherited title, Thane of Glamis. The second discloses what is as yet unknown to him, that he is also Thane of Cawdor, and the third predicts that he will be king of Scotland. Their knowledge of past, present and future (which is also in Holinshed and earlier chronicles) reflects

one of the distinguishing features of the three Norns, who themselves represent the past, present and future.[28]

Ambiguously, they hail Banquo as lesser than Macbeth but also greater. He will not be king but will beget kings. Banquo, however, is suspicious. The Weird Sisters vanish, and Banquo says to Macbeth that if he believes the prophecies, he may be tempted ("enkindled") to make a move for the crown, adding:

> But tis strange;
> And oftentimes, to win us to our harm,
> The instruments of darkness [supernatural beings] tell us truths,
> Win us with honest trifles, to betray us.
>
> (1.3.122-25)

In contrast to Macbeth, blinded by his ambition, Banquo entertains rational doubts. Evildoing spirits from the dark underworld, he says, often betray us with "trifles," seeming truths that are false and deceptive stories, an obsolete meaning of the word.[29] Naively unaware that Macbeth might eliminate him, he does not act on his doubts and suspicions. The all-knowing Weird Sisters, personifying the innate proclivities of Macbeth and now Banquo, have worked their deceptions on both of them.

Modern editions of *Macbeth* do not discuss the potential significance of the comical witches. In their journal articles, commentators wrestle briefly with the problem but then all but give up trying to make sense of the witches' role in the play. Some consider it simply as an odd mixture. Others focus on the staging of the scenes in post-Reformation times. Harry Levin of Harvard calls it a mystery: "Their outlandish imminence seems elusive and amoral because of their mysterious connection with the machinery of fate."[30] When critics do attempt to address the comedy of the witches in this tragedy, they stop short of discovering its significance. Janet Adelman of UC-Berkeley calls the witches "an odd mixture of the terrifying and the near comic" and finds that the ingredients for their cauldron "pass over toward grotesque comedy even while they create a (partly pleasurable) shiver of horror."[31] That's all. Although Harry Berger of UC-Santa Cruz, in *Making Trifles of Terrors*, acknowledges that the witches "are as comical as they are sinister,"[32] he, too, fails to elaborate or ask what that might mean. For Leslie A. Fiedler, the witches "are always on the verge of shifting from satanic to grotesque to fully comic."[33] After taking the witches seriously, Edward H. Thompson of the University of Dundee acknowledges at the very end of his article a "surprising conclusion," exclaiming that the witches in *Macbeth* provide "the comedy!"[34] Stephen Orgel of Stanford suggests an emphasis on the music, singing and dancing as entertainment for the audience. He even calls it a "move toward the court masque,"[35] short, theatrical entertainments for the monarch. He does not elaborate on this provocative idea. These commentators express surprise and puzzlement at the comic tone of the Weird Sister scenes. None asks what this juxtaposition of low comedy and supernatural prophesying might have meant for the Elizabethan and Jacobean audience.

Other critics suggest considering how the witchery scenes were performed as entertainments in the post-Reformation era, with more elaborate music, dancing and singing, apparently implying that directors of the late seventeenth century would have understood the dramatist's intention. Orgel asks, "What is the relation between tragedy and the antic quality of the witches?"[36] His answer is that we don't know but that productions decades later kept increasing the antic quality, seeming to imply that the comedy had special significance initially for the dramatist and his audiences. A. R. Braunmuller of UCLA notes that the witches "for much of the play's performance history [mainly later in the seventeenth century], have been comic figures" for their entertainment value,[37] but he does not address what the comedy might have meant for Elizabethan and Jacobean audiences. William Hazlitt gave up, writing simply in 1817 that they "are ridiculous on the modern stage."[38] For today's audiences, Stephen Greenblatt of Harvard says only that directors must decide whether the actors should be "made up to look grotesque or stately, perversely comical or terrifying."[39] The answer might well be all of the above, in order to depict their dual role as comical, outrageous witches whose antics undermine the prophecies of their Weird-Sister alter egos.

In act 3, scene 5, the supernatural Weird Sisters are lectured by an angry Hecate, goddess of the crossroads, the moon and many other things, including witchcraft. She chides them for not calling her to join in making the deceitful prophecies that are misleading Macbeth. She orders them to meet her in hell, "at the pit of Acheron" (3.5.15). She says she will "catch a vaporous drop" from the moon (3.5.25) and use it to "confuse" Macbeth, that is, deceive him, and she concludes that "security is mortal's chiefest enemy" (3.5.33). For Elizabethans, "security" could imply a false sense of security.[40] There is no witch behavior in this scene. Only the First Witch speaks, and she has only two lines.

In their final appearance, the three witches/Weird Sisters will again switch from one alter ego to the other, from contemporary witchery to supernatural prophesying. Act 4, scene 1, begins with the antic, Scottish witches dancing around a steaming cauldron: "Double, double toil and trouble / Fire burn, and cauldron bubble" (4.1.10-11). Cauldrons were a feature of witchcraft on the Continent. A cauldron appears only once in Scottish witchcraft and that is in a small part of a drawing in *Newes from Scotland*. It is one of six images in the sketch and is not mentioned in the text.[41] The author of *Macbeth* almost certainly had learned about witches' cauldrons as well as flying witches who "hover" (1.1), both from witchcraft on the Continent, not England.

Into the cauldron go some of the most outlandish ingredients imaginable: a sweating toad, "eye of newt and toe of frog," a bat's fur, a dog's tongue, a lizard's leg, scales of dragon, a wolf's tooth, dried flesh from a corpse, the contents of a shark's stomach, a goat's gall bladder, a Turk's nose, a Tartar's lips, a Jew's liver, a tiger's guts, the finger of a stillborn baby and a piece of hemlock root—all cooled with the blood of a baboon.

Hecate arrives and takes charge. Known for her cauldron of sacred

ingredients at a crossroads, she praises the witches with some gentle sarcasm for the evil brew in their cauldron, "Oh, well done! I commend your pains" (4.1.39). Three more witches join the first three, probably to enhance the entertainment, and Hecate orders them all, "and now about the cauldron sing / Like elves and fairies in a ring." (4.1.41-42). The six boys in witches' garb and wearing fake beards sing and dance like elves and fairies to accompanying music.

Macbeth arrives and sternly demands: "How now, you secret, black and midnight hags! What is it you do?" The hags stop dancing and prepare to morph into the dignified Weird Sisters. These crazy, risible antics by the contemporary witches, who do not have the power of prophecy, have prepared the audience to be properly skeptical when they become the Weird Sisters, the classical Fates who do prophesy.

The Weird Sisters conjure four apparitions for him. The first warns him to beware Macduff; but the second says that none of woman born will harm Macbeth, so Macduff is no problem. The third tells Macbeth he won't be vanquished until Birnam wood comes to Dunsinane, a most improbable event. Greedy for reassurance, Macbeth accepts these three prophecies at face value. They feed into his desperate ambition to prevail as king of Scotland despite an impending rebellion that might drive him from the throne. He believes what he wants to believe—what he has to believe—in the riddling prophecies of the Weird Sisters—a disastrous self-deception. Self-deception, personified by the Weird Sisters, is a defining characteristic of Macbeth's personality.

The ambiguous prophecies appear to be true, but (as so often happened with the oracle at Delphi) turn out to be misleading. Macduff was not "of woman born" — by natural childbirth — but was delivered by Caesarean section. Birnam wood branches, carried by English soldiers as camouflage, will come to Dunsinane.

The fourth apparition shows him a parade of eight kings of Scotland and Banquo's descendants in a mirror. If he believes the first three prophecies, this apparition must destroy his hopes for a dynasty. Banquo was ambushed and killed. His son and only descendant, Fleance, escaped, but he disappears from the play. Left unanswered is the question of whether his descendants will be kings of Scotland.

The apparition baffles Macbeth: "What? Is this so?" A Weird Sister answers with what is surely wickedly sly condescension:

> Ay, sir, all this is so; but why
> Stands Macbeth thus amazedly?
> Come, sisters, cheer we up his spirits,
> And show him the best of our delights.
> I'll charm the air to give a sound,
> While you perform your antic round,
> That this great king may kindly say,
> Our duties did his welcome pay.
> (4.1.125-32)

In these lines, their last in the play, the supernatural Weird Sisters finally merge with their personae as witches so they can dance and taunt the credulous Macbeth they have just duped with their ambiguous prophecies. With barely veiled sarcasm, one calls on the others to join her in cheering up Macbeth: "Come, sisters, cheer we up his spirits,/And show the best of our delights." The noun "delight" may be entirely innocent, that is, perhaps referring to their dancing, but that seems rather insipid. More apt for the witches would be something that is a source of great pleasure or joy.[42] Given their gross behavior a few minutes earlier and their bawdy behavior in act 1, she may be urging that they "show the best of their delights" by exposing themselves. And when she says "I'll charm the air to give a sound," she could be giving a cue for music, but again a more pungent meaning would be a cue for flatulence, to "charm the air" noisomely.

Her final lines are loaded with cynical sarcasm: "That this great king may kindly say,/ Our duties did his welcome pay." That is, Macbeth welcomed us and solicited our knowledge of the future, and we repaid his welcoming credulity with our deceiving prophecies, which he should appreciate. It's a sarcastic farewell of dramatic irony if there ever was one. It's the end of the bitter comedy in this tragedy, and the pitiful Macbeth, victim of his self-deception, goes to his doom.

The author of *Macbeth* drew on his knowledge of classical and Norse mythology, witchcraft in Scotland and on the Continent, as well as the literature of rule and successful monarchy. In *We Three, the Mythology of Shakespeare's Weird Sisters*, Laura Shamas concludes: "Shakespeare had an excellent working knowledge of classical mythology. The Wyrdes, the Norns, the Fates, the Moirae, the Parcae and the Sibyls (with the nine Sibylline books) are all part of Shakespeare's Weird Sisters. The Muses and the Graces are related trios."[43] She doesn't include the Furies or the Gorgons in her summary but does discuss them a few times in earlier chapters. Nor does she speculate or explain how William of Stratford might have gained this "excellent working knowledge" of both classical and Indo-European mythology.

Oxfordians would suggest that the Elizabethan dramatist who fits these parameters was Edward de Vere, the seventeenth Earl of Oxford, now the leading candidate as the true author of the Shakespeare works, not William Shakspere of Stratford. Oxford had ready access to Greek and Roman classics, and probably the Norse legends as well, in the libraries of his first tutor, the classical scholar Thomas Smith, and of his guardian, William Cecil, later Lord Burghley, Queen Elizabeth's chief counselor. Burghley saw to the education of the teenage Oxford and the other aristocratic wards of the Court. His library, one of the largest in England, was rich in classical literature and mythology.

As might be expected, the witches in *Macbeth,* the "Scottish play" set in Scotland, act as Scottish witches, flying, dancing and sailing in sieves. Oxford served with the commanders of the English armies in Scotland for about half a year, and probably a few months longer, when he was nineteen.[44] In England he had close encounters with witchcraft at least three times. His home county of Essex was a center of witchcraft trials from the 1560s to the 1580s. He was sixteen years old when a major trial was held at Chelmsford, the county seat, less than twenty miles

from his ancestral home at Hedingham.[45] When he was thirty-two, another trial in Chelmsford took testimony against fourteen women from St. Osyth, a village next door to Wivenhoe, Oxford's principal country house when he was in his twenties and thirties.[46] In London, in 1581, he was accused by a bitter enemy of witchcraft, specifically copulating with a "female spirit" (a supernatural being) and conjuring up the Devil for a book of prophecies. The accusations were made by a friend turned bitter enemy, Charles Arundel, who listed several score, brief allegations,[47] most of them wildly incredible and none were supported by any evidence. They were ignored by the Crown, and no sanctions against Oxford are known. In any case, not only was Oxford exposed to witchcraft trials from an early age, he also personally experienced the annoyance, if not the peril, of being accused of witchcraft.

He traveled on the Continent for more than a year in his mid-twenties, and practices unique to witchcraft on the Continent appear in *Macbeth*. As noted above, in act 1, scene 1, the witches "hover through the fog and filthy air" and in act 4, scene 1, they cook up their brew in a cauldron. Cauldrons were in Continental witchcraft, not English, as were witches hovering, or flying. English witches did not fly.

Finally, Oxford was a leading, if controversial, nobleman in the court of Queen Elizabeth. He was perfectly placed to hear and read about the ongoing debates about the qualifications for Elizabeth's successor, who it should be, and how it should happen. He would have been among those who knew, long before it happened, that James VI was likely to become Elizabeth's successor at her death, as well as one interested in developing his own theories and principles of succession, a burning issue during almost the entire reign of Elizabeth. In *Macbeth* the Weird Sisters appear to incite regicide, which was the way to become king in eleventh century Scotland, and the murder of a rival (Banquo) to eliminate a rival dynasty. They then deceive Macbeth into believing he can prevail against armies seeking to overthrow him as a tyrant.

Regardless of the author's identity, a fuller appreciation of the contrasting but complementary roles of the hybrid Weird Sisters/Scottish witches can lead to a better understanding of the dramatist's intention. He debunks witchcraft with bitter burlesque, which undermines the credibility of the witches' alter egos, the supernatural Weird Sisters, who personify Macbeth's unexamined interior promptings with their ambiguous prophecies. It is Macbeth's self-deception about these interior promptings, not simply an overweening ambition, that leads to his tragic downfall and death.

Endnotes

[1] Denton J. Snider, *System of Shakespeare's Dramas*, 2 vols. (St. Louis MO: Jones, 1877), 1:194.

[2] Albert H. Tolman, *The Views About* Hamlet *and Other Essays* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1906), 102. In chapters 6 and 7 on *Macbeth*, Tolman suggested that the classical Weird Sisters were made to act like Elizabethan witches that the audience would recognize: "The usual manner in which the emissaries of Satan actually did lure men to evil was thought to be known, in a general way. If the weird sisters were to do that work, they would naturally do it in that way; they would use the apparatus of witchcraft. They must submit to dramatic necessity and be humanized; but they were humanized as witches" (102). But the Weird Sisters are not "the emissaries of Satan"; they are the Greek *Moirae,* the prophesying Roman *Fata*. They, not their witches alter egos, "lure men [Macbeth] to evil."

[3] Snider, 178.

[4] Richard Whalen, "Commedia dell'arte in *Othello:* A Satiric Comedy Ending in Tragedy," *Brief Chronicles III* (2011), 71-108. See also *Macbeth* in the Oxfordian Shakespeare Series, 2nd ed. incl. a new introduction to the play (Truro MA: Horatio Editions/Llumina Press, 2013).

[5] *Oxford English Dictionary*, the first and earliest meaning of "weird."

[6] Quoted by Tolman in his discussion of "weird," 89-91.

[7] Tolman, 90.

[8] *Macbeth Variorum* transcript, 387.

[9] Tolman, 91-92.

[10] Rudolf Simek, *Dictionary of Northern Mythology* (Stuttgart: Kroner, 1984); trans. by Angela Hall (Rochester NY: Brewer, 1993 reprinted 1996, 2000), 79.

[11] G. K. Hunter, "*Macbeth* in the Twentieth Century," in *Shakespeare Survey 19 Macbeth*, ed. Kenneth Muir (Cambridge UP, 1966), 4.

[12] Arthur R. McGee, "*Macbeth*" and the Furies," in *Shakespeare Survey 19 Macbeth* (Cambridge UP, 1966). While surveying an exceedingly wide range of mythological and literary references that might have influenced *Macbeth,* McGee does not sufficiently recognize the difference between the personae of the witches and those of the Weird Sisters. He ignores the seemingly strong influence of the prophesying *Parcae* on the prophesying Weird Sisters, mentioning the the *Parcae* only once in passing (56).

[13] McGee, 56-57.

[14] G. Wilson Knight. *The Wheel of Fire* (1930), 2nd Routledge edition (2001), 176.

[15] Edward H. Thompson, "*Macbeth* King James and the Witches," in *Studii de limbi si literature modern: studii de anglistica si americanisticai*. Eds. Hortensia Parlog, Luminita Frentiu, Simona Rotariu. Timisoara (Romania) University Press, 1994. Also found by searching the Internet for "faculty.umb witchcraft grimoires Macbeth" (last viewed June 5, 2012). A well-researched, insightful paper first read at a conference on "Lancashire Witches – Law Literature and 17th Century Women" at the University of

Lancashire in 1993 and then at Timisoara University.

16 Frankie Rubinstein, *A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Sexual Puns and Their Significance* (London: Macmillan, 1989, 2ⁿᵈ ed.), 84. A compendium that extends the work of E. A. M. Colman's *The Dramatic Use of Bawdy in Shakespeare* (1974) and Eric Partridge's *Shakespeare's Bawdy* (1ˢᵗ ed. 1947). See also Pauline Kiernan's *Filthy Shakespeare* (2008).

17 *OED* 1. 2b.

18 Variorum footnote.

19 Rubinstein, 84.

20 *OED* obsolete.

21 Thompson, 3.

22 James Carmichael (?), *Newes from Scotland*. (London: Wright, 1591. Reprint, London: Shakespeare Press, 1816, n.p.). An account of the 1590-91 witchcraft trial in North Berwick, Scotland, at which James VI of Scotland interrogated several defendants implicated in an alleged plot against him. It includes a sketch of Scottish witches with a cauldron, from Continental witchcraft; and a sketch of Macbeth and Banquo encountering the three Weird Sisters.

23 *OED*, 5.c.

24 *OED* 16.b, although without contemporary citations.

25 *OED* 11.e.

26 *OED* 10.a.

27 Thompson, 4.

28 Simek, 79.

29 *OED*, its earliest and now obsolete meaning.

30 Harry Levin, "Two Scenes from *Macbeth*" in *Shakespeare's Craft: Eight Lectures,* ed. Philip H. Highfill Jr. (Carbondale IL: Southern Illinois UP, 1982), 57.

31 Adelman, 99.

32 Harry Berger, *Making Trifles of Treasures: Redistributing Complicities in Shakespeare* (Stanford U. Press, 1997), 116.

33 Leslie A. Fiedler, *The Stranger in Shakespeare* (London: Croom Helm, 1973), 66.

34 Thompson, 8.

35 Stephen Orgel, "*Macbeth* and the Antic Round" in *Shakespeare Survey 52* (Cambridge UP, 1999), 148.

36 Orgel, 149.

37 A. R. Braunmuller, ed. *Macbeth* in the New Cambridge Series (Cambridge UP, 1997), 30.

38 William Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespear's Plays* (London, 1817. Reprint London: Macmillan, 1920), 19.

39 Stephen Greenblatt, *The Norton Shakespeare* (1997), 2560.

40 *OED*, 4, "a feeling of safety or freedom from or absence of danger."

41 Thompson, 4.

42 *OED*.

43 Laura Shamas, *We Three: The Mythology of Shakespeare's Weird Sisters* (New York: Lang, 2007), 98.

44 Bernard M. Ward, *The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford 1550-1564 from Contemporary Documents* (London: Murray, 1928), 40-49.

45 William E. Burns, *Witch Hunts in Europe and America*. (Westport CT: Greenwood, 2003), 48.

46 Burns, 49-50; Charles Wisner Barrell, " 'Shake-speare's' Unknown Home on the River Avon Discovered," *The Shakespeare Fellowship News-Letter* (American),4:1 (December

1942); reprinted by Ruth Loyd Miller in *Oxfordian Vistas*. 2:355-68 (Port Washington NY: Kennikat, 1975), 360; Charlton Ogburn, Jr., *The Mysterious William Shakespeare: The Myth and the Reality* (McLean VA: EPM Publications, 1984), 410, 507, 561.

[47] Internet web site's transcription of: "Oxford-Arundel Libels 1580-81"; part 4, doc. 4.2.

