Contributor Biographies

Michael Delahoyde is a Professor in the Department of English, Washington State University. He has published articles on Shakespeare, Chaucer, dinosaur films, children's toys, and meat ads, and has been consulted and interviewed by producers at the Discovery Channel and Cinema Secrets, and by various magazines. He is a former senior editor of the *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature*, the journal of the Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association, and now serves as the managing editor of *Brief Chronicles*. His "Edward de Vere's Hand in Titus Andronicus" appeared in the premiere 2009 volume of *Brief Chronicles*.

Michael Dudley, who holds Master's Degrees in both Library and Information Studies and City Planning, is the history, politics and Indigenous Studies Librarian at the University of Winnipeg. He is the editor of the book *Public Libraries and Resilient Cities* (2013) and served for three years as the Editorial Chair of *Plan Canada* magazine. This is his first publication in *Brief Chronicles*.

Sky Gilbert is an Associate Professor at the University of Guelph and holds the University Research Chair in Creative Writing and Theatre Studies. He is also a fellow at the University of Toronto's Sexual Diversity Studies Program. He received his PhD from the Centre for Theatre Drama and Performance Studies at the University of Toronto and is the recipient of two SSRC grants, as well as the Robert Lawrence prize for an emerging scholar. His critical response papers have been published in several academic journals — peer reviewed and not, including, in addition to *Brief Chronicles,* the Canadian *Journal of Practice-based Research in Theatre, The Journal of Ayn Rand Studies,* and the *Canadian Theatre Review*. The author of seven novels, several books of poetry, a memoir, and several books of plays, from 1979 to 1997 Gilbert was the founding artistic director of the Toronto *Buddies in Bad Times Theatre,* one of the world's foremost gay and lesbian theaters.

Jacob Hughes PhD, graduated in English Literature at Washington State University in May 2014. He teaches early English literature, Shakespeare, and composition courses at Washington State University's campus in Richland. He has also taught courses on medieval and renaissance humanities and digital diversity. Hughes's dissertation, titled "Shakespeare's Chaucerian Entertainers," focuses on how Chaucer not only informed some of Shakespeare's key characters, such as Falstaff, but also

how the poet influenced the playwright's views on dramaturgy. He has published articles on English pedagogy, digital humanities, and several book reviews. Between 2009 and 2013, he was the managing editor of the *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature*.

Felicia Hardison Londré is Curators' Professor of Theatre at the University of Missouri-Kansas City. She specializes in 19th and 20th-century American, French, and Russian theater history, as well as in Shakespearean dramaturgy. Londré's published work includes over 60 scholarly articles, 25 journalistic publications, 100 book and theatre reviews, and 14 books. The Honorary Co-Founder of the Heart of America Shakespeare Festival, she was Founding Secretary of the Shakespeare Theater Association of America, and is a recognized Oxfordian scholar in the field of Shakespearean authorship. Londré is also an expert on Kansas City theater history, and has been involved in various attempts to preserve historic performing arts buildings throughout the city.

Alex McNeil holds a BA from Yale University and a JD, *cum laude,* from Boston College Law School. His professional career was in public service, where he served for 37 years as Court Administrator of the Massachusetts Appeals Court. He became interested in the Shakespeare authorship question in 1992 and was a founding trustee of the Shakespeare Fellowship in 2001. He currently serves as editor of the *Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter,* published quarterly by the Shakespeare Oxford Fellowship. His reference book on American television programming, *Total Television,* was published by Penguin Books in four editions between 1980 and 1996. Currently, he is the Friday host of "Lost and Found" on WMBR-FM in Cambridge, MA (wmbr.org), a show which features music of the 1960s and 1970s.

Stuart John Nettleton holds a M.Eng.Sci., an M.B.A., and a PhD in Infrastructure Economics. Nettleton actively applies his benchmarking computable general equilibrium model, the Spatial Climate Economic Policy Tool for Regional Equilibria, in large scale multiregional, intertemporal industry development research. He is a keen mathematician using Bayesian statistical analysis and probabilistic graphical model selection for data mining in economic, engineering pedagogy and social network research, and has been intrigued by the Shakespeare authorship question for more than two decades.

Thomas Regnier is an attorney based in Miami, Florida. He holds law degrees from Columbia Law School in New York (LlM) and the University of Miami School of Law (JD), both with honors. He has clerked for Judge Harry Leinenweber in the U.S. District Court in Chicago and for Judge Melvia Green in the Third District Court of Appeal of Florida. He has taught at the University of Miami School of Law (including a course on Shakespeare and the Law) and The John Marshall Law School in Chicago. His scholarly articles on the law have appeared in such publications as *NYU Journal of Legislation and Public Policy*, *Santa Clara Law Review*, *Akron Law Review*, and *UMKC*

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Don Rubin is a Professor and former Chair of the Department of Theatre at York University in Toronto. Founding director of York's Graduate Program in Theatre and Performance Studies (MA and PhD), he is the Series Editor of Routledge's six volume *World Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre* and was the Founding Editor of Canada's national theater quarterly, *Canadian Theatre Review.* He is President of the Canadian Theatre Critics Association and a member of the editorial board of the webjournal *Critical Stages.* Professor Rubin was coordinator of the 2013 Joint Conference of the Shakespeare Fellowhip and the Shakespeare Oxford Society in Toronto, and is a former trustee of the Shakespeare Fellowship.

Michael Wainwright studied for his BA in English and Mathematics at Kingston University and gained his MA in Modernism and Modern Writers from Royal Holloway, University of London, where he also completed his PhD as a scholarship winner. He has taught literary theory from Plato to Butler at Lancaster University and courses dedicated to twentieth-century American literature at the University of London, Staffordshire University, and the University of Birmingham. Twice winner of the Faulkner Conference "Call for Papers," his publications include three monographs for Palgrave Macmillan: *Darwin and Faulkner's Novels: Evolution and Southern Fiction* (2008), *Faulkner's Gambit: Chess and Literature* (2011), and *Toward a Sociobiological Hermeneutic: Darwinian Essays on Literature* (2012). Wainwright's previous essay,"Veering Toward an Evolutionary Realignment of Freud's Hamlet," appeared in *Brief Chronicles III* (2011-2012) before being reprinted by Palgrave.

Richard Waugaman is a Clinical Professor of Psychiatry at Georgetown University School of Medicine, a Training Analyst Emeritus at the Washington Psychoanalytic Institute, and a recognized expert on multiple personality disorder. He is a regular reader at the Folger Shakespeare Library, and has written extensively on Shakespeare, the psychology of anonymity, and the case for Oxford's authorship of the Shakespearean canon.

Hanno Wember has taught math and physics as a secondary school teacher for thirty years in Hamburg, Germany. He is co-chairman – together with Robert Detobel – of the *Neue Shake-speare Gesellschaft* and editor of the yearbook "Spektrum Shake-speare," as well as editor of the German Shakespeare website, www. shake-speare.de, and three books on education. Wember's "Illuminating Eclipses: Astronomy and Chronology in King Lear," appeared in *Brief Chronicles II* (2010).

Richard Whalen is co-editor with Ren Draya of Blackburn College of *Othello* in the Oxfordian Shakespeare Series. He is co-general editor of the series with Dr. Daniel Wright and the author of *Shakespeare Who Was He? The Oxford Challenge to the Bard of Avon* (Greenwood-Praeger, 1994).

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Articles

Preface:
On Being Wrong…..

✍ "I buy a thousand pound a year! I buy a rope!"
✍ Dromio of Ephesus

The eminent and controversial Oxfordian Charles Beauclerk has asserted, "if you get Shakespeare wrong, you get his plays wrong…if you get Shakespeare wrong, you get the Elizabethan age wrong – its literature, its culture, its politics."[1] I doubt that this sounds as dire to most people as is intended, and I think Beauclerk might have gone further (something I will bet he seldom hears about his assertions). It is clear from his speaking engagements and from panel discussions that Beauclerk does in fact have a keen grasp of the following, but beyond getting back on a realistic track towards understanding what for many is a remote historical period anyway, I would add that if you get Shakespeare wrong, you get literature wrong, and probably you get the very phenomenon of creativity wrong.

This affair of "being wrong" is necessarily weighing on my mind currently, not as much due to my own daily sitcom-like gaffes – or, since they are seldom very comic, maybe sit-trag – but because my university each year selects a recently published general-topic book, a "Common Reading," urged upon all at the school, but especially the new incoming class of first-year students, to serve as a touchstone and to counteract the otherwise inevitable sense of disciplinary fragmentation in the university experience. This year's selection is titled *Being Wrong*, by journalist Kathryn Schulz,[2] and it is not the only recent book addressing the phenomenon of error and the implications of human fallibility, even ultimately setting forth a counterintuitive appreciation for error and wrongness. In any case, the Common Reading committee asked me to present a lecture on "being wrong in the Humanities" near the end of this semester. And I know that the idea is not to rail against Stratfordianism, but geez, what a set-up! Right?

How to appreciate all the accrued wrongness about Shakespeare without validating it, or celebrating it? Really, how not to resolve oneself into a snippy attitude for the better part of an hour (or lifetime), when Schulz gives us "such meet food to feed it"?[3] She notes, for example, "knowledge is conventionally viewed as belief plus a bunch of credentials,"[4] and I need offer no comment on that utterance for readers of this publication, most of whom have had their ideas and work dismissed for lacking the "right" kind of credentials. I posed a temporary threat to the Shakstablishment in this regard, when a cyber-investigation by Stratfordian zealots turned up the facts that I was indeed teaching Shakespeare, a lot of Shakespeare (classes of 75 students most semesters); that this was taking place at a large

university; that I do have a PhD; that I earned my doctorate at the University of Michigan; that my degree is in Early English Literature – dear God! *Dr. Wells? Listen, Stanley, this is the Folger. We've got a problem here! … Hold it. Never mind. We got him. Delahoyde's dissertation was on Chaucer! Ha!* And that eliminates me as someone who could have anything legitimate to say about Shakespeare. What a lot of research, though, in order to prove that I am categorically being wrong, presumably no matter what I say!

Schulz examines the nature of the clash between opposing groups each insisting that it alone is being right, and she expounds upon what is labeled the Ignorance Assumption: "Since we think our own beliefs are based on the facts, we conclude that people who disagree with us just haven't been exposed to the right information"; we operate in ways "premised on the conviction that you can change people's beliefs by educating them on the issues." But, as many of us have come to learn in our encounters with the traditionalists, "Ignorance isn't necessarily a vacuum waiting to be filled; just as often, it is a wall, actively maintained."[5] Such maintenance comes about not simply because "most of us are supremely unmotivated to educate ourselves about beliefs with which we disagree."[6] In at least one vital case, cherished ignorance is more than such an insulating wall; it is literal architecture: Shakespeare's Birthplace, Shakespeare's Theatre, etc. Indeed, ignorance is an entire town – it has taken a village – actively maintained, and on its web site we are invited to "Become part of the Shakespeare story."[7] Unfortunately the only roles available are those of Shrine-Worshipper #43,000,001 and Heretic-Antagonist. The latter is a non-speaking part.

Schulz points out that "The vast majority of our beliefs are really beliefs once removed. Our faith that we are right is faith that someone else is right"[8];"We do not just hold a belief; we hold a membership in a community of believers."[9] She also recognizes "the temptations that can convert a group of like-minded individuals into a community of zealots."[10] Such a community insulates and protects itself inside those actively maintained walls, and of course Oxfordians, Marlovians, Baconians, and so on are just as susceptible to this devolution towards pseudo-religious thinking and behavior as are Latter-Day Stratfordians.

Our willingness to entertain the possibility that we are wrong is further discouraged by a likely apprehension of larger, more destabilizing implications we would prefer not to consider: "our mistakes disturb us in part because they call into question not just our confidence in a single belief, but our confidence in the entire act of believing."[11] If it could be proven that Oxford was definitely not Shakespeare, would I join the Marlovians? More likely, my confidence in my ability to interpret Shakespeare at all having been seriously eroded, I would retreat into the relative safety and innocuousness of Chaucer or popular culture studies and get out of this messy Shakespeare business altogether.

Naturally and obviously I read *Being Wrong* with my Oxfordian eyes, alert for any Shakespearean implications. Schulz is aware of the authorship question but retains a distancing ambiguity about it in her one most direct allusion, noting merely that "You can provoke a deep-seated sense of rightness … by, say, asking a bunch of scholars of Elizabethan literature who really wrote *Hamlet*."[12] Reasonable doubters of the Stratfordian insistence would probably be alert to and feel impelled to cling to this encouragement:

> The more vociferously someone defends a belief, Jung held, the more we can be sure that he is defending it primarily against his own internal doubts, which will someday surge into consciousness and force a polar shift in perspective. According to Jung, this was especially true of the most dogmatic beliefs – which, by rendering all conscious doubt impermissible, must be all the more subconsciously resisted, and thus all the more unstable.[13]

This behavioral phenomenon, which Shakespeare recognized as the "doth protest too much"[14] syndrome, illustrates one good reason why we shy away from potentially being wrong: because as much as we would like to believe in this kind of paradigm-shaking personal crisis and reformation, why are we approaching the Oxfordian centennial and still waiting for the significant shift? When exactly can we expect the mental or emotional collapse of Stanley Wells or Harold Bloom or Jonathan Bate or any of the question deniers?

The inevitable, wider, more exasperated anti-argument usually posed by defenders of the tradition is: what does it matter if we have been wrong? Why does it matter who wrote the plays, since we have the plays themselves to appreciate? When my students ask this, I respond with a rhetorical question: when I give your A to another student who has a similar name while you receive his or her D+, am I going to see you in my office or are you going to let it slide since you can ask, in the end, what does it matter who did the work when what's important is the education you received?

Numerous answers have addressed the question: what, or why, does it matter? Unfortunately, the answers are usually defensive because the question is an intentionally dismissive shrug, which itself is even more lamentable since "why does this matter" is *the* question we ought to be asking perpetually. Every teacher of every class at every school, sooner or later, should feel obliged to be offering a legitimate answer to this question. Is there truly too much class material to "cover," crowding out any room for an authentic exploration of why we are here, learning this, other than earning three credit hours? Or do we just worry about risking exposure of being wrong in having trusted in the intrinsic importance of our specialties and do not want to examine their worth because we are at our core unsure they really do matter after all? Even if it is an unsettling question, "why does it matter" ought to be posed far beyond academia, and indeed for every other facet of our lives: jobs, relationships, how we're spending our time, our very lives themselves.

To return to my initial assertions about the larger implications of "being wrong about Shakespeare" specifically, and why it matters: it matters for the same reason that Hamlet asked, "What is a man, / If his chief good and market of his time / Be but to sleep and feed? a beast, no more."[15] Anticipating the late-20th/early-21st century, and taking on Macy's and Coca-Cola and whatever two other multinational syndicates own the entire world unto the period of cosmography, Shakespeare shames us, the direct modern-world descendants of the early modern world whose new paradigm pointed the way towards the now-achieved hyper-commodification, into an examination of any selves we have beyond those of consumers, which is all that governments and corporations want us to be – and/or not really "to be."

What *are* we? Writers and thinkers have put forth various metaphors to put some perspective on our humanity. Jane Austen seems to have conceived of us as books or texts, apt to be misread if scanned too carelessly and often in need of more careful rereading. Dickens seems to have thought of us as ambulatory pressure-cookers, letting off steam in bizarre mannerisms and linguistic eccentricities; failure to do so can result in spontaneous combustion, so that a kind of "foetid effluvia" (the greasy particulates in the air after the explosion of the repressed hoarder Mr. Krook) pervades the atmosphere of *Bleak House*, for example. The pop psychology notion that we dare not "bottle up our emotions" but must "talk about them" lest we "explode" is the current incarnation of the foetid effluvia model. Other than Dickens' proto-steam-punk metaphor for the human machine, variously identified energy systems driving human beings have emerged from other authors and thinkers. Vladimir Nabokov, the Russian-born novelist, despised Freudian psychoanalysis and its construction of the human psyche as an intricate and often mischanneled system of sexual energy, so that humor and art and so forth all result from repressed and sublimated sexual

urges. But Nabokov argued through one of his characters, "It is not the artistic aptitudes that are secondary sexual characteristics as some shams and shamans have said; it is the other way around: sex is but the ancilla [subordinate, dependent] of art."[16] Consider how uplifting and liberating this slight perceptual shift is. It may be nothing more than semantics. But if we think of ourselves at the core as artists, that the energy in our systems is artistic energy, then it's the consumers and breeders who have squandered their humanity by mischanneling their sacred energy.

However little we recognize and accept this, we all are artists. We may not be Shakespeares, but who is not in possession of, or possessed by, a subject or activity that inspires a kind of authentic enthusiasm to the edge of mania? What is your art – that which sustains you, which gives you infinite energy so that you find you don't seem to need sleep or food as you normally would? Playing bassoon? Knitting? Relating well with animals? Cooking Thai food? Are you totally into Sherlock Holmes? Or shocking and unnerving your significant other with incredibly clever sexting on bizarre themes? There is probably interest or art that does this for you, as Shakespeare does for me (and several of the other examples above), concerning which you may find yourself caring very little about how ridiculous everyone else thinks your zeal is. In some ways, my obsession with Shakespeare and the authorship question has ruined my life; and I'm not sure I care.

It was a crummy life anyway, and I absolutely love this new one. Therefore, I am willing to go overboard, even more or less disregarding my "Reputation, reputation, reputation,"[17] very willing to let students consider me a Shakespeare geek, because they cannot discount the energy and joy they are seeing in me, and they then wonder what they may be missing if they do not engage themselves in the readings and the class. I do therefore recommend that no one hold back his or her enthusiasm and artistry: fully be whatever kind of loon at least makes everyone else, when they're done rolling their eyes, jealous as hell because they have not yet allowed their own artistry to set them on fire.

At the core of this creative drive is always authentic human experience. The common denominator among the various proponents of alternate "Shake-speare" candidates is an insurmountable dissatisfaction with the Stratford Shakspere due to the absolute disconnect between the life and the art. How much further can "being wrong" go than to urge a reading of the *Sonnets* as abstract exercises? Does anyone knit these days because baby clothes are so difficult to locate for purchase? Could I carry out cheeky avian-themed sexting (there is a bird, the *Phalacrocorax atriceps*, better known as the Imperial Shag!) if I weren't shocking and amusing a real woman who remembers me as a repressed prude? Am I to believe Shakespeare decided one morning that he thought it would be a kick to explore the abstract nature of the dynamics of desire in an ancient world geopolitical context: hence *Antony and Cleopatra*? Getting Shakespeare wrong means we adopt a nonsensical model of creativity, of where art comes from.

I disagree with Benedick that "the world must be peopled."[18] Mission accomplished already. But the world certainly is in increasing need of being humanized. Pursuing the authorship question rehumanizes Shakespeare. It's exhilarating knowing that these works, this art, emerged out of a creative drive fueled by real experience, real pain, real concerns, actual elations – out of someone's real life – instead of out of the blue, out of arbitrary fantasy. And from his own life, not only did he make art of this caliber, but he continues to inspire our inner artists and what's left of our own humanity. Being wrong matters, then, tragically if we settle for the wrong being.

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This issue of *Brief Chronicles*, an especially interdisciplinary one this time, includes articles by academics and other professionals, all of whom explore the Shakespeare authorship question and dare to be considered wrong while heading us towards righting many vital wrongs. What is wrong, or at the very least dangerously wrong-minded, in subscribing to the traditional biography of Shakspere as Shakespeare is presented by Michael Dudley in his article "'By Nature Fram'd to Wear a Crown?': Decolonizing the Shakespeare Authorship Question." Assumptions about the "natural" gifts of the English-born genius have historically enabled an imperialistic spread of English culture: a kind of forced cultural leek-eating as transacted between Fluellen and Pistol near the end of *Henry V*, the leek in this case being the presumed English superiority. (Eat your Shakespeare, America, and know that even though *The Lion King* does not represent a realistic savanna, at least Disney imposed the correct, natural, and eternally ideal political system – monarchy (?!) – onto the world of lions, in which the king's subjects, most of whom are on the king's dietary menu, nevertheless bow down to the primogeniture anointing of the new prince by the Archbishop of Baboonery while the heavens open up to shine a divine beam of sociopolitical approval of this applauded oppression.) Dudley explains how the notion of Shakespeare as England's "gift to the world" makes him an Anglocentric icon and robs him of humanity. When we iconoclastically dare to apply to Shakespeare's works a postcolonial analysis –a branch of critical theory emerging in the late 1980s, addressing matters of race, class, gender, and other suppressed cultures,and an approach generally accepted as an illuminating perspective everywhere else in literature and the humanities – we find, conversely and disturbingly to the orthodox worshippers, a political outlook that is aristocratic in its "nature." Promotion of the wrong Shakespeare eviscerates the plays by disallowing our appreciation of them in one sense as sociopolitical critiques.

Several of Shakespeare's sonnets, for various reasons, look "wrong," and *Brief Chronicles* copy editor Alex McNeil scrutinizes these in "Shakespeare's Five 'Outlier' Sonnets." Sonnet 99 is made up of fifteen lines rather than fourteen; Sonnet 126 contains only twelve lines; Sonnet 145 is composed not in iambic pentameter but in tetrameter; and Sonnets 153 and 154 are based on a Greek epigram. The ever-thorough McNeil elucidates all the attendant questions. Are we seeing the final intended versions of these sonnets or unfinished experiments? Is Shakespeare responsible for what we read? Do the all the "wrong" sonnets belong in the collection? Are the parentheses that mark the supposedly "missing" final couplet in the original edition's Sonnet 126 authorial? What has gone wrong – or has anything really? And once we examine these outliers with an Oxfordian perspective, what emerges? McNeil brings forth some of Hank Whittemore's claims regarding the *Sonnets* as marking a time period intrinsic to the Southampton-as-issue issue, and thus displaying explicable structural shifts regarding the end of the sequence of Fair Youth sonnets. Of particular interest to me, and one hopes to readers of my own contribution to this volume, is the reminder of Whittemore's proposal that the new meter of Sonnet 145 (the one with the pitiful Stratfordian gloss: "hate away" = Hathaway) signifies a new speaker, a new voice or persona – that is, "Shake-speare" as ventriloquist, speaking through the Fair Youth, Southampton. And lastly, McNeil makes his final point the one with the greatest implications: if Sonnets 153 and 154 demonstrate a revision process, then Shakespeare has inserted himself and something of his compositional or adaptation method – he has indicated a personal connection to his sources and his resulting works. McNeil rightly condemns not just as wrong but as *crazy* wrong any Stratfordian notions or suggestions that the works are emerging from abstract imagination as arbitrary skill exercises, rather than from personal experience as cries of the heart.

What about "being wronged"? In his contribution "Betrayal in the Life of Edward de Vere, the Works of Shakespeare, and Sonnet 121," Richard Waugaman applies his valuable background in psychology to consider this theme, weaving indications from and phrasings in the records of the Earl of Oxford's life with the same in the Bard's works, far beyond the oft-cited and defiant "I am that I am" assertion in Oxford's letter to Burghley and echoed in the Shakespeare plays. Waugaman's biographical sketch of an inevitable undermining of Oxford's ability to trust others, especially women, matches the exploration of a near-traumatic sense of betrayal persistent in the Shakespeare works. Those characters wronged or suspecting incorrectly that they have been wronged include Othello, Leontes, Claudio, Troilus, Posthumus, Timon, and Coriolanus; and the same wounded perspective is featured in the *Sonnets*. The sense of betrayal in Shakespeare can reach near biblical intensity, with Julius Caesar's experiences sometimes echoing with Christ associations, for example. Multiple layers of biblical allusions demonstrate an artistic psyche sensitized to the theme. Waugaman reads the susceptibility for a sense of betrayal by women especially – de Vere's and therefore Shakespeare's – partly as stemming from a pathological jealousy, emerging in an identification with others betrayed in history and legend. Interestingly, Waugaman includes not just the victimization perspective in Oxford's creative arsenal but also the experience as betrayer. Later on, Sonnet 121 registers a reaction to betrayal: a tired cynicism, perhaps on its way to leading towards a phase or even resolution of forgiveness. Understanding the emotional complexities of the poet-playwright as he processes, through his artistic medium, the emotional and experiential difficulties of feeling wronged therefore enables us to appreciate much better the density of the Shakespeare works and some of the impetus behind their creation.

In "What Really Happens in *Macbeth*? An Originalist Reading," stalwart Oxfordian Richard Whalen declares as wrong the traditional interpretation of the play as regards Macbeth's supposed tragic flaw: his ostensible ambition. Perplexed, reluctant, and remorseful, better suited for the battlefield than the world of court politics, Macbeth displays more conscience than ambition. Whalen has now spent many years intricately involved with the play, recently having published the second Oxfordian edition of *Macbeth*, and has been applying both microscopic and macroscopic foci. He is therefore amply qualified to help us revise our inherited view: the notion that the play serves as an admonition, particularly to commoners, against regal ambition. Instead, Whalen urges us to see the title character as a much more complex and sympathetic antihero, and to adjust our vision in order to recognize the intended audience as the Elizabethan court and courtiers, the key concern being the succession issue. Whalen has impressed upon me in several conversations, "These are not the plays the Stratfordians would have us believe them to be"; he has delved into how wrong the consensus in Shakespeare studies can be.

Next, if not in royal line, then at least in pagination, is my own article, "Lyric Poetry from Chaucer to Shakespeare," which Paul Altrocchi and Hank Whittemore have already solicited for inclusion in the next volume of their Oxfordian anthology series (Volume 9: "Soul of the Age"). As I mention above, Chaucer was my graduate school specialty, and in teaching early English literature survey courses I have been struck by how clear the complete trajectory is towards "Shakespeare." The impression given by the anthologies of English literature is that the editors have collected the greatest hits and placed them in chronological sequence. But the truth is that there is an intention and self-awareness in Shakespeare, an entire evolution of previous English literature absorbed by Oxford – and only Oxford makes sense as the fruition of this development, what even seems like a teleology. I try to show, as intricately woven together, some assorted, unappreciated Chaucer connections in Shakespeare plays. Oxford's

uncle, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, extends persona poetry as inspired initially by Chaucer. *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* and other collections of anonymous Elizabethan poetry show Chaucer connections, Oxford connections, and Shakespeare connections, especially regarding experimentation with "voices" and adoption of personae. English literature develops from Chaucer's innovations with ventriloquism – pilgrims and personae manifesting character and psychology in an early version of the dramatic monologue. Shakespeare takes the next step with poetry, removing the narrator – as "Shakespeare" disappears, so unfortunately does Oxford – who now exists entirely in the voices of his created characters. In Shakespeare, poetry and dramatic literature are no longer mutually exclusive genres.