Biblical Sources for Sonnets 24 and 33 and for *Henry VIII*:
Implications for de Vere's Authorship

Richard M. Waugaman

Shakespeare is often considered a secular writer, whose biblical allusions add little to our understanding of his plays and poetry. George Santayana did his part to shape this misunderstanding. In his aptly if misleadingly named essay, "The Absence of Religion in Shakespeare,"[1] he, like many others, seemed to project his own prejudices onto his image of Shakespeare, concluding that Shakespeare had a "strange insensibility to religion";[2] and that Shakespeare "confined his representation of life to its secular aspects."[3]

However, if we free ourselves from our own secular bias, a close reading provides abundant evidence that Edward de Vere, in his "Shakespeare" canon, engaged repeatedly with biblical themes.[4] He was so familiar with the language of the Bible that its phrases seemed to flow from his pen spontaneously, whether or not he was always mindful of these parallels. Sternhold and Hopkins' translation of *The Whole Book of Psalms* (*WBP*) is a significant example of biblical influence on Shakespeare.

Recent evidence suggests the *WBP* was more influential on de Vere's plays than were the Coverdale, Bishops, or Genevan translations of the psalms.[5] Many newly discovered allusions to the Psalms in de Vere were specifically to *WBP*. *WBP* is an especially rich source for the Sonnets, helping elucidate many previously enigmatic passages. *WBP* also influenced several sections in *The Rape of Lucrece*.

De Vere's repeated echoes of *WBP* alerted his contemporary audiences to intertextual reverberations, as the echoed psalms amplified, commented on, or contradicted the manifest meaning of de Vere's text. Scholars' previous unfamiliarity

with *WBP* has led them to overlook the abundant allusions to it in de Vere's works. I suggest that we re-examine our interpretation of many of the poems and plays, in view of his many allusions to *WBP*.

Most (though not all) of the echoes of *WBP* found thus far in de Vere's works are of psalms marked in Edward de Vere's 1569 edition (now at the Folger Shakespeare Library).[6] Beth Quitslund, after studying some fifty early editions of *WBP*, reported that the Folger's copy is unique in its extensive marginalia.[7] Fourteen psalms (6, 12, 25, 30, 51, 61, 65, 66, 67, 77, 103, 137, 139, and 146) are each marked with a large and distinctively different manicule, or pointing hand. Of those fourteen psalms, 6 and 51 are "penitential psalms"; 137 was also a popular psalm. The other eleven marked psalms were presumably of personal interest to the annotator. Psalm 130, another penitential psalm, is marked with a **C**-shaped drawing. The close correspondence between these annotations and de Vere's echoes of *WBP* supports the traditionally taboo thesis that "Shakespeare" was one of the pseudonyms of Edward de Vere.

To those who still claim "It makes no difference who Shakespeare was," one might point out that our knowledge of intertextuality in Shakespeare's works was severely stunted by the misguided effort to see the canon as the result of inborn genius with little formal education. During the decades since Geoffrey Bullough's preliminary study of Shakespeare's literary sources,[8] our awareness of the vast breadth of these sources continues to expand (see Stuart Gillespie[9]). But we have hardly scratched the surface of de Vere's astonishing reading, and his sophisticated dialogue with past authors. All one has to do is go through one of de Vere's works, enter phrases in EEBO, and find from what earlier text he may have borrowed that phrase. For example, it was in researching an anonymous poem I have attributed to de Vere that I found literary allusions that suggest he knew the work of the great French author Christine de Pizan.[10]

Noble, Shaheen, and others have deepened our awareness of Shakespeare's biblical sources. However, some scholars stubbornly view Shakespeare primarily as a secular writer, whose biblical allusions were only incidental. I have recently presented evidence[11] that *WBP* has previously been overlooked as perhaps the most significant Psalm translation in its literary influence on Shakespeare's works. It was de Vere's fourteen manicules and other annotations in his copy of *WBP* that led me to these discoveries.

Beth Quitslund[12] has resurrected interest in *WBP*, whose early popularity was all but forgotten as its clunky wording led to later neglect, if not ridicule. It was often bound with Bibles and with the *Book of Common Prayer* in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As a result, it went through hundreds of editions. Its translations, in regular meter, were set to music and provided hymnals as early as 1560. So de Vere and his readers would have known these psalms so well that their echoes in his work would have been recognizable and effective in creating implicit dialogues between his works and the psalms.

Psalm 139 Is a Source for Shakespeare's Sonnet 24

Although many of the history plays contain significant echoes of *WBP*, the Fair Youth sequence (Sonnets 1-126) seems to contain the densest psalm allusions in the canon. For example, previous work proposed that Sonnet 21 ("So is it not with me as with that Muse") is structured as a dialogue with Psalm 8.[13] Scholars have assumed "that Muse" in this sonnet referred to a contemporary rival poet. But the close parallels with Psalm 8 suggest instead that de Vere is emulating King David, the psalmist, and that he is comparing the Fair Youth with God. Sonnet 66 ("Tired with all these, for restful death I cry") responds to Psalm 12. Awareness of this intertextuality sharpens the pathos of the sonnet, since it repeats the description of worldly corruption of the first half of the psalm, while glaringly omitting the consolation of its second half.

Thus, one key for unlocking the riddles of some of de Vere's more enigmatic sonnets is to identify and examine the psalms with which he is engaged in an implicit dialogue. To the several previous instances of this pattern, this section adds the allusions to Psalm 139 ("O Lord thou hast me tride & known, my sitting doost thou know") in Sonnet 24 ("Mine eye that play'd the painter and hath steeld").[14] Stephen Booth[15] highlights the obscurity of Sonnet 24 when he comments that "The sonnet is carefully designed to boggle its reader's mind."[16] Robert Alter calls Psalm 139 "one of the most remarkably introspective psalms... [that is a] meditation on God's searching knowledge of man's innermost thoughts [and] on the limitations of human knowledge."[17] This introspective theme is well suited as a literary source for the reflections in Sonnet 24. Further, Booth says the sonnet is basically about "two people looking into one another's eyes";[18] a central trope of the psalm is in its 7th verse—"From *sight of thy all-seeing* spirite, Lord, whither shall I go?" The sonnet instantiates Alter's characterization of Psalm 139 by using the psalm's account of divine knowledge to highlight the misleading nature of the Fair Youth's outward appearance, so that "eyes... know not the heart." The introspectiveness of the psalm inspires de Vere's disturbing meditation on the Fair Youth's innermost failings.[19]

Psalm 139 uses the symmetrical "envelope" structure which is frequent in the psalms. The argument begins "David to clense his *hart* from al hipocrisy...." The first verse then begins "O Lord, thou hast *me tride* and *known*." Its penultimate verse closes the envelope with "*Try me*, O God, and *know* my *hart*." De Vere repeats this envelope structure and some of its wording in speaking of "the table of my *heart*" in line 2, while admitting that his eyes "*know* not the *heart*" in the final line. "Draw" in line 14, as noted by Booth, ostensibly means "delineate," but also hints at "attract," thus linking the word with "And in thy way, O God my guide, for ever *lead* thou me" in the final line of the psalm.[20]

Line 9 of the sonnet is "Now see what good turns eyes for eyes have done." Naturally, "good turns" explicitly means "acts of good will." But the ninth line of an Italian sonnet is called the "volta," or "turn." In addition to playing with this aspect of the sonnet form, "turn" may hint at an additional meaning of the word that was

current in the 16ᵗʰ century—(*OED*, 21) "a trick, wile, or strategem." This darker meaning is retrospectively activated by the time we reach the despairing conclusion of the sonnet.

Psalm 139:6 says "Too wonderful above my reach, Lord, is thy *cunning skill* :/ It is so hye that I the same, cannot attayne vntil."[21] This is the unique instance of *cunning* in *WBP*.[22] De Vere uses the word often in his plays, but only three times in the Sonnets. The second instance is in "What need'st thou wound with *cunning*?" of Sonnet 139. *Cunning* is only one of several links between Sonnets 24 and 139. Both rhyme *heart* with *art* (Sonnet 24 does it twice); both use e*ye* repeatedly; both focus repeatedly on looking. It may not be coincidental that Sonnet 139 thus echoes Psalm 139. Similarly, Sonnet 103 prominently echoes Psalm 103. Sonnet 148 speaks of "*cunning* love" in its couplet; further, it echoes looking, *eyes* (five times), and *sight* from Psalm 139.

The poet, in line 13 of Sonnet 24 ("Yet eyes this *cunning* want to grace their art"), admits the same lack of cunning as does the psalmist in 139:6. The word "cunning" is especially prominent here, as the only polysyllable in the couplet. Line 13 plays on a double meaning of *cunning*, as both noun, but also, more subtly, as an adjective modifying "eyes." "Want" thus means "lack" (as a verb) in the first reading, but "wish" (also a verb) in the second reading. The second reading strongly suggests that it is *cunning* as "craftiness," in contrast with any lack of ability, that leads the poet to blind himself to the Youth's unfaithful heart.[23] Line 13 thus enacts a paradox—through its more muted second meaning, it contradicts the very lack of cunning that is claimed in the first, more explicit meaning of the line. Further, "cunning" as hidden "craftiness" then evokes the "hypocrisy" that is said to be cleansed from King David's heart in the argument of Psalm 139. Syntactical pivots such as "cunning" as noun/adjective are frequent in the Sonnets, and are a central feature of the art of de Vere's rich multiplicity of meaning, animating his words with the shimmering tensions of life itself, while recreating in the reader the rapidly shifting perspectives of the poet's emotional state that the Sonnets embody.

The poet in Sonnet 24 has painted the Fair Youth's beauty "in table of [his] heart." 139:13 similarly uses a trope of enclosure of one person inside another to describe the psalmist's relationship with God: "For thou possessed hast my raynes, and thou hast couered mee:/ When I within my mothers womb, enclosed was by thee." Some rhymes also link the sonnet and the psalm. "Lies/eyes" in the sonnet echo the rhyme "wise/arise" in the psalm; "me" and "thee" rhyme in both the sonnet and the psalm.

Booth glosses "perspective" as alluding to renaissance anamorphic paintings, which appear severely distorted unless viewed from an extremely oblique angle (close to the plane of the canvas), at which point the distortion disappears. The psalmist describes God as all-seeing—"From sight of thy al seing spirite, Lord, whither shal I go?/ Or whither shal I flee away, thy presence to scape from?" (139:7). The psalm continues with further images of God's omniscience through his capacity to see.[24] In sharp contrast with God's ability to see clearly everything and everywhere, de Vere plays with limitations and distortions of his vision of the Youth, including those that

are self-imposed out of a wish to protect the Youth and the poet from the ugly truth of the Youth's inner self. There is a hint that the Youth must look at the depiction of his "true Image" from just the right angle in order to see something pleasing rather than an unattractively "smeared" reflection "in the table of" the poet's heart. The echoes of Psalm 139 help de Vere whisper his despair to the Youth, especially because they remind the Youth that the psalms are a moral measure against which the Youth's inward character falls short.

Shakespeare's Sonnet 33 and the Biblical Story of the Transfiguration'[25]

Sonnet 33 ("Full many a glorious morning have I seen") alludes to the biblical story of the Transfiguration of Jesus. Pondering these allusions deepens the pathos and irony of the sonnet. It glorifies the Youth on the surface, while its biblical echoes sharpen the poet's abject disillusionment in him.

The Transfiguration takes place in the synoptic Gospels when Jesus is on a mountain with three disciples. As described in Matthew 17:2, "And [Jesus] was transfigured[26] before them: and his *face did shine* as the *sunne*,[27] and his clothes were as white as the light."[28] Two verses later: "While [Peter] yet spake, beholde, a bright *cloude* shadowed them: and beholde, there came a voyce out of the *cloude*, saying, This is my beloved Sonne, in whome I am wel pleased: heare him" (17:4). This passage is widely viewed by Christians as describing a moment when Christ's divinity is made visible. As the Genevan gloss puts it, "Christ shewed them his glorie, that they might not thinke that he suffred [his subsequent crucifixion] through infirmitie, but that he offered up him self willingly to dye."

"*Did shine*" is a phrase used only twice in the Geneva Bible.[29] Each time, it is in the context of the Transfiguration (as described in Matthew and in Mark, respectively). That phrase occurs in de Vere's Sonnet 33, in a context that makes a deliberate echo of Christ's Transfiguration seem likely. Lines 9-10, "Even so my *Sunne* one early morne *did shine*/ With all triumphant splendour on my brow" echoes three words from Matthew 17:2, most clearly linking the sonnet with the Transfiguration. De Vere thus implies that he, like Jesus, was transfigured by the god-like Youth. "*Mountaine* tops" of line 2 echoes "up into an hie *mountaine*" in Matthew 17:1. "Basest *clouds*" of line 5 and "region *cloude*" of line 12 bring to mind the contrasting "bright *cloude*" that casts a shadow, and God's voice coming out of a "*cloude*," both in Matthew 17:5. These biblical allusions then invite us to reread the sonnet with its biblical analogue in mind. Doing so expands and amplifies the sonnet's previous interpretations.

Helen Vendler believes "this is the first sonnet to remark a true flaw in the friend" through "an implicit accusation."[30] De Vere's biblical echoes often help create and elucidate such implicit levels of meaning. Vendler also finds "self-reproach," which echoes Stephen Booth's conclusion that the sestet "contributes to a general tendency of the sonnet to fuse the speaker and the beloved by describing guilty action and reaction in terms that also fit innocent action and reaction or by describing the victim in words that also describe the offender" (188).[31] Booth's

gloss of line 14, "Suns of the world may staine, when heavens sun staineth," falls just short of noticing the biblical echoes in Sonnet 33. Booth writes that there is "an inevitable suggestion of 'heaven's son,' which in turn floods the poem with vague and unharnessed suggestions of the incarnation and crucifixion." What is inchoate for Booth comes into focus when we view the sonnet through the lens of the Transfiguration story.

In the Sonnets, de Vere's biblical allusions often evoke not only his apotheosis of the Youth, but also his repeated, contrasting disillusionments as the Youth's behavior fails to live up to the poet's idealization. Sonnets 33 and 34 interact significantly with each other, inviting the reader to read these two sonnets not only against each other, but against their respective biblical precedents. Booth notes "an implication of 'in a Christ-like manner'" in glossing "bears the... cross" in Sonnet 34 (189). He reads "ransom" in the final line of Sonnet 34 as an allusion to Christ (he cites 1 Timothy 2:6). There may be several additional allusions to the Gospels in Sonnet 34. For example, "*ransom*" may echo Matthew 20:28—"the Sonne of man came... to give his life for the *ransome* of many"; line 10's "Though thou *repent*" may evoke the words of Jesus in Luke 17:3, "if thy brother trespasse against thee, rebuke him: and if hee *repent*, forgive him"; line 12's "To him that *bears* the strong offence's *cross*" may allude to the only use of "*Beare* his *crosse*" in the Geneva Bible, in Matthew 27:32.

The Transfiguration allusions in Sonnet 33 prepare the reader for the Crucifixion trope and the implication of a Judas-like betrayal by the Youth[32] in Sonnet 34, and ironically highlight the Youth's metamorphosis from a divine to a degraded status—from God to Judas, as it were.

Psalm Echoes in de Vere's *Henry VIII*

Shakespeare's authorship of the entirety of *Henry VIII* continues to be disputed. However, Naseeb Shaheen argues that biblical allusions in this play are consistent with those in Shakespeare's other plays; he believes this fact supports Shakespeare's sole authorship of the play (with John Fletcher possibly having done some editing). Allusions in *Henry VIII* to *WBP* support Shaheen's argument. These allusions were overlooked by Shaheen (probably because he was unaware of de Vere's repeated echoes of *WBP* in many of his plays, as well as in his Sonnets and in *The Rape of Lucrece*).

Queen Katherine's speech to the King in 2.4.13-57 echoes several psalms, especially Psalm 30. Katherine is one of several characters in the play who suffer a fall in their fortunes. The argument of Psalm 30 aptly notes that David wrote it after "he *fell* so extreme sick," and that this psalm shows "that the *fall* from prosperity is sudden." Verse 7 is "For thou, O Lord, of *thy good grace*,[33] hadst sent me strength and aid/ But when thou *turn*ed *away* thy face, my mind was sore dismayed." Katherine echoes the gist of these words of David to God when she asks King Henry how she has offended him—"What cause/ Hath my behavior given to your displeasure,/ That thus you should proceed to put me off,/ And take *your good grace* from me?" (19-

22). She later asks that, if Henry can prove she has offended him, "in God's name/ *Turn* me *away*" (41-42). Other words in this speech that echo Psalm 30 include "give," "pity," "your/thy will," "desire," "your countenance/thy face," "anger," "mind," "mine enemy/my foes," and "prove." In contrast with the strong echo of Psalm 88 in Katherine's later speech in 4.2, here the echoes of Psalm 30 are so isolated and subtle that they may not have registered consciously with the audience. At the very least, though, such biblical allusions provide a window into de Vere's creativity, and into the conscious and unconscious associative processes that contributed to that creativity.

In addition to Katherine's echoes from Psalm 30 here, there are also words and phrases from the Morning Prayer (that was printed with *WBP*). That prayer includes the words, "We th*erefore* most wretched sinners... we *humbly beseech* thee for Jesus Christ's sake, to show thy mercies upon us, and receive us again to thy favor." The kneeling Katherine mixes quotations and paraphrases of this prayer when she says "wh*erefore* I *humbly/ Beseech* you, sir, to spare me... i' the name of God" (2.4.53-54). Her echo of the Morning Prayer implicitly invokes a religious dimension in her appeal to the divinely anointed King for mercy and forgiveness, so she can be "received again to his favor." Another echoed phrase is Katherine's "To the *sharp*'st kind of *just*ice" (2.4.44), from the prayer's "we *just*ly deserve thy wrath and *sharp* punishment."

Critics have noted the emphasis on truth in the play, from its likely alternate title (*All is True*) to the frequency of the words "true" and "truth" in the play. Katherine says to Wolsey, "Pray speak in English. Here are some will thank you,/ If you *speak truth*, for their poor mistress' sake; Believe me, she has had much wrong. Lord Cardinal,/ The willing'st sin I ever yet committed/ May be absolv'd in English" (3.1.46-49). Although the phrase "speak truth" was common in early modern England, I would suggest that Katherine is alluding here to a verse from the chief Penitential Psalm, Psalm 51:17—"The heavy heart, the mind oppressed, O Lord thou never does reject./ And to *speak truth* it is the best, and of all sacrifice the effect." Katherine may thus echo a crucial biblical reference to truth, from a psalm that is centrally about being absolved from sin.

Cardinal Wolsey makes several allusions to *WBP* Psalm 34 in 3.2.377-85. His fall from favor has been sudden indeed, similar to what is described in the argument of Psalm 30. After Cromwell asks "How does your Grace?" Wolsey claims "Never so truly *happy*, my good Cromwell;/ I know myself now, and I feel within me a *peace above all earthly* dignities,/ A still *and quiet* conscience. The King has cured me,/ I *humbl*y thank his Grace." (377-80). Psalm 34:2 refers to "*humbl*e men and mortified," capturing Wolsey's current state. 34:9 reads "Fear ye the Lord, his holy ones, *above all earthly* thing;/ For they that fear the living Lord, are sure to lack nothing." Wolsey's allusion to verse 9 implies he now fulfills both its injunction and its promise of heavenly consolation. The other highlighted words come from verses 8 and 14. Words from Psalm 34 in Wolsey's subsequent lines in this scene include "his bones," "poor," and "thy right hand." 34:14 reads "But he doth frown and bend his brows, upon the wicked train:/ *And cut away the memory*, that should of them remain." Wolsey paraphrases this sentiment when he tells Cromwell, "*And when I am*

forgotten, as I shall be,/ And sleep in dull cold marble where no mention/ Of me more must be heard" (432-34). Robert Alter comments that Psalm 34 offers "a moving vision of hope for the desperate. Part of the spiritual greatness of Psalms... is that it profoundly recognizes the bleakness, the dark terrors, the long nights of despair... and, against all this, evokes the notion of a caring presence that can reach out to the broken-hearted" (120). Alter's gloss helps explain why the fallen Wolsey would be thinking of Psalm 34.