I am especially gratified to see the work of recent PhD recipient Jacob Hughes following my own. His "Comparative Caricatures in *King John* and *Troublesome Raigne*" tackles what he frames as a "chicken or egg" question, but not only regarding the relationship between the canonical play and the anonymous quarto, but also the initial motivation for Shakespeare resurrecting historical material so far outside his normal predilection for fifteenth-century English history. The most electric character in the play(s), the Bastard, Faulconbridge, is positioned as faithful to his sovereign but ambivalent about his sovereign's motivations. He rails against the hollowness of commodity while the king desperately plays political musical chairs on the continent. Hughes suggests that the motive for revision – from *Troublesome Raigne* to *King John* – may have involved Shakespeare's increased dismay, frustration, and rage at the culture of commodity. One play emphasizes the complication and dangers of foreign influence while the other howls at honor and obligation on an international stage. If we see both bastards on an artistic continuum, their frustrations are compatible, but Shakespeare's Faulconbridge presents a nuanced and articulate expansion on the other's anger. In effect, the bastard has grown up. Shakespeare may have felt that his character could better address some more relevant cultural or political wrongs in revision.

Stuart Nettleton, Senior Lecturer in the School of Systems, Management and Leadership at the University of Technology, Sydney, opens up a conversation to be had about the uses of social networking theory and Bayesian statistics in his contribution to the interdisciplinary dimension of this volume of *Brief Chronicles*, "Bayesian Interrogation of the Elizabethan Social Network for First Folio Authorship." Nettleton's application of social network and statistical analysis to authorship probabilities considers the various "Shakespeare" candidates: for example, in the strength of their connections to the First Folio, and in the intricacy of their interconnections. Marlowe, de Vere, Philip Sidney, Mary Sidney, Dyer, Manners, Shakspere, and Mary Wroth (a niece of Mary Sidney) are considered. Mary Sidney's position at the center of the House of Pembroke renders her a person of great interest here, as do associations between her and Sappho, the ancient Greek female lyricist who brought together a circle of writers as Mary Sidney seems to have done. Nettleton offers responsible disclaimers, acknowledging the potential flaws in the process: early deaths, as of Marlowe and Sidney, reduce the opportunities for their establishing social networks and relationships; we have insufficient information about Shakspere; Oxford's falling out at tennis with Philip Sidney may have severed potential connections with the Pembroke hub. So the tentative outcomes of the analyses may indeed be doubted, but certainly the authorship question is further promoted as a valid one by this investigation.

Another unusual approach to the authorship question comes from Michael Wainwright, whose piece, "The Logical Basis of Oxford's *Troilus and Cressida*," contextualizes both the Chaucerian source and the Shakespeare play in late medieval and Tudor-era intellectual history. The implications of sixteenth-century logician Ramus' expanding on traditional Aristotelian rationalism to make room for observation, experience, and induction

apply to contemporary game theory where issues of advantage, strategy, and deadlock characterize social dilemmas in real-life interactions. As applied to the play, amid a Trojan/Greek deadlock, Wainwright explicates such features as Ulysses' disquisition on degree; the overvaluing of status on the parts of Ajax and Achilles; and the payoffs, strategies, impasse, deadlock, disloyalty, and so forth in Troilus and Cressida's interpersonal dynamic. But as theoretical as such analysis may seem, applying such interpersonal game strategies also sheds light on such biographical matters as Oxford's hope for the Dutch governorship in the 1580s when the "lost" *A History of Agamemnon and Ulysses* was performed at court, the Oxford/Sidney conflict (or deadlock) where Elizabeth's siding with de Vere may have validated his pride and therefore contributed to his downfall, and the linguistic dimension to all this, including Oxford's coining of adjectives that prefigure game-theoretic logic. Ultimately, Wainwright's assertion is that only Oxford could have appreciated Ramist dynamics through the influence of his sixteenth-century university education.

Asking the stylistic question, "Was Shakespeare a Euphuist? Some Ruminations on Oxford, Lyly and Shakespeare," Sky Gilbert sketches the history of Lyly's reception, especially as regards the nineteenth century's association of euphuism with effeminacy, of stylistic ornateness with wantonness. To preserve Shakespeare from such accusations of stylistic excess has come the insistence that he is merely parodying Lyly's euphuistic ornamentation: the many examples of simile, antithesis, balance, etc. But Gilbert, drawing on Ramism, like Wainwright in the previous article, to give some perspective on the historical understanding of the relationship between content and style, contextualizes Shakespeare as a late medievalist with a different understanding of language and representation whereby the traits of euphuism occur not for the arbitrary sake of decorative embellishment but out of the concern for rendering pleasing sounds when works are read aloud or imagined as such. Was the Oxford/Sidney tennis quarrel actually more about poetics? While the Ramist Sidney may have viewed content and style as separate components, Shakespeare/Oxford challenged such binary delineations by appreciating and exploring, bottomlessly, the reverberant music of language and meaning operating in unison.

Doubters of the Stratford doctrine not only dare to be considered wrong but could expect it with absolute certainty if the Stratfordians ever really dared to read us, a research obligation that reviewers of *Shakespeare Beyond Doubt* doubt takes place. Book reviewers in this volume, Don Rubin – who renders the contest between *Shakespeare Beyond Doubt* and *Shakespeare Beyond Doubt?* as a prizefight: Stanley Wells and Paul Edmonson, both from the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, vs. John Shahan and Alexander Waugh – and Tom Regnier each describe the Stratfordian avoidance techniques (for example, "Shakespeare's" education) and distortions (of Diana Price's work); the low blows in the form of *ad hominem* attacks, mostly on Delia Bacon (who once again somehow renders us all delusional neurotics); the numerous hypocrisies (do the works connect with the life of the author or not?); the desperate re-branding attempt to label anti-Stratfordians "anti-Shakespearians"; and so on, and *so* tiring! Seriously? Strachy again? Stylometrics? Assuming that we all subscribe to an obscure blogger's cryptogrammatical notions? Regnier in particular, perhaps used to the rigors of his legal background, summons the energy and focus to counter the Stratfordians, especially Alan Nelson, point by point, bringing forth a devastating summation of the Stratfordian desperation. Each of the reviews also addresses the question – does it matter? – with a resounding yes and individual explanations.

Hanno Wember reviews "*Aka Shakespeare*" by Peter Sturrock, Emeritus Professor of Applied Physics and Astrophysics at Stanford University. Sturrock has brought probability theory to bear on the authorship question in an unusually accessible mathematics book

for what is likely to be a readership more literary in predisposition. If probability can be calculated or even approximated for isolated literary events, here is more evidence for Oxford as Shakespeare.

Felicia Londre, in the final piece of this volume, reviews "The Oxfordian *Macbeth*," edited by Richard Whalen. She notes, as Whalen asserts in his article for this issue of *Brief Chronicles*, that Macbeth is not guilty of the tragic flaw of ambition; also that the Thane of Ross is not merely a random extra character, and that all the traditional insistences that this play could be in any way honoring King James I are completely nonsensical and utterly wrong.

Shakespeare's own most famous quotation concerning "wrongness" is this: "Love all, trust a few, do wrong to none." You can find this at nearly every intersection and after every few interstices on the Internet: cooed over, inscribed on merchandise, and translated into many languages. But you cannot find it attributed to any play or poem of the bard's. The problem is that Shakespeare's most famous quotation about wrongness is something he never wrote. Spread the word: Shakespeare did not write this!

Nah. That many people can't be wrong. Not about Shakespeare.

— from the Managing Editor, Michael Delahoyde

Endnotes

[1] Charles Beauclerk, *Shakespeare's Lost Kingdom: The True History of Shakespeare and Elizabeth* (New York: Grove Press, 2010), 16.

[2] Kathryn Schulz, *Being Wrong: Adventures in the Margins of Error* (New York: HarperCollins, 2010).

[3] *Much Ado About Nothing* 1.1.121. All Shakespeare quotations are from *The Riverside Shakespeare* (2nd ed., Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997).

[4] Schulz, 71.

[5] Schulz, 107.

[6] Schulz, 149.

[7] Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, "Shakespeare's Birthplace." Web.

[8] Schulz, 141.

[9] Schulz, 143.

[10] Schulz, 158.

[11] Schulz, 156.

[12] Schulz, 16.

[13] Schulz, 287.

[14] *Hamlet* 3.2.230.

[15] *Hamlet* 4.4.33-35.

[16] Vladimir Nabokov, *The Annotated Lolita* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), 261.

[17] *Othello* 2.3.262.

[18] *Much Ado About Nothing* 2.3.242.

"By Nature Fram'd to Wear a Crown"?
Decolonizing the Shakespeare Authorship Question

Michael Dudley

"What is more contemptible than a civilization that scorns knowledge of itself?"

— John Ralston Saul [1]

espite over 160 years of profound doubt expressed about the authorship of the plays and poems of Shakespeare – with indications the name was recognized as a pseudonym in the early 17th century – the mainstream Shakespeare academy has been utterly hostile to any and all such doubts or evidence.[2] Instead, respected Shakespeare "biographers" have continued to produce hefty works that fancifully flesh out the barest of documentary facts in an attempt to marry the transcendence of the Shakespeare canon with the apparent pragmatism of a thrifty if litigious businessman.[3] Their authors having so few records outside of business transactions and lawsuits to go on, these books are replete with imagined biographical details and anchored on the limitless and miraculous ability of the poet-playwright's "natural genius" to furnish the vast breath of knowledge and erudition evident in the works, an all-purpose explanation that defies contestation. Jonathan Bate, for example, in his *The Genius of Shakespeare*, approvingly reaches the tautological conclusion that "'*genius' was a category invented to account for what was peculiar about Shakespeare*" (italics in the original).[4] This reverent belief among Shakespeare biographers and critics in comforting traditions regarding Shakespeare's genius is such that even some otherwise orthodox writers believe that Shakespeare can only take on real "vitality outside of English departments, whose members are more prone than others to present a moribund, ossified version of the 'Bard of Avon.'"[5] It is little wonder that the ranks of skeptical anti-Stratfordians have only grown.

Another challenge to conventional Shakespeare scholarship has emerged in the form of postcolonial positionings of Shakespeare's works, which have become increasingly popular since the late 1980s, especially in countries formerly governed by European powers. In confronting Eurocentric assumptions, these readings view the texts and performances of the plays (notably *Othello*, *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Tempest*) in terms of contested understandings of race, power, class and gender, thereby shining a new light on historic and contemporary narratives of European cultural dominance and the colonial encounter. Contrary to Harold Bloom's dismissal of such competing readings as being part of a "School of Resentment," postcolonial Shakespeare studies are not intended to unseat "the Bard" so much as gain a new understandings of the Canon in its imperial contexts, and to appropriate the characters and settings of the plays in order to overturn conventional interpretations, and tell the stories of once dominated and suppressed cultures, thereby "decolonizing" Shakespeare.[6,7] Decolonizing a body of work (or indeed an entire discipline) involves identifying, interrogating and deconstructing central, primary Eurocentric assumptions which have served to privilege certain approaches and their partisans, and disguise or misrepresent the interests and ideas of others. It is a liberating, insurgent form of scholarship, one especially well suited for redressing imbalances of power.

This paper proposes that the project of decolonizing Shakespeare is incomplete and will likely remain so as long as it continues to focus exclusively on postcolonial readings of the texts themselves and on indigenized performances, rather than on examining the identity of their author, and the ways in which the practice of conventional Shakespeare biography has contributed to British imperial culture. Turning a postcolonial lens on contemporary Shakespeare scholarship itself, and specifically on the debate over the authorship of the plays and poems, may aid us in recognizing larger, potent and resistant cultural narratives underlying the mythology of the "Divine Will" of Stratford-Upon-Avon: the powerful legacy of triumphal, imperialist assumptions flowing, unexamined, beneath unshakable devotion to England's "National Poet." As Michael Dobson observes, a fundamental contradiction has underscored the cult of Shakespeare ever since David Garrick's 1769 Stratford Jubilee: that "The Bard" is at once held to be "directly inspired by Nature to voice the universal truths of humanity [yet] must none the less be claimed as specifically and uniquely English."[8]

Postcolonial theory is an especially appropriate and effective tool for challenging long-held beliefs about the core of Western culture. Because it shares interests with other bodies of critical theory concerning race, class, gender, sexuality and economic inequality, postcolonialism "force[s] readers and practitioners to confront ingrained subject positions and open the possibility of alternative, politically engaged historical analyses."[9] As Brydon writes,

> the strengths of postcolonialism derive from its ability to cast the familiar in a fresh light, to encourage cross disciplinary dialogue, and to provoke the rethinking of traditionally accepted disciplinary boundaries.[10]

Perhaps in no other field in the humanities is such a "fresh light" needed than on the subject of the authorship of the works of Shakespeare, which, like postcolonialism itself, is often viewed as threatening to entrenched and jealously guarded academic domains.

In this paper I will be considering the historiography of European imperialism and self-aggrandizing notions of Western identity as essential to understanding ways in which the debate over the authorship of the plays and poems of Shakespeare has been framed. Using a postcolonial lens, the key ontological and epistemological assumptions of Shakespeare hagiography are compared to and contrasted with those of historians and supporters of imperialism and colonialism in order to demonstrate the extent to which totalizing and essentialist rhetoric concerning the "natural genius" of both Shakespeare and the West (and the Author's singular position within it) have proven an impediment to advancing acceptance of – let alone a solution to – the Authorship Question. By interrogating the centrality of Shakespeare to Western identity, we can begin to chart a more reflexive Shakespeare scholarship, particularly concerning authorship.

It must be stated at the outset that it is not my intention to accuse orthodox Shakespeare scholars of actually *being* imperialists, or that, by extension, their epistemological stance on Shakespeare serves to defend colonial oppression or its history. Rather, the purpose is to show that the belief systems underlying the defense of William Shakspere of Stratford as the Author, and those which viewed as natural and inevitable the ascendency and dominance of "the West" over much of the rest of the world, are both of a kind, arose and matured in the same historical moment and for closely related reasons, are linked ontologically and together participated in contributing to the centuries-long *culture* of imperialism. As Dobson notes, "that Shakespeare was declared to rule world literature at the same time that Britannia was declared to rule the waves may, indeed, be more than a coincidence."[11] Because of this, the cultural narratives and mythologies of both the West and of Shakespeare have become intertwined and difficult to separate, making the proposition of an alternative candidate for authorship literally "unthinkable" to most.

To which a second caveat must be added: This paper is not about conventional conceptions of genius and its role in shaping talent when compared to environment, especially education. The authorship debate has for too long been saddled with tiresome arguments about this issue, centered on the supposed snobbery on the part of skeptics for their alleged disbelief that a commoner could possess the genius to write the Shakespeare plays, and the concomitant defense of the peerless merits of the Stratford Grammar School for supplying all the education necessary to write the canon. The intent here is not to debunk the idea of genius, only the conjoined quasi-religious, nationalistic forms it has taken in the history of Shakespeare biography, and in self-edifying (and, as we shall see, often racist) justifications of Western exceptionalism.

Culture and the Persistence of Belief

  Most English professors and the "Shakespeare Establishment" see no authorship problem and therefore reject it as the purview of cranks, or of "snobs" unwilling to concede a commoner could have been the Author. Any and all mention of the problem is not just frowned upon, but generally treated with abject hostility and contempt such that few aspiring English literature scholars who hope to receive tenure will broach it for fear of ridicule. Yet, a truly dispassionate examination of the documentary evidence can yield no such certainty. As Diana Price observes,

> If the Shakespeare plays had been published anonymously, *nothing* in William Shakspere's documented biographical trails would remotely suggest that he wrote them. Shakspere of Stratford is not, in fact, a viable authorship candidate, and if he were discovered today as a new contender, his candidacy would not be taken seriously (emphasis in the original).[12]

  All things being equal, this highly problematic biographical narrative should have been discarded decades ago and the correct author identified and accepted. However, because Shakespeare is the nearest thing in our culture to a secular religion, it is almost impossible to have a reasonable debate about the evidence concerning the Author's life. The standard "biographies" in our libraries may demonstrate a deep appreciation for his writings, but are otherwise astonishingly reliant on the imaginations of their authors to create a "life" of the poet-playwright (many of which are mutually exclusive).[13] Historian William Rubinstein, remarking on this tendency, observed that

> all orthodox biographies [of Shakespeare] take liberties with, or actually invent facts about the supposed playwright, such as no historian would allow for a moment in an academically credible biography of an important man or woman of the past.[14]

  The extent to which defenders of the Stratfordian view refuse to honestly face this lack and instead deny, evade and condemn does seem counter to accepted academic practice, and, indeed irrational; in the words of the late Richmond Crinkley, onetime director of programs at the Folger Shakespeare Library, the vitriol directed at skeptics is "like some bizarre mutant racism."[15] Richard Waugaman calls it a "psychopathology," deriving from both a number of conventional human emotions, such as jealousy over Oxfordians' comparatively substantial candidate in Edward de Vere, 17th earl of Oxford, and anxieties of potential shame should their lifelong views be discredited. More powerful still are the deeply embedded narratives which both govern the intellectual project of conventional Shakespeare studies and provide group cohesion by focusing attention (and projecting inadequacies) onto an external identifiable group – anti-Stratfordians generally and Oxfordians in particular.[16]

We should understand at the outset that Shakespearean biography is hardly the only field of scholarship in which such adherence to an increasingly untenable tradition endures, and that belief in those traditions is rarely swayed by evidence or persuasion. As geographer J.M. Blaut observes,

> Scholars today are aware, as most were not a few decades ago, that the empirical factual beliefs of history. . . very often gain acceptance for reasons that have little to do with evidence. Scholarly beliefs are embedded in culture, and are shaped by culture. This helps to explain the paradox that [certain] beliefs are so strangely persistent: that old myths continue to be believed in long after the rationale for their acceptance has been forgotten or rejected.[17]

These beliefs are more than traditions: They are shaped by paradigms, famously defined by Thomas Kuhn as "the entire constellation of facts, theories and methods" collected and adhered to by practitioners of a given discipline.[18] As is the case for all fields of research, the evidence marshaled by Stratfordians and Oxfordians alike is not merely based on a preferred interpretation of documentary evidence endorsed within the cultural norms of their respective research communities or paradigm; rather, it is a part of the broader culture, nested within it and transacting with it. The nature of those relationships must be recognized to fully understand their paradigm – in the words of the Great Author, to "show their birth, and where they did proceed."[19]

If we are to consider the Stratfordian and Oxfordian views competing paradigms (as is often done in the literature of the latter), then, strictly speaking, we shouldn't expect anything other than obstinate refusal from the orthodox academy. Kuhn, in his classic work on scientific epistemology, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962), distinguished between the activities of researchers working within an accepted paradigm (what he called normal science), and those aware of and seeking new explanations for crises in puzzle solving within that normal science. However,

> [n]o part of the aim of normal science is to call forth new sorts of phenomena; indeed those that will not fit the box are often not seen at all. Nor do scientists normally aim to invent new theories, and they are often intolerant of those invented by others. Instead, normal-scientific research is directed to the articulation of those phenomena and theories that the paradigm already supplies.[20]

In their effort to advance their challenge to the "normal science" of conventional Shakespeare studies, anti-Stratfordians and partisans of alternative candidates such as Edward de Vere apparently assume or believe that orthodox scholars might be eventually won over by the right combination of evidence. For example, in her book, *Shakespeare Suppressed*, Katherine Chiljan suggests that, if the

questions over the authorship of the works could only be "answered plausibly, [it] would change everyone's minds."[21] This viewpoint, however desirable and optimistic, neglects the reality that paradigm shifts in a discipline are rarely accomplished in so straightforward a manner. Kuhn warns,

> Neither side will grant all the non-empirical assumptions that the other needs in order to make its case. . .they are bound to talk through each other. Though each may hope to convert the other to his way of seeing his [sic] science and its problems, neither may hope to prove his [sic] case. The competition between paradigms is not the sort of battle that can be resolved through proofs.[22]

Kuhn intended his analysis to apply only to the sciences, not the social sciences and certainly not to problems of literary biography, so his model isn't entirely applicable to the authorship controversy. One could even argue that the entire notion of a scientific paradigm itself is inappropriate to a branch of scholarship that essentially considers its subject to be semi-divine, and about which so much rhetoric echoes the lexicon of faith; this, as we shall see, may also be illuminated by adopting a postcolonial perspective. Nevertheless, Kuhn's theories do establish the extent to which the nature of institutional culture can contribute to the advancement and entrenchment of knowledge within a given discipline. As Roger Stritmatter argues,

> There is, of course, a price to be paid for this [paradigmatic] knowledge: the initiate must solemnly promise not only to forgo dalliance in the field of unauthorized ideas, but to zealously defend, as a matter of honor and sanity, the jurisdiction of the paradigm into which he has been initiated. A reluctance to do so marks him, at best, as an outsider or a misfit: unqualified for employment, tenure, or professional respect.[23]

New discoveries, approaches and methods may therefore not simply be applied with an expectation of universal persuasion, for the culture associated with an existing paradigm may be wholly incommensurate with revolutionary ideas. In the case of Shakespeare studies, I suggest that the academic culture in question is inextricably linked to our broader culture and its legacy of imperialism.

The Parallel Genius of "National Poet" and "the West"

The late comparative literature professor and postcolonial theorist Edward Said argued in his 1993 book, *Culture and Imperialism,* that it is impossible to separate the cultural productions of an imperial state (i.e., its literature, art and music) from the imperial culture of that state: and that, by "connect[ing] them. . . with the imperial process of which they were manifestly and unconcealedly a part [and not] condemning them or ignoring their participation in what was an unquestioned reality in their societies" we enhance our understanding of them.[24] Ania Loomba

and Martin Orkin note, too, in the introduction to their *Post-Colonial Shakespeares*, that "it is virtually impossible to seal off any meaningful analysis of English culture or literature from considerations of racial and cultural differences, and from the dynamics of emergent colonialisms."[25]

Written during the very birth of the English colonial project, an era characterized by an unprecedented level of foreign military interventionism, Shakespeare's works not only capture the expansionist Elizabethan world-view, but would themselves be instrumental in spreading English culture throughout England's colonies.[26] As Michael Neill writes,

> Shakespeare's writing was entangled from the beginning with the projects of nation-building, Empire and colonization. . . Shakespeare was simultaneously invented as the 'National Bard' and promoted as a repository of 'universal' human values, [and] the canon became an instrument of imperial authority as important as the Bible and the gun.[27]

The value of Shakespeare to the global spread of English culture was such that even John Hobson, who opposed imperialism on economic grounds, was moved to concede that

> Shakespeare [has] done incomparably more for the influence of England in the history of the world than all the statesmen and soldiers who have won victories or annexed new provinces. Macaulay has well said it, "There is an empire exempt from all natural sources of decay — that empire is the imperishable empire of our art and our morals, our literature and our law."[28]

The postcolonial turn in Shakespeare studies recognizes and subjects to critical reappraisal this colonial and imperial heritage. At the periphery of these readings is a sense that their author should not escape attention as well: Ngugi wa Thiong'o, in recounting his efforts to Africanize and decolonize the academy in Nairobi, observed that the "universal genius" of Shakespeare, promoted as a "gift" from England to the rest of humanity, only serves to disguise the particulars of non-European societies around the world.[29] According to Blaut, the supposed "gift" of European culture to their colonized subjects is an integral component of what he refers to as the "Colonizer's Model of the World," a triumphalist lens through which the Eurocentric historian understands the advanced, progressive, innovative and modern European "center" existing "within" history, while the rest of the world – backward, stagnant and traditional – is "outside." As Blaut describes it, the explanation for Europe's mastery over the world is seen to be owed

> to some intellectual or spiritual factor, something characteristic of the "European mind," the "European spirit," "Western Man," etc. something that leads to creativity, imagination, invention, innovation, rationality, and a sense of honor or ethics: "European values."[30]

Correspondingly, he writes, the non-European's stagnation is due to a similarly material cause: an innate "emptiness," a lack of rationality or "proper spiritual values." Thus rendered not merely unsuited to govern themselves, but unredeemably inferior, non-European subjects may then be rationally displaced or eliminated through settler colonialism. With these assumptions in place, writes Blaut, the colonial model explains global progress, modernity and civilization as a matter of diffusion — originating in the West and flowing to the colonial possessions — "gifts" for which the European can then only be partially compensated by the extraction of resources from subject lands. Inherent in this model was its reproduction, in the form of the imperial education of the next generation of colonizers. The curriculum in Britain therefore emphasized this innateness, citing qualities going back to England's Anglo-Saxon roots. According to Heathorn,

> History [textbooks] in particular focused and simplified the relationship between the innate characteristics and traits of the Anglo-Saxons, the launching of colonial expansion in the reign of Elizabeth I, and the present-day duties of each English citizen. . . . It was proclaimed that there was something inherent in the Englishman that had led to the English nations' lead in world-imperial affairs.[31]

Similarly, David Gress notes in his *From Plato to NATO* that, judging by standard textbooks about the West, "one gets the distinct impression that everyone in 'The West' was a genius," a narrative which, he stresses, was flawed and "the basic obstacle to understanding Western identity." Gress sees this Grand Narrative as an uncritical "amalgam of intellectual controls" which looks

> at the past mainly, if not exclusively, to find the origins of the superior present, [such that] the authors of the Grand Narrative unhistorically ignored those areas of past cultures not compatible with the modern liberal West. The Grand Narrative assumed what it set out to explain: That the West existed, and that it was good.[32]

Not only good: miraculous, and to such a degree that its goodness is universal and spiritual rather than constrained by geography. Louis Rougier, in his 1971 book *The Genius of the West,* lauds the accomplishments of Western civilization which, when compared with those of China, Islam and India, are "still the most miraculous accomplishment of the human adventure" such that "wherever the rules of scientific inquiry are followed, wherever freedom of thought and speech are respected, there is the West."[33]

Such chauvinistic essentialism is also highly characteristic of Shakespearean hagiography, and has produced a "grand narrative" of its own: His exceptional, "miraculous" genius is innate, a material cause requiring no explanation beyond the grace of "Nature." The origins of the ideology of Shakespeare's "natural genius" may

be seen in John Milton's 1645 poem "L'Allegro," in which he evokes Shakespeare as "Fancy's child...warbling his native wood-notes wild," which would in turn be famously echoed by Garrick's *Ode to Shakespeare* recited at the 1769 Stratford Jubilee:

> While sportive Fancy round him flew,
> Where Nature led him by the hand,
> Instructed him in all she knew
> And gave him absolute command![34,35]

Such did this notion of Shakespeare's communion with a personified Nature take hold of the British imagination that, by 1826, Henry Mercer Graves would, in his *Essay on the Genius of Shakespeare,* call the poet a "child" of Nature herself:

> Whence is it. . .that [the works] of Shakespeare still bear up triumphant and unimpaired? 'Tis because he wrote from the inspiration of *nature herself*; 'tis because she filled his whole soul, and made it her temple to dwell in. She guided every idea, warmed and perfected every description, and fired every effusion and passion . . . . [H]e was Nature's own child - her favourite son - her beloved offspring . . . . Shakespeare was under her own eye - her guidance - her protection. She gave him power unlimited, and sway uncontrolled. . .empowered him to go over the wide globe . . .then soar to her heaven and stay throned there, high and immortal (italics in the original).[36]

Conversely (and demonstrating how Shakespeare biographers have a long history of reaching opposing conclusions about their subject while nonetheless claiming adherence to a common, true faith), Thomas Kenny, writing in 1864, has Shakespeare exercising his own agency to follow Nature via his "imaginative intuition" rather than being directed by her:

> Nature herself - wide, free, universal Nature - was the final and abiding object of Shakespeare's imitation. He saw and felt, with the force of a direct intuition, that in the vital reproduction of her forms begins, continues and ends the whole business of the dramatist. . . . He looked at Nature through a direct imaginative intuition, and he was thus enabled to follow her in all her changeful shapes and hues.[37]

More historical examples would be superfluous. The synthesis of such insubstantial forces as Nature and imagination have become what passes for conventional wisdom in Shakespeare studies down to our own time. Harold Bloom, for example, wrote in his 1994 paean to *The Western Canon* that Shakespeare "has the largeness of nature itself, and through that largeness he senses nature's indifference" while affirming Milton's appraisal of the Bard as "Nature's own artist."[38] James Shapiro, meanwhile, chastises skeptics of the traditional attribution in his 2010

book *Contested Will* for their failure to appreciate the all-encompassing power of imagination to account for Shakespeare's accomplishments, an equally miraculous material cause all but synonymous with "nature."[39]

In simultaneously offering a nominally secular explanation for the apparently inexplicable – as well as a seemingly inexhaustible inspiration for florid prose– the power of an embodied (and often capitalized) "Nature" gave the Shakespeare scholar precisely what was needed in the face of irresolute absence of evidence: a rhetorical tool with which to defeat any possible objection and – not incidentally – bolster a host of chauvinistic and nationalistic claims for cultural supremacy. It also served to disassociate the Author from any real, human connections to his work, a feat perfectly embodied in Garrick's absurd Jubilee at which not an actual line of Shakespeare's writings was uttered, reducing the Author's "achievements to the point of virtual non-existence. . . their actual contents irrelevant, drowned out in the noise of national rejoicing."[40]

Given the supreme utility of such a habit of mind for reinforcing English identity, it was hardly limited to literary matters, but infused the British Imperial project as well, justifying on the basis of "nature" the inevitability and rectitude of British empire. As befitting an imperial culture, reminders of the naturalness of British ascendency could be had from politicians, newspapers and school textbooks throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. For example, New Zealand Premier Sir George Grey would, at the 1883 Intercolonial Convention held in Sydney, Australia, exhort the island colony to consider that it was "ordained by Nature" to be the future "Queen of the Pacific" the center of its own empire.[41] Philippa Levine, in her history of the British Empire records how a 1902 school textbook claimed that "Englishmen, 'are especially fitted by nature' to be colonists because they are 'persevering, unflinching. . . patriotic. . . [and] love order and justice.'"[42]

This intellectual tendency was of course not confined to the British, but was copiously in evidence in American thinking as well. American naval historian Alfred Thayer Mahan, in his *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History,* explicitly justifies colonization with reference to the naturalness of national genius:

> In yet another way does the national genius affect the growth of sea power in its broadest sense; and that is in so far as it possesses the capacity for planting healthy colonies. Of colonization, as of all other growths, it is true that it is most healthy when it is most natural. Therefore colonies that spring from the felt wants and natural impulses of a whole people will have the most solid foundations; and their subsequent growth will be surest when they are least trammelled from home, if the people have the genius for independent action.[43]

As Theologian William David Spencer confirms, "'Natural' became the key word to excuse all imperialism."[44]

We should understand that the writers referred to above inherited the Enlightenment view of Nature not merely as the assemblage of physical forces in the

world around us, but rather implied God as the ultimate efficient cause, His "divine causality. . . manifested in the active powers which were immanent in the fabric of nature."[45] An appeal to Nature conferred upon the object an expression of divine will, and therefore beyond contestation — and, conveniently, the conventional tools of historiography.

If nature could so readily promote the implicitly racist ideology of imperialism – premised on the rule of subject races unfit to govern themselves – then it is an exceedingly small cognitive and moral leap to see her approval of even more loathsome forms of domination. Radical Liberal and imperialist booster Charles Dilke saw as inevitable and desirable the eventual replacement of indigenous "inferior" races with white British subjects, arguing that "the gradual extinction of the inferior races is not only a law of nature, but a blessing to mankind."[46] In the United States, the "peculiar institution" of black slavery was defended by Charles O'Conor in his 1859 speech (to a mostly approving New York City audience) because it was

> not unjust — that it is benign in its influence upon the white man and upon the black man. I maintain that it is ordained by nature; that it is a necessity of both races; that, in climates where the black race can live and prosper, Nature herself enjoins correlative duties on the black man and on the white, which cannot be performed except by the preservation, and. . . the perpetuation of negro Slavery.[47]

More odious still, the rhetorical force of "Nature" permits Ben Klassen, the father of modern white supremacy and the notion of "racial holy war" (RaHoWa), to argue in his 1973 masterpiece of racist bilge, *Nature's Eternal Religion,* that

> Nature looked fondly upon the White Race and lavished special loving care in its growth. Of all the millions of creatures who have inhabited the face of this planet over the eons of time, none has ever quite equaled that of the White Race. Nature endowed her Elite with a greater abundance of intelligence and creativity, of energy and productivity than she endowed unto any other creature, now or in the millenniums past.[48]

The correspondence between these assertions written centuries apart to the benign and eminently wise role of Nature in nurturing, protecting and endowing their respective innovative and creative objects – be it the West, Shakespeare or the white race – is indeed remarkable.

The reader should not mistake the argument: To be clear, this is not a matter of two unrelated phenomena being crudely shackled to one another through a comparison of common, contemporary phrasing with a view to making them seem identical. The point is *not* that a belief in the traditional attribution of the plays and poems to William Shakspere of Stratford is akin to racism. Rather, we must understand that the invocation of Nature as an explanatory metanarrative was the keystone element in the "colonizer's model of the world," of which the semi-divine

Shakespeare was a not insignificant ingredient. The myths of the "Divine William" and the "Miracle of the West" were conjoined at birth, and mutually reinforcing; the supposed superiority of Western culture could find no better evidence than the gifts Nature miraculously bestowed upon William of Stratford.

In being so blessed, both Shakespeare and the Colonizer were effectively removed from historical consciousness. Seeing the quasi-religious grace of natural genius as the origin of and ultimate support for the European-dominated global order of the colonial era – and the corresponding privileged position of the white race – both elevated the colonizer and removed him from scrutiny. Gauri Viswanathan, in the introduction to his *Masks of Conquest,* observed that English colonizers actively used their literature in colonial education systems to portray themselves in terms of their literature, rather than as colonial subjugators, with the effect that "the Englishman's true essence is defined by the thought he produces, overriding all other aspects of his identity – his personality, actions and behavior. [T]he blurring of the man and his works effectively removed him from history."[49] Even the instruments of colonization shared in this blessing. As Armitage argues of Britain's naval supremacy,

> [b]ecause Britain's maritime destiny seemed compelled by nature, it was by definition beyond historical analysis. . . . A fact so stubborn could hardly be historical; a history so exceptional was inassimilable to other European norms. British naval mastery came to seem as inevitable as the expansion of the British Empire, and each would be subject to the same complacent amnesia.[50]

This fate has also been Shakespeare's: In his ossified state as the "Bard of Avon" he is both mythical and insubstantial, an icon rather than a living, historical human. Shielded from critical scrutiny by his sacredness and centrality to British patriotism, Shakespeare has been removed from history, beyond conventional historical analysis. His priests in the academy meanwhile – awash in their own "complacent amnesia" – are all too content to leave him there.

Decolonizing Shakespeare Studies

In his 1997 book *Alias Shakespeare*, Joseph Sobran declared that the Shakespeare Authorship Question needed "an overhaul," citing what he perceived as the "wild fruits" of an undisciplined group of amateurs shut out of the "stabilizing mainstream" of the academy.[51] However, as this analysis suggests, far from participating in and contributing to "mainstream" scholarship, it is orthodox Shakespeare studies which has actually *cordoned itself off* from the "stabilizing mainstream" found in other branches of the humanities and social sciences, because it has isolated its ostensible core – the life of the Author – from the scrutiny afforded by variations of postmodern, critical, postcolonial and other forms of theorizing. As a consequence, Shakespeare studies has been woefully lacking in *reflexivity*, or that critical self-awareness through which its practitioners would be enabled to recognize

and name their own *situatedness* within the "scientific, political and institutional dimensions" (and associated power relations) of their discourses.[52] The reasons for this may derive from what Husserl referred to as "the crisis of the sciences" which is characterized by a

> tension between specialization and critique: between our ability to abstract domains within which we develop propositional knowledge and our inability to reflect on the multiplicity of these domains so far as they interpenetrate and transform the whole sociohistorical environment that phenomenologists call the "lifeworld."[53]

As Blaut and Gress demonstrate, our dominant socio-historical lifeworld in the West has been profoundly influenced by self-aggrandizing appeals to the limitless power of Western "genius" and "imagination." Postcolonial theorists have sought to deconstruct these beliefs, assumptions and justifications to reveal the extent to which such colonial metanarratives disguise the nationalism, religious self-righteousness, privilege and economic rapaciousness – tainted with more than a patina of racism – that underlay the colonial enterprise. Instead, we are guided in searching for structural causes. Far from being the inevitable outcome of a unique, natural "European character" or some other expression of virtuous essentialism, Europe's ascendancy during and after the "Age of Discovery" is seen as the result of a confluence of environmental, cultural, institutional and technological factors – of the kind explored by Jared Diamond in his *Guns, Germs and Steel* – as well as its ideologically sanitized and brutal conquest of resources and peoples around the world.[54]

A correspondingly honest postcolonial view on the authorship of the Shakespeare Canon would, similarly, lead us to identify evidence of structural causes. Rather than seeing an untutored, blessed vessel of the "gifts of nature," we recognize an Author steeped in an aristocratic society, his talent nurtured and realized thanks to the best education then available by virtue of his rank, wealth and privilege, his world view that of the highborn, and the printing history of his works redolent with the exercise of political power within a strictly controlled, autocratic, militaristic and paranoid state.[55] Shakespeare's works are, in fact, replete with a resolute conviction of the divine right to rule and the naturalness of aristocracy.[56] These indications clearly place the author within the culture of particular class of Elizabethan society, the structures of which were essential for the acquisition of the knowledge, values and experiences evident in his writings.

Of course, all these things have long been recognized as patently obvious by skeptics and accord perfectly with the life of Edward de Vere, but have been consistently pilloried as "snobbery" by the Shakespeare establishment – which, in the absence of the scholarly rigor afforded by critical and postcolonial theory, they have felt free to do. Once this lens is admitted, however, the accusation appears not just churlish but actually unlearned, wholly ignorant of the legitimacy postcolonial critiques find in every other branch of the humanities and social sciences. It is in such

lapses in reason among otherwise accomplished scholars that we begin to understand the nature of the theoretical lacunae established Shakespeare studies has become, and the extent to which it has "colonized" academia and, more broadly speaking, our culture.

Postcolonial theory also assists us here, in comprehending the exercise of power relations, deconstructing hegemonies and naming the oppression of "subaltern" or dominated groups. Essential to an understanding of subalternality is the notion and meaning of "speaking" in a colonial context: Postcolonial theorist Gayatri Spivak famously observed that subalterns are unable to "speak," that others speak for them and listen only with "benevolent imperialism," not actually hearing what the subaltern says.[57]

While Spivak disapproves of marginalized groups within the academy referring to themselves as "subaltern," indigenous scholar Rauna Kuokkanen argues that even if we do not use the term as such, the problem remains that, for scholars finding themselves outside the accepted discourse in the academy, they cannot fully "speak," as their episteme is not recognized and as a result it is misrepresented and misunderstood.[58] For Kuokkanen, the repression and marginalization of scholarship is the result of what Spivak refers to as "sanctioned ignorance," a culture in which those benefiting from a hegemonic worldview protect their own power and privilege by rejecting and disqualifying the worldviews (or epistemes) of others. Such ignorance occurs at the individual and institutional levels, and assumes both passive and active forms. In the first, there is a refusal to acknowledge, learn and know the epistemes of the marginalized scholar; in the second there is active denial of their scholarship — both of which, she stresses, are mutually reinforcing.

When there is a refusal to know, assumptions of shared and narrowly defined values preclude welcoming competing ways of knowing. The Western episteme being taken as normative, all others are considered only inasmuch as they relate to the West. Outright active denial too can take many forms: exclusion of contested content from curricula, as well as from the means to contribute to scholarship. By ensuring competing worldviews are "left out of the books" the privileged academic establishment maintains its hegemony, while maintaining "privileged innocence" that they bear any responsibility for or complicity in this "epistemic violence."[59] The impacts of sanctioned ignorance are profound: In Vandana Shiva's words, by making such "knowledge invisible by declaring it non-existent or illegitimate, the dominant system also makes alternatives disappear by erasing and destroying the reality which they attempt to represent."[60]

The applicability of these principles to the Authorship debate should be obvious. Anti-Stratfordians are a marginalized class within the academy, one rebelling against and interrogating an established, dominating order which has sought to silence and misrepresent them by exercising active ignorance of the achievements of its scholars. The Shakespeare establishment deliberately withhoIds recognition of Oxfordians specifically and anti-Stratfordians in general, and routinely reverts to "straw man" attacks on 19th century authors rather than address more recent discoveries.[61] This condition is recognized by Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor as

the *misrecognition* of others. A person or a group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning one in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being.[62]

Hence, it is skeptics who are accused of snobbery, of "ignorance; poor sense of logic; refusal, wilful or otherwise, to accept evidence; folly; the desire for publicity; and even. . . certifiable madness" and it is this popular conception that has for so long dominated the public discourse and perceptions about this issue.[63] This blinkered obstinance is explained by Kuokkanen, for whom (and in contrast to the "colonizer's model") Indigenous epistemes should be welcomed in the academy as a "gift" with the potential to enrich scholarship and enlarge the scope of Western thought. However, as long as the academy remains defensively invested in excluding such scholarship, acceptance of the gift is impossible.[64] In this case, even though the episteme of skepticism over the authorship of the plays and poems of Shakespeare – and, in particular, the convincing case for Edward de Vere – is a "gift" that resolves so many formerly irresolvable difficulties and questions about the Canon, it is one that continues to be vigorously rejected, thereby perpetuating one of the most tragic misallocations of intellectual energy in the history of knowledge.

Conclusion

The extent to which the "natural genius" of Shakespeare has been embedded within and reflects the "grand narrative" of the corresponding "natural genius" of the West has cemented Shakespeare's image in the academy and in our culture. However, in the past half century as colonized peoples liberated themselves from European rule, and as people of color and their allies opposed and protested racist laws and cultural habits, the intellectual, cultural and moral superiority of the West has been challenged by critical and postcolonial theorists, and its self-justifying excesses rendered unacceptable in academic and public discourse.

As a part of this movement within the academy, indigenizing and postcolonial theorizing has been brought to bear on the nature, influence and performance of the Shakespeare Canon.[65] However, no such attention has been – or, at present, can be – visited upon the life of its author, which, thanks to the extreme uncritical reverence towards the Stratford mythology on the part of the Academy, remains firmly inoculated against postcolonial interpretations, or indeed critical theorizing of any kind. While virtually every field of study in the humanities and social science has seen its respective "postmodern turn" or at least some form of critical gaze, the "Bard of Avon" has been effectively and essentially isolated from genuine scholarly scrutiny. Much like Viswanathan's imperial British gentleman conflated with the literary heritage he foisted on conquered peoples, Shakespeare has been removed from history.

This concealment was and continues to be effected through the invocation of "natural genius" and imagination, key elements also used to define and rationalize European imperialism. Yet, this analysis demonstrates that an appeal to "natural genius" as an all-inclusive means of justifying cultural superiority – whether it applies to a race, an economic system or an individual – is not just intellectually lazy and vacuous, but fundamentally corrosive and morally dangerous. In explaining everything, "natural genius" not only explains nothing, but, more ominously, can explain and lend moral approbation to *anything*.

As many anti-Stratfordians have pointed out, the traditional attribution has (among numerous other deficiencies) depoliticized the plays, and stripped the Author of any connection to contemporary politics. This has not just robbed Shakespeare studies of some of its richest potential territory in terms of analyzing the plays as sources of political, social and literary commentary, but has rendered invisible the Author's own place within the expansive, imperial and authoritarian Elizabethan world. This studied ignorance of the canon's origins has correspondingly limited our ability to fully appreciate the imperial uses to which it was put, and even now both fuels and disguises the obstinate fierceness with which mainstream scholarship defends its dominant metanarrative against the insurgent practices of a marginalized class of scholars.

What we see, then, in the Bard of Avon is the last redoubt of Western exceptionalism, shielded from the scrutiny of those who would seek to deconstruct his "natural genius." As a consequence, the postcolonial project in Shakespeare studies has been fundamentally undercut and condemned to a wholly unnecessary premature termination, for there is, at its core, a self-imposed mismatch between the otherwise matured critical tools at the disposal of the Shakespeare scholar, and the sanctioned uses to which they may be put.

What is needed to bridge this ontological barrier between contested Shakespeares, then, is not necessarily more evidence – for such has so far proved nothing in the eyes of the orthodox – but rather turning a postcolonial and broadly critical lens on Shakespeare scholarship itself, which has, to this point, exhibited a startling absence of reflexivity. A studied self-examination of the practice and epistemological bases of Shakespearean biography, filtered through postcolonial sensibilities of theory, practice and process would inform a long overdue reassessment of the state of the field including and especially a reckoning with the controversy over authorship, which, despite orthodox dismissal and proscriptions, is only gathering momentum. To do otherwise is to perpetuate a civilization scorning knowledge of itself.

Endnotes

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Shakespeare's Five "Outlier" Sonnets

Alex McNeil

our centuries after their publication, there still exists widespread disagreement about Shakespeare's Sonnets. We know they were first published in 1609 (though two had appeared previously, in slightly different form). But were they meant to be published? Is the order correct? Do they refer to actual people and events, and if so, who are those people and what are the events?

To begin with, a few things may be accepted as fact. The 1609 sonnet quarto contains 154 consecutively numbered sonnets.[1] There are no breaks within the sonnet sequence; a sonnet ends on one line, the number of the next sonnet is on the following line, and the new sonnet begins on the very next line. Almost every page contains thirty-six lines of text, so that many sonnets are printed on two quarto pages.[2]

Although there are no physical or typographical divisions within the 154 poems, it is generally agreed that they fall into three groups. The first 126 sonnets are addressed to the "Fair Youth," whoever he was; the next 26 are addressed to someone who has come to be known as the "Dark Lady," whoever she was; and the last two are not addressed to another person, but are based on a Greek epigram.

Furthermore, three sonnets are not composed of fourteen lines of iambic pentameter verse. One – sonnet 99 – contains fifteen lines, one – sonnet 126 – contains twelve lines, and one – sonnet 145 – is written in iambic tetrameter.

Taken together with the last two sonnets – numbers 153 and 154 – these five poems may be considered as "outliers" within the overall sonnet sequence.[3] They raise perplexing questions among traditional scholars, who speculate whether sonnets 99 and 126 are the author's final versions, whether sonnet 145 is even Shakespearean, and whether sonnets 153 and 154 belong in the sequence. I will examine those five sonnets to see whether, from an Oxfordian perspective, they can be seen to make sense as elements of the entire sequence, ones which were deliberately placed where

they appear in the form that we have them. In so doing, I will focus more on the construction of those sonnets and their relationship to other sonnets rather than on an interpretation of the text of those sonnets; however, in some cases, an attempt at interpretation is necessary.

Sonnet 99

The forward violet thus did I chide,
Sweet thief whence did thou steal thy sweet that smells
If not from my love's breath, the purple pride,
Which on thy soft cheek for complexion dwells?
In my love's veins thou hast too grossly dyed,
The lily I condemned for thy hand,
And buds of marjoram had stol'n thy hair,
The Roses fearfully on thorns did stand,
Our blushing shame, another white despair.
A third nor red, nor white, had stol'n of both,
And to his robb'ry had annexed thy breath,
But for his theft in pride of all his growth
A vengeful canker ate him up to death.
    More flow'rs I noted, yet none I could see,
    But sweet, or color it had stol'n from thee.

No scholar has failed to observe that this sonnet contains fifteen lines. Traditional scholars have noted that the inclusion of a fifteen-line sonnet is not without precedent; Barnabe Barnes and Bartholomew Griffin used them,[4] and even eighteen-line sonnets were not unknown. Stephen Booth points out, however, that the inclusion of the "extra" line within the first quatrain is unusual; such extra lines usually are found in the concluding sestet.[5] John Kerrigan finds that "the irregularity of 99 is startling" and that it "is often judged to be a draft."[6] R.J.C. Wait concurs, noting that the five-line first quatrain is "as if Shakespeare had not decided on its final form but did not think it worthy of further attention."[7] Booth, however, concludes that the author indeed intended to write what he wrote: "Formally, Shakespeare's extra line is number 5, but it is syntactically indispensable; substantively, line 1 is introductory and thus distinct in function from 2-5, but, since it identifies the object of the following four lines, it cannot be considered extra either."[8] Helen Vendler tersely characterizes sonnet 99 as an "experiment" which was "not repeated."[9] Katherine Duncan-Jones, after noting that "Uniquely, the sonnet is fifteen lines," finds that the aberration "reinforces the sense of a potentially unlimited catalogue of flowers."[10]

Although traditional scholars link sonnet 99 thematically to its predecessors (especially sonnets 97 and 98), few bother to ask themselves *why* the poet would place an outlier – a fifteen-line poem – at this point; instead, they merely observe

that he has done so. Among the few traditional scholars who have asked why is Joseph Pequigney, whose answer is arguably the closest to what an Oxfordian might offer. Pequigney notes that sonnet 99, like sonnet 126, is irregular, and that 126 marks the close of one period of the sonnets (i.e., the end of the "Fair Youth" sequence). Thus, Pequigney finds that sonnet 99 too marks the end of a period, which he calls the "middle period" of the sonnets. He finds additional support for his argument in the fact that there is a change of tone in the very next sonnet – sonnet 100 – which is addressed not to the young man, but to the poet's muse, and suggests that some period of time has elapsed between the two poems (the three quatrains of sonnet 100 begin with "Where art thou, Muse," "Return, forgetful Muse," and "Rise, resty Muse").[11]

The best known Oxfordian work on Shakespeare's sonnets is Hank Whittemore's *The Monument* (2005). His theory, which remains controversial even among Oxfordians, is that the sonnets depict real-life events involving Edward de Vere (the poet), Henry Wriothesley, Third Earl of Southampton (the Fair Youth), and Queen Elizabeth (the Dark Lady), and that Southampton was the unacknowledged royal child of de Vere and the Queen. Structurally, Whittemore identifies a central series of exactly 100 sonnets (27-126) which, he maintains, chronicles the twenty-six-month period between the Essex Rebellion of February 1601 and Southampton's release from confinement in April 1603, shortly after the death of Elizabeth and the accession of James VI of Scotland as her successor. This central series is flanked by two groups of exactly twenty-six sonnets (1-26 and 127-152), with the final two sonnets (153 and 154) acting as a coda.

Within the 100-sonnet central series, Whittemore does not see them as being written at the same pace throughout; in other words, the poet is not producing a sonnet a week for 100 weeks. Rather, Whittemore finds a period of intense production of the first sixty of the central 100 sonnets (27-86) coinciding with the sixty-day period immediately following the Essex Rebellion.[12] During that period, of course, Southampton was arrested, tried for treason, convicted and sentenced to death, only to have the death sentence apparently commuted to life imprisonment. At the end of that period in April 1601 – beginning with sonnet 87 – the pace of production slowed, with the last forty of the 100 central sonnets constructed during the remaining twenty-four months of Southampton's imprisonment. Whittemore thus dates sonnet 99 to some time in mid-1602. Though he doesn't discuss the sonnet's unique structure, he, like Pequigney, believes that there is a lapse of time between sonnets 99 and 100.[13]

I believe that Whittemore's and Pequigney's analyses are persuasive, and that sonnet 99 should be seen neither as an "experiment" nor as a poem not "worthy of further attention," but as a poem deliberately constructed in fifteen lines, rather than fourteen, to mark the end of a time period within the overall pattern of the sonnets.