At the end of 3.2 Wolsey is expressing contrition for his grave spiritual lapses—"O Cromwell, Cromwell,/ Had I but serv'd my God with half the zeal/ I serv'd my king, He would not in mine age/ Have left me *naked* to mine *enemies*" (3.2.454-57). There is a fitting allusion here to the idolatry of the Israelites, when they worshipped the Golden Calf while Moses was receiving the Ten Commandments on Mount Sinai. After Aaron explains to Moses that the Israelites demanded he give them idols to worship, the Genevan Exodus 32:25 states, "Moses therefore saw that the people were *naked* (for Aaron had made them *naked* unto their shame among their *enemies*)."[34] This biblical allusion thus compares Wolsey's corruption by earthly wealth and power with the famous Old Testament story of idolatry. The Geneva Bible glosses "naked" here as meaning "destitute of God's favour." Since this chapter also describes Moses' success is persuading God not to punish the Israelites with annihilation, Wolsey's allusion to it may also implicitly convey his hope that he too will be forgiven by God.

Although Shaheen found no psalm allusions in Katherine's lines[35] in 4.2, there are in fact several pregnant echoes of *WBP* Psalm 88 in her moving speech in 4.2.160-73. Of Psalm 88, Robert Alter notes, "What distinguishes this particular supplication is its special concentration on the terrifying darkness of the reality of death that has almost engulfed the supplicant" (308). Katherine's final speech as she nears death draws on its allusions to this psalm to amplify its emotional impact on the audience, highlighting her innocence and religious devotion.

De Vere's psalm allusions sometimes begin subtly, then become more apparent later in a speech.[36] Such is the case in Katherine's speech. It is only her final words of resignation, "*I can no more*," that most clearly echo those four words (in the same order) in Psalm 88:9—"*I* am shut up in prison fast, and *can* come forth *no more*." Once the contemporary audience heard that allusion to Psalm 88, they may have retrospectively detected several earlier echoes of it in her speech. Her first words to Lord Capuchius were "If *my sight fail* not,/ You should be... My royal nephew... Capuchius" (IV.2.108-10). Psalm 88:10 reads "*My sight* doth *fail* through grief and woe."[37]

Gordon McMullan[38] argues that the final christening scene "extends the connections that had at various times been drawn... between Henry VIII and King David as restorers of true religion (*most notably in relation to David as psalmist*)" (emphasis added). McMullan further notes the parallel between Henry's relationship with Anne Boleyn and King David's notorious relationship with Bathsheba. David's contrition over Bathsheba was traditionally thought to be the occasion for the

composition of Psalm 51. In contrast with *Macbeth* and several other works that echo Psalm 51 repeatedly, I have found only one muted echo of it in *Henry VIII*—Katherine's previously noted "*speak truth*" (3.1.47). These two words are an apt and highly condensed summary of one precondition for the state of contrition required for divine forgiveness.

    If McMullan is correct about the christening scene drawing connections between Henry and King David, we might expect to find some psalm allusions in that scene. In fact, it is packed with them, almost constituting a newly created psalm, in praise of Princess Elizabeth. Since Cranmer wrote and compiled the 1559 Book of Common Prayer, it was in character for him to speak with such quasi-biblical eloquence.

    De Vere writes here with especially dense literary allusions. It is a *tour de force* on the part of Cranmer and his creator. It elicits from Henry the movingly high praise that "This oracle of comfort has so pleas'd me/ That when I am in heaven I shall desire/ To see what this child does, and praise my Maker"[39] (66-68). Edmond Malone and E.K. Chambers thought a previous version of *Henry VIII* may have been first performed as early as 1593. If that play was performed at court, Cranmer's "oracle of comfort" would no doubt have been deeply moving to the Queen, as it encouraged her to imagine her father looking down on her approvingly from heaven.

    Cranmer's opening words in 5.4 allude to the opening verses of 2 Corinthians. Cranmer says "And *to* your royal *Grace* and the good Queen,/ My noble partners and myself thus pray/ *All comfort*, joy, in this most gracious lady." St. Paul's epistle begins, "Paul… *to* the Church of God… *Grace* be with you… Blessed by God… the Father of mercies, and the God of *all comfort*. Which *comfort*eth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to *comfort* them which are in any affliction by the *comfort* wherewith we ourselves are *comfort*ed of God" (1-4).

    Some allusions in this scene are to Psalm 118, which Alter calls a thanksgiving psalm. Thanksgiving is a suitable theme for the christening of the future Queen Elizabeth. Words echoing Psalm 118 include "prosperous/prosper," "joy," "gracious/grace," "hand," "utter," "truth," "goodness/good," "songs," "name," "see" and "bless."

    Cranmer's speech (47-55) also includes several allusions to Psalm 128, as Cranmer is prophesying that Elizabeth will one day "create another heir" (41) who will "make new nations" (52). Alter says of this psalm, "The rewards of the good life are spelled out here in an idyll of domesticity. The language is simple and direct; the only two metaphors, the vine and the young olive trees, link the family… with the world of productive horticulture" (451). Echoed words from this psalm in Cranmer's speech include "peace," "truth," and "vine." An especially interesting echo is Cranmer"s "Our *children's children/ Shall see* this, and bless heaven" (54-55). He is here alluding to Psalm 128:6, "Thou *shalt* thy *children's children see*, to thy great joy's increase." Cranmer cannot literally make this biblical promise to King Henry, but he offers the comfort of echoing the words of the psalm's promise.[40]

    There is also an echo of the Geneva Psalm 72. It is a fascinating source for some sections of Cranmer's "oracle of comfort" here. Psalm 72 was believed to have

been written by King David for his son Solomon; this would naturally parallel Henry's relationship with Elizabeth, another future monarch.[41] The Geneva editors note in the argument of this psalm that "Solomon… was the figure of Christ." The Geneva Psalm 72:3 states, "The *mountains* and the hills shall bring peace to the people by justice." A Genevan gloss for "mountains" explains, "When justice reigneth, even the places most *barren* shall be enriched by thy blessings" (emphasis added). I wonder if this gloss contributed to de Vere's wording "He shall flourish,/ And like a *mountain* cedar…" By the time the play was written, Queen Elizabeth's barrenness was beyond doubt.

The biblical allusions in this scene blend the *WBP* Psalms with allusions to the Geneva Bible. Once these allusions are identified and unpacked, they are unusually rich in unfolding new dimensions to Cranmer's words. A good example is his "This royal infant…/ Though still in her cradle, yet now promises/ Upon this land *a thousand thousand* blessings" (17-19). The allusion here may be to the Geneva 1 Chronicles 22:14.[42] That chapter, like Psalm 72, involves David and Solomon. It describes King David's efforts to help the future King Solomon to build the Temple in Jerusalem. The chapter's Argument (summary) makes the typological claim that "Under the figure of Solomon Christ is promised." God will not permit David himself to build the Temple, because of all the blood that David has shed. In verse 14 David says to Solomon, "For behold, according to my poverty have I prepared for the house of the Lord a hundred thousand talents of gold, and *a thousand thousand* talents of silver…." De Vere's allusion to this story encourages the audience to perceive a parallel between this biblical royal father and child, and the ones on stage (thus casting Elizabeth in a Christlike role, following the Geneva gloss on Solomon). Perhaps the Temple would suggest to some members of the audience the Church of England, for which Henry lay the foundations, and which Elizabeth helped complete with the Religious Settlement of 1559.

Easier to dismiss when viewed in isolation, de Vere's echoes of *WBP* are more convincing when studied cumulatively. Our awareness of their many echoes of the Sternhold and Hopkins Psalms (and of other biblical passages) will enrich our reading of Sonnet 24, Sonnet 33, and *Henry VIII*, and will provide a window into de Vere's creative process. Further, the many crucial allusions in the canon to passages marked in de Vere's copy provide further evidence for the still controversial Oxfordian authorship hypothesis.

Sonnet 24

Mine eye hath play'd the painter and hath stell'd,
Thy beauty's form in table of my heart;
My body is the frame wherein 'tis held,
And perspective it is best painter's art.
For through the painter must you see his skill,
To find where your true image pictur'd lies,
Which in my bosom's shop is hanging still,
That hath his windows glazed with thine eyes.
Now see what good turns eyes for eyes have done:
Mine eyes have drawn thy shape, and thine for me
Are windows to my breast, where-through the sun
Delights to peep, to gaze therein on thee;
Yet eyes this cunning want to grace their art,
They draw but what they see, know not the heart.

Sonnet 33

Full many a glorious morning have I seen
Flatter the mountain-tops with sovereign eye,
Kissing with golden face the meadows green,
Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchemy;
Anon permit the basest clouds to ride
With ugly rack on his celestial face,
And from the forlorn world his visage hide,
Stealing unseen to west with this disgrace:
Even so my sun one early morn did shine
With all triumphant splendor on my brow;
But out, alack! he was but one hour mine;
The region cloud hath mask'd him from me now.
Yet him for this my love no whit disdaineth;
Suns of the world may stain when heaven's sun staineth.

Psalm 139

Dauid *to clense his hart from al hipocrisy*, sheweth that *there is nothyng so hyd, which god seeth not*: which he confirmeth by the creation of man. After declaryng his zeale and feare of god, he protesteth to be enemy to al them that comtemne god.
[1] O Lord thou hast me tride & *known*, my sitting doost, thou *know*
[2] and rising eke, my thoughts a far, thou vnderstandst also.
[3] My pathes yea and my lieng down, thou compassest alwayes.

and by familiar custome art, acquainted with my wayes.
[4] No word is in my tonge O Lord, but known it is to thee:
[5] thou me behind holdst & before, thou layest thy hand on mee
[6] To wonderful aboue my reach, Lord is thy *cunning skil:*
It is so hye that I the same, cannot attayne vntil.
[7] From sight of thy al seing spirite, Lord whither shal I go?
Or whither shal I flee away, thy presence to scape from?
[8] To heauen if I mount aloft, lo thou art present there:
In hel if I lye down below, euen there yu doost appeare.
[9] Yea let me take the mornings wings, and let me go and hide,
Euen there where are the farthest parts, wher flowing sea doth slide:
[10] Yea euen thither also shal, thy reachyng hand me guyde:
and thy right hand shal hold me fast, and make me to abyde.
[11] Yea, if I say the darknes, shal, yet shroud me from thy sight:
Lo euen also the darkest nyght, about me shal be lyght.
[12] Yea darknes hydeth not from thee, but night doth shyne as day:
To thee the darknes and the lyght, are both alyke alway.
[13] For thou possessed hast my raynes, and thou hast couered mee:
When I within my mothers womb, enclosed was by thee.
[14] Thee wil I prayse, made fearfully, & wondrously I am:
they workes are maruelous, right wel my soule doth know the same.
[15] My bones they are not hid from thee, although in secret place,
I haue bene made, and in the earth beneath I shapen was.
[16] When I was formeles then *thine eye saw me:* for in thy booke
were written al (nought was before) that after fashion tooke.
[17] The thoughts therfore of thee O God, how deare are they to mee?
and of them al how passing great, the endles numbers be?
[18] If I should compt them, loe their summe, more then the sand *I see*:
and whensoeuer I awake, yet am I stil wyth thee.
[19] The wicked and the bloudy men, oh that thou wouldest slay:
Euen those O God to whom depart, depart from me I say.
[20] Euen those of thee O Lord my God, that speake ful wickedly:
Those that are lifted vp in vayne, beyng enemies to thee.
[21] Hate I not them that hate thee Lord, and that in earnest wyse?
Contend not I against them al, against thee that aryse:
[22] I hate them with vnfayned hate, euen as my vtter foes:
[23] *Try me* O God and *know* my *hart,* my thoughts proue & disclose.
[24] Consider Lord if wickednes, in me there any be:
and in thy way O God my guide, for euer lead thou me.

Endnotes

[1] In George Santayana, *Interpretations of Poetry and Religion* (New York: Scribner's, 1900).

[2] Santayana, 153.

[3] Santayana, 160.

[4] See Richmond Noble, *Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge* (New York: Macmillan, 1935); Naseeb Shaheen, *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Plays* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999).

[5] See Waugaman, "The Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter is a major source for the works of Shakespeare," *Notes & Queries* 56:595-604 (2009a); "Echoes of the 'Lamed' Section of Psalm 119 in Shakespeare's Sonnets." *Shakespeare Matters* 8:1-8 (2009b); "Psalm Allusions in Shakespeare's *1 Henry VI, Richard II,* and *Edward III*," *Notes & Queries* 57:359-64 (2010a); "The Discovery of a Major New Literary Source for Shakespeare's Works in the de Vere Geneva Bible," *Brief Chronicles: The Interdisciplinary Journal of the Shakespeare Fellowship II*:109-20 (2010b); "Shakespeare's Sonnet 6 and the First Marked Passage in de Vere's Bible," *Shakespeare Matters* 9:15-18 (2010c); "*Titus Andronicus,* the Psalms, and Edward de Vere's Bible," *The Oxfordian* 13:34-49 (2011a); "The Sternhold and Hopkins *Whole Book of Psalms* Offers Crucial Evidence of de Vere's Authorship of the Works of Shakespeare." *Brief Chronicles* 3:213-34 (2011b); "Psalms Help Confirm de Vere Was Shakespeare." *The Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter* 48:19-24 (2012). "The Source for *Remembrance of Things Past* in Shakespeare's Sonnet 30," *Shakespeare Matters* 12:1 (Winter 2013), 1, 15-16. Most of the above articles are available online at http://www.oxfreudian.com.

[6] Excellent digitized images of this copy are available online, through the Folger Shakespeare Library's web site.

[7] Personal communication, 26 March 2010.

[8] *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964).

[9] *Shakespeare's Books: A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Sources* (New York: Continuum, 2001).

[10] De Vere used the phrase "Dame Reason," which was used repeatedly by Christine

in *The City of Ladies*; see Waugaman, "A Shakespearen 'Snail Poem,' Newly Attributed to Edward de Vere," *Shakespeare Matters* 7:1, 6, 11, (2008).

[11] Waugaman, 2009a and 2010a.

[12] *The Reformation in Rhyme* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

[13] Waugaman, 2009a.

[14] Psalm 139 is also echoed in *The Rape of Lucrece* and in *Edward III*; see Waugaman, 2009a and 2010a.

[15] *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

[16] Booth, 172.

[17] Robert Alter, *The Book of Psalms* (New York: Norton, 2007), 479.

[18] Booth, 172.

[19] Helen Vendler (*The Art of Shakespeare's Sonnets* [London: Belknap Press, 1997]) believes a rival poet first appears in Sonnet 21. Vendler opens the possibility that Sonnet 24 may hint indirectly about a rival (who has perhaps obtained a portrait of the Fair Youth). The psalmist may serve as a surrogate for de Vere's contemporary rivals. We can assume *WBP* drew de Vere's intense interest for many reasons. Perhaps he displaced some of his rivalry with living poets onto a long dead one, implicitly elevating himself above any contemporary rivals as he competed with the divinely inspired psalmist.

[20] Their rhymes also link Sonnet 24 with Psalm 139. *Me* and *thee* are rhymed in both; "wise" and "arise" are rhymed in the psalm, while "lies" and "eyes" are rhymed in the sonnet.

[21] *Skill* is echoed in line 5, "For through the painter must you see his *skill*."

[22] The Coverdale, Geneva, and Bishop's Bibles do not use "cunning" in their translations of Psalm 139.

[23] Shakespeare may have been one of the first writers to use "cunning" in what the OED calls its "prevailing modern sense"-- (5.a.) "in a bad sense: skilful in compassing one's ends by covert means… crafty, artful, guileful, sly." (The OED credits Spenser in 1590 with the earliest use of this meaning.) It is thus possible that the double meaning of line 13 helps transform *cunning* from its earlier prevailing meanings of "skill" and "skilllful" to its current derogatory meaning.

[24] "Yea darknes hydeth not from thee" (139:12); "My bones are not hid from thee, although in secret place" (139:15). God even sees the baby in his "mother's womb" (139:13)—"When I was formeles then thine eye saw me" (139:16). Similarly, the psalm's argument says "there is nothing so hid, which god seeth not."

[25] I am grateful to Helen Vendler for her support of my thesis about Sonnet 33 (personal communication, 20 November, 2010: "I'm sure you're right; nothing echoed more in [Shakespeare's] ear than the Bible").

[26] "Metemorphothei" in the original Greek.

[27] Cf. "his celestial *face*" from line 6 of the sonnet.

[28] I follow Stephen Booth in using the Geneva Bible translation in this note. This is

the translation that is most frequently echoed in Shakespeare's works.

29 The Tyndale and Bishops' translations also have "did shyne" in Matthew 17:2. It is the unique occurrence of "did shyne" in those two translations.

30 *The Art of Shakespeare's Sonnets* (London, 1997), 178.

31 *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (New Haven, 1977), 188.

32 E.g., "this disgrace" in Sonnet 34, line 8. This implicit allusion to Judas invites us to reread "kissing" in Sonnet 33, line 3, in connection with Judas's kiss of betrayal. Six of the nine uses of "kisse" and "kissed" in the Geneva New Testament refer to Judas. As we reread "kissing with golden face" with this darker meaning, we are retracing the poet's path from joy to despair.

33 This is the earliest use of the phrase cited in Early English Books Online.

34 Shaheen does not cite this verse with respect to any play; nor does he cite Exodus 32 in connection with *Henry VIII*.

35 None of the allusions I describe in this paper are listed in Shaheen, except as otherwise noted.

36 Richard D. Altick noted such a pattern in the leitmotifs of *Richard II*—"a particularly important passage is prepared for by the interweaving into the poetry, long in advance, of inconspicuous but repeated hints of the imagery which is to dominate that passage," in "Symphonic imagery in *Richard II*," in Jeanne T. Newlin, *Richard II: Critical Essays* (London: Garland Publishing, 1984), 274.

37 69:3 also includes the phrase "my sight doth fail."

38 Gordon McMullan (ed.). *King Henry VIII* . 3d Series (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2001), 57-147.

39 Note the self-congratulatory double meaning here on the part of the playwright, since "maker" also means "poet."

40 William Tyndale's Bible contains the first use of "children's children" listed in EEBO; *WBP* is the second. Cranmer's words in 47-55 also echo the content of the Nunc Dimittis that was recited daily during Evening Prayer. This was the prayer spoken by Simeon, who tells God that he is ready to die, now that he has seen the infant Jesus. Cranmer refers to Elizabeth as "this chosen infant." "Peace" and "servants" here (47-48) may allude to the Nunc Dimittis's "Lord, now lettest thou thy *servant* depart in *peace*."

41 Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalms* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), observes that, in 1583, William Patten identified Queen Elizabeth with Solomon in his translation of Psalm 72 to commemorate the 25th anniversary of her accession.

42 Verse 4 of this chapter speaks of "*cedar* trees without number," possibly contributing to the "mountain *cedar*" in 5.4.53.

Triangular Numbers in Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britanna:*
A Study in Jacobean Literary Form

Roger Stritmatter

his article investigates the presence of a concealed and previously undetected numerical symbolism in a Stuart-era emblem book, Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britanna* (1611). Although alien to modern conceptions of art, emblem books constitute one of the most widely published and popular genres in early modern book production. Drawing from an eclectic tradition of literary, religious, and iconological traditions, the emblem book combined words and images into complex patterns of signification, often of a markedly didactic character. Popular in all the European vernaculars, it appealed to a wide range of Renaissance readers, from the nearly illiterate (by virtue of its illustrated nature) to the most erudite (by virtue of its reputation for dazzling displays of intellectual and aesthetic virtuosity).

By convention the emblem was divided into three parts: *superscriptio*, *pictura*, and *subscriptio*: the *superscriptio* was the short legend or motto that typically appeared at the top of the page; below it appeared the *pictura* – the emblem *per se* – followed by the *subscriptio*, a longer responsive analysis, usually written in verse, which completed the design. While emblem book scholars still debate the exact relationship between the three parts – and no doubt individual emblem writers themselves sometimes conceived of it in different ways, Deitrich Walter Jöns' definition constitutes a useful and standard point of departure: "Between the motto and the picture there existed a more or less hidden relationship in meaning which the epigram illuminated."[2] This definition may readily be illustrated by Figure One, where the subscript of Peacham's emblem #24 (E4r) explains the connection between the superscript, *Merenti* – "to the one meriting" – and the *pictura*, remarking that in Peacham's day, unlike the romanticized past "Age of Justice," "Mome and Midas

share/In vertues merit, and th' inglorious is/allowed sometimes a place in Honours chair." This explains why the accompanying emblem shows a coat of arms that is incomplete and of undesignated reference. Honor's chair, Peacham implies, has been usurped by the pretender and true merit goes unrecognized and unrewarded.
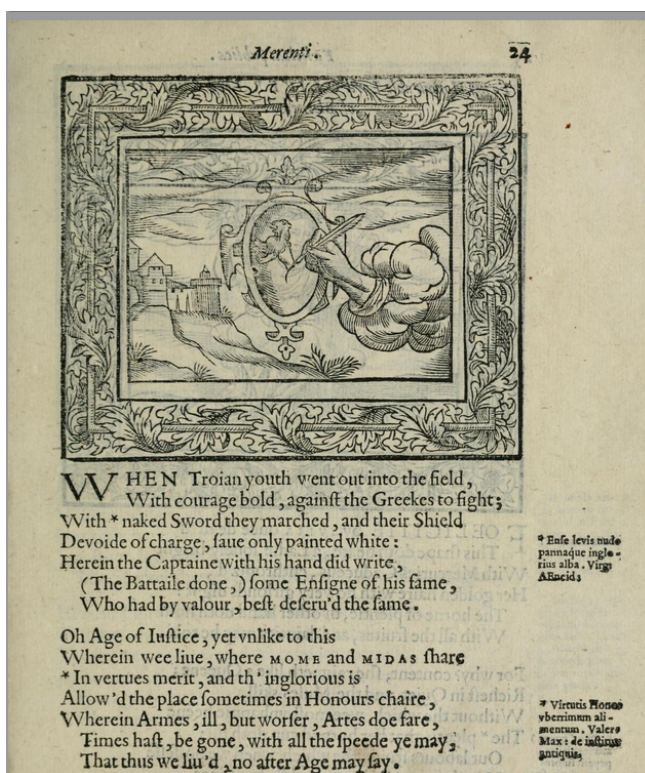

Figure One: Emblem 24, *Merenti* ("To the one meriting").

Although many of Peacham's emblems are derived from the author's own *Basilikon Doron* manuscripts (see Young 1998) or one of several continental sources detailed in a series of articles by Mason Tung, the arrangement and many details of the emblems, as well as most of the verses and the work's elaborate critical apparatus, are unique to *Minerva Britanna*.[3] Peacham's book contains 206 emblems (including the well known title page),[4] comprised of the usual tripartite structure consisting of emblem, epigrammatic superscript, and lyrical exposition (subscript) – the latter typically composed of two six-line stanzas of iambic pentameter, rhyming *ababccdedeff*.

Although long regarded as the most sophisticated exemplar of the emblem book genre produced in early modern England, analysis of the formal dimension of Peacham's work has proven controversial for several reasons. Beyond the generic skepticism faced by all studies of putative numerical structures in early modern

literary works there exists a prevailing emphasis in emblem book studies on analyzing individual emblems as isolated elements possessing little or no significant semiotic relationship to other emblems or to the entire work in which they appear. Mason Tung's studies of the sources of Peacham's emblems[5] are typical of a discourse which has lavished attention, however productively, on the origins and interpretation of individual emblems while uncritically assuming that *Minerva Britanna* possesses "little intrinsic unity as an emblem collection apart from its generally sustained tone of moral didacticism."[6] While this discourse has contributed much to a collective understanding of Peacham's influences, and to the rich semiotic and historical context of individual emblems, it has also tended to take for granted a critical assumption that instead deserves investigation – namely that Peacham's book is an uncoordinated assemblage of emblems (with corresponding verses) in which the whole is no more than the sum of its individual parts. There is little visible unity in Peacham's book, and on the surface his rhetoric can be taken to support what Peter M. Daley has called "a characteristically emblematic view of the universe, namely that whatever is presented to the eyesight carries significance to the beholder."[7] But eyes can also deceive, as Garter Herald William Segar paradoxically insists in his dedicatory verses to Peacham's book:

> Eies may deluded be by false illusions:
> Eies may be partiall, eyesight may decline
> By weakenes, age, or by abusions.
> Pride, envie, folly, may the sight pervert,
> And make the eie transgresse against the heart.
> With outward ei'ne first view, and marke this booke,
> Variety of obiects much will please;
> With inward ei'ne then on the matter looke....
>
> (B3v)

With all due respect to the many fine scholars who have approached Peacham's emblems primarily as uncoordinated elements that do not belong to any larger semiotic pattern, I propose in this paper to follow Herald Segar's advice "with inward ei'ne" to "on the matter looke" — to see, in the words of Bushy in Shakespeare's *Richard II*, if something "eyed awry" may better "distinguish form" (2.2.19-20). In investigating the possibility that Peacham might have employed a sophisticated numerical symbolism to impart some unity to his book it will be important to understand the central role that number theory played in Medieval and early modern aesthetics. Although mathematics was an arcane and taboo subject, number theory had long remained a prominent topic of *sub rosa* speculation and inquiry. According to Paulinus of Nola (c. 354-431), articulating a widely-shared metaphysics, all things in creation had been disposed "ut numerus cum re conveniret/so that number should agree with matter." This theory of the commensurability of numerical form with substance is a specific application of a more generic Medieval *mentalité*, one that survived well into the Renaissance (and

beyond), in which the boundaries between things and symbols were permeable, and the act of representation was inseparable from the exercise of *influence*. Doctrines incorporating the belief that representation was a species of influence were especially prominent in the visual arts. According to E.H. Gombrich, "claims for the special [esoteric] position of the visual tradition were rooted in a philosophical tradition of long standing"[8] in which "no clear gulf separate[ed] the material, visible world from the sphere of the spirit,"[9] and consequently the modern distinction between what an image represents and what it symbolizes was unknown.

Milton Klonsky records the belief "that in some lost Arcadian foretime mankind had actually possessed a single sacred language in which idea and image were one."[10] The advent of printing paradoxically facilitated the dissemination of this idealized tradition of a sacred language, tracing a genesis back through the Greek Pythagoras to Egyptian hieroglyphics. The 1505 publication in Venice of the *Hieroglyphika* of Horapollo, a fifth-century scribe, popularized the association between the emblem book and ancient forms of hieratic consciousness. By the time of Achilles Bocchi's 1574 *Symbolicarum Questionum,* the emblem book genre was inseparable from these hermetic doctrines, and more generally with traditions about number popularly derived from Pythagoras:

> Quam originationem ait
> Fabius. fuere symbola
> Priscorum in arcanis diu
> Mysterijs, ut gratia
> Verbim papaver fertilem
> Signabat annum. Huiusmodi
> Sunt Pythagorica Symbola
>
> Ut Alciati Emblemata
> Dicuntur &
> Mysteriorum plena
>
> Fabius says that symbols originated in the secret mysteries of the ancients. The poppy, for example, signified a fertile harvest. Of these same sorts are the Pythagorean symbols; as Alciat[11] has said they are "full of secrets."[12]

It was even widely believed that Pythagoras, who adopted the practice of Egyptian priests by delivering his precepts in the form of recondite *dicta*, first infused into the Western tradition the doctrines of pictorial mystery eventually embodied in the Renaissance emblem book. As S.K. Heninger recounts the tradition, "[Pythagoras'] *Symbola*, reinforced with literary esoterica such as the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo and the mystic symbols of the Kabalists, were assimilated by neo-Platonists of the Florentine academy and eventually gave rise to the prolific emblem literature of the sixteenth century."[13]

A frequent objection to numerical analysis of Renaissance literary works is the absence of any explicit discussion, either in ancient or Renaissance arts theory, of the application of number theory to literature.[14] Despite impressive witness that "numbers, ratios, and geometric figures link the arts generally, by way of the microcosm, to the macrocosm,"[15] numerical analysis of literary works has historically been inhibited by the fact that "the principles underlying the applications of numbers to composition tend to remain assumed rather than expressed."[16] In other words, evidence for numerical structure is largely implicit, concealed in the numeric and proportional aspects of the works themselves rather than articulated in an explicit doctrine.

That such a numerical scaffolding exists for many Medieval and early modern works is, however, generally accepted and in itself relatively uncontroversial. So sober an intellectual historian as Ernst Robert Curtius, who coined the term "numerical composition" (*zahlenkomposition*), proposes that in the Middle Ages the dominant principle of written composition, in part to compensate for the absence of more formal rhetorical rules of *dispositio*, was based on the principle of number. Such an organizational strategy, suggested Curtius, accomplished the twofold purpose of supplying "formal scaffolding" and endowing a work with "symbolic profundity,"[17] by connecting formal design to explicit content. As Maren-Sofie Røstvig clarifies, numerical composition "can be defined as structural use of pre-selected numbers whose symbolism accords with the contents"[18] of a work. Since the 1960s, a steady stream of books and articles — Hieatt (1960), Røstvig (1963), Fowler (1964, 1970) and MacQueen (1985), among others — have demonstrated the semiotic richness of numerical analysis of literary works and gone far to expose the "hidden sense" embodied in the numerical structures of early modern literature. Although doubters remain, by now the premise that arithmology is "one of the prime symbolic language systems of the Renaissance,"[19] employed to embody metaphysical realities in a visible form, enjoys wide and growing currency.

From a synthetic view of intellectual history, it is unsurprising that number should play a significant role in literary art. The ideals of symmetry, proportion, and ratio are guiding principles of all other arts – architecture, music theory, and visual art – from their earliest developments. Renaissance ideals of beauty, as Leon Battista Alberti attests in a well known passage, were closely tied to the idea of proportion and number:

> Beauty is a kind of harmony and concord of all the parts to form a whole which is constructed according to a fixed number, and a certain relation and order, as symmetry, the highest and most perfect law of nature, demands.[20]

This Pythagorean belief that number was an intrinsic and universal property of the cosmos, underlying visible realities of every kind and requiring application in all the arts, was inherited from the ancient world, applied through the Middle Ages, enthusiastically embraced in the Renaissance, and eventually endorsed even by the founder of modern scientific practice, Rene Descartes. A formidable library

containing works of such eminent 15th and 16th century intellectuals as Marsilio Ficino, Joachim Camerarius, and Claude Mignault endorsed and systematized the Pythagorean principles.[21] In Plutarch's synopsis, as translated by Philemon Holland, Pythagoras "held that the principle of all things were Numbers, and their symmetries, that is to say the proportions they have in their correspondency one unto "another...termed by him Geometricall."[22] Scriptural tradition reinforced a pagan conception of primordial number that increasingly was acknowledged to have immediate practical utility in architecture, war, and mechanics: "But thou hast arranged all things by measure and number and weight."[23]

Beyond the prominent role of arithmology in early modern aesthetics, and especially the close affinity between number theory and symbolic emblems (reputedly going back as far as Pythagoras), there are several specific reasons to hypothesize that *Minerva Britanna* might be built on the scaffolding of an esoteric numerical structure. Although best known for his emblem books, epigrams, and instructional manuals on the art of drawing, Peacham was a Renaissance polymath, versatile in music, astronomy and mathematics as well as poetry and drawing. As an acolyte of the "Pythagorean poet" Spenser—who may well have composed the dedicatory verses prefixing *Minerva* signed "E.S." some twelve years or more before the book appeared in print[24]—Peacham may well have been familiar with Renaissance numerological strategies. His experience as a painter, arts theorist, and emblem designer would have reinforced the omnipresent analogy between literature and painting that pervades both ancient and Renaissance arts criticism, and exposed him to the relevant doctrines of symmetry and numerical form. This affinity for Renaissance number theory would also have been confirmed through his study and practice of music, a discipline in which, as Alan R. Young (1979) has shown, Peacham was both theorist and practitioner. Most significantly, Peacham explicitly acknowledges his affinity for the occult science of mathematics, describing himself in *The Truth of Our Times* (1638) as one "ever naturally *addicted to* those Arts and Sciences which consist of *proportion and number*, as Painting, Musicke, and poetry, and the Mathematical Sciences."[25] This explicit confession of "addiction" to the principles of "number and proportion" assumes a larger significance when we recall the scarcity of explicit discussion, either in ancient or Renaissance arts theory, of the application of number theory to literature.[26] Paradoxically, such criticisms implicitly acknowledge that the presence of overt numerical language can be strong evidence for the existence of arithmetical structure in a particular work.

With this in mind we will be intrigued to notice how thoroughly the rhetorical posture of *Minerva*'s elaborate introductory apparatus amplifies Peacham's own overt testimony in *Truth of Our Times*. Peacham's book is prefaced by an extensive dedicatory apparatus including Peacham's own prose and verse dedications to Prince Henry Stuart, as well as dedicatory verses, in English, Latin, French and Italian, by Thomas Harding, "Hannibal Ursinus Neapolitanus," Giovanni Batista Cassell, N.M. Fortunaius, Thomas Heywood, English Garter Herald at Arms William Segar, and "E. S." A peculiar "Author's Conclusion" of 180 iambic tetrameter lines of ekphrastic[27] verse, divided into 22 ½ eight-line stanzas, concludes the work.

Thomas Harding's Latin exordium (Appendix A)[28] seems particularly noteworthy from the perspective of a numerical semiotics. Composed in cryptic mathematical terminology, it praises the contributions of the other dedicatory poets as the "friendly testimony of the skilled ones," adding "I follow them and join (*iungo*) my own counter (*calculum*)." *Calculus* is the proper technical term[29] for the pebble used by the ancients for counting purposes.[30] Both Harding's title, "ex puris iambis" ("from pure iambs"), and the structure of his lyric mirrors the numerical content by invoking arithmology in design: the poem consists of three eight-line stanzas of iambic hexameters, for a total of 144 feet, or twelve squared. The fraught mathematical terminology of Harding's exordium, embedded in the context of an explicitly mathematical structure, furnishes a rare yet striking example of relatively overt testimony to the numerical character of a Renaissance literary work. In fact, Harding's entire exordium, which begins by specifying a moral methodology for correct "measurement" of Peacham's work ("iniquuus aestimator ille ducitur/suo metitur omne qui modo ac pede/iniquitous is deemed that appraiser who measures [metitur] everything by his own method and foot"), is based upon a conceit of measurement.

While the precise implication of the invoked measurement – the "feet" and their relationship to the "calculi"– is far from clear, the most obvious place to begin investigation of a numerical structure would be with counting lines, treating each one as a "calculum." The results will encourage the hypothesis that Peacham's work is organized around well-understood but previously undetected abstract principles of Pythagorean number symbolism. Following this hypothesis, we soon discover confirmation in several features. First, there is the curious fact that Peacham's own introductory exordium to Prince Henry numbers exactly sixty-six lines of dactylic hexameters. Sixty-six is a peculiar and suggestive number: not only does it mirror the characteristic stanza structure of most of Peacham's emblems (two stanzas of six lines each), and replicate the dominant mode *six* in the hexameter lines of which it is composed, but most significantly belongs to the Pythagorean sequence of triangular numbers (appendix B). [31]
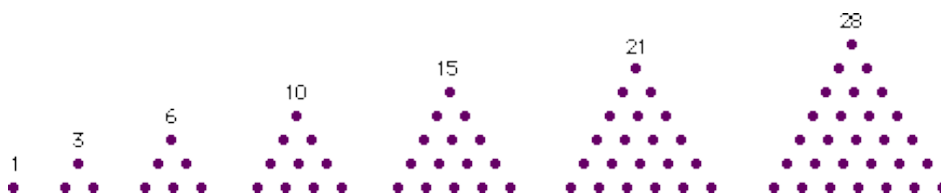

Figure Two: The series of triangular numbers.

Triangular numbers –the sequence of natural numbers 1,3,6,10,15,21, 28, etc. derived from the formula t(n) = n(n+1)/2 and forming a triangle when drawn using "calculi" – belong to an ancient class of figurate numbers (Figure Two). Because they establish a connection between the visible world of geometry and the

suprasensible world of pure number, figurate numbers – including square, triangular, cubic and pyramidal numbers – had been central to Pythagorean doctrine for many centuries.

As the eleventh in the sequence of triangular numbers, 66 exhibits a novel characteristic that could not have escaped the attention of Renaissance number theorists: As a palindromic – reversible – number it belongs to a very small list of numbers that are both triangular and reversible. Of triangular numbers with bases from 10-100, only 5 others – 55, 171, 595, 666, and 3003 – are also palindromic. Of these, only 66 and 3003 share the most unique characteristic of all: they are not only palindromic in themselves, but also derived from palindromic bases (11 and 77). It is accordingly striking to discover that the total number of lines in Peacham's work, 3003 (Figure Three), belongs, with 66, to this select list of palindromic triangular numbers derived from triangular bases.

Book/Author	Verse Type	Total lines
Carmen Panegyricum/ HP	Latin dactylic hexameter	66
Anon	Latin dactylic hexameter	16 (2x8)
Thomas Hardingus	Latin iambic hexameter	24 (3x8)
Hannibal Ursinus Neapolitanus	Latin dactylic hexameter	8
Italian verse Giovan: Batista Casella	???	30 (5x6)
French sonnet N.M Fortunaius	Iambic pentameter ?	14 (2x7)
English Sonnet Thomas Heywood	Iambic pentameter	12 (2x6)

English Sonnet William Segar	Iambic pentameter	30 (5x6)
English Sonnet E.S.	Iambic pentameter	14 (2x7)
Totals from Introductory matter, book I		**214**
Total of Book I Emblems	**Iambic pentameter**	**1214**
Book II		
Introductory English verses HP	Iambic pentameter	35 (7x5)
Total of Book II Emblems HP	Iambic pentameter	1360
Author's Conclusion HP	Iambic tetrameter	180
Totals		
Book I		**1428**
Book II		**1575**
Total both books		**3003**

Figure Three: Total Verse Counts for
***Minerva Britanna* are 3003.**

Apparently the verses forming Peacham's dedication of the work to Prince Henry serve both to announce the work's numerological theme and also form a microcosm of the entire sequence of verses, adumbrating the figurative form of the whole.

Confirming the existence of this structure, the numbers 11, 66, and 77 are repeated in various, sometimes subtle ways, both structurally and visually, in

Peacham's book, through visual puns designed to invoke the "double-take, like the flash of insight followed by intellectual comprehension that occurs in solving a riddle."[32]

Figure Four: *VI VI* on the title page of Minerva Britanna.

A striking example is Peacham's visual invocation of the Roman numerals *VI VI* on the title page of the work (Figure Four), an iconic pun created by splitting the word VIVI=TUR (he lives) into two frames of the scrollwork. The pun foreshadows the 66 lines of Peacham's exordium to Prince Henry, as well as the triangular/pyramidal form of the entire work. Indeed, analysis reveals that Peacham's book is organized principally through the complex iteration of Pythagorean triangular numbers, based on the syllogism 11:66::77:3003.[33]

According to Alistair Fowler, the figure of the triangular number was considered an expression of the monumental form *par excellence*: the series was a common topic of arithmology, one "embodying the ancient ideal of poetry as memorial,"[34] invoked in works "intended to function as a monument…[and] especially appropriate for elegies and epitaphs."[35] Peacham, it would appear, conceived of *Minerva Britanna* as a contribution to the *paragon* – the contest – between monumental architecture and poetry, a debate memorialized in Horace's lyrical 1st centry (BCE) boast:

Exegi monumentum aere perennius
Regalique situ pyramidum altius.
[I have built a monument more lasting than bronze,
Higher than the pyramids of the royal place] [36]
<div align="center">(3.30)</div>

The figure of the pyramid embodied in the triangular number sequence supplied an esoteric model suitable for Peacham's purposes of composing a work of enduring aesthetic value for his royal patron. By employing the construct of triangular numbers to provide a mathematical unity to his work, Peacham replicates his own overt statement, that although

Pyramis [is] the worldes great wonderment
[and] is of their fame, some lasting Moniment.
<div align="center">(E2v)</div>

Yet,

Wise wordes taught, in numbers sweete to runne,
Preserved by the living muse for aie,
Shall still abide, when date of [monuments] is done.
<div align="center">(Z2v)</div>

As his intervention in this argument the emblematist arranged his "wise words," taught "in numbers sweete to runne," in the form of a pyramid, composing the conflict by endorsing both antecedent propositions, not only affirming Horace's boast of the virtue of lyric, but simultaneously paying homage to the "competing" architectural tradition of the monumental pyramid. In short, Peacham resolved the literary with the pictorial, the lyrical with architectural, in a single aesthetic triumph – dedicated to the Protestant, nationalist cult of Prince Henry (1594-1612), at its apogee in 1611 right before Henry's untimely death.