Sonnet 126

O Thou my lovely Boy who in thy power,

Dost hold time's fickle glass, his sickle hour:
Who hast by waning grown, and therein show'st,
Thy lovers withering, as thy sweet self grow'st.
If Nature (sovereign mistress over wrack)
As thou goest onwards still will pluck thee back,
She keeps thee to this purpose, that her skill
May time disgrace, and wretched minute kill.
Yet fear her O thou minion of her pleasure,
She may detain, but not still keep her treasure!
Her *Audit* (though delayed) answered must be,
And her *Quietus* is to render thee.
                    (   )
                    (   )

As printed in the 1609 quarto, sonnet 126 consists of twelve lines, with six rhyming couplets, followed by two blank lines, each bracketed by parentheses.

There is virtual consensus among scholars, traditional and nontraditional, that the sonnet functions as an "envoy," marking the end of the long series of 126 sonnets addressed to the "Fair Youth," a man who is some years younger than the poet himself. That much is obvious from its opening words and from the fact that the next twenty-six sonnets are addressed to a woman. Traditional scholars, however, find themselves in disagreement about two related questions – whether the sonnet is complete and whether the two bracketed lines are authorial.

In their transcriptions of the original quarto text, several scholars omit the two bracketed lines and reproduce the poem in just twelve lines. That decision is highlighted in Booth's book, where his modern transcriptions of the sonnets are printed on pages directly opposite the original text; thus, on facing pages we see a twelve-line poem in modern spelling and typeface opposite the original version with its twelve lines of text and two bracketed lines. Booth is confident that the insertion of the parentheses was done by the printer: "The Q printer appears to have expected a sonnet to have at least fourteen lines whatever its rhyme pattern; he bracketed two final blank lines, apparently to indicate he thought something was missing."[14] Kerrigan, while conceding that the parentheses may have been authorial, finds it far more likely that they were made by "someone connected with the script's publishing or printing," and thus excludes the bracketed lines ("not without regret, as accidentals") from his transcription.[15]

Duncan-Jones, believing the parentheses to be authorial, claims to be the first modern editor to retain them.[16] Vendler also retains the parentheses, though she doesn't offer an opinion on who was responsible for them. She remarks: "The Quarto's two sets of eloquently silent parentheses (which I retain) emphasize the reader's desire for a couplet and the grim fact of its lack. Inside the parentheses there lies, so to speak, the mute effigy of the rendered youth."[17] Pequigney writes that while most editors assume they were inserted by the printer (or someone else besides the author), "a further hypothesis is inviting: that these parentheses might

have been added by Shakespeare himself. This is pure speculation, which does not entail postulating canceled verses, much less guessing what they might have said. Instead, one might ponder the import of the parentheses as they are presented in Q: as terminal and empty."[18]

As I see it, there are three basic scenarios which could explain the appearance of the parentheses in sonnet 126 in the 1609 quarto:

1. The author wrote the poem exactly as it appears, with twelve lines of verse and two blank lines with parentheses.
2. The author wrote only a twelve-line poem, and the printer (or possibly someone else) added the parentheses.
3. The author wrote a fourteen-line poem, and the last two lines of verse were missing, which prompted the printer to insert the parentheses.

Although a case could be made for each scenario, the second – the one which attracts the most adherents among traditional scholars – is actually the least likely. If the printer received a twelve-line poem, but thought that two more lines were needed in order to make it a proper sonnet, it would indeed be presumptuous of him to add parentheses on his own; if he thought that all the poems should be fourteen lines, why didn't he cut a line from sonnet 99? If the printer thought (or had been informed) that two more lines were going to be supplied, and wanted to reserve space for them (see note 2, *supra*), it would have been just as easy to insert two blank lines instead of two pairs of parentheses. If he received the final couplet, he'd have to reset the two lines anyway, as the final couplet would not be printed within those punctuation marks. If he didn't receive the final couplet, or learned somehow that the poem was supposed to be only twelve lines, the text would look better if there were two blank lines instead of two lines with parentheses.

Many of the factors which weigh against the second scenario also apply to the third scenario – that the author wrote a fourteen-line poem with the final two lines missing. The printer could have inserted blank lines as placeholders. Moreover, most traditional scholars agree that the twelve lines of verse in sonnet 126 form a complete poem, and that its meaning is intact without the need for a seventh couplet.

With the second and third scenarios seen as unlikely, it remains for Oxfordian Hank Whittemore to tip the scales in favor of the first – that the author constructed sonnet 126 exactly as it appears, including the bracketed final couplet. Whittemore agrees with traditional scholars that sonnet 126 is an envoy to the "Fair Youth," but goes further to suggest that the sonnet was the last one written (i.e., that sonnets 127-152 correlate in time and references to events that took place within the first 126 sonnets[19]). "The different rhyme scheme and structure underscore the finality of the series . . . . The use of the parentheses, in place of a final couplet, is also deliberate (i.e., not the printer's idea). The poet is intentionally leaving this one unfinished, because he has to. Only Nature can ultimately determine what will happen to Henry Wriothesley, because Oxford will die before he does. The Sonnets will be published after Oxford's death and before Henry Wriothesley's death."[20]

This is a comprehensive and altogether satisfying explanation for the appearance of what really is a fourteen-line poem, comprised of twelve lines of six couplets and two blank lines indicated by parentheses. If the poet was Oxford, and the Fair Youth was Henry Wriothesley (Southampton), Oxford was a generation older than Southampton. We know that Oxford was in poor health by the early 1600s, and by mid-1603 (when sonnet 126 was likely written, if not somewhat later) he may have anticipated death, but with every reason to expect that Southampton, now released from confinement and in good graces with the new King, will outlive him. He cannot know what will become of Southampton – only time will tell – and it will remain for posterity to write the final couplet. The poet's election to use six couplets, rather than three quatrains, echoes the sense of finality, as the couplet was the concluding form of each fourteen-line sonnet in the series.[21] Stunningly, Oxford has composed a *final* poem made up of *final* forms (couplets), intentionally leaving it *unfinished*.

<center>Sonnet 145</center>

> Those lips that love's own hand did make,
> Breath'd forth the sound that said "I hate,"
> To me that languished for her sake.
> But when she saw my woeful state,
> Straight in her heart did mercy come,
> Chiding that tongue that ever sweet,
> Was used in giving gentle doom:
> And taught it this anew to greet:
> "I hate" she altered with an end,
> That followed it as gentle day,
> Doth follow night who like a fiend
> From heaven to hell is flown away.
> > "I hate," from hate away she threw,
> > And saved my life saying "not you."

Perhaps more than any other, sonnet 145 puzzles traditional scholars, who cannot agree that is even by Shakespeare, whether it belongs in the sonnet sequence or when it was written. Pequigney calls it "the most trivial and inane of all,"[22] Booth calls it "the slightest of the sonnets," and offers that "one cannot be convinced that it is Shakespeare's."[23] Kerrigan calls it "a pretty trifle which has been much abused," and goes on to say that, "More than any other sonnet, 145 casts doubt on the authority and order of Q."[24] Vendler takes note of its structural shortcomings: the first twelve lines contain "fourteen subjects and verbs, a disproportion so grotesque as to render the sentence entirely unidiomatic," and the sonnet's rhymes are "wrong," creating an effect "of cacophony, not euphony, since rhymes occur faster in tetrameters than in pentameters."[25]

Many traditional scholars agree with the suggestion, apparently first made by Andrew Gurr in 1971, that the reference in line 13 to "hate away" is a pun on the name of William Shakspere's wife, Anne Hathaway, and that the poem is probably by Shakespeare but dates much earlier than the rest of the sonnets.[26]

Thus, many traditional scholars would be prepared to excise sonnet 145 from the sequence were it not for the fact that they also recognize that it bears unmistakable thematic similarities to its immediate neighbors. Booth describes the quandary: "It does, however, take up the topic of damnation and salvation that is the common denominator of 144 and 146. If we are to believe that 145 is spurious, we must assume that it was chosen and placed by a literate pirate who was either improbably careful or improbably serendipitous."[27] Kerrigan is in a similar predicament: "However aberrant 145 may be in form, whatever its date of composition, and despite its original tenor (apparently describing a wife rather than a mistress), it fits into the collection. More importantly, there is no other place where it could fit half so well; and whoever located it between 144 and 146 had a knowledge of the sequence superior to anything that the average scribe . . . or compositor . . . might be likely to possess."[28]

An elegant solution to the problems posed by sonnet 145 is again made by Whittemore. It was indeed written by "Shakespeare," and though it is written in the first person, *the speaker is not the poet himself, but the Fair Youth*.[29] Whittemore's brilliant observation immediately answers all the problems faced by the traditionalists. Why is the poem in tetrameter, rather than pentameter? To indicate to the reader that a new voice is speaking. The poet was, of course, also a playwright, and knew full well how to depict different characters in the plays by having them speak with different words and different cadences; in a play, of course, those differences are further established by having different actors deliver the speeches. But in a poem, the only way he could communicate that another character was speaking (other than to write a clumsy introductory line to a sonnet) would be to change the meter and the words being used. Why is the sonnet "not as good" as the others? Again, because the poet is writing in another voice, that of someone who is not as sophisticated in versifying. Why does the sonnet contain thematic links to sonnets 144 and 146? Because the poet intended it, and meant it to go exactly where it is.

Further support that a "persona" other than the poet himself is writing sonnet 145 lies in the fact that it is the only sonnet in which quotation marks appear.[30] The female character of the sonnets – the Dark Lady – is directly quoted as saying "I hate" in lines 2, 9 and 13, and "Not you" in line 14. The poet has thus arranged for both of his other subjects to speak directly in this sonnet.

I should point out here that Whittemore's solution to sonnet 145 transcends arguments concerning the Shakespeare Authorship Question. Even if one does not believe that Oxford is Shakespeare, even if one does not believe that the Fair Youth is Southampton, or even if one does not believe that Southampton was really a royal child, the solution is still sound. It offers a much more logical explanation for the

structure and placement of sonnet 145 than anything so far offered by traditional scholars.

If one does put credence in Whittemore's theses about the overall meaning of the sonnets, then sonnet 145 goes far in supporting them. Whittemore maintains that the principal story of the sonnets reports the efforts made to save Southampton's life following his conviction for treason, efforts which were successful. If that is so, then the sonnets record not only the poet's reaction to the news that Southampton's life would be spared, but also Southampton's own reaction. Whittemore sees the poet's reaction to the news first appearing in sonnets 66 and 67, with a hint of the legal maneuvering given later in sonnet 87.[31] Presumably, Southampton would have learned of his fate at the same time, so sonnet 145 should also be dated to mid- to late March 1601. The last line of sonnet 145 is meant to be taken literally: "And saved my life saying 'Not you.'" She – the Queen – literally saved Southampton's by deciding that he would not be executed.

Further support for this interpretation of sonnet 145 comes from outside the sonnets. In 2007 Professor Lara Crowley of Texas Tech University discovered in the British Library a poem attributed to Southampton asking the Queen for mercy. It is the only poem known to have written by Southampton. Crowley is satisfied that it is authentic, if "unpolished," and speculates whether Southampton had any help in composing this work of 74 lines, consisting of 37 rhymed couplets in iambic pentameter. She describes it as a "heartfelt plea" that is "lyrical, powerful and persuasive."[32] So, if Southampton was known to have written a poem (with or without assistance) begging for his life, it is perhaps not surprising that another poem – sonnet 145 – expresses his reaction to learning that his plea has been answered.

Sonnet 153

> *Cupid* laid by his brand and fell asleep,
> A maid of *Dian's* this advantage found,
> And his love-kindling fire did quickly steep
> In a cold valley-fountain of that ground,
> Which borrowed from this holy fire of love
> A dateless lively heat, still to endure,
> And grew a seething bath which yet men prove
> Against strange maladies a sovereign cure.
> But at my mistress' eye love's brand new-fired,
> The boy for trial needs would touch my breast.
> I sick withal the help of bath desired,
> And thither hied, a sad distempered guest,
> > But found no cure; the bath for my help lies
> > Where *Cupid* got new fire – my mistress' eye.

Sonnet 154

The little Love-God lying once asleep
Laid by his side his heart-inflaming brand,
Whilst many Nymphs that vow'd chaste life to keep
Came tripping by, but in her maiden hand
The fairest votary took up that fire,
Which many Legions of true hearts had warmed;
And so the General of hot desire
Was sleeping by a Virgin hand disarm'd.
This brand she quenched in a cool Well by,
Which from love's fire took heat perpetual,
Growing a bath and healthful remedy
For men diseased; but I, my Mistress' thrall,
    Came there for cure, and this by that I prove:
    Love's fire heats water, water cools not love.

We now consider the final two sonnets. In general, comparatively little analysis is given by traditional scholars to sonnets 153 and 154, and even less effort is given to try to link them to the other 152 poems. Philip Martin, in his book *Shakespeare's Sonnets, Self, Love and Art*, doesn't discuss them at all. Helen Vendler, in her 672-page book, *The Art of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, devotes only a page and a half to them. R.J.C. Wait, in *The Background of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, finds that they "appear to have no connection with the main sequence, though that does not necessarily mean that they were not written in the order in which they appear in the 1609 Quarto."[33]

Because of their iteration of subject matter, some critics are puzzled that both sonnets were included in the Quarto. Wait speculates that, "In view of the highly personal nature of the experience behind all the poems it would not be surprising if [Shakespeare] felt he could not undertake" the task of supervising their publication. That, to Wait, would explain such anomalies as the 15-line sonnet 99 "or two alternative versions of a Greek original, like sonnets 153 and 154."[34] Joseph Pequigney finds the inclusion of both sonnets "puzzling and pointless. . . . One version would do, and one would do much better than the other."[35] Citing James Hutton, Pequigney deduces that sonnet 154 was written first, then rewritten as sonnet 153, and concludes that 153 belongs in the sequence, and 154 ("a blemish on the work") does not.[36] Kerrigan disagrees, observing that readers in 1609 "could never have thought the pair of Cupid poems 'irrelevant,' 'inexplicable,' or 'non-Shakespearean,' as most recent editors have."[37]

All scholars agree that the two sonnets are derived from an ancient Greek epigram. Booth notes that a version of the epigram was printed in Florence in 1594, but concludes that "it is most unlikely that Shakespeare knew the Greek text. . . . [T]here is no saying what Shakespeare's immediate source was."[38] Booth offers a translation of the epigram made by James Hutton:

> Beneath these plane trees, detained by gentle slumber, Love slept, having put his torch in the care of the Nymphs; but the Nymphs said one to another, "Why wait? Would that together with this we could quench the fire in the hearts of men." But the torch set fire even to the water, and with hot water thenceforth the Love-Nymphs fill the bath.[39]

Many traditional critics seize on the apparent sexual imagery of these two sonnets. To Vendler, they tell "two versions of the same story – how Cupid's fiery brand (a mythological version of the phallus) cannot be quenched or cooled by being plunged (by the nymphs, agents of chastity) into water, but rather will heat the very 'well' (a symbol of the vagina) into which it is dipped. These mythological poems sum up, in classical terms, the impossibility of repressing erotic desire."[40] Booth finds that "Shakespeare heightens the latent bawdiness of the epigram" by his use of "valley-fountain," "cool well" and "bath" (baths were known as sites of sexual activity in Shakespeare's time).[41] Dympna Callaghan goes perhaps the farthest, deducing that the poet has "galloping venereal disease contracted from his female lover," and has sought a cure "in what was known as a 'sweating tub,' a bath of almost boiling water, a 'seething bath' thought to alleviate symptoms of syphilis and gonorrhea."[42] She sees these concluding poems with the poet insisting "on the extremity of his disease, and we leave him in the rather undignified posture of a sick man in a sweating tub. This is not a gloriously poetic ending."[43]

Let's look at these two sonnets a different way. That they should indeed be looked at differently is suggested by their appearance and structure. After 152 poems written from a deeply personal point of view, the reader suddenly encounters two final sonnets that are constructed very similarly and are directly based on a known classical source; the poet does speak in both poems, but he does not appear until the third quatrain of each. He has also inserted "my mistress" into each sonnet; she must be the same woman who is addressed in the rest of the sequence. The two sonnets bear stylistic connections to other sonnets. As Pequigney observed, the "lie[s]/eye" rhyme of sonnet 153 echoes that of sonnet 152.[44] "Brand" is used in sonnet 111, "maladies" and "healthful" in sonnet 118, and "dateless" in sonnet 30.[45] All of this suggests that sonnets 153 and 154 (or at least one of them) belong where they are, and should be seen as a conclusion to the "Dark Lady" series of sonnets 127-152.[46]

But what the two final sonnets really show is something else altogether: they show Shakespeare's approach to his work. They are meant to show that he is constantly revising his work.[47] That is why two sonnets derived from the same source appear in the quarto, rather than just one. Whittemore concurs, maintaining that sonnet 153 was written by de Vere in the mid-1570s, much earlier than the rest, and that "Sonnet 154 represents the mature poet revising it. . . . They appear to be the epilogue, but they actually serve as the prologue to his royal chronicle or dynastic diary. Viewed this way, their placement at the end of the 154-sonnet sequence becomes an invitation to begin again, at the beginning of the story."[48]

That sonnet 154 is a later work (a revisiting of sonnet 153, rather than a

revision of it, as both were intended to be published) is evidenced in several ways. First, of course, it comes *after* sonnet 153, not before it. Second, as Whittemore points out, sonnet 154 contains the word "Virgin" (with a capital *V*), the only appearance of that word in the entire sequence; this suggests to Whittemore that it "refers to a time, later in Elizabeth's life, when she had become a political and professional virgin, and her Cult of Virginity had taken effect."[49] Third, the poet's own circumstances within the two sonnets strongly indicate that a significant period of time has elapsed between them. In sonnet 153, the poet relates his version of the original Greek epigram in the first two quatrains, and describes his own plight in the sestet. At the end of the sonnet, he holds out some hope of a cure for his plight, whatever it is ("the bath for my help lies/ Where *Cupid* got new fire: my mistress eye").

In sonnet 154, however, the poet takes more than eleven lines – almost three quatrains – to retell the Greek epigram, and does not make his entrance until the middle of the twelfth line. He no longer expresses hope that his "cure" lies with his "mistress," stating instead that he "came there [to the bath] for cure."[50] The truncation of the poet's personal experience in sonnet 154 suggests that he is now older, and perhaps even that he does not expect to live much longer; the more somber tone of sonnet 154 further suggests that the course of events – whatever they may have been – had not played out as the poet had earlier hoped.

Sonnets 153 and 154 also offer insight into another aspect of Shakespeare's approach to his work – how he deals with source material. They provide an apt subject for the application of the four-part test articulated by Daniel Wright:

> 1. What does Shakespeare retain from his sources?
> 2. What does he omit from his sources?
> 3. What does he modify in his sources?
> 4. What does he invent that does not appear in his sources?[51]

Answering these questions should be a useful process for any Shakespeare scholar to follow when exploring the relationship between Shakespeare and his source material. It is, of course, universally accepted that Shakespeare drew on a vast array of sources – classical and contemporary, translated and untranslated, published and unpublished – and that he almost always adapted them as he incorporated them into his works. Analyzing the particulars of the adaptations should give all of us a better understanding of the works.

Comparing the two sonnets to the text of the Greek epigram, it appears that the poet has retained the entire basic story of the epigram (which is only a short work), and has made few omissions (there is no reference to "plane trees" in either sonnet). However, we can spot what may be a significant modification. In the original text, the nymphs (plural) grab Cupid's torch, while in sonnet 153 "a maid of Dian's" and in sonnet 154 "the fairest votary" (both singular) do the deed. The poet has also made explicit the curative powers of the bath in both sonnets, while the epigram

mentions only the filling of the bath.

More importantly, however, instead of simply retelling or reworking the epigram, the poet has inserted himself into both sonnets: he has gone to the bath. The epigram has no first-person speaker; the sonnets do. This illustrates that Shakespeare has a personal connection to his sources, and that the adaptations he makes to his sources are intentional. It is personal experience that shapes the works, and sources are used as a tool in the shaping process. To suggest, as some critics have, that Shakespeare's works are not formed as much by personal experience as by imagination and skill strains credulity.

To conclude, these five sonnets should not be seen as "outliers" because of their odd form or content, but rather as deliberate efforts by the poet, intended to serve specific purposes for the reader. They belong where they are found in the overall sonnet sequence in the form in which they appear. Furthermore, these conclusions stand largely independent of the Shakespeare Authorship Question itself and of whatever is the "real story" of *Shake-speare's Sonnets*.

Endnotes

[1] Sonnet 1 is not preceded by a number. The 1609 publication, though titled *Shake-speares Sonnets*, also included the 350-line poem "A Lover's Complaint."

[2] Although the compositor had no problem starting a sonnet at the very bottom of a page (e.g., sonnets 101 and 137), he avoided having one end with a single line on a page. He managed to squeeze thirty-seven lines onto one page so that sonnet 141 would end at the bottom.

[3] In addition, line 2 of sonnet 146 appears to be missing two syllables. The last three words of line 1 ("my sinful earth") are repeated at the beginning of line 2, which obscures the meaning of the line and breaks the rhythm. Virtually all scholars deem this a printer's error. I agree, and do not discuss this sonnet here.

[4] John Kerrigan, ed., *William Shakespeare – The Sonnets and a Lover's Complaint* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 300.

[5] Stephen Booth, *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 321.

[6] Ibid.

[7] R.J.C. Wait, *The Background to Shakespeare's Sonnets* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), 101. Wait (and other critics) further note that sonnet 99 closely resembles a sonnet by Henry Constable published in 1592 and again in 1594; Wait calls Shakespeare's sonnet 99 "no more than a pastiche" of Constable's (99).

[8] Booth, 321.

[9] Helen Vendler, *The Art of Shakespeare's Sonnets* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 424.

[10] Katherine Duncan-Jones, ed., *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (London: Thomson Learning, 1997), 308.

[11] Joseph Pequigney, *Such Is My Love* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 189.

[12] Whittemore does not believe that the poet actually wrote a sonnet each day for a period of sixty days as if he were writing a diary, but rather that they were constructed and arranged to chronicle that period.

[13] Hank Whittemore, *The Monument* (Marshfield Hills, MA: Meadow Geese Press, 2005), 536.

[14] Booth, 430. He goes on to observe that "The poem's sudden *quietus* after twelve lines is – probably accidentally – an illustrative analogy that demonstrates the justice of the warning the poem offers." Ibid.

[15] Kerrigan, 350.

[16] Duncan-Jones, xii, stating her conclusion that it was "unlikely" that the printers inserted the parentheses, and noting that printer "George Eld's compositors were accustomed to working for such meticulously niggling writers as Ben Jonson, and . . . habitually reproduced the characteristic spelling forms they encountered."

[17] Vendler, 538.

[18] Pequigney, 206.

[19] Pequigney concurs that sonnet 126 is the last to be composed, though for different reasons (208).

[20] Whittemore, 660. Whittemore further suggests that the poem's construction of twelve lines of six couplets (12/6) may be a numerical play on its placement as sonnet 126. Ibid. See also Duncan-Jones at 364, noting the significance of the 12/6 form.

[21] See Kerrigan at 350-351 (describing sonnet 126 as "a couplet conclusion to the meta-poem" of the first 126 sonnets).

[22] Pequigney, 168.

[23] Booth, 500.

[24] Kerrigan, 376-377.

[25] Vendler, 608-609.

[26] See, e.g., Dympna Callaghan, *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd. 2007), 149, and suggesting a composition date as early as 1582 (22); Booth at 501 (finding Gurr's "hate away" suggestion "persuasive'); Vendler at 609 (finding it "convincing").

[27] Booth, 501.

[28] Kerrigan, 376-377.

[29] Whittemore, 731. Whittemore does not stress this interpretation as strongly as he could have. I am indebted to Oxfordian Peter Rush for pointing out Whittemore's interpretation in an as yet unpublished manuscript.

[30] Pequigney, 168.

[31] Whittemore, 381-390, 478-479.

[32] Hank Whittemore, "Southampton's Tower Poem," in William Boyle, ed., *A Poet's Rage* (Somerville, MA: Forever Press, 2013), 74-75.

[33] Wait, 145-146. Wait identifies the Youth as Henry Wriothesley, the 3rd Earl of Southampton, and dates Sonnets 1-104 and 127-154 to 1592-94, and Sonnets 107-126 to 1603-05.

[34] Wait, 200.

[35] Pequigney, 178.

[36] Pequigney, 179.

[37] Kerrigan, 14. He also writes that seventeenth century readers would not have ignored "A Lover's Complaint," the 350-line poem that immediately follows the sonnets in the 1609 quarto, making the important point that they "would have read the volume as a volume," not as a collection of separate or unrelated poems. Ibid.

[38] Booth, 533. Duncan-Jones notes that Shakespeare's versions of the Greek epigram "seem closer to the Greek original than any of the Latin or vernacular adaptations of it," but can only conjecture about how this could be. Duncan-Jones, 422. More recent scholarship suggests that Shakespeare did indeed know Greek. See, e.g., Earl Showerman, "Shakespeare's Greater Greek: Macbeth and Aeschylus' Oresteia," *Brief Chronicles III* (2011), 37-70. That Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, knew Greek is virtually certain. Whittemore, *The Monument*, 28, citing Stephanie Hughes in *The Oxfordian, vol. III* (2000).

[39] Booth, 533.

[40] William Shakespeare, *The Sonnets and Narrative Poems* (London: Everyman's Press, 1992), introduction by Helen Vendler, xx-xxi.

[41] Booth, 533.

[42] Callaghan, 71.

43 Callaghan, 73.

44 Pequigney, 177.

45 In *Shakespeare's Fingerprints* (2002), Michael Brame and Galina Popova note that the "fire/hot desire" rhyme of sonnet 154 is also found in *Venus and Adonis* 1073-1074 (115), and a "hot desire/fire" rhyme occurs twice in *A Hundred Sundrie Flowres*, a work which they attribute to Oxford (229).