Through the arrangement of verses and emblems, Peacham replicates the structure of the entire sequence, affirming his belief in the ancient Platonic and Pythagorean principles, *as above, so below,* and *as in the macrocosm, so in the microcosm.* While the majority of the emblem superscripts follow a conventional pattern of having two stanzas of six lines each (again, duplicating the VI VI of the title page the 66 of Peacham's exordium), a few have subscripts of 6,14, 18, or 21 lines, and one – the subscript to 185 (Figure Five) – consists of eleven stanzas of seven lines each.

Figure Five: Peacham's "Rura mihi et silentium" emblem.

The 77 lines of verse restate in microcosm the numerical structure of the whole, "keying" the Pythagorean symbolism of *Minerva Britanna*. That this structural anomaly is not coincidental is confirmed by the subscript's coy allusion to "The rules of NVMBRING" which were "for the greatest part...first devis'd by Country Swaines" and "still the Art with them entire remains" (Cc3). A sidenote from Aristotle underscores the microcosm-macrocosm analogy: "θι θαυμαζον in re minima esse pulchre dixit"/ "he says it to be a beautiful thing to be amazed (θι θαυμαζον) by something in its smallest aspect" (Cc3). The superscript, which invokes a pastoral literary tradition as old as Theocritus, says "the rural life – and silence – is for me."

<div align="center">***</div>

According to Maren-Sofie Røstvig, no 17th century literary theme "was more popular than the praise of the happiness of country life,"[37] and throughout Peacham's book the moral superiority of the country – contrasted to courts and cities – is emphasized, as in the exposition to emblem 185:

> Wert thou thy life at libertie to choose,
> And as thy birth, so hadst thy being free,
> The City thou shouldst bid adieu, my Muse,
> And from her streetes, as her infection flee....
> <div align="center">(Cc2v)</div>

But while Peacham contrasts court and country in conventional terms, the contrast is complicated through the repeated invocation of the idea of *ascent* and the

analogy of the court as a pyramid and Peacham's covert linkage of this symbolism to his underlying numerical schema. The subscript to emblem 185, dedicated to the virtues of country life, unexpectedly concludes:

> Content thy selfe, till thine Abillitie,
> And better hap, shall answere thy desire,
> But muse beware, *least we too high aspire*.
>
> <div align="right">(Cc3v: emphasis added)[38]</div>

Peacham's antidote to the ambitious impulses that lead to political disaster at court is spiritual purification through ascent, a widely influential consideration of Medieval aesthetics, rooted in Neo-Platonic, Kabbalistic, and Christian sources. Mystics of all three traditions shared the common goal of facilitating the ascent and union of the soul with God or The One. In the words of Gershom G. Scholem, "the earliest Jewish mystics...speak of the ascent of the soul to the Celestial Throne, where it obtains an ecstatic view of the majesty of God and the secrets of His Realm."[39] For Plotinus, the rungs on the soul's ladder of ascent are comparable to the stages of initiation into a mystery religion. The metaphor became widely accessible to a Christian readership through Boethius, who exposes the connection between the doctrine of ascent and the Platonic ideal of memory or "return": His exhortation to "Let us now *raise our minds as high as we can towards the high roof of the highest intelligence*" is explained by personified Wisdom: "so that you may most speedily and easily come to your own home from where you previously came."[40] Numerous ancient and Medieval philosophers, moreover, connected the ideal of the soul's ascent with the specifically arithmetical traditions of the Quadrivium.[41] According to Glen Wegge, Censorinus, Plotinus, and Martianus Capella all "agree that the mathematicals, which include music, are vital for the ascent of the soul."[42]

It seems apparent, from independent, converging lines of evidence including the prior probabilities established by the wide currency of the aesthetic ideals of so many early modern and Medieval arts theorists and the more direct evidence of Peacham's own book, that Peacham has utilized as a numerical template *both* of the only two sets of palindromic triangular numbers: 11-66 and 77-3003. Given the singular numerological significance of both sets, it strains credibility to suppose that this structure can be attributed to coincidence. Instead, the structure of *Minerva Britanna* would appear to be a superlative expression of the author's confessed "addiction" to the ideals of "proportion and number." It appears that Peacham found the relationship between 77 and the theme of ascent already preformed in renaissance arithmology. In number symbolism since the scholastics, 77, although more generally known as the number of generations from Adam to Christ, had acquired the typological significance of the number of steps in the ascent to the godhead. According to Hugo St. Victor, the number itself symbolizes spiritual ascent through the remission of sins: "gradus significant, quod in Evangelio de remissione peccatorum dicitur: 'septuagies septies'...Septuaginta septem ergo universam transgressionem significant, quae hic ascendentibus relaxatur"/"the steps mean the

same as that which the evangelist [Matthew] has said regarding the remission of sins: 77 therefore signifies universal transgression, which by ascending produces the mitigation of sin."[43]

The ideal of anagogic ascent is partially masked in Peacham's book by the direct invocation of the *sensus allegoricus*, in which social climbing takes the place of the ascent to the Godhead. This theme is stated pictographically in emblem 201, which construes the court as precarious pyramid thronged with social climbers (Figure Seven).[44]
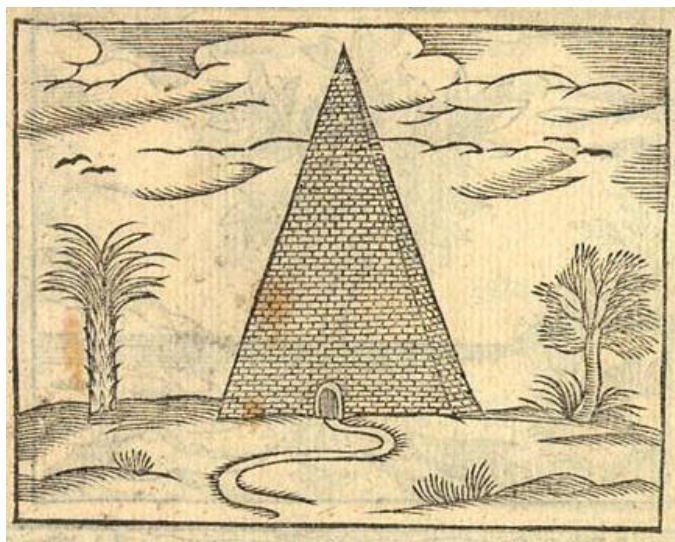

Figure Seven: 'Minimus in summo' (slightest at the top) (201).

Pointed with the superscript, "minimus in summo" (slightest at the top), the emblem draws on the conventional analogy between the pyramid and the Jacobean social hierarchy, moralizing that "how much higher thou art plac'd in sight/so much the lesse affect thy state and might," since honors "lend Ambition wing" (Ee2v). Implicitly comparing the stratospheric world of the court with the peak of the pyramid, the emblem warns the courtly opportunist of the moral treachery of a life of power, and the ever present temptation to recapitulate the myth of Icarus in the key of courtly life.

Numerical structure is only the most abstract and well-concealed of several modes of unity in *Minerva Britanna*. If Peacham's title alludes to the dominant emblematic traditions of Minerva, then there is reason to suspect that another extended theme of Peacham's book is hermetic knowledge. Long associated with the topoi of "arms and art"[45] by the time of Alciat, she could stand for the principle "Prudens magis quam loquax"[46]– "prudence should take precedence over rash speech." Alciat's influential *Diverse impresa* (1551) associates Minerva with "prudentia," advising that "al prudente non convengono multi parole"/ "the prudent do not make use of too many words," and "Saggio chi poco parla, e multo tace"/ "He is wise who speaks little and is often silent."

**Figure Eight: Comparison of Alciat's Biii (prudence)
with Peacham's 1 (*Nisi disuper*/unless from above).**

The influence of Alciat's emblem on Peacham's book is evident by comparing the first emblem of *Minerva Britanna* with Alciat's Minerva emblem (Figure Eight): both employ as background a maritime landscape with ships at sunrise/sunset. Both emblems also concern the source of contested authority; Peacham's overt gesture of deference to triumphal royal authority is shadowed – and, it seems likely, *problematized* – by Alciat's location of authority in the prudent exercise of human wisdom and discretion, the ancient ideal of *initiatory,* concealed knowledge. Not coincidentally, among the principles of the Pythagorean sect of mathematical adepts was a vow of silence, which represented not only self discipline, but a commitment to the suprasensible world of numeration and a frankly elitist view of knowledge. Such an emphasis on concealed knowledge is consistent with the well understood influence of neo-Platonic epistemology on the emblem book tradition, as E.H. Gombrich[47] and others have described it, and is a theme reflected in several of Peacham's emblems, including 156, *silentii dignitas,* which depicts the Athenian sage Solon, the prototype of the wise man, cutting his own tongue out. It is glossed with the subscript, echoing Alciat's Minerva emblem, that "of silence never any yet complained/ or could say justly it had done him wrong/Who knowes to speak, and when to hold his peace/ Findes fewest dangers, and lives best at ease."[48]
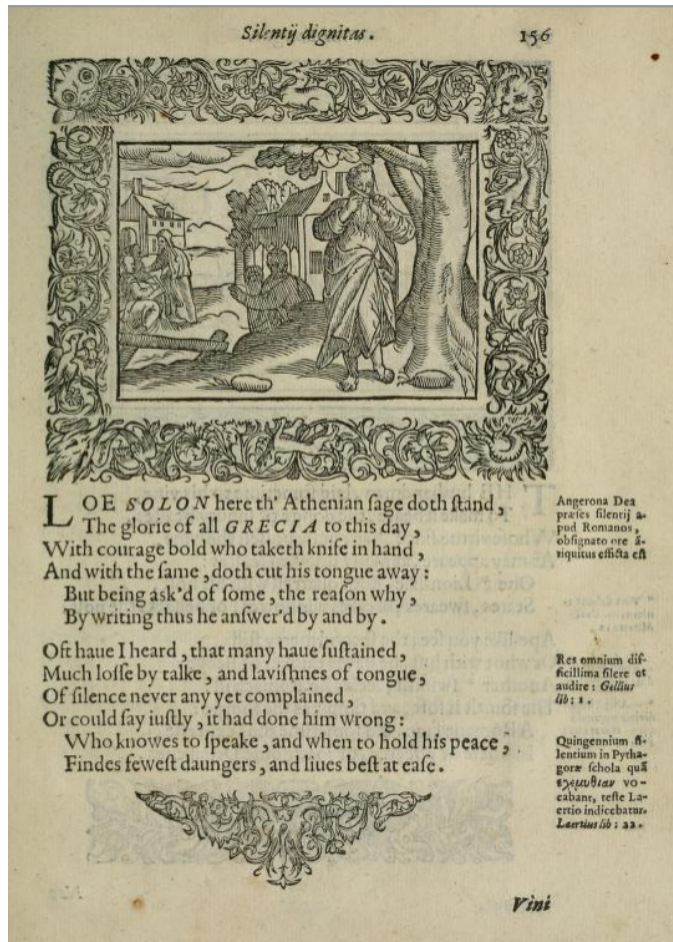
**Figure Nine: Solon cutting out his own tongue
in Peacham's _Minerva Britanna_.**

In case we need any reminding, Peacham's sidenote to the emblem declares: "Quingennium silentium in Pythagorae schola quam εχεμυθιαν vocabant, teste Laertio indicebatur"/In the school of Pythagoras they did not speak for five years, which they called 'holding one's peace,' as Laertio reveals."

Although the present paper cannot elaborate the larger implications of the complex, multi-dimensional symbolism of _Minerva Britanna_ it has shown that Peacham's book is built upon a concealed numerical structure, utilizing the Pythagorean principle of triangular numbers. This numerical structure, it has been

argued, constitutes an expression of Peacham's *tour de force* reconciliation of the ancient paragon between poetry and architectural form. On this view, Peacham's work is representative of a definite Stuart trend, which continued throughout the century, towards poetic forms conceived under the strong influence of the pictorial arts, in which form "harmonically" restated or confirmed content. The increasingly formal verse structures of the period, represented in such pictorial poems as George Herbert's "The Altar," expressed a growing desire to "compress as much meaning into a poem as possible" (Røstvig 202) by invoking forms commensurate with their contents. As an expression of this trend – one deeply rooted, as we have seen, in principles of Arithmology stretching back over many centuries of artistic expression and boasting theoretical exposition in Boethius, the Bible, and Pythagoras – it is perhaps not surprising that *Minerva* should be organized around a subliminal but coherent numerical schema. The device not only communicates Peacham's mystical affirmation of the Pythagorean doctrine, that all things are composed of number, but also reiterates, through its concealed design and esoteric symbolism, a preoccupation with the Renaissance ideal of the monumental and memorializing function of literature.

Like other Renaissance emblematists, Henry Peacham apparently drew inspiration from Neo-Platonic doctrines of the higher order of invisible knowledge embodied in principles concealed from the unsophisticated. He wrestled with the ancient debate over which of the arts was the "best," and not only gave, but illustrated, an answer familiar to other Renaissance arts theorists: the best art was the one which most successfully imitated the others. But he also subscribed to the doctrine of poetic glory, believing that poetry constituted a form of memorial, honoring both dedicatee and author by embodying lasting values in abstract form. His dedicatory verses to Prince Henry, "ad Augustissi[mum] et Longe Nobilissimum Henricum Walliae Principem," conclude with the ringing promise of a new Golden Age of British imperialism that Peacham prophesies (*vaticinor*) will last until Henry's rule extends wider than the world itself (*toto regnabis latius orbe*). Ironically, within months Peacham's dedicatee was dead; the cult of the Elizabethan revival that had grown up around him, of which *Minerva Britanna* constitutes an outstanding exemplification, was forced to accommodate to a new age of growing Stuart absolutism, and Peacham's living forms were relegated to the historical museum of misunderstood curiosities.

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Appendix A

Ex puris Iambis. Ad eundem.

Iniquus aestimator ille ducitur
Suo metitur omne qui modo ac pede;
Sapitque perparum ille, cui nihil sapit,
 Nisi quod approbatur a sua nota.
At aequus ille, quisquis addit ipsius
Opinioni, acutioris arbitri
 probationem,   et acre testimonium,
Et eius, et suis videns occellulis.
Peritiorum amica testimonia
 Habes, labore de tuo probissimo;
Nec illa pauca, laude te ferentium
Ad astra, sicut hoc meretur inclitum
Opus. Mihi nec est opus quid amplius
Loqui, quasi adderem mari meas aquas;
Tamen quod ipse postulas, ego libens
Eos sequor, meumque iungo calculum.
PECHAME perge fausto ut incipis pede
 Et ede plura, lividumque ZOILUM,
Malumque virus huius invidentiae
Teruntio valeto, cuncta qui potest,
Placere non potest ei, ipse IVPITER;
Nihil morare candidum lapillulum,
Nigrumque faecis infimae, places quibus
Sat est placere, doctioribus viis.
.

                     THO: HARDINGVS.

Appendix B:

The Sequence of Triangular Numbers and Bases

2	3	41	861
3	6	42	903
4	10	43	946
5	15	44	990
6	21	45	1035
7	28	46	1081
8	36	47	1128
9	45	48	1176
10	55	49	1225
11	66	50	1275
12	78	51	1326
13	91	52	1378
14	105	53	1431
15	120	54	1485
16	136	55	1540
17	153	56	1596
18	171	57	1653
19	190	58	1711
20	210	59	1770
21	231	60	1830
22	253	61	1891
23	276	62	1953
24	300	63	2016
25	325	64	2080
26	351	65	2145
27	378	66	2211
28	406	67	2278
29	435	68	2346
30	465	69	2415
31	496	70	2485
32	528	71	2556
33	561	72	2628
34	595	73	27o1
35	630	74	2775
36	666	75	2850
37	703	76	2926
39	780	77	3003
40	820		

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[2] Forty-four emblems are dedicated to named individuals (including one to Jesus Christ, one to Peacham himself, and four to King James).

[3] See the title page reproduction on xvii, this issue.

[4] Mason Tung, "From Mirror to Emblem: A Study of Peacham's Use of *Microkosmos* in Minerva Britanna." *Word and Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Inquiry.* 5 (1989): 326-332; "From Personifications to Emblems: A Study of Peacham's Use of Ripa's Iconologia in *Minerva Britanna,*" *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition.* Ed. By Peter M. Daly New York: AMS, 1988. 109-150; "From Impresa to Emblem: Peacham's Use of Typotius's Symbola and other Impresa Collections in *Minerva Britanna,*" *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Emblem Studies.* 3 (1988) 79-100; "Fables in Emblems: A Study of Peacham's Use of Aesop and Aesopics in *Minerva Britanna,*" *Studies in Iconography*. 12 (1988): 43-60; "From Heraldry to Emblem: A study of Peacham's Use of Heraldic Arms in Minerva Britanna" *Word and Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Inquiry.* 3 (1987): 86-94; "A List of Flora and Fauna in Peacham's *Minerva Britanna* and Acliati's *Emblemata* Together with Possible Models in Contemporary Illustrations," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Studies* 1 (1986) 345-57; "From Theory to Practice: A Study of the Theoretical Bases of Peacham's Emblematic Art," *Studies in Iconography,* 18 (1997) 187-219.

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[19] Leon Battista Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria*, ix, 5; cited in Mark Rose, *Shakespearean Design* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 16.

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[24] Robert Ralston Cawley, *Henry Peacham: His Contribution to English Poetry*. 1971, 41; emphasis supplied.

[25] E.g., Peterson, R.G. "Critical Calculations: Measure and Symmetry in Literature," *PMLA*, 91:3 (May, 1976): 367-75, 370.

[26] *Ekphrasis* is defined as the graphic, often dramatic, description of a visual work of art. Among the most famous ekphrastic passages in literary history is Homer's description of Achilles' shield in book 18 of *The Iliad*.

[27] Peacham, B1v.

[28] Calculum ponere: "put the stone [on the counting-board]," i.e., "settle accounts," "come to a reckoning" (Andrewes 225). Penny McCarthy has kindly noted that *calculum* is also the word for a voting pebble, so that Harding's reference

can also be translated "and add *my vote* (of approval) to theirs." Although this is a satisfying first reading of the line, the elaborate numerical language of the entire poem suggests the presence of a conceit that goes beyond such a conventional expression of approval.

29 Harding's familiarity with the Thracian tradition recorded by Pliny (6.11) of memorializing fortunate occurrences with a white (candidum) calculus and unfortunate ones with a black (nigrum) one is attested in his use of these very terms in the concluding stanza.

30 Although the triangular sequence constitutes the dominant structural principle of *Minerva Britanna*, it is not Peacham's only use of number to impart structure. The "Authors Conclusion" that completes the book's sequence of verses is composed of 22 ½ stanzas of 8, for a total of 180 lines of verse. Unlike the book as a whole, this sequence follows the typical Renaissance pattern of being organized around a symmetrical center that replicates the circular metaphor implied in a verse total of 180, replicating in its structure the circular symbolism of an ekphrastic Garter necklace worn by a Queen seated in a "circlet round":

Within there was a Circlet round,	73
That rais'd it selfe, of softest grasse,	74
No Velvet smoother spred on ground,	75
Or Em'rald greener ever was:	76
In mid'st there sate a beauteous Dame,	77
(Not PAPHOS Queene so faire a wight)	78
For Roses by, did blush for shame,	79
To see a purer, red and white.	80
In Robe of woven Silver fine,	81
And deepest Crimson she was clad:	82
Then diaper'd with golden twine,	83
Aloft a Mantle greene she had,	84
Whereon were wrought, with rarest skill	85
Faire Cities, Castles, Rivers, Woods;	86
And here, and there, embossed a hill	87
With Fountaines, and the Nymphes of Floods.	88
A massie Collar set with stones,	89
Did over all, it self extend	90
Whereon in sparkling Diamonds,	91
SAINT GEORGE, her Patrone did depend	92

The "beauteous dame,'' perhaps a personification of Lady England, the late Elizabeth I, or even Minerva herself, wears a garter livery collar like that

worn by Elizabeth I in her 1558 coronation portrait. It cannot reasonably be considered a coincidence that this emblematic device is introduced precisely at the center of the 180-line sequence, an effect which is emphasized by the statement that the "beauteous dame" is seated "in the midst" of a "Circlet."