46 See Vendler, *The Art of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, 649, who writes that their "triviality of expression makes them seem odd envoys to the second sequence, as compared with #126 as envoy to the first sequence." She opines that the two sonnets were early work, "inserted as a plausible and conventional end-note to the abruptly terminated Dark Lady sequence," so as to match first series of sonnets (1-126) with its formal ending.

47 That Shakespeare was a reviser of his works is recognized by virtually all scholars, and is evident in the differences between (and among) the quarto and folio editions of his plays and in the differences between sonnets 138 and 144 as they were originally published and as they appear in the 1609 quarto. See Duncan-Jones at 13-17, expressing her conviction that Shakespeare's sonnets were extensively revised by the author.

48 Whittemore, *The Monument*, 28. Whittemore believes that the two sonnets allude to the Queen's visit to the City of Bath (accompanied by Oxford) in 1574, and to "his anguish over Elizabeth's refusal to acknowledge their" son, who would be raised as the 3rd Earl of Southampton (and who is the "Fair Youth" of the sonnets). Id. at 29.

49 Whittemore, 36.

50 See Vendler at 648-649, astutely noting that sonnet 153 envisages a cure, while sonnet 154 does not.

51 Daniel Wright, "The Precepts of the Biocritical Method as They Apply to the Analysis of Shakespeare's Sources," address given at the 17th Annual Shakespeare Authorship Studies Conference, Concordia University, Portland, OR, 11 April 2013.

Betrayal in the Life of Edward de Vere & the Works of Shakespeare

Richard M. Waugaman*

"The reasoned criticism of a prevailing belief is a service to the proponents of that belief; if they are incapable of defending it, they are well advised to abandon it. . . . Any substantive objection is permissible and encouraged; the only exception being that *ad hominem* attacks on the personality or motives of the author are excluded."

— Carl Sagan

We have betrayed Shakespeare. We have failed to recognize his true identity. Any discussion of the theme of betrayal in his works must begin here. We psychoanalysts have also betrayed Freud, in "analyzing" rather than evaluating objectively Freud's passionately held belief during his final years that "William Shakespeare" was the pseudonym of the Elizabethan courtier poet and playwright Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford (1550-1604).[1] Freud realized that one unconscious motive for our betrayal of Shakespeare[2] is our implacable wish to idealize him. That is, we prefer to accept the traditional author not just in spite of how little we know about him, but precisely *because* we know so little about him. Thus, we can more easily imagine that this shadowy inkblot of a figure was as glorious a person as are his literary creations. The real Shakespeare was a highly flawed human being who knew betrayal first-hand, since his childhood, from both sides, both as betrayer and betrayed.

Betrayal recurs as a salient theme throughout the works of Shakespeare. Shakespeare was never content with simplistic explanations of any action or emotion, including betrayal. Characteristically, his writings are so alive and true to life because he recognized and depicted the full complexity of the real world, avoiding the oversimplified representations that so often scotomatize and limit our understanding of people. So it is with his portrayals of betrayal. He thus helps us reflect on the many levels of meaning of feeling betrayed: of being overly trusting, or of realizing one has betrayed another.

Perhaps the best known three words in all of Shakespeare are "*Et tu Brute?*" ("Even you, Brutus?"), spoken by Julius Caesar as he realizes Brutus has betrayed him and has joined the treasonous conspirators.[3] Caesar's next words are "Then fall, Caesar." Betrayal by one he so deeply trusted leads the mighty Caesar to crumble and submit to his assassination. Characteristically, Shakespeare gives us such a balanced picture of Caesar and his enemies that we can view both sides with some sympathy. Like a good psychoanalyst, Shakespeare refrains from being judgmental. The conspirators have good reason to fear that Caesar intends to subvert their beloved Roman republic, and revert to a dictatorship.

One way Shakespeare saves Caesar from our complete contempt is through unconscious communication with the audience[4] (Waugaman, 2007). Contrary to past assumptions, it now seems likely that Shakespeare easily read both Latin and ancient Greek. So he knew that Suetonius wrote that Caesar's last words were "*kai su, teknon*?" or "even you, my son?" But, in addition, Shakespeare was echoing the form of Jesus' expression of betrayal by his heavenly Father in his dying words in his native Aramaic, "Eloi, eloi, lama sabachthani?" ("My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"). This illustrates Shakespeare's unrivalled use of unconscious communication as one of the many ways he moves us. That is, Caesar "code-switches" to a foreign tongue to ask a question at the moment of his betrayal and submission to death, just as Jesus does in two of the Gospels. The audience is subliminally encouraged by this parallel to view Caesar as a Christ-like martyr, and therefore a more sympathetic figure.

Shirley Nelson Garner[5] writes that betrayal is such a recurrent theme in Shakespeare that we can make some plausible speculations about conflicts with trust and deception in the life of the author. In particular, Garner focuses on the five plays where men feel profoundly betrayed by women (falsely, except in *Troilus and Cressida*). Garner shows that the jealous men in these plays have such deep mistrust of women that they engage in compensatory idealization, which makes them all the more vulnerable to disillusionment. Garner believes that the sequence of the plays suggests that Shakespeare gradually came to understand that the primary problem was not that women actually betray men, but that some men suffer from a "diseased imagination" that leads to their false suspicions of women. She also infers that Shakespeare keeps repeating a core fantasy that women will always forgive the men who wrong them, including wronging them through their pathological jealousy. So Shakespeare makes it clear that the subjective feeling of betrayal may result from pathological jealousy, rather than from actual duplicity. Simultaneously, there may be "pathological trust" in the wrong person.

Garner addresses themes of betrayal in the five plays:

• In *Othello,* the title character develops pathological jealousy of his new wife
Desdemona, as a result of his falsely placed trust in Iago. Iago fiendishly
plays on Othello's insecurities to manipulate him into misinterpreting
Desdemona's innocent behavior as certain proof that she has been unfaithful.
In a pattern found in other plays by Shakespeare, Othello's erroneous
belief that he has been betrayed by Desdemona leads *him* to betray *her*—in
Othello's case, by murdering her.

• Similarly, in *The Winter's Tale*, Leontes is pathologically jealous of his wife Hermione.
When she is innocently hospitable toward Leontes' visiting friend Polixenes,
Leontes convinces himself (without the help of any Iago-like character) that
Hermione is in love with Polixenes. Leontes then turns on Hermione so
viciously that she dies of grief because of her husband's betrayal. But many
years later, a statue of Hermione magically comes to life, and she is reunited
with Leontes.

• In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Claudio and other characters falsely believe Hero has
been unfaithful to him. It is the treachery of Don John that slanders Hero's
virtue. Hero is so horrified by the Claudio's false accusation that she faints
and is believed to be dead. By the end of the play, Don John's plot is exposed,
Hero has revived, and she marries Claudio.

• *Troilus and Cressida*, set during the Trojan War, borrows its plot from the poem
of the same name by Chaucer. The Trojans Troilus and Cressida fall in love
with each other. But soon after their love is consummated, Cressida is forced
by her father to be turned over to the Greeks, whom he has joined. The
incredulous Troilus watches at a distance as Cressida is unfaithful to him
with Diomedes, a Greek.

• In *Cymbeline*, Posthumus marries Imogen in Britain, then leaves for Italy. While he
is away, Imogen falsely believes he has been killed. Jachimo, Iago-like, then
falsely claims to Posthumus that Imogen has cuckolded him with Jachimo.

To this list, we might add two additional plays where betrayal is also a central theme,
but it is a group of people rather than one woman who is the perceived betrayer:

• The title character of *Timon of Athens* is generous to a fault, lavishly (and manically?)
entertaining his large circle of ostensible friends, and showering them with
expensive gifts. But when he learns from his servant that he is insolvent, not
a single "friend" is willing to help him. After this betrayal, Timon says "I am
Misanthropos, and hate mankind" (4.3.54).

• *Coriolanus* is a courageous and successful Roman general, who returns from war and
    is expected to humble himself before the people so that he will be elected
    consul, a high political office. His pride will not permit him to follow this
    tradition, and he instead insults the people. Their adulation quickly turns
    to scorn, and they banish Coriolanus from Rome. Feeling betrayed by them,
    Coriolanus betrays the Romans by joining with their enemy.

Shakespeare's Sonnets also reveal a poet who knows first-hand the deeply
deranging power of jealousy —"For if I should despair, I should grow mad,/ And
in my madness might speak ill of thee" (Sonnet 140). And of betrayal—"For, thou
betraying me, I do betray/ My nobler part to my gross body's treason" (Sonnet 151).
Garner perceptively contrasts the theme of betrayal in Shakespeare's plays with its
role in his Sonnets. She speculates that the more autobiographical Sonnets record
Shakespeare's betrayal by the Fair Youth and by his mistress, and considers the plays
to be a sort of reparative "counterfantasy to the Sonnets"— men banding together,
in the plays, to protect themselves from imagined betrayal by women. She writes, "I
have wondered whether Shakespeare needed to repeat in reverse the experience of
the Sonnets [in writing his plays] in order to come to terms with it."[6]
It has become surprisingly controversial in recent years to speculate about
connections between the works and the life of Shakespeare. Theories of literary
criticism during past decades (including New Criticism, New Historicism, and
Postmodernism) have all undermined traditional interest in connecting a work with
its author. There is sometimes a dangerously misleading false dichotomy that claims
Shakespeare illustrates the creative potential of native genius, so that he did not need
relevant life experiences to shape his literary works. Courageously, Norman Holland
has continued to assert a legitimate role for psychoanalytic literary criticism, in
the face of this growing opposition. As Holland puts it, "The psychoanalyst plays by
different rules from the literary historian. A historian of Renaissance literature might
feel it right, useful, or necessary to think always within the Renaissance concept
of the self. . . [while] [t]he psychoanalyst tries to interpret individuals... more fully
than they can interpret themselves."[7] Remarkably, given his traditional authorship
assumption, Holland admits that one way Shakespeare copes with his core aggressive
conflicts is "by making himself invisible."[8] Indeed. This goes to the heart of Freud's
theory that "Shakespeare" cloaked his real identity in literary anonymity, through the
use of a pen name. Obviously, that is not what Holland meant; he merely implied that
Shakespeare hid behind his literary creations.
However, I agree with Freud that a meaningful psychoanalytic investigation
of the works of Shakespeare requires us to know who the author actually was. As
a result, some of my publications on Shakespeare have had to pursue literary and
historical evidence as to his true identity. This article includes such details. Such work
is needed so we can persuade defenders of the traditional author that they are wrong.
Here, I will focus on the theme of betrayal in Sonnet 121 ("'Tis better to be
vile than vile esteem'd"). The Sonnets are a rich lode of some of Shakespeare's most

brilliant and psychologically complex creative work. But they have suffered from relative neglect ever since 1623, when they (and Shakespeare's other poems) were omitted from the First Folio, the first edition of Shakespeare's collected plays. By contrast, the literary precedent for Shakespeare's 1623 collection, Ben Jonson's First Folio of 1616 *did* include Jonson's poetry and his plays. The Sonnets' story includes repeated acts of betrayal, by the poet, by the Fair Youth, and by the Dark Lady.

Many psychoanalysts remain unaware that Freud was keenly interested in the question of Shakespeare's true identity. When he died, half of Freud's books on English literature were devoted to that topic, and he became "all but convinced" by the 1920 theory that Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford was the author of the Shakespeare canon. Roland Emmerich's 2011 film *Anonymous* has brought increased public attention to this theory. But it remains surprisingly and bitterly controversial, especially among academic Shakespeare specialists.[9] In every field, major intellectual breakthroughs are sometimes made by non-specialists, who are not as wedded to the dogmatic assumptions that dominate specialists in that field, and who do not have as much at stake if their innovative ideas are rejected. For example, it was a non-geologist who discovered continental drift, some fifty years before geologists stopped ridiculing his theory and accepted it as accurate.

Space does not allow me to give a full account here of the fascinating evidence that has accumulated since Freud's day that he was correct about Shakespeare's identity. Two books that originally belonged to de Vere have strongly supported Freud on this score. These two books, bound together, are the Geneva Bible, and the Sternhold and Hopkins *Whole Book of Psalms*. Their handwritten annotations show a remarkable overlap with biblical passages that most influenced the works of Shakespeare. Those who support the traditional authorship theory have mostly ignored this evidence, or have tried to dismiss it by speculating that someone other than de Vere made the annotations after reading Shakespeare's works; or that these were simply the most popular Bible verses of Shakespeare's day (they were not). This resembles efforts to defend the once traditional Ptolemaic geocentric solar system by creating ever more "epicycles" to rationalize apparently contradictory evidence from new observations of the movement of the planets and stars. Further, no one had previously recognized that the primary source for Shakespeare's abundant allusions to the Psalms was that now obscure translation owned by de Vere, until the present author found them, thanks to the twenty-one psalms that are marked by hand in de Vere's copy.[10]

As I hinted earlier, there was no lack of betrayal in the life of Edward de Vere. As we ponder these pivotal betrayals during his early development, it is easy to infer that he was left with multiple narcissistic wounds, and the sort of narcissistic rage that is ever on the lookout for future hurts, real or imaginary, in order to rationalize wishes to take revenge. In addition, his capacity to trust must have been profoundly shaken. His father died when he was twelve. Soon afterwards, his older sister Katherine took de Vere to court, unsuccessfully trying to have the court declare him a bastard. If she had succeeded, she hoped to take away his sizeable inheritance. He was then removed from his mother, who died six years later, when he was eighteen.

Queen Elizabeth had him raised by William Cecil, though de Vere may have suspected Cecil of having had his father killed. The Queen proceeded to seize much of de Vere's wealth by the time he turned twenty-one.[11] Cecil, as de Vere's guardian, had control over whom he married. Cecil had de Vere marry his own daughter (and de Vere's "foster-sister") Anne, thus elevating her to the rank of countess. The Queen elevated Cecil to Lord Burghley at the same time. Although the Queen kept her word about the mysterious annual pension of 1,000 pounds she began paying de Vere in 1586, de Vere's surviving letters suggest that he felt she broke many other promises to him of other forms of financial assistance.

Like many victims, de Vere sometimes turned the tables and identified with the aggressor, becoming a ruthless victimizer. For reasons that remain unclear, he killed a servant in Cecil's home when he was seventeen, with his fencing rapier. Some have speculated that de Vere became murderously enraged when he learned this servant was spying on him. Cecil did employ a large network of spies. Eight years later, de Vere seemed to suffer from malignant jealousy of his first wife, Anne. They married when he was twenty-one. Four years later, he traveled without her on the Continent for fourteen months.[12] While on this trip he learned that Anne was pregnant, and became convinced that the child was not his (thus turning against his child his sister's earlier accusation of illegitimacy). He refused to live with his wife for several years after he returned to England. It has been speculated that he falsely thought he never consummated their marriage. One possibility is that his wife played a "bed trick" on him (as depicted in *All's Well That Ends Well* and *Measure for Measure*; see Adelman), and that she got pregnant when he had sex with her, while he falsely believed he was with a different woman. Since de Vere was bisexual, it is also possible that conflicted homosexual fantasies contributed to his pathological jealousy of Anne, a dynamic that has been reported by Freud and subsequent analysts.

When he was twenty-nine, de Vere felt insulted by Phillip Sidney, a respected poet whose earlier engagement to Anne Cecil was broken by her father so she could marry de Vere. Sidney challenged de Vere to a duel, and de Vere accepted. But the Queen forbade the duel, on the traditional grounds of Sidney's lower social status. De Vere later boasted to friends that he could have Sidney killed without getting caught. A year or so later, he betrayed both his wife and the Queen by impregnating one of the Queen's ladies in waiting, Anne Vavasour. When their illegitimate child (Edward Vere) was born, de Vere, Vavasour, and their infant son were all imprisoned in the Tower of London.

After his release a few weeks later, de Vere was exiled from court for two years. When de Vere was thirty-three, his wife Anne died a few days after giving birth to their fifth child. During the years following her death, de Vere seemed to feel remorse for how wretchedly he had treated her. His plays suggest he may have developed some insight into his past proclivity to feel groundless jealousy of her. In fact, he may have used some of his plays to make reparation to his deceased wife, as he accused himself of acting like Othello and Leontes.

There is circumstantial evidence that de Vere was involved in at least two pivotal love triangles. As I have mentioned, de Vere was bisexual. When the twenty-

five-year-old de Vere returned from Italy, he brought back with him a sixteen-year-old Italian choirboy; de Vere's enemies accused him of using this boy sexually. De Vere seems to have begun an intense love affair with the seventeen-year-old Earl of Southampton in 1590, when de Vere was forty. There were contemporary rumors about the bisexuality of both de Vere and Southampton. The narcissistic aspect of their relationship is underscored by Southampton also being an earl who, like de Vere, was raised by William Cecil after his father died. However, Southampton defied Cecil's order to marry de Vere's daughter (that is, Cecil's granddaughter). The first seventeen sonnets seemed to reflect de Vere's efforts to persuade the seventeen-year-old Southampton to accept this marriage.[13] Southampton has long been the leading candidate as the "Fair Youth" of the first 126 sonnets. Shakespeare's long poems *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* were both dedicated to Southampton, in 1593 and 1594, respectively. A painting of the young Southampton was long misidentified as that of a young woman, because of his feminine beauty, and because he even followed the women's fashion of his day by wearing his long hair in front of his left shoulder; this is perhaps the only early modern English portrait of a male that includes that detail. In that connection, one thinks Sonnet 20, which begins "A woman's face, with Nature's own hand painted,/ Hast thou, the master-mistress of my passion."

There is a "rival poet" in some of the sonnets. The allegedly gay Christopher Marlowe has often been proposed as that unnamed rival poet. If so, we might speculate that de Vere's rivalry with Marlowe was both literary and amorous. I believe the ostensible premise of Sonnet 80 ("O how I faint when I of you do write") is that Marlowe, author of *Hero and Leander*, is the better poet.[14] Marlowe was murdered in 1593 under bizarre circumstances, ostensibly over a "reckoning," or bar tab. Recalling de Vere's earlier boast that he could have Sidney killed and not get caught, one might wonder if he successfully carried out such a plan against Marlowe. Sonnet 89 ("Say that thou didst forsake me for some fault") may allude to Southampton's rage over de Vere's role in Marlowe's death. De Vere's other love triangle also included Southampton, and the sexual relationship that both de Vere and Southampton had with the still unidentified "Dark Lady" of Sonnets 127-154 (e.g., Sonnet 134, "So, now I have confessed that he is thine").

One might chart a "developmental line" of the evolution of de Vere's defenses against feelings of betrayal. Profound self-awareness helped advance his capacities to contain and master his earlier propensity for retaliating when he felt betrayed. The late plays such as *A Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* suggest that de Vere was striving to temper his past vindictiveness with forgiveness toward those who wronged him, along with the hope of being forgiven for his own transgressions.[15]

I turn now from de Vere's tempestuous life to one of his literary works—Sonnet 121.

Sonnet 121

'Tis better to be vile than vile esteem'd,

> When not to be, receives reproach of being,
> And the just pleasure lost, which is so deem'd,
> Not by our feeling, but by others' seeing.
> For why should others' false adulterate eyes
> Give salutation to my sportive blood?
> Or on my frailties why are frailer spies,
> Which in their wills count bad what I think good--?
> No, I am that I am, and they that level
> At my abuses, reckon up their own;
> I may be straight, though they them-selves be bevel
> By their rank thoughts, my deeds must not be shown
>   Unless this general evil they maintain,
>   All men are bad and in their badness reign.[16]

De Vere is unexcelled in his capacity to create seemingly infinite layers of interrelated meanings in his Sonnets. He was probably better attuned to words than any other writer has ever been. Close study of any sonnet with the Oxford English Dictionary at hand suggests that de Vere was mindful of the multiple meanings of every word he used, and also of their etymologies. Further, we know his (now lost or unidentified) Latin poetry was deemed to be of high quality by one scholarly contemporary (Gabriel Harvey). So he also thought even more broadly of semantic possibilities, given the further Latin meanings of words that other writers have not exploited. For example, I have suggested that "saucy" in Sonnet 80 might derive from the Latin word "saucium," meaning "wounded," alluding to de Vere's permanent lameness after a duel over his affair with Anne Vavasour.[17]

In Sonnet 121, Shakespeare reacts to betrayal with profound cynicism. He begins the sonnet by asserting that it is better to go ahead and be "vile" than to be (falsely) considered vile. This is a strategy of desperation. He tries to deflect attention from his morally questionable actions by focusing on the immorality of his critics. Recall that one of the latter was Phillip Sidney, whose lower social standing did not permit him to duel with de Vere. This may be an as yet unexplored meaning of line 12, "By their *rank* thoughts my deeds must not be shown." That is, in addition to the surface meaning of "rank" as "offensive," it may also link up with "level" of line 9 to imply that de Vere's enemies are too much his social inferiors to have the right to condemn him.

One could easily imagine this sonnet being recited as a soliloquy by Hamlet. For one thing, it immediately suggests an additional meaning of the phrase, "not to be." The Bergmanns, in their study of the Sonnets, agree that "not to be" in line two is linked with Hamlet's famous soliloquy (and the phrase "to be" occurs in the sonnet's first line).[18] The simplicity of "I am that I am" then connects with the simplicity of "To be or not to be"; they hinge on different forms of the same verb. The former might even suggest a defiant answer to the mortal doubt of the latter. Further, linking this sonnet with *Hamlet* suggests a relevant implication of "spies." Recall that

Polonius, like de Vere's father-in-law Lord Burghley, employed spies. The speaker in the sonnet, like Hamlet, is furious over learning that he is being spied upon. Spying is listed by Garner as one of the ways that men betray.[19] One recalls the teenage de Vere killing the servant, and one thinks of Hamlet killing Polonius with his sword, when he thinks his uncle, King Claudius, behind the arras, is spying on him.

What else can we say about that unusual phrase in line 9 of Sonnet 121, "I am that I am"? Some readers will recognize this phrase from Exodus 3:14.[20] Moses asks God, "if they [the Israelites] say unto me, What is his Name? what answer shall I give them?" And God answers "I am that I am." That is, this is what God names himself. Among the very few extra-biblical, early modern occurrences of this phrase are Sonnet 121— and a 1584 letter written by de Vere, to his father-in-law Lord Burghley. De Vere dictated this letter to his secretary, then added a postscript in his own hand. The context suggests that de Vere is furious because he has discovered that Lord Burghley has induced two of de Vere's servants to spy on him, and report back to Burghley.[21] The letter alludes to de Vere having become Burghley's ward after his father died when he was twelve. But the proud de Vere is now thirty-four, and his two-year exile from Queen Elizabeth's court had ended a year and a half earlier. In his furiously indignant postscript, de Vere writes, "But I pray, my lord, leave that course. For I mean not to be your ward or your child. I serve Her Majesty, and I am that I am—and by alliance near to Your Lordship, but free. And [I] scorn to be offered that injury to think I am so weak of government to be ruled by servants or not able to govern [control] myself."

So the "others," the "frailer spies" of the sonnet would correspond to the servants and to Burghley, who is directing their actions. "I am that I am" in this sonnet also suggests that something in de Vere's relationship with the Earl of Southampton has revived past betrayals by de Vere's guardian and father-in-law. It suggests a sort of father surrogate negative transference displaced onto Southampton, five sonnets before the Fair Youth subsequence ends in disillusionment (e.g., "Hence, thou suborned informer!" of Sonnet 125).

Still more speculatively, some of the content of this sonnet suggests associations with Marlowe, de Vere's foremost literary rival. As I mentioned earlier, Sonnet 80 alludes to Marlowe's poem *Hero and Leander*, which he left unfinished when he was killed in May of 1593. De Vere's poem *Venus and Adonis* was published within two weeks of Marlowe's death. As noted, it was dedicated to the Earl of Southampton. It is easy to imagine that Marlowe, like de Vere, planned to dedicate his poem to Southampton.

Recall that Marlowe's death was allegedly over a tavern bill, or "reckoning." So "reckon up" in this sonnet may be intended to remind Southampton of Marlowe's death, especially since one of the several meanings of "reckon up" here is to "count" up the sum of a list of numbers. So, the poet's "frailities" and "abuses" might include his role in Marlowe's death, for which Southampton probably never forgave de Vere. "Spies" also might allude to Southampton's erotic relationship with the Earl of Essex, after Marlowe's death. Essex is known to have employed a network of spies himself.

It is possible that these spies had reported to Essex and Southampton about de Vere's love life, and de Vere has learned of this.

Since the Bible is Shakespeare's most influential literary source, several Sonnet commentators have understandably speculated about possible biblical echoes in Sonnet 121.[22] Katherine Duncan-Jones thinks "give salutation" in line 6 might allude ironically to the Annunciation, since three of the eight uses of "salutation" in the Geneva Bible occur in Luke's description of the angel announcing to Mary that she will give birth to the Messiah.[23] Stephen Booth, a brilliant Sonnet commentator, hears faint echoes of the last eight chapters of Acts[24] in this sonnet. If he is correct, three words in a large font at the top of the page containing chapter 26 might be relevant to Sonnet 121: "Paul *count*ed [considered] *mad*." This may contribute to the meanings of "count bad" in line 8.

Helen Vendler intriguingly speculates about an additional biblical allusion in Sonnet 121: The Gospel story of Jesus defending the woman who was caught "in the very act" of adultery (John 8:1-11).[25] That is, she was watched by "spies." If Vendler is correct, it might suggest that de Vere's motives in writing this sonnet included his attempt to cope with having been caught in flagrante delicto. By implication, the "others" with "false adulterate eyes" – the "frailer spies"– are being compared with the scribes and Pharisees of the Gospel story. And de Vere is comparing himself not just with someone committing adultery, but specifically with a woman.

To my knowledge, no Sonnet commentator has noticed another possible biblical allusion in Sonnet 121. The phrase "false adulterate eyes" in line 5 makes one think of 2 Peter 2:14 —"[*False* prophets and *false* teachers,] [h]aving *eyes* full of *adulterie*, and that cannot cease to sin, beguiling unstable souls: they have hearts exercised with *covetousness*, [those] cursed children." And "evil" of line 13 (itself an anagram of "vile" of line 1) occurs three times in this chapter, referring to these false prophets. The summary of this second epistle of Peter in the Geneva Bible speaks of God "punishing the hypocrites who abuse his Name." These further biblical allusions cloak de Vere in religious righteousness, if not Divinity itself, as he replies to his accusers.