31 This excludes the single digit series 1, 3, and 6, which are palindromic only in the most technical sense.

32 Milton Klonsky (ed), *Speaking Pictures: A Gallery of Pictorial Poetry from the Sixteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Harmony Books, 1975), 25.

33 All of which are triangular except, of course, 11.

34 Alistair Fowler, *Triumphal Forms: Structural patterns in Elizabethan Poetry* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1970), 188.

35 Fowler, 188.

36 Maren-Sofie Røstvig, "Andrew Marvell and the Caroline Poets," in *English Poetry and Prose 1540-1674*, edited by Christopher Ricks (London: Sphere Reference, 1986), 201-44, 201.

37 Verbal echoes are rare in Peacham's book, and yet the same paranomasic fear, of "aspiring" too high, also occurs in emblem 142: "But ah I feare me, I too high aspire" (X1) as well as being repeated in the concluding emblem (206) of the series.

38 Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1946), 5.

39 Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* 146.26-9; emphasis supplied.

40 The four elements of the quadrivium were defined as "number itself (arithmetic), number in relations (music); and quantity, which may be studied at rest (geometry) and in motion (astronomy)" (Wagner 153).

41 Glen Wegge, "The Relationship between Neo-Platonic Aesthetics and Early Medieval Music Theory: The Ascent to the One (Part 3)," *Music Theory Resources*, 2:1 (summer 2001).Web, 2.

42 Heinz Meyer and Rudolf Suntrup, *Lexicon Der Mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutungen*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 1987, 768. The chief scholastic theorist of the divine ascent was St. Bonaventure (1221-74): "we are so created that the material universe itself is a ladder by which we may ascend to God.... Now since it is necessary to ascend before we can descend on Jacob's ladder, let us place our first step in the ascent at the bottom, setting the whole visible world before us as a mirror through which we may pass over to God, the Supreme Creative Artist..." (chapter 1).

43 Cf. also, Emblem 21, dedicated to William, Earl of Pembroke, to whom the Shakespeare First Folio would in 1623 also be dedicated, which construes the pyramid as an emblem of the "glory of princes" endowed with "glorious proiectes of the mind" (E2v), and *Minerva's* third comparable *topos* of monumental architecture, the Colossus at Rhodes (161).

44 See, for example, Henkel, Von Arthur & Albrecht Schöne. *Emblemata: Handbuch Zur Sinnbildkunst Des XVI. Und XVII Jahrhunderts.* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche

Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1953), An. S. 104, p. 1735.

45 John Manning, *The Emblem*. London: Reaktion Books, 2004, 239.

46 According to Gombrich, before the dawn of the Age of Reason, "preceding centuries were not worried by the apparent paradox of an art invented to convey a message in symbols which seemed to become more obscure the triter the meaning they were supposed both to hide and reveal" (162)…. "to the Neo-Platonic philosophers the conception of an inherent and essential symbolism pervading the order of things offered a key to the whole universe" (168).

47 Peacham overtly acknowledges the occult tradition even on the title page of his book, which invokes the figure of enigma, depicting a concealed author behind a theatrical discovery space writing the words "mente videbor/by the mind I shall be revealed" (see note 3). Emblem 38 (G3), depicting a winged key, is glossed by the subscript as testimony that

> The waightie counsels, and affaires of state,
> The wider mannadge, with such cunning skill,
> Though long lockt up, at laste abide the fate
> Of common censure, either good or ill:
> And greatest secrets, though they hidden lie,
> Abroad at last, with swiftest wing they flie.
>   (G3)

This emblem unites two themes, that of concealed knowledge – specifically the *arcana imperium* and *domesticum* of courts and kings – and that of the country-court dichotomy, through an equivocation on "abroad," a word compressing the two meanings, "freely moving about…out of doors, out in the open air" (OED 2./3., 9) with "Out of the home country; in or into foreign lands" (4., 9).

48 Peacham's emblem 177, dedicated to himself, echoes his verbal remark of his own addiction to "the science of proportion." It depicts Urania, wearing a dress decorated with stars and holding a model of the globe in one hand and a staff in the other, pointing with her staff to the stars. The superscript, a Latin anagram on Peacham's own name, reads "Hinc super haec, Musa" – "Muse, hither above these" (Bb2v). With this astronomical perspective in mind, it may be interesting to recall the semiotic function of the triangle in Renaissance cosmology. According to Johannes Sarabosco's *Tractatus de Sphaera* (c. 1230), a book that remained the standard 16th century handbook of cosmology, a celestial sign or constellation should be viewed as a pyramid "whose equilateral base is that surface which we call a 'sign' whilst its apex is at the centre of the earth" (cited in Røstvig 221).

A Countess Transformed:
How Lady Susan Vere Became Lady Anne Clifford

Bonner Miller Cutting

Since the sixteenth century, Wilton House has been the ancient country manor home of the Earls of Pembroke, and among its treasures is a large painting centered on the wall of the majestic Double Cubed Room (Figure One). In fact, the Double Cubed Room was specifically designed by the eminent seventeenth century architect Inigo Jones to display this very painting, which spans seventeen feet across and is eleven feet high. Considered "a perfect school unto itself"[1] as an example of the work of Sir Anthony Van Dyck, it contains ten figures, all life size with the exception of the Earl himself. who is slightly larger in scale than the rest, a subtle tribute to his dominance of the family group.[2] However, it is not the unique place of this painting in art history or the brilliance of the painter that is called into question, but the identity of the woman in black sitting to the left of the 4th Earl of Pembroke. The official twentieth century catalogue of the Pembroke family's art collection flatly identifies her as the Earl's second wife, Anne Clifford.[3] The purpose of this paper is to determine if this attribution can stand up to scrutiny when the portrait is placed in its historical and cultural context.

The official reason for the identification of Lady Anne Clifford is the fact that Philip, the 4th Earl of Pembroke, was married to her when the portrait was painted. It is also an historical fact that Philip was married to his first wife, Lady Susan Vere, when the First Folio of William Shakespeare was published in 1623, and Philip and his older brother William are the "incomparable paire of brethren" to whom the First Folio was dedicated.[4] It should be noted that the familial relationship between the dedicatees and Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford – a result of this marriage – appears to be troubling to orthodoxy; Oxford, Philip's father-in-law, is widely regarded as the leading alternative candidate by those who doubt the traditional attribution of Shakespeare's works.

Figure One: 1740 Engraving of The Pembroke Family by Bernard Baron, after Sir Anthony Van Dyck, c. 1635 (Courtesy of the Royal Galleries of Scotland).

The six arguments presented in this paper support the position that the woman seated at the left of the 4th Earl is not his second wife, Lady Anne Clifford – as proffered by the Wilton House catalogue – but his first wife, Lady Susan Vere. If so, then the suggestion might be put forth that the substitution of Countess Anne for Countess Susan as the Earl's Lady in the Van Dyck may have something to do with the authorship issue.[5] Thus, the identity of the Countess takes on special import. In order to ascertain her identity, the circumstances of Philip's two marriages come into play.

In 1604, the court of King James was bustling with the news of the marriage of the handsome young Philip Herbert and Lady Susan Vere, the third daughter of the 17th Earl of Oxford.[6] It was considered a love match, a surprising occurrence in a time when marriages were arranged for dynastic aggrandizement. Even more remarkable is the largesse that King James bestowed on the union. He was, in effect, the wedding planner, financing the celebration, which went on for days at enormous cost, and supplying the new couple with gifts of money and property, even fulfilling the patriarchal duty of providing Susan Vere with her marriage portion. The King walked the bride down the aisle, accompanied by his royal family. In a statement not often reiterated by historians, King James is reported to have said that had he not already been a married man, he would have married Susan Vere

himself, rather than give her to his favorite, Philip Herbert.[7] It is further reported that the King showed up at the couple's bedside bright and early the next morning for a firsthand account of their wedding night. They managed to have ten children, presumably without the supervision of the King, and their marriage of approximately twenty-five years ended when Susan died from smallpox in 1629.

Philip inherited the Pembroke title at his older brother's death in 1630 and remarried later that year. His choice, Lady Anne Clifford, was an unexpected decision, for, in the words of a Herbert family biographer, her "attractions could not have been conspicuous." [8] It is odd that the eligible bachelor took on the inimitable widow of the Earl of Dorset, a stubborn woman whose negotiating skills had been well honed in decades of legal battles with her Clifford cousins. In fact, she had put up a fight of such magnitude in her efforts to reclaim the Clifford properties that King James himself stepped in to referee the bloodbath. When his royal judgment went against her, she refused to accept it, withstanding enormous pressure from her first husband and just about everybody attached to the royal court. We can gauge her strength of character in one of her letters, in which she wrote that she would not comply with the King's Award "no matter what misery it cost me." The King's decision was ultimately put in place by coercion.[9]

It is not surprising that she brought this steely determination to her marriage with Philip, and even less surprising that the marriage was a disaster, certainly from Philip's point of view. The marriage ended after four years when Philip cast her out of his lodgings in Whitehall Palace in December of 1634,[10] leaving himself "virtually widowed a second time." [11]

Some historians suggest that Van Dyck began the Pembroke family painting in 1634. Although this date may be merely an inadvertent error, it is an impossibility, as Van Dyck was out of the country from October of 1633 until March of 1635.[12] He could not have begun work on this painting until the summer of 1635, exactly the time when the negotiations for the final separation between Philip and Anne were completed.[13] Given Philip's temper and Anne's obstinacy, it is a safe bet that the discussions between their representatives had not been pleasant.

But there is more to the story. When Philip (hereafter called Pembroke) booted Lady Anne out of his palace lodgings, he effectively banished her from the court of King Charles as well. With this "catastrophic collapse of her status and her cause," Lady Anne became a veritable *persona non grata* at the Caroline Court.[14] Surprisingly, even her own biographers agree that this enormous breach was her fault. Both the Herbert and Clifford family historians concur that Pembroke, in marrying Lady Anne, sought a marriage between one of his younger sons and Lady Anne's younger daughter, Isabella Sackville.[15] A union of their families in the next generation would strengthen Pembroke's claim to Lady Anne's patrimony. By 1634, it was time to formalize the Herbert/Sackville betrothal, something that Pembroke considered part of their agreement when they married four years earlier.

On that fateful December day at Whitehall Palace, Pembroke had apparently called her hand and found that she could not be prevailed upon to finalize the engagement of her Isabella and his son. Pure and simple, she wanted Isabella to

marry an Earl. A younger son, even a scion of the prestigious Herbert family, just wasn't good enough. Pembroke's fury toward his second wife is understandable in light of the fact that she reneged on their deal. Not only was it a breach of good faith, but a humiliating rejection of his family.[16] It should be out of the question that he would then choose to immortalize Anne Clifford in his family celebration portrait.

But there is more to discover in this multifaceted investigation of Van Dyck's great painting. The beautiful young woman in the luminous silver dress can hardly be overlooked. She is Lady Mary Villiers, and it is fitting that she is the central figure in the portrait, for it is her place in the Pembroke family group that is commemorated in Van Dyck's remarkable work of art.

Mary Villiers was the daughter of George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham, whose rise to the top ranks of the English nobility is well known. Mary was his eldest child; after his assassination in 1628 she was taken into the royal household, where she was raised as the "spoilt pet of the court."[17] Her marriage contract to the Pembroke heir had been signed in 1626 when she was four years old and Charles Herbert was seven. Her dowry, a staggering 25,000 pounds, would go into the coffers of the Pembroke family once the marriage was solemnized.[18]

Another element in the story is the munificence that King Charles bestowed on the Flemish master painter Anthony Van Dyck. Van Dyck was knighted in 1632, and, upon his return to England in the spring of 1635, the King himself paid the rent on Van Dyck's resplendent waterfront studio at Blackfriars, even building a causeway for his more convenient access to it by boat.[19] Replete with musicians and sumptuous banquets, Van Dyck's studio rapidly became the principal gathering place for the Caroline Court. An observer wrote that it "was frequented by the highest nobles, for example the King, who came daily to see him and took great delight in watching him paint and lingering with him." [20]

It is easy to connect the dots: King Charles visited Van Dyck's studio regularly, and could hardly have missed the Titianesque painting of the Pembroke family taking shape before his very eyes — even more compelling as Mary Villiers, the favorite of the court, occupied center stage in the family group. After the banishment of Lady Anne Clifford, it is bizarre to suggest that Pembroke would take this opportunity to rehabilitate *her* before the King and his court in the family dynastic portrait. By contrast, the record shows that Pembroke's first wife, Lady Susan Vere, had been well thought of in court circles. In his book *The Earls of Paradise*, Adam Nicolson acknowledges that Pembroke's first marriage was "a love-match with a beautiful and universally admired woman." [21]

There is a sad postscript regarding the young couple who are celebrated in the painting. Following the custom of separating newlyweds due to the youth of the bride, young Lord Charles Herbert was sent to Italy, where he died of smallpox soon after his arrival in Florence.[22] His father "took the news most grievously," and, eventually, the lucrative Villiers dowry was returned.[23]

Next we turn to the historiography of the identification of the Countess in the portrait. It seems that throughout the eighteenth century it was understood that Susan Vere was the woman in the portrait. In assessing the historical context of the

painting, David Howarth, an art historian at the University of Edinburgh, has this to say in his recent book, *Images of Rule*:

> To Pembroke's left a woman sits huddled in black. It has come to be assumed that her tense, sullen isolation indicates Pembroke's second wife, Lady Anne Clifford, with whom Pembroke had contracted a loveless marriage. However, this woman …is shrouded in black, hands folded on stomach as was conventional in recumbent effigies of the dead, and it was presumably these features which made [Freeman] O'Donoghue in his catalogue of the British portrait prints in the British Museum, suggest that this disconsolate creature is in fact a posthumous likeness of Pembroke's first wife, Lady Susan Vere. *This is surely right*.[24]

It is nice that an expert of Howarth's academic stature disputes the attribution of Lady Anne Clifford; thus, his statement, coming at the end of the twentieth century, bears repeating: the Countess "is in fact a posthumous likeness of Pembroke's first wife, Lady Susan Vere." [25]

There are further reasons besides the sitter's somber appearance for the Susan Vere identification in the British Museum catalogue. Susan is the sitter of record in the engraving of the painting that was made in 1740, approximately a hundred years after Van Dyck painted the work. This is, of course, the engraving that O'Donoghue lists in his catalogue.[26] Therefore, it seems that O'Donoghue was following the historical information. In fact, the artist, Bernard Baron, made two engravings of the painting in 1740. Both are archived in the National Galleries of Scotland, and the principal sitters are identified as "Philip Herbert…with his wife Susan Vere." [27]

Additionally, four eighteenth century catalogues contain inventories of the paintings and art at Wilton House. The earliest, published in 1731 by Gambarini of Lucca, refers to the Earl's "Lady, Daughter to the Earl of Oxford." [28] In subsequent catalogues authored by Richard Cowdry and James Kennedy respectively, the name of the "Lady's" father is eliminated, but the description implies that she is Susan Vere:

> This consists of ten whole Lengths, the two principal Figures (and they are sitting) are Philip Earl of Pembroke and his Lady; on the Right-Hand stand their five sons Charles Lord Herbert, Philip, (afterwards Lord Herbert) William, James, and John; on the Left their Daughter Anna Sophia , and her Husband Robert Earl of Carnavon; before them Lady Mary, Daughter of George Duke of Buckingham, and wife to Charles, Lord Herbert; and above in the Clouds are two Sons and a Daughter who died young.[29, 30]

There is no question that the children in the portrait, referred to as "their five sons" and "their Daughter," are Susan Vere's children. There were no children from Pembroke's marriage to Anne Clifford. However, Susan's name is only *implied*

(because the children are hers); this does seem to be a bit of an oversight. Countess Susan was the daughter of an Earl and the granddaughter of Lord Burghley, whose stellar position in English history needs no elaboration here. Lady Mary Villiers is referenced in these catalogues as the "Daughter of George Duke of Buckingham." It should not be too much to ask that "his Lady" be recognized both by her name and aristocratic lineage. In the fourth and last catalogue, Richardson's *Aedes Pembrochianae*, her identity is revived; she is again "Susan, daughter of Edward, Earl of Oxford." [31]

Along with the identification of the Baron engraving of 1740 (Figure One) and the identifications in the eighteenth century catalogues, there is an eyewitness account of a traveler who visited Wilton House in 1738:

> And now I am gone so far I am come to the grand point, the account of the great picture, my heart begins to fail me…and a bold undertaking it is for me, to give you any account of the noble picture…. On my Lord's left hand sits my Lady in a great chair, all in black, with her hands before her in a great tranquility: she was Susan, daughter to Edward, Earl of Oxford.[32]

In 1801, the antiquarian John Brittan wrote an extended account of the Van Dyck portrait in his *Beauties of Wiltshire*, mostly dealing with the unfortunate cleaning processes to which the painting had been subjected earlier. At this time, Philip is still sitting next to "Susan his wife." [33] The last time that her name appears in print as the Earl's Countess is in an 1823 guidebook.[34]

These sources demonstrate that it was understood for nearly two centuries that the Earl's "Lady" was Susan Vere. The change of identity from the first wife to the second is a subsequent phenomenon. But when was this adjustment made?

Notices of the painting are few and far between in the nineteenth century. Writing in 1824 in his *Picture Galleries of England,* William Hazlitt notes that "there are the old Lord and Lady Pembroke." [35] "Old Lady Pembroke," as he calls her, has no name at all, but she is not quite yet Lady Anne Clifford. Continuing in his customary gruff tone, Hazlitt describes the Earl's Countess as "his help-mate looking a little fat and sulky by his side…." On behalf of the Royal Gallery in Berlin, Director Gustav Waagen came out in 1838 with a multi-volume tome: *Art and Artists in England*. Van Dyck's painting is now of "The Earl and His Countess." Again, the name of the Countess is omitted, but in a tiny slip twixt cup and lip, Waagen notes that "*her* daughter," Anna Sophia, is to "*her* left" (emphases added).[36]

After Waagen, there are only occasional references to the portrait, and these recall Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England*. Published in the late eighteenth century, Walpole's book is the source of the oft quoted (and previously mentioned) praise that the Van Dyck portrait of the Pembroke family "would serve alone as a school of this master." However, Walpole had scrupulously avoided mentioning any of the sitters by name; later commentaries, based on his observations, are silent on this point.[37]

With the turn of the twentieth century, we turn our attention to the distinguished authority and art connoisseur, Sir Lionel Cust. He was the curator of The National Portrait Gallery, editor of the Burlington Magazine, and a member of The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust.[38] In 1900 he published a definitive volume on the work of Sir Anthony Van Dyck, in which he has this to say about what he calls this "work of great importance":

> The principal painting there is the immense composition representing the fourth Earl of Pembroke with his second wife, Anne Clifford, and his family, including his son Philip, Lord Herbert, afterwards fifth Earl of Pembroke, his son's wife Penelope Naunton, and also his daughter Anne Sophia, with her husband Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnavon.[39]

Cust's identification seems to be the line of demarcation for the official attribution of Lady Anne Clifford as the Earl's lady in black, one that has been adhered to throughout the twentieth century with the two exceptions previously noted. Aside from the introduction of Lady Anne Clifford onto the canvas, Cust made an obvious mistake when he substituted Penelope Naunton for Lady Mary Villiers! Where did Penelope Naunton come from? A quick check in any book about the peerage will reveal that Penelope, the wealthy heiress of Ralph Naunton, married Paul, Viscount Bayning in 1634 and was widowed in 1638, thereby freeing up her person and her pocketbook for the Pembroke earldom. When she married Philip, Lord Herbert in 1639, the paint on Van Dyck's canvas was quite dry.[40]

In 1907 a new catalogue of the Wilton House treasures was published. The author, Nevile R. Wilkinson, had been a Captain of Her Majesty's Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards, but perhaps his qualifications for the task of an art historian were enhanced by his marriage to a daughter of the Earl of Pembroke.[41] In his grand two-volume folio – later referred to as the Great Catalogue – Captain Wilkinson reinforces the Lady Anne Clifford attribution. In the chapter about the 4th Earl and his family, Wilkinson devotes four pages to the virtues of Lady Anne Clifford, while Susan Vere's name appears only once, specifically as the mother of just one of the Earl's children. For all practical purposes, Susan has disappeared into the woodwork as a nearly anonymous first wife.

Following Captain Wilkinson, Dr. George C. Williamson contributed to the proliferation of the Lady Anne Clifford identification in the Van Dyke portrait. Williamson was the author of an impressive array of books on literary, historical and cultural subjects, and it is surely his endorsement that sealed the deal, so to speak.[42] In his 1922 limited edition biography of Lady Anne, he goes to great lengths to describe her "grave countenance" in Van Dyck's painting.[43]

Then he reveals that he has examined *another* much smaller portrait of Lady Anne Clifford at Wilton House. Hoping that two wrongs will make a right, Williamson has this to say about the heretofore unknown small portrait:

It had been forgotten for many years, and was not included in the great catalogue of the Wilton pictures [Captain Wilkinson's two volumes], but was found in an upstairs room…It bears a long inscription saying that it represents Lady Anne, and the likeness to that in the great Van Dyck is *quite unmistakable*, although the portrait depicts her more cheerful in appearance…She has suspended from the front of the corsage a miniature of Lord Pembroke. As she is in a black dress, it is possible that this portrait may have been painted immediately after Lord Pembroke's decease.[44]

The suggestion that the small portrait was painted after Pembroke's death is impossible if the portrait is, indeed, of Lady Anne Clifford. Pembroke died in 1650; Lady Anne was born in 1590. The sitter in the small painting is hardly a sixty-year-old woman.[45] Dr. Williamson, of all people, should be able to do better than this. That this painting was not included in any of the Wilton House catalogues is most intriguing: *what else* has not been included in these historic catalogues? A unique feature of the portrait is the miniature of Pembroke worn at the neck of the sitter. Williamson was an expert on miniature painting, and he should have been able to recognize a likeness of Pembroke when he saw it. A miniature brooch was likely to be worn by a wife; hence, the wearer's identity can be surmised by the simple process of elimination. With the subject's age and family relationship in mind, the presumption should be entertained that the balding woman with the aquiline features is Susan Vere.[46]

Of course it would be helpful to have a portrait to work from that was a clearly established likeness of Susan Vere. In an ancient catalogue of 1842, titled *A Hand-Book to Public Galleries of Art In and Near London*, there is a listing of a "Portrait of a Lady in Rich Dress" at the Dulwich Picture Gallery.[47] It is identified as a portrait of "Susan Vere, first wife of Philip Earl of Pembroke." Better yet, it is listed as a painting by Van Dyck. It would be just what the doctor ordered for comparison, even though the compiler observed that the painting was in poor condition, noting that it "has suffered terribly." [48] However, since the 1842 attribution, the identity of the painter has been changed from Van Dyck to Cornelius Johnson the Elder, and the identity of the sitter is officially classified as unknown. Now called "A Lady in Blue," it remains in the collection of the Dulwich Picture Gallery.

These two portraits certainly deserve consideration as possible renditions of Susan. When compared to each other, the features are similar enough to be the same person, painted by a great artist and a lesser one. Obviously, the painting formerly attributed to Van Dyck far surpasses the small painting, which Williamson attributed to William Dobson, a Van Dyck follower.[49] Both sitters are balding, a feature far removed from Lady Anne Clifford, whose abundant dark hair was one of her better physical attributes.

When the "Lady in Blue" and the Countess in Van Dyck's Pembroke family portrait are compared, the pose is strikingly similar. Both share the sideward glance that is familiar in Van Dyck's work, as well as the sensitivity of facial expression that is a hallmark of the master painter. By contrast, much of the portraiture of the era

was in keeping with the ubiquitous, static Jacobean effigies.[50]

However, unless one of these portraits is eventually identified as Susan Vere, then no established portraits of her are extant. We do, however, have paintings of Lady Anne Clifford with which to compare the lady in the Pembroke family portrait. At approximately age twenty-eight, Lady Anne sat for William Larkin and the next year for Paul van Somer, both distinguished artists of the era.[51] A portrait in a private collection dates from 1629, a year before her marriage to Pembroke; attributed to Gerard Honthorst, this portrait is the closest in time to Van Dyck's family portrait.[52] There are two representations of *her* by Sir Peter Lely from the mid to late 1640s; they correspond almost exactly to her portrait in the right panel of her great triptych painted in the mid-1640s, about a decade after Van Dyck painted the Pembroke family.[53] Commenting on these later portraits, a recent biographer remarked how much Lady Anne had aged in only ten years "since Van Dyck painted her." [54] That these renditions of Lady Anne bear no resemblance to the Earl's Countess in the Van Dyck is compelling evidence that she is not the sitter in that painting; there is not even a remote possibility that Van Dyck would fail to capture such elementary elements as Lady Anne's dark hair and distinctive features, including the dimple in her chin.[55] Lady Anne's physiognomy simply does not match that seen in sitter in the Pembroke family portrait.

In spite of the lack of resemblance between the many portraits of Lady Anne and the sitter in the Van Dyck, her identification is perpetuated by her twentieth century biographers, who put their imaginations to work to account for the sitter's remote appearance, disengaged from the family group. Martin Holmes describes her "detachment" and Richard Spence refers to her as "looking withdrawn," hoping this will explain away the Countess' vacant "oblivious gaze." [56] Both biographers leave unexplained why the Countess is clothed in basic, somber black, admittedly "almost humbly in comparison" to her husband with his Garter regalia and the colorfully attired young people around her.[57]

The costuming itself is an indication that the presence of the Countess in the painting is a fiction, an example of what one authority calls "the typical Jacobean taste for ingenuity in paradox."[58] In a recent study, Emile Gordenker discusses how Van Dyck used clothing to fictionalize his subjects.[59] That the lady in black is not in the rich dress of a Countess, while all the other figures are elaborately attired, is significant. Van Dyck used simple, flowing costuming to place his sitters "between the actual world and the realm of mythology." [60] The Countess is the only one of the ten figures *not* in contemporary court dress, and is thereby removed from real time. Furthermore, the three cherubs floating at the top corner are obvious allegorical iconography that further enhances the fictionalization of the family grouping.[61]

The folded, overlapped arms of the Countess are another clue that the sitter is Pembroke's deceased wife, not his living but estranged one. Van Dyck uses this pose in only one other portrait, that of Cecilia Crofts. According to Malcolm Rogers, "Her arms are folded in a cradling gesture over her womb, perhaps indicating that she was pregnant when the portrait was painted." [62] It seems that the folded hands and cradled arms are associated with motherhood, an appropriate motif for the matriarch

of a dynasty.[63] A closer look at Cecilia Crofts reveals that her arms are more rounded, her fingers more delicate and loose than Pembroke's Countess. Though the pose is essentially the same, Cecilia Crofts appears graceful and natural. Again, the skill of the master painter is apparent in the subtle artistry. Cecilia Crofts' arms are rounded and gentle; those of Pembroke's Lady are squared and rigid.

If a visitor were standing before this painting in the Double Cube Room at Wilton House – and could see it clearly without being blinded by the magnificence of the room and the treasures it houses – he or she might notice that the Countess is "*noticeably thinly painted*" in comparison to the rest of the figures.[64] The austere Countess is a foremost example of Van Dyck's "miraculous rendering of surface textures." [65] *She* is ethereal, a gossamer figure captured in the thin paint. She is not quite there, even on the canvas, in the same way that the other family members are.

The contrast between this stationary figure and the rest of the family, in motion about her, is striking. It could be a scene from a well-choreographed ballet. Daughter Anna Sophia is the only one who has actually found her place on the stage as she reaches for her husband's hand. Her husband, the Earl of Carnavon, is moving up to the next step, as is Lady Mary Villiers, who turns to glance back at the viewer. Pembroke is turning and gesturing to his right, introducing his heir, it is thought, to his bride.[66] The two older boys are turning towards him, flaunting their attire, and one of the three younger boys is directing his attention upwards, as if the cherubs floating above were a distraction. Amidst all the commotion, the thinly painted figure with the squared off arms gazes vacantly away, and her stillness is palpable.

Clearly, the purpose of the painting was to celebrate the Pembroke family dynasty. It is reasonable that Countess Susan would be given the respect she is due at her husband's side, as the dynastic survival of the Herbert family was assured by the children of their marriage. David Howarth notes: "It was entirely appropriate that Van Dyck should have included the mother of Pembroke's children. The spirit of the Earl's first wife thus compliments the presence of Lady Mary Villiers, by whom Pembroke expected to be provided with grandchildren." [67]

In summary, there are many reasons for the Susan Vere identification: (1) the breakup of the marriage between Pembroke and his second wife by the time of the portrait; (2) the eighteenth century historical identifications; (3) the sitter's lack of resemblance to Lady Anne's established portraits; (4) the rigid, funereal pose of the sitter with the fictionalized attire and symbolism of matriarchy, all rendered in thin paint by Van Dyck; and (5) the common sense notion that the matriarch of a dynasty would be represented in the family dynastic portrait.

As previously stated, twentieth century scholars use the marriage of Pembroke and Lady Anne Clifford to justify their identification of her in the painting; and, indeed, the Earl's second marriage would stay on the books until one of them died, in spite of their *de facto* divorce.[68] This circumstance notwithstanding, it seems that the "time is out of joint," and this departure from real time, called chronological incongruity or chronological dissonance, should be addressed. Therefore, one question is still on the table: Were posthumous likenesses used in other paintings of the era?

Numerous examples of chronological latitude can be found. The well known painting of Sir Thomas More and his family was commissioned by More's grandson in 1593. In this multi-generational composite, the living Thomas More II is elderly and appears to be about the same age as his great-grandfather at the other side of the painting. His own father is a young man, and his famous grandfather, who was executed by Henry VIII in 1535, appears as he did in the fullness of life.[69]

Another example of chronological incongruity, as well as an example of the custom of commemorating lifetime landmarks in works of art, can be found in the charming family gathering of Henry VIII. In this painting, the King celebrates his decision to put his two daughters back in the line of succession in 1544.[70] Henry's son Prince Edward, the Tudor heir, is standing at his father's right knee. The Queen chosen for the place of honor at the King's left is his third wife, Jane Seymour, who had died giving birth to the Prince six years earlier. Of course, in real time, Henry was happily married (more or less) to his sixth wife, Queen Catherine Parr.

Art historians allow that this painting, called "The Family of Henry VIII," was a precedent for Van Dyck's portrait, so it must be asked if they are sure – *absolutely certain* – that it is the deceased Queen Jane who is at Henry's side and not the contemporaneous Queen Catherine.[71] That identification is positive. The image of Jane Seymour was copied, almost exactly, from an earlier painting by Hans Holbein dating from 1537. The gabled hood and whelk-shell headdress are an unmistakable mark of Queen Jane. In *Tudor Costume and Fashion*, Herbert Norris explains that Henry's later Queens chose the more fashionable French hood and headdress.[72]

Van Dyck himself was called upon to portray deceased loved ones on canvas. Sir Kenelm Digby also commissioned two paintings of his wife, Venetia Stanley, after her death. The first was painted two days after her unexpected demise, when Van Dyck responded quickly to Digby's request to paint her before her body was removed for burial. This memorial keepsake was said to have been a great comfort to Sir Kenelm.[73] Moreover, in a subsequent effort to vindicate her reputation, he commissioned Van Dyck to paint an elaborate allegory of her as Prudence, something she had hardly been in her younger days as the notorious courtesan of the Carolinian Court. Again, as he did with the Pembroke Family portrait, Van Dyck uses an allegorical scenario to fictionalize his subject, and "Prudence" is crowned by cherubs — her "virtue rewarded after death." [74]

The tomb of George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham, affords another example of chronological irregularity. Located in the Henry VII Chapel in Westminster Abbey, the dress and appearance of the Duke's children have been used to determine when the monument was completed.[75] Lady Mary Villiers appears in effigy as a child on the tomb, alongside her brothers. In a few years, she will be a young woman on Van Dyck's canvas. Included in this funerary scene is a boy, reclining with his right arm supported on a skull. This is Charles, the Duke's deceased son. His presence along with the three surviving children is another example of the convention of including deceased family members within the living family group.

Things did not go well for Philip Herbert in his later years. His marriage to Lady Anne Clifford cost him dearly. He never saw a shilling from her estates, and

did not even manage to reel in her younger daughter as a match for his younger son — something that would have been a real coup for the Herbert family.[76] When the difficulties of their marriage are considered, it is startling that the memory of Lady Anne Clifford, and not Lady Susan Vere, is raised up by future generations of art historians as the sitter of the Pembroke family tryptych.

It brings up the question of motivation: Could it be that this exchange of identity is merely an inadvertent error? Or is this erroneous attribution motivated by something more profound? Might the suppression of Lady Susan's identity be connected, somehow, to the Shakespeare Authorship Question? Researchers Bernice and Alan Cohen, among others, think that there is such a connection, and provide additional information about the Van Dyck portrait in an article published in the De Vere Society Newsletter.[77] As the Cohens note, some things fall into place when Countess Susan Vere is factored into the equation. She was associated with Ben Jonson, and this has led to the proposal that it was Susan's influence that motivated the "incomparable brethren" to support Ben Jonson in publishing Shakespeare's First Folio. Furthermore, it would explain how Jonson had access to the unpublished Shakespeare manuscripts; Susan Vere could have inherited the manuscripts from her father and passed them along to him.[78]

In commenting on the poetry of Susan's father, Edward de Vere, the nineteenth century editor Dr. Grosart wrote that "An unlifted shadow lies across his memory."[79] The suppression of Susan's identity in the Van Dyck portrait is a tangible indicator that this shadow has fallen on her as well. If the Wilton House catalogues and the family biographies are any indication, the Pembroke family descendants – her own descendants – have systematically removed her from her rightful place in the family chronicles. Only one little problem remains after centuries of a deliberate effort to erase her memory: Countess Susan Vere's face cannot be erased from the Van Dyck masterpiece on the wall at Wilton House.

Endnotes

[1] Richardson, *Aedes Pembrochianae A New Account and Description of the Antiquities and Curiosities in Wilton-House* (London: R. Baldwin, 1774), 74.

[2] Alfred Moir, *Anthony Van Dyck* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc, 1994), 114.

[3] Sidney, 16th Earl of Pembroke. *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings at Wilton House* (London: Phaidon Press LTD, 1968), 59.

[4] Margaret P. Hannay, *Phillip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 159-62. In 1597, Lord and Lady Pembroke sought the marriage of their older son William and Oxford's second daughter, Lady Bridget Vere. Oxford gave his consent to the match that "do greatly content me, for Bridget's sake, whome always I have wished a good husband…" The marriage negotiations fell apart due to political reasons.

[5] The presence of Susan Vere opens the door to issues which have been heretofore left largely unexplored. First, there is the question of the Herbert brothers' motivation for lending their names and political clout to the publication of the First Folio, something that Charlton Hinman describes as a "decidedly chancy venture" (*The Norton Facsimile*, x and xi). It may be thought that their motivation was the preservation of the masterpieces of a family patriarch, an interest not shown by the descendants of the traditional "Stratfordian Shakespeare." Unexplained too by the traditional story is the source of the "considerable outlay of capital" that Hinman finds was needed to get the Folio through the publishing process. Again, the Herbert "Brethren" are a likely source if for no other reason than that they are the only possible source of the "outlay" of venture capital needed to get the job done. But their motivation is puzzling and may be explained by the Herbert/Vere marriage. Another question is the extent of Ben Jonson's participation in the First Folio. Although orthodoxy reluctantly accepts him as the editor – once again because he is the only person in sight with the credentials for the job – great credit has been traditionally given to the actors Heminge and Condell. A closer examination of the longstanding relationship between Ben Jonson and the Pembroke family (including Countess Susan) diminishes the importance that has been attributed to Heminge and Condell and puts Ben Jonson in a different light.

[6] Lucy Aikin, *Memoirs of the Court of King James the First* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees Orme, Brown, 1822), 205. Sir Ralph Winwood's report of the nuptials includes additional details of the wedding celebration at court and information about the King's gift of 500 pounds land (i.e., property expected to produce an annual income of about 500 pounds) for the bride's jointure.

[7] Aikin, 205-06.

[8] Tresham Lever, *The Herberts of Wilton* (London: John Murray, 1967), 98. Shortly after the death of her first husband, the Countess contracted smallpox. As she writes, "which disease did so martyr my face."

[9] Richard T. Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery (1590-1676)* (Great Britain: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1997), 40-58. Spence discusses in great detail Lady Anne Clifford's legal struggles to win back the Clifford properties from which she had been disinherited by her father's will.

[10] Spence, 99.

[11] Spence, 101.

[12] Susan J. Barnes, Nora De Poorter, Oliver Millar, Horst Vey, *Van Dyck, A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 8-9, 573. The 1968 Wilton House catalogue states that it was "painted in London, 1634-35." Confusion still exists on the dates of Van Dyck's sojourn in Brussels (59-60). There is an occasional suggestion that the painting dates to a time prior to Van Dyck's departure for Brussels in the fall of 1633. These are gainsaid by the appearance in the painting of Mary Villiers, who was born in March of 1622. The figure of Villiers in Van Dyck's large painting is certainly not an eleven-year-old child. Moreover, Robert Dormer, the Earl's son-in-law, had been out of the country on an extended trip, returning in June of 1635 to take his place to the left of his wife.

[13] The formal settlement of separation was signed on June 5, 1635.

[14] Spence, 101.

[15] Nevile R. Wilkinson, *Wilton House Pictures* (London: Cheswick Press, 1907), 290. Adam Nicholson, *Earls of Paradise* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2008), 222. Martin Holmes, *Proud Northern Lady*. (London: Phillimore & Co., LTD, 1975), 132. Spence, 101.

[16] Wilkinson, 290. Spence, 111.

[17] Wilkinson, 297. Mary Villiers was known at court by the pet name "Butterfly."

[18] Nicolson, 222. Differences of opinion on dates and facts of the Herbert/Villiers marriage vex the researcher every step of the way. Even the exact amount of the dowry is in question. Nicolson seems uncertain and gives the amount as 20,000 and 25,000 pounds in different places in his book. Lever agrees with 25,000 pounds (105). Howarth comes in on the low side with 10,000 pounds (227). Writing in 1907, Wilkinson puts the figure at 20,000 pounds (297).

[19] Van Dyck made many trips between England and the Continent. A detailed account of his travels and activities is provided in the Chronology at the beginning of the Complete Catalogue cited above (8-9).

[20] Emilie Gordenker, *Anthony Van Dyck and the Representations of Dress in Seventeenth-*

Century Portraiture (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2002), 10.

21 Nicolson, 180-81. Nicolson devotes only a few paragraphs to Susan, describing her as "the entrancing woman Philip Herbert fell in love with," but does not provide any supporting details for these sparse, albeit flattering, comments.

22 Lever, 105. Nicolson, 230-31.

23 Nicolson, 221-23, 230-31. Marriages between children of aristocratic families were solemnized as soon as possible after the financial arrangements were made, sometimes when the betrothed were still youngsters. Certainly this is the case with Mary Villiers and Charles Herbert. According to Nicolson, "the ceremony was conducted at the end of Christmas, 1634 'by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the closet at Whitehall. It was done privately, and few invited, and sooner than was intended.'" If this date is correct, then the bride was only twelve years old. In such marriages, it was customary that cohabitation should not occur until the bride was older, and this could be up to four more years. Also, following the custom, the young groom was sent off to travel in Europe. Extrapolating the time line from Nicolson's account, Charles, Lord Herbert and his younger brother Philip departed for Italy in the summer of 1635. Both brothers took ill with smallpox shortly after their remove to Florence in late December, and Charles died there.