Line 8 of the sonnet has the phrase, "Which in their wills *count bad* what I think good." Some dozen times, the Geneva Bible uses the verb "count" to mean making a moral assessment. For example, the dying King David tells his son Solomon (1 Kings 2:9), "But thou shalt not *count* him [that is, Shimer, who had earlier cursed King David] *innocent*: for thou art a wise man, and knowest what thou oughtest to do unto him: therefore thou shalt cause his hoary head to go down to the grave with blood" (emphasis added). We know that de Vere paid special attention to this biblical verse, since he underlined most of it. It may have influenced his similar phrase in Sonnet 121, "count bad," which is equivalent to David's "not count innocent."

De Vere underlined the following words in the preceding verse 8—"Shimer, which cursed me with an horrible curse." We might wonder if de Vere's reflections in Sonnet 121 about being betrayed by his enemies make use of his identification with King David to justify himself in the face of his critics' accusations. This impression is further strengthened by the one phrase that de Vere underlined in the summary

of this book of the Bible: "flourishing kingdoms, except they be preserved by God's protection (<u>who then favoreth them when his word is truly set forth, virtue *esteemed*, vice punished, and concord maintained</u>) fall to decay and come to naught" (emphasis added). "Virtue esteemed" in this underlined passage recalls the contrasting "vile esteemed" in the first line of Sonnet 121.

One might correctly conclude from these biblical allusions that de Vere had high self-esteem, if not a pathological degree of arrogance. Sonnet 62 ("Sin of self-love possesseth all mine eye") openly admits he suffered from the "iniquity" of excessive narcissism. De Vere seems comfortable comparing himself respectively with King David, with Saint Paul, with the unknown pagan god, and even with the Judeo-Christian God himself. It is not surprising that someone with such extreme narcissism would be vulnerable to feelings of betrayal.

Freud asked his followers to re-examine Shakespeare's works psycho-analytically, based on a new awareness of Shakespeare's true identity. I hope that recent evidence that Freud was correct about Edward de Vere having written these works will encourage many psychoanalysts to take up Freud's challenge. We can thus help restore the crucial connections between the literary works and the life experiences and psychology of their author. Doing so will enrich our psychoanalytic understanding of literature. It should also help to rejuvenate literary studies, which have been led astray by false assumptions about Shakespeare's identity, and about the allegedly minor role his and other authors' life experiences played in their literary creations.

Betrayal in the life of Edward de Vere helps illuminate the theme of betrayal in his works, including his plays and his Sonnet 121. Most pointedly, the phrase "I am that I am" in this sonnet draws attention to de Vere's use of the same phrase in his angry 1584 letter to his father-in-law, Lord Burghley. Both the letter and Sonnet 121 seem to allude to de Vere's profound sense of betrayal upon learning that he was being spied upon. We can begin to uncover new levels of meaning in this sonnet—and in Shakespeare's works in general—when we restore the lost connections between the works and their true author.

The profession of psychoanalysis was founded on a willingness to pursue the truth wherever it might lead, despite the patient's reluctance to face the truth about herself. Psychoanalysis is unavoidably controversial when it pursues its highest ideals. James Strachey persuaded Freud to censor the publication of his beliefs about Shakespeare's identity, for fear of offending the English. We can no longer allow a fear of offending the English professors to continue to stifle our pursuit of the truth about who wrote Shakespeare's works.

Endnotes

[1] See Waugaman, 2009b.

[2] I will continue to use the traditional name of the author, just as we still speak of the works of Mark Twain, although we know his legal name was Samuel Clemens.

[3] Both "betrayal" and "treason" come from the same Latin root, "tradere."

[4] Waugaman, 2007.

[5] Shirley Nelson Garner, "Male Bonding and the Myth of Women's Deception in Shakespeare's Plays." In Holland et al., pp. 135-150.

[6] Garner, 149.

[7] Norman H. Holland, Sidney Homan, and Bernard J. Paris (eds.), *Shakespeare's Personality* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 5.

[8] Holland, 7.

[9] See Waugaman, 2012.

[10] See Waugaman, 2009d, 2010a, 2010c, 2011a.

[11] Nina Green, "The Fall of the House of Oxford." *Brief Chronicles: The Interdisciplinary Journal of the Shakespeare Fellowship* 1:41-95 (2009).

[12] The year he spent in Italy explains the detailed knowledge of it in the plays of Shakespeare; see Richard Roe, *The Shakespeare Guide to Italy*. New York: Harper, 2011.

[13] See Waugaman, 2010b.

[14] Waugaman, 2011b.

[15] Sarah Beckwith, *Shakespeare and the Grammar of Forgiveness*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011.

[16] I have restored much of the punctuation of the original 1609 edition, since the changes made by recent editors may deprive us of some of the poet's meaning. I have added a dash at the end of the eighth line, to highlight the fact that the poet leaves this question unfinished, inviting the reader to imagine what words are suppressed here. The elliptical phrase might be reworded as, "Frailer spies are _____ on my frailties. Why?" The missing word might be "spying." Why is this question interrupted before it is completed? De Vere often echoes the content of his poetry in its form. The secrecy of the spying might be enacted, for example, in his leaving the word out. Alternatively, he may be enacting here a particularly sharp "volta," or turn, from the octave to the sestet.

[17] Waugaman, 2010.

[18] Martin S. Bergmann and Michael Bergman, *What Silent Love Hath Writ: A Psychoanalytic Exploration of Shakespeare's Sonnets (*New York: Gotschna Ventures, 2008).

[19] Garner, 143.

[20] It is also found in Corinthians. The passage from Exodus is quoted in John Lyly's 1578 novel *Euphues*. It occurs in a 1578 prayer by Edward Dering, to be recited before

reading the Bible ("Flesh and blood cannot reveal the mysteries of thy heavenly kingdom unto me, but by thy blessed will I am that I am, and by the same know I that I know"). It is also in C.K.'s dedication of the 1596 *The History of a Florentine Woman*, by "C.M."; two more pseudonyms of de Vere's?

[21] Another theory is that Burghley had asked the financially reckless de Vere to let a trusted servant manage his financial affairs.

[22] Scholars agree it was the Geneva translation of the Bible that most influenced Shakespeare; it is this translation that I quote here.

[23] Duncan-Jones, Katherine, *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (London: Arden, 1997), 352.

[24] Acts 17:23, in the Latin Vulgate translation, provided one of de Vere's literary pseudonyms: "Ignoto," from "Ignoto deo," referring to the statue to the unknown god in Athens. Acts 17:28 refers to "poets"—apparently the only reference to "poets" in the Geneva Bible.

[25] Helen Vendler, *The Art of Shakespeare's Sonnets* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1997), 515-516.

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What Happens in Macbeth:
An Originalist Reading of the Play

Richard F. Whalen

acbeth is a case study in how a Shakespeare play can be misread and thus misunderstood, especially by Stratfordian academics whose commentaries on what happens in *Macbeth* have misled readers and theater audiences. What happens in *Othello* has also been misunderstood, and the same may be true for other Shakespeare plays, notably *Hamlet*.

The Stratfordian commentators have described *Macbeth* as a tragedy about a noble hero, even an idealized hero, whose tragic flaw is an excessive, or "overweening," ambition to be king that leads to his downfall and death. This has long been the standard reading of the play. It's a reading that is simple and familiar. It's comfortable even for a tragedy; it resembles Greek tragedy. It meets the expectations of readers and playgoers. That is how directors want to see it performed on stage. Macbeth's "overweening ambition" has been so widely accepted that it has become a cliché. It is, however, almost certainly wrong.

This is how leading Stratfordian commentators describe Macbeth's motive and actions in the play. One of the earliest was Samuel Johnson, the great lexicographer, essayist and Shakespeare scholar. He wrote in his *Miscellaneous observations on* Macbeth (1725) that "the danger of ambition is well described."[1] A few decades later, Thomas Whately, a writer and member of Parliament, wrote that Macbeth assassinated King Duncan "to gratify his ambition" and that he ordered the rest of the murders "for his security."[2] In 1847, George Fletcher, author of historical and literary works, described Macbeth in his *Studies of Shakespeare* as a man of "extreme selfishness . . . who has brought himself to snatch at an ambitious object by the commission of one great sanguinary crime." Later, he says that Macbeth and Lady Macbeth are "absorbed in an ambitious enterprise."[3] In *Shakespearean Tragedy*, A.C. Bradley, the widely revered, early twentieth-century scholar, describes Macbeth as being "bold" and "exceedingly ambitious."[4]

More recently, Kenneth Muir, in his Arden edition of the play, cites Macbeth's "inordinate ambition."[5] Harden Craig, in his collected plays, says Macbeth sacrifices everything to "wicked ambition."[6] David Bevington, in his collected Shakespeare works, refers to Macbeth's "perverse ambition."[7] Stephen Orgel in his Pelican edition cites Macbeth's "murderous ambition" that is evoked by his wife.[8] Harvard's Stephen Greenblatt, in his Norton edition of Shakespeare, says that "Macbeth and Lady Macbeth act on ambition, restless desire and a will to power."[9] Yale's Harold Bloom refers to Macbeth's "ambitious imagination" in his *Shakespeare*: t*he Invention of the Human*.[10] Oscar J. Campbell of Columbia, co-editor of the *The Reader's Encyclopedia of Shakespeare*, says in his entry on the play that Macbeth's "ambition . . . becomes an overwhelming passion that sweeps away every moral constraint."[11]

This reading by Shakespeare scholars is reflected in paperback editions of the play and has become firmly entrenched in popular culture. Campbell's Bantam edition says the play is about a great man who pays the penalty for his "overweening ambition" (xiv). Joseph Papp, not a Shakespeare scholar as such but a theater producer and director and founder of The Public Theater in New York City, says in his foreword to the Bantam edition that "people always say that *Macbeth* is a play about ambition" (xiv). The co-editors of the popular edition from the Folger Shakespeare Library say that *Macbeth* raises huge questions: does Macbeth murder because fate tempts him, or because his wife pushes him into it, or "because he is overly ambitious?"[12] The Wikipedia article on *Macbeth,* a ready resource for students, says that Macbeth "chooses evil as the way to fulfill his ambition for power." A web site for students ("No Sweat Shakespeare") says the main themes of the play are Macbeth's "overweening" ambition and guilt.

It's hard to believe they may all be wrong, but shaking off the persistent drumbeat of Macbeth's supposedly overweening ambition (and that's not easy) and plunging afresh into a careful reading of *Macbeth* shows that what happens in the play is not only very different but also very obvious once it is recognized. This kind of reading might be called "originalist," or "naïve" in the good sense of the word, that is, with a completely open mind, reading *Macbeth* simply to find out what happens in the play as the dramatist wrote it without being distracted by what the Stratfordian academics have promulgated.

This is what really happens in the play and what does (and does not) motivate Macbeth: In act 1 scene 3, the Third Witch, in her persona as the prophesying "Weird Sister," or Fate of classical mythology, cries, "All hail, Macbeth! Thou shalt be king hereafter!" (1.3.50). Macbeth, however, does not exult at this good news. He is startled by it. Banquo asks him, "Good sir, why do you start and seem to fear / Things that do sound so fair?" (1.3.51-52). As the supernatural Weird Sisters begin to vanish, Macbeth asks them to tell him more: "to be king," he says, "Stands not within the prospect of belief" (1.3.73-74). He's very skeptical. He also cannot believe the news that he has won the title of Thane of Cawdor, his rival: "The Thane of Cawdor lives. Why do you dress me / In borrowed robes?" (1.3.73-74). Macbeth shows no sign at all of any ambition, much less an overwhelming ambition. He is perplexed.

A few minutes later, Macbeth asks himself, "why do I yield to that suggestion / Whose horrid image doth unfix my hair and make my seated heart knock at my ribs . . . ?" (1.3.134-136). He tries to resist the idea of seizing the throne violently, a hair-raising, "horrid image" that makes his heart pound with anxiety and fear. In this twelve-line soliloquy, he does not exult in the possibility he could be king. He agonizes over what he might have to do against his better judgment to be king. The prospect of assassinating King Duncan unnerves him. He is reluctant to try to seize the crown by force; he is fearful of even contemplating such a move.

In act 1 scene 5, Lady Macbeth, alone on stage, waits for Macbeth to arrive home. Sounding hopeful, she says that her husband is "not without ambition" (1.5.15). With this double negative, she recognizes backhandedly that he does not have enough ambition to seize the throne by force. She worries that he is too principled and not ruthless enough. She says that he "wouldst not play false, / And yet would wrongly win" (1.5.17-18). She vows to force him to do what he is reluctant to do, to play false.

Scene 7 opens with Macbeth, alone, agonizing over what he must do: "If it were done when tis done, then twere well / It were done quickly" (1.7.1-2). He lists all the reasons he should not kill King Duncan: he is Duncan's friend and kinsman. And he is Duncan's host, "who should against his Murderer shut the door, / Not bear the knife myself" (1.7.15-16). And Duncan's virtues are like angels who will plead against, "The deep damnation of his taking off" (1.7.20). That is, the damnation to hell of Duncan's murderer. And, he continues, pity for the virtuous Duncan "Shall blow the horrid deed in every eye" (1.7.24). The murderous deed will ruin Macbeth's reputation as an honorable military commander in the eyes of everyone.

He concludes this eloquent twenty-eight-line soliloquy with an ingenious, equestrian metaphor underlining his sense that he has no qualifications or true desire to be king: "I have no spur / To prick the sides of my intent, but only / Vaulting ambition, which overleaps itself / And falls on the other" (1.7.25-28). The phrase "vaulting ambition" might seem to reflect his ambition to be king but in fact it does the opposite. He says he has "no spur," that is, no sharp incentive (*OED* 4.a), to be king but "only" an inept vaulting ambition that would overleap itself and fail. The metaphor draws on the feat of vaulting onto the bare back of a running horse, the earliest meaning of "to vault" (*OED* 1), like a circus trick today. Macbeth is saying he doesn't have what it takes to do that successfully and, by extension, to reach for the throne successfully. He is the would-be rider of the horse of ambition who has nothing to spur him on except the inept desire of someone who wants to vault to the back of a cantering horse but who would jump too far and fall off the other side, no doubt looking quite foolish. The "vaulting" metaphor describes an inept, reluctant, ineffective ambition, not a powerful, confident ambition.

Lady Macbeth enters, interrupting his soliloquy, and he informs her bluntly: "We will proceed no further in this business" (1.7.31). These are not the words of a man with an overwhelming ambition to be king. She berates him for acting like a coward, and he asks, almost plaintively, "If we should fail?" Lady Macbeth fires back,

"We fail?" (1.7.59), and her bullying overwhelms Macbeth's reluctance, doubts and fears—his lack of ambition that is so distressing for him, and for Lady Macbeth.

After he kills Duncan, he does not exult that now he will be king. He fears he will "sleep no more" (2.2.34). He says, "I am afraid to think what I have done" (2.2.50). Nor are these the thoughts of a man of "overweening ambition." He is not relishing the chance to become king with all the power, perquisites and wealth of the monarchy. All he can express is remorse for killing the king: "To know my deed / 'Twere best not know myself. He hears someone knocking at the gate and exclaims, "Wake Duncan with thy knocking! / I would thou couldst" (2.2.73-74).

In the next scene, Macbeth again expresses his remorse and in a way that produces powerful dramatic irony for the audience, which knows he has killed the king, although no one on stage knows that yet. When Macduff tells everyone that the king has been murdered, Macbeth delivers a speech that is heard by those around him as deep sorrow that the king has been killed, but his speech is heard by the audience as remorse for having committed the murder.

> Had I but died an hour before this chance
> [unfortunate event (OED I.2)],
> I had lived a blessed time; for, from this instant,
> There's nothing serious in mortality:
> All is but toys [trifles, rubbish (*OED* II.5)],
> Renown and grace is dead.
> The wine of life is drawn, and the mere lees
> Is left this vault to brag on.
>   (2.3.81-86)

Reluctance and then deep remorse, not excessive ambition, consume Macbeth.

From now on, as king, he has to steel himself to continue to act against his better self in order to maintain his rule. He finds he must lie and deceive those around him in court. He must order the murders of Banquo, Fleance and Macduff's wife and children, which will turn the country against him. The warrior-hero becomes a liar, a dissembler and a tyrant who plunges to his downfall and death.

Nowhere in the play does he express an ambition to be king. The closest he gets to it occurs in his soliloquy in act 1 scene 4 when he's pondering the prophecies of the Weird Sisters. He wonders naively "If chance will have me king, why, chance may crown me / Without my stir" (1.4.143-144). Maybe he won't have to do anything to be king. Again, these are not the private thoughts of a man with an "overweening" ambition to be king.

A few Stratfordian commentators have read the play as Macbeth's struggle with his conscience. In his introduction to the Leopold Shakespeare (1877), F.J. Furnivall wrote that "*Macbeth* is the play of conscience, although the workings of conscience are seen much more clearly in Lady Macbeth."[13] William Hazlitt says Macbeth is "not equal to the struggle with fate and conscience.[14] It is a "defeated conscience" for Robert S. Miola in his Norton Critical Edition.[15] In the Riverside

collected works, Frank Kermode calls the play a "fierce engagement between the mind and its guilt."[16] This "guilty conscience" interpretation, however, necessarily and probably unwittingly supports what really happens in *Macbeth*, for a guilty conscience results from a tentative, weak ambition or a lack of ambition. Excessive ambition would brush aside any promptings of conscience that might interfere with achieving ambition's goal. Macbeth suffers a guilty conscience for the crimes he commits to be king and as king precisely because he is never ambitious to be king.

An "originalist" reading of the playtext, freed from the Stratfordian chorus of Macbeth's "overweening ambition," reveals a different play, the play as it was written by the dramatist. It was not about Macbeth's excessive ambition leading to his downfall. It was a play about a skilled and courageous warrior who triumphs in battle, saving Scotland from invasion, but is unsuited by experience and temperament to prevail in the arena of court intrigue and power politics. Macbeth fails to understand that success on the battlefield does not translate to success in the treacherous world of court intrigue. This is not the play that the Stratfordian academics want to explicate.

Macbeth is essentially a brave and honorable commanding general and combat fighter who is drawn into a disastrous course of action in the corridors of political power. The treacherous lying of the courtier-like Thane of Ross, his unsought confederate, clears the way for Macbeth to reach for the Crown—if he truly wants to.[17] Ross does this by falsely telling King Duncan that the Thane of Cawdor, Macbeth's rival, was a traitor on the battlefield and was captured. The king orders that the innocent Cawdor be summarily executed. Stratfordian commentators, not understanding what happens in the play, have missed Ross's crucial role probably because they do not expect to see a thirteenth-century Scottish warrior thane acting like a manipulating, Elizabethan courtier. Puzzled, they dismiss Ross as a mere messenger.

Adding more fuel to Macbeth's natural, if vague, desire to be king are the deceptive prophecies of the Weird Sisters, who predict that he will be king. Finally, the bullying of Lady Macbeth, who is the one who shows an excessive ambition to the throne, goads him into assassinating King Duncan, his revered monarch, close friend and house guest. He suffers a guilty conscience that triggers hallucinations and insomnia. Ignobly, he hires murderers to kill Banquo, Fleance, and Macduff's family so that he can stay in power and create a dynasty. The murders turn the country against him. In spite of himself, he has become a tyrant. At the end, he desperately tries to recapture his warrior's lust for battle, but it is too late. Abandoned by his troops, surrounded by overwhelming forces, his wife a suicide, he puts on his armor with desperate bravado to meet his fate, dreading the ignominy of defeat and capture (as does Cleopatra in *Antony and Cleopatra*).

Macbeth's struggle with his lack of ambition and his self-inflicted assaults on his sense of honor, loyalty, and self-respect evoke fascination with his predicament. The anguish he expresses in his soliloquies wins a measure of sympathy despite his treasonous and cruel deeds. He is drawn into committing crimes against his better judgment, crimes that he had never before contemplated. The evil he does

is appalling, yet strangely understandable. Conflicted, morally compromised, unhappy, and deeply human, Macbeth is much more complex, compelling, and even sympathetic for all his faults. He is an antihero.

Theater directors and actors recognizing what really happens in *Macbeth* have an opportunity to challenge the expectations of their audience and bring to stage and screen a more rewarding way to perform this play, a performance that would be faithful to the dramatist's intention as expressed in the playtext. Such a production, true to the original text, could be a more powerfully affecting experience for the audience.

The misreading of *Macbeth* by Stratfordian commentators may well stem from their belief that the author was a commoner writing for commoners. In this view, Macbeth is simply a warrior thane whose tragic flaw is an excessive, murderous ambition to be king. For a commoner this kind of immoral ambition must be wrong and will be punished by a guilty conscience and death. It's a simple, straightforward story uncomplicated by the nuances of Macbeth's character and the machinations of court intrigue that engulf him.

In contrast, an originalist reading of *Macbeth* indicates an author who had first-hand knowledge of court intrigues, ambitious noblemen, assassination plots, and the burning issue of who would succeed Queen Elizabeth, who never named a successor. That would be a dramatist like Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, a ranking nobleman in her court and the leading candidate as the true author of the works of Shakespeare. He was privy to the succession debates and the maneuvering and plotting among her courtiers and noblemen, including William Cecil, her principal adviser and Oxford's father-in-law.

When Oxford wrote *Macbeth* and the other Shakespeare plays, he almost certainly had in mind an audience of noblemen and courtiers in Elizabeth court. The extant records show more than twice as many performances of Shakespeare plays at her court and other venues for noblemen and aristocrats than in the public theaters.[18] A court audience could feel sympathy for Macbeth's predicament and recognize that his fatal flaw is political incompetence. Nothing in the life of Will Shakspere of Stratford indicates any experience of generals, monarchs, courtiers, court intrigues and treacherous political power plays, or opportunities to understand what personal attributes it would take to seize the Crown by force and then to rule successfully. Stratfordian commentators probably sense this lack and shy away from an originalist reading, which requires an author who, like Oxford, was an insider at court.

Macbeth is not the only Shakespeare play that has been identified so far as suffering from a misreading by Stratfordians. An originalist reading of what happens in *Othello* also reveals a misreading of that play. As detailed in our Oxfordian edition of the play, *Othello* is a satiric farce that ends in shocking murders and Othello's suicide.[19] He is not the tragic hero whose unfounded jealousy of Desdemona leads to his downfall. He is terrified that word of his being cuckolded by Desdemona and Cassio (which is not true) will result in public disgrace. He is a foolish character based on the boasting, naïve, Spanish/Moorish *Capitano* of the Italian, satirical

comedy called *commedia dell'arte*. He and all the other leading characters in *Othello* are modeled on leading, stock characters of *commedia dell'arte*, improvised theater virtually unknown in England at the time but at the height of its popularity in Italy when Oxford was there for several months.[20] Stratfordian academics sometimes recognize the comedy and satire and the disparagement of Othello but tend to discount it, failing to see how central it is to what happens in the play. An exception, also discounted by the Stratfordian academics, was Thomas Rymer, drama critic and historian, who concluded in his essay, published in 1693, that *Othello* is "a bloody farce."[21]

  Hamlet, the dramatist's most personal masterpiece, may also have been misunderstood. It has puzzled virtually all Stratfordian commentators. Most of the leading commentators call it an enigmatic play and Hamlet himself an enigma. They suggest various possibilities. It might be a revenge play, or a play about the problems created by a usurper, or a play about a melancholy Dane, or a play about an indecisive prince and heir to the throne, or a play about the perils of youthful love, political marriage and incest. All can be found in the play. John Dover Wilson wrote in *What Happens in* Hamlet that there are dozens of puzzles in the play that must be solved together "if *Hamlet* was an artistic unity at all."[22] It's safe to say the dramatist did not set out to write an enigmatic play full of puzzles. Knowing that the true author was not a commoner but a ranking nobleman in Queen Elizabeth's court, which was notoriously corrupt, may well provide the key to what happens in *Hamlet*.

  In sum, an originalist reading of *Macbeth* reveals a play about a warrior-hero who is not excessively ambitious to be king and who is unsuited by experience and temperament to resist the temptations of ambition, to navigate the corridors of political power, to assassinate his king and to do what he thinks he must do to rule Scotland successfully. Similar readings of what happens in perhaps many more Shakespeare plays, readings that are also informed by the view that Oxford wrote them, promise a much greater appreciation of what the dramatist intended when he wrote them.

Endnotes

1 Qtd in *Macbeth Variorum* (1873), 400.

2 Qtd in *Macbeth Variorum* (1873), 463. (His essay on Macbeth and other Shakespeare characters was published after his death by his brother in 1785.)

3 Qtd in *Macbeth Variorum* (1873), 401, 405.

4 Bradley, 244.

5 Muir, (xlvi).

6 Craig, 1045.

7 Bevington, 1219.

8 Orgel, xli.

9 Greenblatt, 2558-2559.

10 Bloom, 532.

11 Campbell, 484.

12 Mowat, Barbara A. and Paul Werstine, xiv.

13 Furnivall, lxxvii.

14 Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespear's Plays* (London, 1817); excerpt in Miola, ed. *Macbeth, a Norton Critical Edition* (2004), 221.

15 Miola, ix.

16 Kermode, 1311.

17 See Whalen, "An Overlooked Sub-plot in *Macbeth* Reveals Oxford's Hand" in *Shakespeare Matters 7:3* (Spring 2008), 6, 28-31.

18 See Whalen, "Shakespeare's Audience: A Reassessment of the Stratfordian View" in *The Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter* 40: 4 (Fall 2004), 1, 7-9, 11-12.

19 Draya, Ren, and Richard F. Whalen. *Othello* in the Oxfordian Shakespeare Series. Truro MA, Horatio Editions, 2010.

20 See Whalen, "*Commedia dell'Arte* in *Othello*: a Satiric Comedy Ending in Tragedy" in *Brief Chronicles 3* (2011).

21 Rymer, Thomas, *A Short View of Tragedy* (1693) (Scolar Press facsimile 1970), 86-146.

22 Third edition 1970, by Wilson (first edition 1935), 9.

Lyric Poetry from Chaucer to Shakespeare

Michael Delahoyde

lthough "It is likely that Oxford was the innovator of the new poems of courtly love" at the Elizabethan court[1] creating a sudden "self-consciously poetic" shift in the early 1570s,[2] and although he ultimately represented a profound qualitative leap in the importance of English literature, putting England on the map in terms of joining the artistic Renaissance at last, the Earl did not spring fully armed with lyrical talent from the head of Zeus, crying out iambic pentameters.[3] We can, instead, detect in early suspected and attributed poems an evolution of Oxford towards "Shake-speare," and we can see Oxford as a kind of culminating phenomenon in the context of native English lyric poetry: beginning with Chaucer; extending through Oxford's uncle Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey; and blossoming into not just de Vere's juvenilia in the Elizabethan anthologies but also in the lyricism of his more famous dramatic works in the Shakespeare canon.

The importance of Chaucer to Shakespeare is difficult to overestimate: "The sheer quantity of the material involved implies that Shakespeare did not merely use Chaucer for a plot or two (as he did some authors) but knew him so well that he recalled his work (often unconsciously, one would imagine) in virtually every play."[4] This kind of saturation has tended to prove too involved for the few scholars with sufficient expertise to do justice to both Shakespeare and Chaucer and who therefore generally stick to source studies and comparative work with the obvious cases: Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* / Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* and Chaucer's *The Knight's Tale* / Shakespeare's *Two Noble Kinsmen*.[5] But subtle Chaucerian allusions are woven throughout the canon, and, Ovid notwithstanding, Chaucer may be the single most important influence on the "poetry" in Shakespeare's works.

E. Talbot Donaldson, the grand old master of early English literature (and my own "academic grandfather," being my mentor's mentor), says of Shakespeare, "Until Marlowe and Spenser almost in his own time, there were no poets in English besides Chaucer who had anything to teach him."[6] Especially influential to English lyric poets in the centuries following Chaucer despite the popularity of *The Canterbury Tales* are his dream-visions – the so-called Minor Poems: *The Book of the Duchess*, *The*

House of Fame, *The Parliament of Fowls* – and the epic romance *Troilus and Criseyde* in addition to the Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women*. During Shakespeare's century, Chaucer's works had been reprinted by Thynne in 1532 (revised in 1542 and 1550) and again by Stowe in 1561, "the edition in which he probably became acquainted with Chaucer."[7] Chaucer's works were also reprinted by Speght in 1598 and 1602.[8] But despite Chaucer's eventual reputation as the so-called "father of English poetry" (ever since John Dryden declared it) and also the "father of English literature," Shakespeare's absorption of Chaucer was not entirely *de rigueur* for his era, as might be expected. Samuel Daniel in his *Defence of Rime* (1602) touts English medievals such as the Venerable Bede, Roger Bacon, and Occam, but not poets of the later Middle Ages; and "Of Chaucer's 'ancient' English rhyme, Daniel has nothing to say."[9] Of course, to offer the obligatory glance at Shakespearean orthodoxy, the same old wall obstructs once again:

> A large amount of research has been done on Tudor education in general, but, unfortunately, vernacular literature was not read at school, and there is no sure way of ascertaining when, how, and in what variety a middle-class schoolboy might have come across English books; for the most part we are thrown back upon the internal evidence of the plays themselves...[10]

... circularly. So how did Shakespeare access Chaucer? We know a nineteen-year-old Edward de Vere purchased an edition of Chaucer's works at the same time as his Geneva Bible and his Plutarch in French. Perhaps coincidentally, the most glorious and expensive manuscript edition of Chaucer's works, the Ellesmere manuscript (circa 1410) in which the famous illuminations of the pilgrims appear, seems to have been owned initially, and may have been commissioned, by John de Vere (1408-1461/62), 12th Earl of Oxford, who, following his father's death in 1417, became ward of the Duke of Exeter and then in 1426 of the Duke of Bedford: both dukes were kinsmen of Chaucer's son Thomas.[11]

Though he somewhat restricts his otherwise admirable explorations to the obvious Shakespearean indebtednesses to Chaucer, we can also agree with Donaldson "that Shakespeare read Chaucer's poetry with understanding and great care, more carefully, perhaps, than some of his critics."[12] The evidence extends far beyond the two obvious revamps mentioned above. Hamlet's utterance of the weird and memorable line, "I am but mad north-north-west. When the wind is southerly, I know a hawk from a hand-saw" (2.2.378-379)[13] has been provided with a partial Oxfordian explanation: "when he was bedevilled by lack of money, it no doubt tormented Oxford to think of all he had invested and lost in the expeditions to find a 'northwest' passage to China."[14] But no one as yet seems to have recognized that the playwright initially borrowed the odd directional reference from an equally peculiar moment in Chaucer's *The Parliament of Fowls* where the poem's narrator refers to "Citheria" (embodied in the planet Venus) being "north-north-west" (113, 117).[14] This has remained a Chaucerian puzzle, since Venus is never seen that far north from

the vantage point of England. Hamlet's enigmatic utterance originated in Chaucer's enigmatic utterance.

In the tormenting of Malvolio in the dark house, Feste in *Twelfth Night* extraneously adopts the persona and costume of "Sir Topas," which both he and Maria afterwards acknowledge was unnecessary for the purpose. *The Tale of Sir Thopas* is Chaucer's own persona's pitiful rhyme in *The Canterbury Tales*. In other words, since Feste, the "allow'd fool" (1.5.94), serves as a representation of the playwright, then just as Sir Thopas is Chaucer's persona's creation, so "Sir Topas" is Shakespeare's persona's creation.

Also, consider the apothecary scene in *Romeo and Juliet* – with its "caitiff wretch," "Whose sale is present death" in the form of poison to Romeo (5.1.51-52) and who is called a "beggar" even though he owns a shop in Mantua (5.1.56) – along with Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale* in which a creepy old unnamed wandering figure symbolically points out the way to some young men in search of "Death," a concept they foolishly misunderstand and personify. Chaucer's "churl" (750),[15] a "restelees kaityf" (728; the latter word Shakespeare uses also), sends the youths towards a cache of gold, while Shakespeare's Romeo rails inappropriately (since it is not a theme in the play nor a relevant moral concern), "There is thy gold, worse poison to men's souls, / Doing more murther in this loathsome world, / Than these poor compounds" (5.1.80-82). Later in Chaucer's poem, one of the young men visits "a pothecarie" in the town to purchase "Some poyson" with which to kill his companions (852, 855).

Even Chaucer's most obscure of the Minor Poems, the seldom read and seemingly incomplete *The House of Fame*, yields an assortment of details recycled by the Bard. For example, Aaron in *Titus Andronicus* claims, "The Emperor's court is like the house of Fame, / A palace full of tongues, of eyes, and ears" (2.1.126-127), a direct reference to Chaucer's enigmatic and surreal poem. In Chaucer's poem we read of a white and red garland (135), the colors Shakespeare uses repeatedly as in *Lucrece* and elsewhere to signify the Tudor rose and Queen Elizabeth. We read of the Greek spy Sinon (152) and of King Priam of Troy slain (159), heated Shakespearean concerns in *Lucrece* and in *Hamlet*. We read of a "tempeste" (209). We read that "Hit is not al gold that glareth" (272), a message Shakespeare will paraphrase and insert in a gold casket in *The Merchant of Venice*. Chaucer writes, "But that is doon, nis not to done" (361), pre-echoing a phrasal obsession in *Macbeth*: e.g., "What's done cannot be undone" (5.2.68). And again, all this comes from one of the least known works of Chaucer. How much more inspiration would the theatrically inclined Oxford have found in Chaucer's exploration of character, voice, and dramatic narrative in his masterpiece, *The Canterbury Tales*?

Following his death, Chaucer's accomplishments as poet dwarfed the efforts of the few very minor wannabes in a 15th century whose instability – depicted in Shakespeare's History plays – disallowed much progress in English arts. The influence of Chaucer's mastery held sway for 150 years before any truly new commitment to homegrown English poetry reappeared in the generation before the Earl of Oxford's own poetic revolution.

Not the weakest link between Chaucer and Shakespeare (or, more immediately, Chaucer and Elizabethan-era poetry) is Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (1517-1547) – uncle to the 17th Earl of Oxford and the last person executed by Henry VIII about nine days before the death of the King (and the day Howard's father was scheduled to die too). In the play *Sir Thomas More*, even though the historical Surrey was too young to have had a role in the events of the play or to have met or known Erasmus, who visited England before he was born and died when Surrey was a boy,[16] Surrey the character nevertheless comes off especially well: a final irony since he, like More, will be executed by Henry VIII. For Edward de Vere, Surrey was a "literary hero and inspiration,"[17] and he could easily have known of an affinity between their personalities:

> Norfolk's son Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, is, like his father, an unattractive character to modern eyes. Surrey was arrogant, vain, impetuous, resentful of the merest slight discerned by him and, most of all, contemptuous of any who lived in, or came from, a lower station in life. He was an extraordinary paradox: a distinguished, sensitive, very talented poet, but also a rowdy hooligan and a proud coxcomb whose conceited behaviour and beliefs easily nettled those around him. . . . This hothead was inevitably often in trouble, even after his arranged marriage in 1532 to Frances de Vere, daughter of the [15th] Earl of Oxford.[18]

Perhaps more admirably, Oxford would have noted a political affinity with his uncle: although Surrey had grown up with Henry VIII's beloved illegitimate son Henry Fitzroy, the Norfolks generally objected to the gradual dismantling of the old nobility by the 16th-century Tudor government, an endeavor furthered by the Cecils during Oxford's time.

And, by far most importantly, Oxford had an artistic affinity with this uncle: due to his translations from the *Aeneid* – Books 2 and 4, the ones Shakespeare most often cites[19] – Surrey is essentially responsible for blank verse in English, the unrhymed iambic pentameter lines that Shakespeare established as the quintessential English poetic mode, to be inherited by Milton, Wordsworth, and so on. Surrey moreover is responsible for the so-called "Shakespearean" sonnet format, since he along with Thomas Wyatt are the chief representatives of English poetry during the early and mid-1500s.[20] So Arthur Golding, credited as translator of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* into English, was not necessarily in all respects the more influential of Oxford's mentor uncles. Surrey "observed the nobleman's code by publishing none of his verse except a brief tribute to Wyatt" during his life[20]; most of his poetry was published in, or as, *Songs and Sonettes written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Haward, late Earle of Surrey and other, apud Richardum Tottel, 1557* – later known simply as *Tottel's Miscellany*, though in Shakespeare's own *Merry Wives of Windsor* we have a reference to it by name as the "Book of Songs and Sonnets" (1.1.199). Oxfordian founder J. Thomas Looney himself remarked that "For nearly twenty years (1557-1576) this work was the only one of its kind in the hands of readers and

students of poetry."[22] Poems in *Tottel's*, especially Surrey's, are often in poulter's measure (an early style of Oxford's in a few of his poems and in *Romeus and Juliet*, for example) and sport Middle Englishisms – such as "eke" for also, "fere" for mate, "wight" for person, "soote" for sweet, "wot" for know, and so on. "Chaucer the glory of his wit" (28)[23] is overtly touted in one poem in *Tottel's* (#31), and in many others Chaucer serves as the inspiration. Numerous close paraphrasings appear – e.g., the first line of Poem #171, "The lyf so long" (124) from the first line of Chaucer's *The Parliament of Fowls*: "The lyf so short, the craft so longe to lerne." Clearly Chaucer's *The Book of the Duchess* and *The Parliament of Fowls* are the favorites, which is logical, because of their dream-vision quasi-love-lyric nature unlike anything in *The Canterbury Tales*. By "Uncertain Authors" (and so perhaps by Surrey) is Poem #186, "Of his loue named white" (145). Chaucer's *The Book of the Duchess* is a poetic tribute to John of Gaunt's love for his late first wife, Blanche. Whether the *Tottel's* poet also loved a woman named Blanche or let Chaucerianism dominate his work, "white," not a likely first name, is a substitution for or translation of "Blanche." The unascribed "Of the louers vnquiet state" (#187) begins with the lines, "What thing is that which I bothe haue and lacke, / With good will graunted yet it is denyed" (145), a borrowing of Chaucer's entirely enigmatic lines in *The Parliament of Fowls* after his narrator has read Scipio: "For bothe I hadde thyng which that I nolde, / And ek I ne hadde that thyng that I wolde" (90-91).

The most noted case of Surrey's influence on Shakespeare occurs in *Hamlet*; in fact, they are Hamlet's first words at a key dramatic moment: when the play within the play has done its work on the conscience of the king and the call goes out for lights. Hamlet recites:

> Why let the strucken Deer go weep,
> The Hart ungalled play:
> For some must watch, while some must sleep;
> So runs the world away.
>   (3.2.271-274)

Surrey's poem, "The faithfull louer declareth his paines and his vncertain ioies, and with only hope recomforteth somewhat his wofull heart" (#265) includes these stanzas:

> Then as the striken dere withdrawes him selfe alone,
> So doe I seke some secrete place where I may make my mone.
> There do my flowing eyes shew forth my melting hart,
> So yet the stremes of those two welles right wel declare my smart.
>   (209)[24]

Other possible Surrey influences on Shakespeare have gone unnoticed. Looking forward to Shakespeare, Surrey's poem "Of the ladie wentworthes death"

(#213) contains a concept familiar to fans of *Much Ado About Nothing*: "To liue to dye, and dye to liue againe" (166). *Much Ado*'s Hero is told by a friar, "Come, lady, die to live" (4.1.252),[25] essentially what another friar tells Juliet, and the idea behind other false deaths and resurrections of Shakespeare characters. Surrey's Poem #20 includes the following:

> In faith, me thinke, some better waies
> On your behalfe might well be sought,
> Then to compare (as ye haue done)
> To matche the candle with the sonne.
>   (20)

A mini-dissertation on the implications of this luminary phenomenon occurs when Portia of *The Merchant of Venice* returns home at the end of the play (esp. 5.1.90-93). Shakespeare's recurring falcony metaphors find prompting in *Tottel's* (#25; 24), as do considerations of Ovid (#242; 188); the characters in the play-within-the-play at the end of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Pyramus and Thisbe (#30; 27); and the "house defilde" of "Collatiue" (#245; 191), as in Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece*.

More significant than these incidental connections, here is an example of a full evolutionary trajectory of poetic subject from Chaucer to Shakespeare, with the intervening steps. Shakespeare is obviously indebted to Chaucer's long narrative poem for the play *Troilus and Cressida*; but before Shakespeare, Surrey was much taken with the tale and its characters "Chreseide," Troilus, and Priam too (#18; 18), and he wrote a poem serving as, and titled, "A comparison of his loue wyth the faithfull and painful loue of Troylus to Creside" (#237; 183f).[26] In the next generation after Surrey, the collection of Elizabethan lyric poetry from the 1570s, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* – part of that decade's "body of courtier verse . . . that revived the emphasis upon love poetry as it had been introduced to the Tudor court by Wyatt and Surrey"[27] – is saturated with references to the story of Criseyde and "Priams sonne of Troy" (179), Troilus, with names of additional minor characters such as Diomede and Priam included as well (147, 169, 179, 183, 187, 191, 271). "Cressides" name [var. "Cressyde"] is taken as synonymous with "inconstancie" (176).[28] Either most Elizabethan courtiers, contributing to *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* under whatever anonymity their poesies supplied, were obsessed with the story, or *one* particular courtier adopting assorted identities was.

A very famous moment in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* comes when at the height of the love affair the narrator self-consciously excuses and excludes himself.

> O blisful nyght, of hem so longe isought,
> How blithe unto hem bothe two thou weere!
> Why nad I swich oon with my soule ybought,
> Ye, or the leeste joie that was theere?
>   (3.1317-1320)

In a poem included in *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, Chaucer's persona as an outsider to love is nearly plagiarized:

> I can not write what was his sweetest soure,
> For I my selfe was never paramoure. (264)
> But at least the *HSF* poet eventually cites his source:
> And God he knoweth not I, who pluckt hir first sprong rose,
> Since Lollius and Chauser both, make doubt uppon that glose.
>
> (266)

Lollius is an invention of Chaucer's, invoked when he feels he needs to credit an old authoritative author. Someone instrumental in the creation of *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* and serving as the dominant anonymous voice [five of sixteen *Meritum petere, grave* poems mention Cressid and inconstancy (300)] was obviously a close reader and student of Chaucer.

In addition to the *Troilus and Criseyde* saturation of *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, this collection of lyric poetry from the 1570s, full of Chaucer echoes and Shakespeare prefigurings, determinedly shows the Elizabethans self-consciously invoking Chaucer for a kick-start to an English literary renaissance. Among the introductory materials is a supposed letter from "G.T." to "H.W." After acknowledging the production of "pleasaunt ditties or compendious Sonets, devised by green youthful capacities" but also bemoaning the absence of more stately philosophy expressed in poetry "as have bene by Poets of antiquitie, left unto the posteritie," the introductory letter laments:

> And the more pitie, that amongst so many toward wittes no one hath bene hitherto encouraged to followe the trace of that worthy and famous and famous Knight *Sir Geffrey Chaucer*, and after many pretie devises spent in youth, for the obtayning a worthles victorie, might consume and consummate his age in discribing the right pathway to perfect felicitie, with the due preservation of the same.
>
> (119)

It sounds as if at least one anonymous courtier in the 1570s felt that Chaucer should be taken indeed as the "father of English poetry" and as a signpost for the development of serious, distinctively English, literature.

Influences, echoes, and borrowings from Chaucer occur throughout *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*. In Chaucer's first dream vision, *The Book of the Duchess*, a dull-witted, initially insomniac narrator dreams of wandering into a wood where he overhears and then speaks with a lover who, he fails to realize, is in mourning. The Chaucer love-lament supplies a chess conceit (659) to the *HSF* poet: "When deadly hate, / Did play check mate, / With me poor pawne…" (282). One of Chaucer's innovations in *The Book of the Duchess* is that of capturing a natural, spontaneous, inner-line reconsideration on the part of the lover in turmoil:

> I wolde ever, withoute drede,
> Have loved hir, for I moste nede.
> Nede? Nay, trewly, I gabbe now;
> Nought "nede," and I wol tellen how.... (1073-76)
> The effect is matched in *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*:
> They be the pangs, which strive to stop my breath,
> They be the pangs, which part my love from thee.
> What said I? Love? Nay lyfe: but not my love,
> My life departes, my love continues still....
> (287)

HSF references to "Dame nature" (131, 162) most likely come from the appearance of the personification as the authority figure in Chaucer's *The Parliament of Foules*. In *HSF* we also find an alliterative description of a sea battle:

> The Barkes are battered sore, the gallies gald with shot,
> The hulks are hit and every man must stand unto his lot.
> The powder sendes his smoke into the cruddy skies,
> The smoulder stops our nose with stench, the sunne offends our eies,
> The pots of lime unsleakt, from highest top are cast,
> The parched peas are not forgot to make them slip as fast.
> (236)

Both content and style match Chaucer's *The Legend of Good Women* – in a passage concerning the first of the "good" women too: Cleopatra. The last bit of military slapstick with the dried peas is also Chaucer's (*LGW* 648).

Of course Chaucer's most famous work, *The Canterbury Tales*, proves to be a significant influence on the poet(s) of *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*. One poem with a bob-and-wheel stanzaic form (124) is derived from Chaucer's *Tale of Sir Thopas*, the tale supplied by the poet's own created persona in *The Canterbury Tales*. Chaucer slyly attracts readers to *The Miller's Tale* with a faux disapproval of its salaciousness and almost recommends that we skip it: "And therfore, whoso list it nat yheere, / Turne over the leef and chese another tale" (*The Miller's Prologue* 3167f). In *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, in the F.I. introduction, "H.W. to the Reader," the dismissive author parenthetically notes that "the wiser sort wold turne over the leafe as a thing altogether fruitless" (117); and a sonnet occurring later in the F.I. section is introduced similarly: "Let it passe, amongst the rest, and he that liketh it not turn over the leaf to another" (135).

The Dan Bartholmew [sic] section of *HSF* is clearly inspired by Chaucer's Wife of Bath in *The Canterbury Tales*, who takes an immediately combative stance in her *Prologue*: "Experience, though noon auctoritee / Were in this world, is right ynogh for me" (1-2). Dan Bartholmew himself is "of Bathe," and the first line of the poem addresses this same issue of "authority":

> To tell a tale without authoritye,
> Or fayne a Fable by invention,
> That one proceedes of quicke capacitye,
> That other proves but small discretion,
> Yet have both one and other oft bene done.
> And if I were a Poet as some be,
> You might perhappes heare some such tale of me.
>   . . .
> I neede not seeke so farre in coastes abrode,
> As some men do, which wryte strange historyes,
> For whyles at home I made my childe abode
> And sawe our lovers playe their Tragedyes.
>   . . .
> That at the last he quite forgat his bookes,
> And fastned fansie with the fairest lookes.
>   (260-261)

"Farewel my bok and my devocioun!" announces Chaucer's persona narrator similarly in the *Prologue* to the *Legend of Good Women* (F39), when the season of love begins.

Pointing the way towards Shakespeare's lyrical poetry, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* includes a poem in which the narrator asks: "What will you more? so oft, my gazing eyes did seeke / To see the Rose and Lilly strive uppon that lively cheeke..." (126). The red and white flowers are juxtaposed elsewhere in the collection, where "The Rose and Lillie seeme to strive for equall change of hew" (195; cf. 260), and "Uppon hir cheeks the lillie and the rose / Did entremeete, with equall chaunge of hew" (262). Compare Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece*:

> This heraldry in Lucrece' face was seen,
> Argued by beauty's red and virtue's white;
> Of either's color was the other queen,
>   . . .
> The sovereignty of either being so great
> That oft they interchange each other's seat.
>   (64-70; cf. 386)

Lucrece is of interest to the poet(s) of *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (cf. 151), as are Antonius and Cleopatra (150, 190) in fact and numerous other Shakespearean characters.

Another *HSF* poem breaks off mid-sentence, after which the commentator apologizes:

> Tell him that reason ought to be his rule,
> And he allowed no reason but his owne,

> Tell him that best were quickly to recule,
> Before all force by feare were overthrowen,
> And that his part
>
> I have not hitherto recovered a full end of this discourses. . . . (293)

This faux editorial misfortune is indeed another Chaucerian wink. Chaucer ends *The House of Fame*, after thousands of lines of enigmatic buildup, with the announcement that "A man of gret auctorite…" (2158). The end. Some scholars actually want us to believe that Chaucer was called away, as if to his medieval lunch, and never got back to the poem. Likewise, after nine meandering biographies of love-woe in *The Legend of Good Women*, Chaucer ends his tale of Hypermnestra with the pronouncement: "This tale is seyd for this conclusioun" (2723). And similarly, wife Philippa chose that moment to interrupt him demanding that he empty the household chamber-pots? In *The Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer's *The Squire's Tale* ends nowhere, and his own persona's *Tale of Sir Thopas* ends mid-sentence: "Til on a day – " (918). The poet in *HSF*, a close reader of Chaucer and appreciator of exquisite humor, has felt compelled to include an example of this proto-Monty-Pythonesque strategy for ending a short work.

Next, there seem to be connections to the Earl of Oxford in concerns and phrasings of *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*. The poetry captures moments of Italian zeal as Oxford anticipates his coming tour of the continent, with a reference to "Gondalaes" and an insertion of some Italian: "Siate di buona voglia, My lordes be well apayde" (239). More directly, the *HSF* poet adopts at one point a humility pose regarding his own narrative ability: "Yong Rouland Yorke may tell it bette than I" (259). Roland Yorke, of course, accompanied Oxford in his Italian travels as a friend and only later, it seems, did Oxford recognize his true vile character, probably depicting him as the treacherous Iago in the tragedy of *Othello*.

Also tragically prophetic of Oxford's propensity to value high-minded ideals over real estate:

> For lands may come again, but libertie once lost,
> Can never find such recompence, as countervailes the cost.
> (232)

The word "contentation" appears in *HSF* (121) and in Edward de Vere's dowager countess mother's letter to William Cecil of 7 May 1565. But "childish delight in such freaks of verbiage as 'agnominated' and 'contentation'"[29] appear also in the "W.S." play *Locrine*, and the *HSF* concern with Albyion and its founder, the post-Trojan-War exile, Brutus (239), are also at the essence of this apocryphal Shakespeare (Oxford?) play.

Other tantalizing Oxfordian connections include a "pyketoothe" (toothpick) mention – apparently one of the Earl's affectations – and the ambivalence towards

"forayne" influences in fashion (227): with the self-questioning "And why I go outlandishlike, yet being English borne" (231). Oxford's having grown up in the home of William Cecil, eventually marrying Cecil's daughter, has long among Oxfordians explained Hamlet's superficially nonsensical accusation of Polonius as "a fishmonger" (2.2.174), with the playwright referring to Cecil's persistent sponsoring of a law attempting to make Wednesday a meatless day in addition to the traditional Friday – a move designed not so much to legislate piety as to support the fishing industry. "To Cecil's wards, children, family, servants, and even guests, who eyed fish day after day, Cecil must truly have seemed the nation's number one fish-monger."[30] Consider then these lines from *HSF*:

> I give the Vicar here, to please his gredie will,
> A deyntie dishe of suger soppes but saust with sorow still:
> And twice a weeke at least, let dight them for his dishe,
> On frydayes and on wednesdayes, to save expence of fishe. (286)

Even more compelling for the Oxford connection come these lines in *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*:

> Amongst old written tales, this one I beare in mind,
> A simple soule much like my selfe, did once a serpent find.
> Which (almost dead for colde) lay moiling in the myre
> When he for pittie toke it up and brought it to the fyre.
> No soner was the Snake, cured of hir grief,
> But streight she sought to hurt the man, that lent hir such relief.
>   (187)

Interestingly, as Miller points out,[31] this parable was applied by Sir Walter Raleigh to himself with the Earl of Oxford representing the serpent, when Raleigh wrote to Lord Burghley in 1583 regarding his simultaneous hope and fear that he himself could help restore Oxford into the good graces of the Queen: "And the more to witness how desirous I am of your Lordship's favour and good opinion, I am content, for your sake, to lay the serpent before the fire as much as in me lieth; that, having recovered strength, myself may be most in danger of his poison and sting." Oxford plays upon the etymological connections of his own name: Ver = worm ["Don Worm" in *Much Ado* (5.2.84), "joy of the worm" in *Antony and Cleopatra* (5.2.260, 279), et al.], the Anglo-Saxon term for any reptile from a simple snake to Beowulf's dragon.