24 David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 226-27.

25 David Howarth is a Professor of Art History at the University of Edinburgh. He is the editor of *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Court: essays in honour of Sir Oliver Millar,* and the author of the exhibition catalogue, *The Discovery of Spain*, for the 2009 exhibit at the National Gallery of Scotland.

26 Freeman O'Donoghue, *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits in the British Museum*, Vol. V (London: Longmans, 1922), 49. This source is cited by Howarth (304).

27 Both engravings are in the permanent collection of the NGS, ID # EPL 34.1 and UP P 47. The former is available for reproduction in black and white photography, and the staff responds promptly to requests.

28 Gambarini of Lucca, *A Description of the Earl of Pembroke's Pictures* (Westminster: A. Campbell, 1731), 8-9.

29 Richard Cowdry, *A Description of the Pictures, Statues, Busto's, Basso-Relievos, and other curiosities at the Earl of Pembroke's House at Wilton* (London: J. Robinson, 1751), 58.

30 James Kennedy, *A New Description of Pictures* (London: Benjamin Collins, 1758), 53.

31 George Richardson, *Aedes Pembrochianae*. (Great Britain: Salisbury Press, 1795). 74. The Twelfth Edition is available through Google Digitized Books.

32 Wilkinson, 302-03.

33 John Brittan, *Beauties of Wiltshire*, *Vol 1* (London: J. D. Dewick,1801), 180.

34 Alan Cohen and Bernice Cohen, "The Riddle of the Countess of Pembroke," in *The De Vere Society Newsletter,* June, 2009, 26. The guidebook, published in 1823 by J. P. Neale and T. Moule, identifies the sitters as "Philip, Earl of Pembroke,

and Susan his countess, daughter of Edward, Earl of Oxford."

35 William Hazlitt, *Picture Galleries of England* (London: C. Templeman, 1836), 106-07. Citation from Google Digitized Books, University of Wisconsin collection.

36 Gustav Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain, Vol. III* (London: John Murray, 1838; rpt. Elbiron Classics), 153. Several editions of this book are available through Google Digitized Books, but the pages describing the paintings at Wilton House appear in only one of the online editions.

37 Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, *Vol. II* (London: J. Dodsley, 1786).

38 Lionel Cust, *King Edward VII and his court: some reminiscences by Sir Lionel Cust, K.C.V.G.* (New York: E.P.Dutton, 1930), xix.

39 Lionel Cust, *Van Dyck* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1900), 119.

40 Lever, 106.

41 Sidney, 9.

42 Dr. Williamson was one of the general editors of Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, still an important reference on library shelves. His *Curious Survivals: Habits and Customs of the Past That Still Live in the Present* as well as books on Pietro Vannucci, George Morland, and *The Anonimo: Notes on Pictures and Works of Art in Italy* are among his recently republished work. His versatility is apparent in the wide range of subjects on which he wrote, to name a few: *The Book of Amber*, *The Money of the Bible*, *Everybody's Book on Collecting*, *Guildford in Olden Times*, *The Imperial Russian Dinner Service*, and a *Reader's Guide to T.S. Eliot*.

43 George C. Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford* (Great Britain: Kendal, Titus, Wilson & Son, 1922), 349.

44 Williamson, 349-50.

45 Sidney, 38. While sticking by the Anne Clifford identification of the sitter, the 1968 Wilton House catalogue provides a more sensible assessment of the sitter's age: "...judging from her age, it may have been painted after her first husband's death, and before her remarriage." Anne Clifford was 34 years old at the death of her first husband; the woman in the small painting appears to be in her early thirties.

46 This portrait is Item #95 in the 1968 Wilton House Catalogue. The inscription states that the sitter is Lady Anne Clifford. No image is provided in the catalogue, but the description fits the plate in Williamson's 1922 book, particularly as it is considered "neither good nor flattering." The miniature at her neck is now thought to be of her first husband, the Earl of Dorset. The catalogue notes that "Old re-paints were removed in 1950" (37-38).

47 Mrs. Jameson, *Handbook to the Public Galleries of Art in and near London* (London: John Murray, 1842), 464. Kessinger Publishing, 2004. Mrs. Jameson lists this portrait as Item #134. It is now catalogued as Item #DPG89 (personal correspondence with the Dulwich Picture Gallery).

48 Jameson, 464.

49 The 1968 Wilton House catalogue does not suggest who the artist of Item #95 may have been.

50 Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 234. The resemblance of paintings of the time with funeral effigies is not accidental. Llewellyn notes that "to follow a painted portrait in the making of an effigy was standard practice throughout the post-Reformation period, especially when top people were being commemorated."

51 Roy Strong, *The English Icon: Elizabethan & Jacobean Portraiture* (Great Britain: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), 26-27, 313.

52 Spence, 93.

53 The series of images can be found in Spence. The young Anne at 74-77; the Honthorst rendition at 93; the elderly Lady Anne at 112-13.

54 Spence, 111.

55 In the *Complete Catalogue* edited by Barnes et al, there is no listing of a Van Dyck portrait of Lady Anne Clifford alone. If this book is as comprehensive as it appears, then Van Dyck did not paint Lady Anne (assuming that the identification of her in the Pembroke Family group is erroneous). As Van Dyck's subjects were courtiers, families and friends in the inner circle of the Royal Court, it is unsurprising that she was not granted the privilege of "sitting" for Van Dyck after her estrangement from Pembroke. Also, since many portraits of Lady Anne survive, it is odd that a Van Dyck would have gone missing, if indeed one was painted.

56 Holmes, 128. Spence, 102.

57 Spence, 102.

58 Ronald W. Lightbrown, "Issac Besnier, Sculptor to Charles I, and His Work for Court Patrons." *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Court*, ed. Howarth, (Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1993),148.

59 Gordenker, 62.

60 Gordenker, 52.

61 Gordenker, 53.

62 Malcolm Rogers, "'Golden Houses for Shadows': Some Portraits of Thomas Killigrew and His Family." *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Court*, ed. Howarth, 222-23.

63 Oliver Millar, *The Age of Charles I* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1972), 240. Martha von Monmouth is painted by Van Dyck with similarly folded hands, considered symbolic of her pregnancy. Barnes, 558-59. Millar notes that Van Dyck painted Queen Henrietta Maria with similarly folded hands when she was pregnant, though the arms were not overlapped as they are in the Crofts and Pembroke paintings.

64 Barnes, 573.

65 Richard Ollard, "Clarendon and the Art of Prose Portraiture in the Age of Charles II." *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Court, Essays in Honour of Sir Oliver Millar*, ed. Howarth,197.

66 Moir, 114.

67 Howarth, 227. The obsession of the upper classes with dynastic considerations

should be compelling motivation for Pembroke to put his first wife by his side in his grand dynastic portrait, even if his second marriage had been satisfactory, which it certainly was not.

68 David Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 86: "The difficulties that the upper aristocracy faced in obtaining a divorce can be seen in the infamous divorce trial of Lady Frances Howard and the Earl of Essex. Roderick Phillips observes: 'England was unique in the sixteenth century as the only country where an established or dominant reformed church did not break with the Roman Catholic doctrine of marital indissolubility.'"

69 Karen Hearn, ed., *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England*, *1530-1630* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1996), 128-29.

70 David Starkey, *Elizabeth: Apprenticeship* (Great Britain: Vintage, 2001), 30-31.

71 Alfred Moir concurs with both the identifications and the influence of the Holbein mural as a model for Van Dyck's Pembroke Family, noting that "Holbein's mural of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour was destroyed by fire in 1698, but in the 1630s, it was at Whitehall where Pembroke had his London accommodations" (114).

72 Herbert Norris, *Tudor Costume and Fashion* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc, 1997), 287-88.

73 Ann Sumner and Polly Amos. "Kenelm Digby and Venetia Stanley: The Love Story of the Seventeenth Century," *Death, Passion, and Politics Van Dyck's Portraits of Venetia Stanley and George Digby* (Great Britain: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1996), 30-31.

74 Graham Parry, "Van Dyck and the Caroline Court Poets," *Van Dyck 350*. eds. Susan J. Barnes and Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. (Washington, Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1994), 259.

75 Lightbrown, 150-52. The size of the younger son, born in April of 1629, is an important factor in dating the monument, as is the appearance of Lady Mary, the oldest child.

76 Spence, 111.

77 Cohen, 24-28.

78 Mark Anderson, *Shakespeare By Another Name* (New York: Gotham Books, 2005), 371-72.

79 J. Thomas Looney, *Shakespeare Identified*, ed. Ruth Loyd Miller (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1975), 124.

Review
The Man Who was Never SHAKESPEARE
by A.J. Pointon

reviewed by Ren Draya

A.J. Pointon's *The Man Who was Never SHAKESPEARE* (2011) joins a modest but growing number of volumes from Parapress in England. These are impressive books. Each is set up handsomely, with effective cover illustrations, many helpful charts and photos -- all in all, reader-accessible tools. As Shakespeare authorship questions are increasingly in the public eye and as I review *The Man Who was Never SHAKESPEARE*, I am prompted to start with a question: for whom is the book intended? Does Pointon hope to reach readers just embarking on authorship investigations? Or is this book intended for the ardent, experienced researcher?

Pointon's main thesis is a simple one: Shakspere and Shakespeare were two separate people. He does not seek to uncover the true author; his book "is dedicated primarily to Shakspere himself, seeking to give him back his true identity, as far as we can, and to understand the reality of the life he must have led in Stratford and London" (3). Fair enough.

Although there have been other attempts to provide a life of Shakspere – see, for example, Alan Robinson's "The Real William Shaksper" in the *De Vere Society Newsletter* of January 2004 – Pointon's chapters 1-12 do a good job of tracing Shakspere's family and following him as a young married man and then a businessman, both in Stratford and London. One of the most useful facets of *The Man Who was Never SHAKESPEARE* appears at the very end of the book: a list of dates and events in the life of Shakspere. Appendix I ("William Shakspere -- the Recorded Facts") offers a time line similar to and expanded from that published in the *De Vere Society Newsletter* of July 2004 by Eddi Jolli and Kevin Gilvary. Appendix J presents the Shakspere family tree. I would recommend placing these two appendices at the start of the book.

Much of Shakspere's life has been charted in Diana Price's *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography* (2001); in one of the very few nods to his sources, Pointon does acknowledge Price (166-71). To her ten points of evidence comparing Shakspere's known life to those of his literary contemporaries, he adds two items: the absence of records of connections between a Shakespeare or a Shakspere and other writers, and the absence of any descriptions of Shakespeare or Shakspere by other writers (171-72).

Pointon also holds that, in his time, "Shakespeare was not thought to be the actual name of a real person" (114) and that the men behind the publication of the First Folio, led by the "skilled, indeed cunning" Ben Jonson (115), deliberately chose William Shakspere — partly because both Shakspere and Shakespeare were dead by 1623. Pointon's Chapter 13 discussion of the compiling of the First Folio and his analysis of Jonson's dedicatory poem would certainly confuse a reader new to the authorship question. For more seasoned authorship hounds, Pointon's remarks need careful attribution, for the topic has been discussed by many other writers.

Considering the entire book, how much of *The Man Who was Never SHAKESPEARE* is new? Because it does not include *any* chapter notes, a reader must sift through assertions and scan the bibliography in order to locate possible sources and to judge the accuracy of Pointon's claims. He says that "hard evidence" (200) shows Shakspere was not the writer, but readers will wish for specifics as to the sources for such evidence.

Many of the points in Pointon's book have been covered elsewhere. A few examples will suffice: "Greene's Groatsworth of Wit" (see Frank Davis' article in the 2009 *Oxfordian* and a score of other discussions); the six extant signatures of Shakspere (see Richard Whalen's *Shakespeare: Who Was He? The Oxford Challenge to the Bard of Avon* [1994] and references in many authorship articles and books); the Stratford church monument (ditto); the various portraits of Shakespeare (see the various articles and presentations by Barbara Burris, and Mark Anderson's *Shakespeare By Another Name* [2005], Appendix D). Too often, Pointon says something like, "It has been noted how, in 1622, a Henry Peacham effectively identified 'Shakespeare' as someone who had been hidden by a pseudonym…" (195). My quibble is that Pointon seldom tells his readers *where* anything has been noted. Peacham, for example, has been discussed by a number of Oxfordians, including Peter W. Dickson in *The Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter* of Fall 1998. Bald assertions smack of the Stratfordians' (Pointon calls them Orthodox scholars) way of doing things.

Thus, if *The Man Who was Never SHAKESPEARE* emphasized the life of William Shakspere of Stratford and directed readers to sources for the material found in Chapters 13-14 ("The Theft of Shakespeare's Identity"), it would be an appealing book for newcomers to the authorship question. Chapter 15 provides a useful summary, but it, too, omits citations. For all readers, including authorship buffs, the book needs an expanded bibliography, complete attributions, and a more logical organization to the appendices.

Letter

To the Editor:

  Following the presentation of my *Brief Chronicles III* paper, "Shakespeare's Greater Greek: *Macbeth* and Aeschylus' *Oresteia*," at the 2011 Joint Conference of the Shakespeare Fellowship and the Shakespeare Oxford Society in Washington, DC, I received an intriguing inquiry from Dr. Richard Waugaman regarding the reliability of my argument that Lady Macbeth's exclamation, "Out damned spot!" is a reference to Clytemnestra's cursed blood spot as described by Chorus of *The Agamemnon*. Dr. Waugaman was interested in knowing the Greek words that refer to the image of the "damned spot," which he found to be very significant. "Are we sure," he asked, "that the intertextuality is solely in one direction? Is it possible that translators of the Greek into English were influenced by Shakespeare?"

  Since neither Dr. Waugaman nor I read Greek, I pursued the question by assembling a collection of translations of this choric passage from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* to test his hypothesis. Here is the text from E.D.A. Morshead's translation of The Agamemnon from *The Complete Greek Drama* (1938), edited by Whitney Oates and Eugene O'Neill, Jr., which was the primary translation I used in my analysis:

>   Bold is thy craft and proud
> Thy confidence, thy vaunting loud;
> Thy soul, that chose a murd'ress fate,
> Is all with blood elate –
>   Maddened to know
> The blood not yet avenged, the *damned spot*
>   Crimson upon thy brow.
> But fate prepares for thee thy lot. –
> Smitten as thou didst smite, without a friend,
>   To meet thy end.   (1429-35)

  Textual comparisons of the same choric passage from a range of other 20th century translations, however, raise questions about Morshead's choice of "damned spot" in describing Clytemnestra's bloody brow. Noteworthy are

the variations of English translated text regarding Clytemnestra's attitude, murderous actions, facial blood stain, and ill-fate. No other translator from this series used terms similar to "damned spot."

Gilbert Murray (1920):

> Thy thought, it is very proud;
>> Thy breath is the scorner's breath;
> Is not the madness loud
>> In thy heart being drunk with death?
> Yea, and above thy brow
>> A star of the wet blood burneth!
> Oh, doom shall have yet her day,
> The last friend cast away,
> Where lie doth answer lie
>> And a stab for a stab returned!

Richmond Lattimore (1953):

> Great your design, your speech is a clamor of pride.
> Swung to the red act drives the fury within your brain
> signed clear in the splash of blood over your eyes.
> Yet to come is stroke given for stroke
> vengeless, forlorn of friends.

Peter Vellacott (1960):

> Such boasts show folly in a crafty mind.
> So surely as your robe blazons your crime
> In those red drops, shall your head bow low
> Under a bloody stroke. Wait but the time:
> Friendless, dishonoured, outcast, you shall find
> Your debt fall due, and suffer blow for blow.

Peter Vellacott (1960):

> Woman! – what poison cropped from the soil
> Or strained from the heaving sea, what nursed you,
> drove you insane? You brave the curse of Greece.
> You have cut away and flung away and now

The people cast you off to exile,
Broken with our hate.

Robert Fagles (1977):

Mad with ambition,
        Shrilling pride! – some Fury
Crazed with the carnage rages through your brain –
        I can see the flecks of blood inflame your eyes!
But vengeance comes – you'll loose your loved ones,
Stroke by painful stroke.

David Grene & Wendy O'Flaherty (1989):

You think big thoughts, and you scream proud defiance,
as though the bloody smear of your success
had maddened your mind.
The smear of blood – I can see it in your eyes.
But still you must pay stroke for stroke
with no friend to take your part.

Dr. Waugaman is correct in that Morshead's translation of Aeschylus shows evidence of bidirectional intertextuality. As a translator, Morshead, unlike other translators in this series, seems to have been influenced in his choice of words by those of Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth. The "damned spot," Waugaman cleverly suggested, represents a "reciprocal influence of ancient and more recent texts on each other."

The importance of this cannot be ignored in the context of establishing intertextual links between Shakespeare and the Greek and Latin playwrights. More than one translation must be consulted when focusing on specific intertextual word associations. Nonetheless, the image of this inexpiable blood stain of royal assassination, the stain that cannot be removed by all the waters of the world, appears in all three of the translations I consulted of the opening Chorus of *The Choephori* (antistrophe 3):

E.D.A. Morshead (1938):

Though in one channel ran Earth's every stream,
        Laving the hand defiled from murder's stain,
                It were in vain.

Peter Vellacott (1960):

> So, though all streams should yield
> Their purity to swell one cleansing flood,
> Their force must fail, their power to purge be vain
> For hands that bear the stain
> Of unrequited blood.

Robert Fagles (1977):

> All the streams of the world,
> > All channels run into one
> To cleanse a man's red hands will swell the bloody tide.

Shakespeare's description of the indelible stain on Macbeth's hands actually comes closer to Fagles' translation of this passage because he includes the image of a sea made bloody by contamination.

> What hands are here? Ha! They pluck out mine eyes.
> Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
> Clean from my hand? No, this my hand will rather
> The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
> Making the green one red.   (2.2.56-60)

The bloodstain of assassination that cannot be purified by all the waters of the heavens is also alluded to in *Hamlet*, Shakespeare's other Aeschylean tragedy. Claudius's "cursed hand" is tainted with a "brother's blood" such that there is "not rain enough in the sweet heavens to wash it white as snow."

Roger Stritmatter has also pointed out that this passage may echo a similar image from Seneca's *Hippolytus*, and that other Shakespeare scholars, including John William Cunliffe, author of *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy* (1893), have considered this passage to be a very close parallel to Hippolytus's lines in Seneca. Here are the lines in question from John Studley's 1567 translation of *Hippolytus*, which was published in Thomas Newton's edition *Seneca: His Tenne Tragedies* (1581):

> What bathing lukewarme Tanais may I defilede obtaine,
> Whose clensing watry Channell pure may washe mee cleane againe?
> Or what Meotis muddy meare, with rough Barbarian wave

That boardes on Pontus roring Sea? not Neptune graundsire grave
With all his Ocean foulding floud can purge and wash away
This dunghill foule of stane: O woode, O salvage beast I say:

Hippolytus refers here to the unforgiveable sin of committing adultery with his stepmother, Phaedra. Thus the passage does not refer to the indelible stain of bloody assassination, which is the case for Aeschylus and Shakespeare.

I owe thanks to both Richard Waugaman and Roger Stritmatter for recognizing terminology that points to a general conundrum in establishing intertextual connections between Shakespeare and translated classical sources. The reliability of echoed plot, dramaturgy, themes and images appears to be far more solid than textual parallels that rely on a precise choice of words or expressions. Philological speculations based on translated texts also clearly benefit from consulting more than one interpretive source.

Aeschylean themes haunt Shakespeare's *Macbeth*: the ghost, the weird sisters as Furies, the allusions to the trammel net, the poisoned breast, avian augury, and the stain of assassination that bloodies the sea. Over the past century Cunliffe and others have too often limited their search for Shakespeare's classical dramatic inspiration to Seneca. I predict that in the 21st century scholars will again discover the importance of the Greek dramatists as primary sources for Shakespeare.

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The emblem on our title page is sampled from
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