Finally, and I think not independently, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* also contains phrasings that seem like suggestive anticipations for "Shakespeare" works, such as the revering of "Nasoes [Ovid's] name" (190), and the utterance, "I found but labour lost" (127). The mention of "Dan Cupide" (196) – presumably indicating the title "Don," which as we know from *Much Ado About Nothing* is interchangeable with Count (= Earl) – appears also in *Love's Labour's Lost*, and the poet is at least

interested in the story of "Holyferne" and Judith, and uses the phrase "much ado" (290), and name-drops "Don John of Austrye" (237). Also appearing in *HSF* is not just the particular spelling of "mistresse Elinor" from *King John* but also the troubled concern with "commodite," as expressed in the Bastard's speech in that play. The phrasing "give me eare awhile" (231) anticipates Antony's effective speech before the crowd in *Julius Caesar* (3.2.73). From *The Merchant of Venice* (2.7.65) we recognize the *HSF* phrase "glistring gold" (252) / "glistering golde" (232). "My mother of the Montacutes, a house of worthy fame" (231) obviously connects with *Romeo and Juliet*. Matters of Cyprus (233) and the Turke (235), including mention of "turkish tirannie" (236) vs. the "venetian fleete," will appear in *Othello*. The Shakespearean canon's saturation with falconry is represented here too:

> I see the faucon gent [gentle falcon] sometimes will take delight,
> To seeke the sollace of her wing, and dally with a kite. (127)
> Certainly most suggestive of all, the *HSF* poet calls on Athena as his muse:
> For Pallas first whose filed flowing skill,
> Should guyde my pen some pleasant words to write:
> With angry mood hath fram'd a froward will.
> To dashe devise as oft as I endite.
> For why? if once my Ladies gifts were knowen,
> Pallas should loose the praises of hir own.
>
> *Meritum petere, grave*
>   (173)

Athena is the patron goddess of Athens (birthplace of theater in Western culture) whose name "Pallas" in Greek means "the Spear-shaker." *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* was in print just a couple years before Gabriel Harvey's famous Latin lines to Edward de Vere, translated into English as "Thy countenance shakes a spear," or "Thy will shakes speares."

The *HSF* poem titled "An absent lover doth thus encourage his Lady to continew constant," begins, "Content thyself with patience perforce" (182) and later includes the lines, "Beleve me now it is a pinching payne, / To thinke of love when lovers are away" (183). Ruth Loyd Miller points out the echo in an "E.O." poem[32]: "Patience perforce is such a pinching pain, / As die I will, or suffer wrong again" as well as the phrase recurring again in *Romeo and Juliet*: "Patience perforce" (1.5.92). The same *HSF* poem, signed *Meritum petere, grave*, after referring to the ideal couple Ulysses and Penelope, complains,

> The longing lust which Priames sonne of Troy,
> Had for to see his Cressyde come againe:
> Could not exceede the depth of mine anoye,
> Nor seeme to passe the patterne of my payne.
> I fryse in hope, I thaw in hot desire,

Farre from the flame, and yet I burne like fire. (183)
The Dan Bartholmew poem later restates this last couplet:
I freeze in hope, yet burne in hast of heate,
I wish for death, and yet in life remaine.
<div align="center">(277)</div>

In the renaissance English madrigal, "Thule, the Period of Cosmography," which some believe to have been written by the Earl of Oxford, recurs the chorus:

These things seem wondrous, yet more wondrous I,
Whose heart with fear doth freeze, with love doth fry.

These phrases also echo a bit in the play *The Taming of the Shrew*: Tranio says to rival Gremio, "thy love doth freeze"; "but thine doth fry," retorts the old man (2.1.338).

Here follows a poem from *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* in its entirety, with inserted commentary on its connections backwards to Chaucer and forwards to Shakespeare:

This tenth of March when Aries receyv'd,
[Chaucer's most famous lines, those beginning the *General Prologue* of *The Canterbury Tales*, contain this kind of astrological personification. Chaucer is also the originator of arbitrary but seemingly significant dates that give the impression of verisimilitude or occasional poetry: May 3rd in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* and *Troilus and Criseyde*, and December 10th in *The House of Fame* (63, 111).]

Dame Phoebus rayes, into his horned head:
[The symbol of cuckoldry, a Shakespearean obsession.]
And I my selfe, by learned lore perceyv'd,
That Ver approcht, and frostie wynter fled.
[One season is capitalized like a proper name; not the other. See also *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1.1.7).]

I crost the Thames, to take the cherefull ayre,
In open feeldes, the weather was so fayre.
[The Chaucerian *reverdie* wanderlust impulse, exemplified in the *Prologue* to *The Legend of Good Women*, transposed to or perhaps just specified as London geography.]

And as I rowed, fast by the further shore,
I heard a voyce, which seemed to lament:
[In *The Book of the Duchess*, the narrator overhears a lone voice lamenting. Compare the Oxford's "Echo Poem" and "Desire," and the Shakespeare poem *A Lover's Complaint*, each examined below.]

Wherat I stay'd, and by a stately dore,
I left my Boate, and up on land I went.
Till at the last by lasting payne I found,
The wofull wight, which made this dolefull sound.
["Wofull wight" is a formulaic medievalism occurring perhaps significantly
in "Richard Edwards'" *Damon and Pithias*[33] – a suspected early Oxford play –
"Brooke's" *Romeus and Juliet*[34] – a suspected early Oxford poem – and "Care and
Disappointment"[35] attributed to the young Oxford.]

In pleasaunt garden (placed all alone)
I sawe a Dame, who sat in weary wise,
With scalding sighes, she uttred all hir mone,
The ruefull teares, downe rayned from hir eyes:
Hir lowring head, full lowe on hand she layed,
On knee hir arme: and thus this Lady sayed.

Alas (quod she) behold eche pleasaunt greene,
Will now renew, his sommers livery,
The fragrant flowers, which have not long bene seene,
Will florish now, (ere long) in bravery:
The tender buddes, whom colde hath long kept in,
Will spring and sproute, as they do now begin.
[The poet combines the *reverdie* tradition – setting a love poem during
the "re-greening" of Spring – with the *aubade* genre in which a lyricist laments the
otherwise cheerful morning when the lovers must part. For *aubades*, see Chaucer's
Troilus and Criseyde (3.1450ff) and *Romeo and Juliet* (3.5.1ff).]

But I (alas) within whose mourning mynde,
The graffes of grief, are onely given to growe,
Cannot enjoy the spring which others finde,
But still my will, must wyther all in woe:
The cold of care, so nippes my joyes at roote,
No sunne doth shine, that well can do them boote.

The lustie Ver which whillome might exchange
[That Ver would serve as a pun for Oxford's proper name is supported by
contemporary instances: Sir Edward Dyer[36]; Penny Rich, by Philip Sidney[37] and
others[38]; a "punning revelation of authorship" by Lord Strange[39]; and Myra being a
possible anagram for Mary (Sidney).[40]]

My griefe to joy, and then my joyes encrease,
Springs now elsewhere, and showes to me but strange,
My winters woe, therfore can never cease:

In other coasts, his sunne full clere doth shyne,
And comfort lends to ev'ry mould but myne.

What plant can spring that feeles no force of Ver?
What flower can florish, where no sunne doth shyne?
These Bales (quod she) within my breast I beare,
To breake my barke, and make my pyth to pyne:
Needs must I fall, I fade both roote and rynde,
My braunches bowe, at blast of ev'ry wynde.

This sayed: she cast a glance and spied my face,
By sight wherof, Lord how she chaunged hew?
So that for shame, I turned backe a pace
[One is reminded of the story of Actaeon, who accidentally in the woods glimpsed the goddess Diana, the story that Charles Beauclerk shows to be at the heart of Shakespeare/Oxford's mythopoesis.[41]]

And to my home, my selfe in hast I drew:
And as I could hir woofull wordes reherse,
I set them downe in this waymenting verse.
[A Chaucerian duty, as at the end of *The Book of the Duchess*: "To put this sweven in ryme" (1332). Here too, the ending seems arbitrary and dispassionate, the narrator offering no final perspective.]

Now Ladies you, that know by whom I sing,
[Chaucer includes a stanza addressed to the ladies in his court audience near the end of *Troilus and Criseyde* (5.1772ff), and one can assume this poet similarly means ladies-in-waiting, in this case to Queen Elizabeth, "by whom" he sings.]

And feele the wynter, of such frozen wylls:
Of curtesie, yet cause this noble spring,
To send his sunne, above the highest hilles:
And so to shyne, uppon hir fading sprayes,
Which now in woe, do wyther thus always.

Spreta tamen vivunt
["Despised things still live."]
                    (163-165)

The moment is set in the old *reverdie* tradition, and what follows plays out the resulting expectations too, confirming that intention; but instead of giving us a vague "somer" (as in countless lyrics) or even "May" (as in the French poem most influential to Chaucer's era, *Le Roman de la Rose*), this poem begins with a characteristically Chaucerian arbitrary date. In Chaucer's works we find a sprinkling of May 3rds no

one has determined the significance of, and in *The House of Fame* occurs a seemingly random reference to December 10th (111). The specificity of citing a calendar date, even if it's not really arbitrary but whose meaning is lost to later readers, retains an interesting effect of its own – almost a scientific detachment of a narrator trying to shove forth what he can in the hopes that specific data will help him comprehend his related experience.

But for the absence of the dream-vision setup, this poem proceeds very much like the Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women* or, in finding a solo love-complainer, Chaucer's *The Book of the Duchess*, in which the medieval poet memorialized Blanche, John of Gaunt's late first wife, by creating a Black Knight character and giving him Gaunt's voice of mourning. That's the kind of ventriloquism Oxford extends, in general, or in this case with brazen cheekiness, since the Dame is lamenting the departure of "Ver"! The abrupt enigmatic withdrawal at the end of the slight narrative is also standard Chaucer in the style of the *The Book of the Duchess* and elsewhere. Thus the poem exemplifies the talent of the young Earl of Oxford, inspired by Chaucer, bringing his own élan to the fore, and anticipating the lifelong concerns that will find expression in the Shakespeare canon.

Another 1570s collection of poetry, *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, saw seven editions to 1600 (1576, 1577, 1585, etc.) with various deletions and additions. The collection contained ninety-nine poems in its first edition, and twenty-six poems were added to later editions, all written as lyrics.[42] It is where we find the poems by "E.O." with the ABABCC rhyme scheme, which Looney first matched with Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*. Speculation arises that de Vere may have edited *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* since Richard Edwards had been dead since 1566.[43] Here and among the more widely dispersed E.O. poems usually attributed to the 17th Earl of Oxford, we find more key links between the Chaucerian lyric poetry tradition and Shakespeare. Looney recognized the importance of red and white, the Tudor colors so emphasized in Shakespeare's *Lucrece*, in the E.O. poem "What Cunning Can Express."[44] The E.O. sonnet "Who Taught Thee First to Sigh?" adopts Surrey's form that eventually became known as the "Shakespearean" sonnet.[45] And another instance of "Ver" punning, more brazen than the *HSF* example above, serves as the gimmick in the poem commonly known as "Echo Verses." [46]

Sitting alone upon my thought in melancholy mood,
In sight of sea, and at my back an ancient hoary wood,
I saw a fair young lady come, her secret fears to wail,
Clad all in colour of a nun, and covered with a veil;
Yet (for the day was calm and clear) I might discern her face,
As one might see a damask rose hid under crystal glass.

Three times, with her soft hand, full hard on her left side she knocks,
And sigh'd so sore as might have mov'd some pity in the rocks;
From sighs and shedding amber tears into sweet song she brake,
When thus the echo answered her to every word she spake:

Oh heavens! who was the first that bred in me this fever? Vere.
Who was the first that gave the wound whose fear I wear for ever? Vere.
What tyrant, Cupid, to my harm usurps thy golden quiver? Vere.
What sight first caught this heart and can from bondage it deliver? Vere.

Yet who doth most adore this wight, oh hollow caves tell true? You.
What nymph deserves his liking best, yet doth in sorrow rue? You.
What makes him not reward good will with some reward or ruth? Youth.
What makes him show besides his birth, such pride and such untruth? Youth.

May I his favour match with love, if he my love will try? Ay.
May I requite his birth with faith? Then faithful will I die? Ay.
        And I, that knew this lady well,
                Said, Lord how great a miracle,
        To her how Echo told the truth,
                As true as Phoebus' oracle.

We have, then, yet another poem involves the Chaucerian premise of a narrator overhearing someone's lamentation. In this case much of the enjoyment springs from the cheekiness of the faux narcissism of a poet ventriloquizing his own profound effect on a lady and having her give voice to his cheesy excuses for rotten behavior.

"Oxford flaunts a copious rhetoric"[47] and receives some general praise for poems known to be his. But in terms of content, although "Secrecy and the dissimulation of one's love are constant themes, reflected in such alliterative phrases as Oxford's 'silent sute' and 'secret sighs'"[48] and although "Oxford compared his mistress to Venus, Juno, and Pallas, then identifies her as she 'alone, who yet on yearth doeth reigne,'"[49] yet the insistence remains that a romantic relationship with Queen Elizabeth was impossible for any courtier[50] and that such lyrical outpourings were "written as poetic exercises rather than to commemorate or influence actual events."[51] In any case, with the E.O. poem "Desire"[52] the influence of Chaucer's *The Book of the Duchess* is recognized and acknowledged.[53]

The lively lark stretched forth her wing
The messenger of Morning bright;
And with her cheerful voice did sing
The Day's approach, discharging Night;
When that Aurora blushing red,
Descried the guilt of Thetis' bed.

I went abroad to take the air,
And in the meads I met a knight,
Clad in carnation colour fair;

> I did salute this gentle wight:
> Of him I did his name inquire,
> He sighed and said it was Desire....

The subsequent interview with this personified abstraction is brief. The bottom line(s): it pains "desire" to see someone else obtain what one desires, "Nor greater joy can be than this: / Than to enjoy that others miss." That "The courteous knight said me no nay" is a Chaucerian locution, awkward and long obsolete by the late 16th century.

A couple years after *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* and *The Paradyse of Daynty Devises*, in 1578 appeared in print *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, whose original title, according to the Stationers' Register records, was to have been *A Handefull of Hidden Secrets*, and then *Delicate Dainties to Sweeten Lovers' Lips Withall*.[54] The "T.P." indicated on the title page as the collector of the poems seems to refer to Thomas Proctor, with whom Anthony Munday (secretary to the Earl of Oxford) was fellow-apprentice and sometime poetic collaborator.[55] Mostly anonymous contributors to *Gorgeous Gallery* are assumed to include Thomas Churchyard (longtime servant of Lord Oxford), Clement Robinson, "E.S.," and the unknown "Master Bewe."[56] As with *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, this collection frequently name-drops Troilus and Cressida, Pyramus and Thisbe, Helen and Paris, Penelope, and others. "Sir Romeus['] annoy / But trifle seemes to mine," complains one poet (41).

In "A louing Epistle, written by Ruphilus a yonge Gentilman, to his best beloued Lady Elriza, as followeth" (9-13), we find this couplet:

> Sith beggars haue no choyce: nor need had euer law
> The subiecte Oxe doth like his yoke: when hee is driuen to draw.
> (30-31)

The poem refers to Cupid, the Minotaur, Argus, Agamemnon, "The wofull ende [of] Cressed," and others. Can we not detect Oxford, Elizabeth, and Shakespearean fascinations here? Similarly, "The Louer forsaken" (16-20) includes the phrase "the losse of your good name" (like the Shakespeare obsession and the E.O. poem "Loss of My Good Name"[57]), refers to a tiger's heart (the famous phrase from *Henry VI, Part 3* 1.4,137), and insists, "Thou art the Queene of women kinde, and all they ought obay."

Poems in this collection hearken again back to Chaucer. "The Louer in distresse exclaymeth agaynst Fortune" asks, "why art thou so vnkinde, / To mee that fayne would bee thy sonne, and euer in thy minde?" (21) – misunderstanding the nature of Fortune in the same way as does Chaucer's Troilus and Shakespeare's Timon of Athens. The "wo or weale" phrase (e.g., 46) also recurs. Another poem, "In the prayse of rare beauty," begins with a tribute to the English poetic influences:

> If Chawcer yet did lyue, whose English tongue did passe,
> Who sucked dry Pernassus spring, and raste the Iuice there was:
> If Surrey had not scalde, the height of Ioue his Throne. . . .
>   (63)

The poem name-drops Tarquin and Lucrece among others.

Also looking ahead to Shakespeare, we see one poem in the collection beginning: "Why asketh thou the cause / Wherfore I am so sad" (44), much like Antonio's opening lines in *The Merchant of Venice*. We get a "Willow willow willow" song (83-86) as in *Othello*. And, Timon-like, the voice of one poem (86) laments:

> My lucklesse losse from wealth to woe, by fickle fortune throwne.
> I once had freends good store, for loue, (no drosse I tryde)
> For hauing lost my goods on Sea, my freends would not abide,
> Yet hauing neede I went to one, of all I trusted moste:
> To get releefe, hee answerd thus, go packe thou peuish poste.
> . . .
> Would God I had not knowne, their sweet and sugered speach,
> Then had my greefe the lesser bin, experience mee doth teach.

The following complete poem, "Of a happy wished time," resembles a passage in *The Comedy of Errors* (1.2.47-50).

> Eche thing must haue a time, and tyme doth try mens troth,
> And troth deserues a special trust, on trust great frenship groth:
> And freendship is full fast, where faythfulnesse is found
> And faythfull thinges be ful of fruicte, and fruitful things be sound
> The sound is good in proofe, and proofe is Prince of prayse,
> And woorthy prayse is such a pearle, as lightly not decayes.
> All this doth time bring forth, which time I must abide,
> How should I boldly credit craue? till time my truth haue tried.
> And as a time I found, to fall in Fancies frame,
> So doo I wish an happy time, at large to shew the same.
> If Fortune aunswer hope, and hope may haue her hire,
> Then shall my hart possesse in peace, the time that I desire.
>   (47-48)

Looney noted that the *Comedy of Errors* sequence resembles a similar pattern of concatenation in the de Vere verse, "The Grief of Mind"[58]:

> What plague is greater than the grief of mind?
> The grief of mind that eats in every vein;
> In every vein that leaves such clots behind;

> Such clots behind as breed such bitter pain;
> So bitter pain that none shall ever find,
> What plague is greater than the grief of mind.

A batch of depressingly grim, moralistic poems signed "T.P." precedes the penultimate long narrative poem of the collection: "The History of Pyramus and Thisbie truely translated." The lengthy lead-in, mercifully axed from the Act V production in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, includes some unintentionally goofy lines: for example,

> Curst is their face, so cry they ofte, and happy death they call,
> Come death come wished death at once, and rid vs life and all.

It's "Minus [Minos'] Tombe" here (111), not Ninus' (or "Ninny's"). Oddly, the piece is finally emotionally effective.

Another Elizabethan anthology, *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites*, was published in 1584. The small book is one of lyrics written to already existing ballads (usually mentioned along with the long titles), and the unknown "Clement Robinson and divers others" are given credit on the title page of the one surviving British Museum volume. However, the Stationers' Register shows a license issued to Clement Robinson in 1566 for "a boke of very pleasaunte Sonettes and storyes in myter."[59] The 1584 volume is therefore usually considered a later edition of the book of 1566.

The first lyric in the collection is a poetic "nosegaie" listing flowers and herbs – rosemary, violets, cowslips, etc. – and their associations, and this one is indeed considered a source for Ophelia's botanical ravings in *Hamlet*. There are other Shakespeare connections and quoted title phrases from among these lyrics. But especially intriguing is this poem, titled "A warning for Wooers, that they be not ouer hastie, nor deceiued with womens beautie, To, Salisburie Plaine."

> Ye louing wormes [Vers?] come learne of me
> The plagues to leaue that linked be:
> The grudge, the grief, the gret anoy,
> The fickle faith, the fading ioy:
> in time, take heed,
> In fruitlesse soile sow not thy seed:
> buie not, with cost,
> the thing that yeelds but labour lost.
> [Note the Shakespearean phrase.]

> If Cupids dart do chance to light,
> So that affection dimmes thy sight,
> Then raise vp reason by and by,
> With skill thy heart to fortifie
> Where is a breach,

Oft times too late doth come the Leach:
>Sparks are put out,
>when fornace flames do rage about.

Thine owne delay must win the field,
When lust doth leade thy heart to yeeld:
When steed is stolne, who makes al fast,
May go on foot for al his haste:
>In time shut gate,
For had I wist, doth come too late,
>Fast bind, fast find,
>Repentance alwaies commeth behind.

The Syrens times [tunes] oft time beguiles,
So doth the teares of Crocodiles:
[A favorite Shakespeare image; he alludes to crocodile tears in *Henry VI, Part 2* (3.1.226), *Othello* (4.1.245-246), and *Antony and Cleopatra* (2.7.49).]

But who so learnes Vlysses lore,
May passe the seas, and win the shore.
>Stop eares, stand fast,
Through Cupids trips, thou shalt him cast:
>Flie baits, shun hookes,
>Be thou not snarde with louely lookes.

Where Venus hath the maisterie,
There loue hath lost her libertie:
where loue doth win the victorie,
The fort is sackt with crueltie.
>First look, then leap,
In suretie so your shinnes you keepe:
>The snake doth sting,
>That lurking lieth with hissing.

Where Cupids fort hath made a waie,
There graue aduise doth beare no swaie,
Where Loue doth raigne and rule the roste,
There reason is exilde the coast:
>Like all, loue none,
except ye vse discretion,
>First try, then trust,
> be not deceiued with sinful lust.

Make Priams sonne, his fond deuise
When Venus did obtaine the price:
For Pallas skil and Iunoes strength,
He chose that bred his bane at length.
   Choose wit, leaue wil,
 [Consider this couplet from *Romeus and Juliet*: "If thou wilt master quite
the troubles that thee spill, / Endeavour first by reason's help to master witless will"
(1399-1400).]

 let Helen be with Paris stil:
   Amis goeth al,
   wher fancie forceth folles to fall.

Where was there found a happier wight,
Than Troylus was til loue did light?
What was the end of Romeus.
Did he not die like Piramus
[The parallels between these characters – Romeo from the play and Bottom's
play-within-the-play character in the last act of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* – have
been long noted.]
   who baths in blis?
 let him be mindful of Iphis
   who seeks to plese,
   may ridden be like Hercules.

I lothe to tel the peeuish brawles,
And fond delights of Cupids thrawles,
Like momish mates of Midas mood,
They gape to get that doth no good:
   Now down, now vp,
As tapsters vse to tosse ye Cup
   One breedeth ioy,
   another breeds as great anoy

Some loue for wealth, and some for hue,
And none of both these loues are true.
For when the Mil hath lost hir sailes,
Then must the Miller lose his vailes:
   Of grasse commeth hay,
And flowers faire wil soon decay:
   Of ripe commeth rotten,
   In age al beautie is forgotten.

Some loueth too hie, and some too lowe,

And of them both great griefs do grow,
[Compare the similar item in the "course of true love" passage in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1.1..136).]

And some do loue the common sort:
And common folke vse common sport.
      Looke not too hie,
Least that a chip fall in thine eie:
      But hie or lowe,
      Ye may be sure she is a shrow.

But sirs, I vse to tell no tales,
Ech fish that swims doth not beare scales,
In euerie hedge I finde not thornes:
Nor euerie beast doth carrie hornes:
      I saie not so,
That euerie woman causeth wo:
      That were too broad,
      Who loueth not venom must shun the tode.

Who vseth still the truth to tel,
May blamed be though he saie wel:
Say Crowe is white, and snowe is blacke,
Lay not the fault on womans backe,
[The story of the crow becoming black comes from Ovid's tale in *Metamorphoses* of Apollo's cuckoldry, adapted by Chaucer as *The Manciple's Tale*.]
      Thousands were good,

But few scapte drowning in Noes flood:
      Most are wel bent,
      I must say so, least I be shent.
[A tactless but cheeky acknowledgement of public pressure derived from Chaucer's apparent punishment for misogyny: the royal court's commission of *The Legend of Good Women*.]

      Finis.

The poem seems a sometimes sulky teenage assessment of love, similar to some suspected poems in *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* and identical to the juvenile kind of disapproval throughout *Romeus and Juliet*. The classical and Ovidian name-dropping is familiar from *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* – and especially intriguing is the one stanza with the cluster of names relevant to Shakespeare studies: Troylus, Romeus, Piramus.

A late Elizabethan collection, *The Passionate Pilgrim* (1599) contains poems already considered to be by Shakespeare (I, II, III, V), but we might also consider the

Venus and Adonis poems (IV, VI, IX). Venus is called Cytheria here, as in Chaucer's *The Parliament of Fowls*, mentioned above. Regarding "Sonnet IV: Sweet Cytheria, sitting by a brook," one Oxfordian has remarked, "From the point of view favoring an historical affair between Oxford and Elizabeth I, this is as blatant a Mrs. Robinson-like failed seduction as could be packed into the Shakespearean sonnet format."[60] And Sonnet VIII, praising "Phoebus' lute, the queen of music," evokes *Twelfth Night*, beginning, like the play, "If music..." and in the second line referring to "the sister and the brother."

    England's Helicon, from 1600, is a collection entirely of pastoral poetry, and so its aura is nostalgic.[61] Indeed, some of the contributing poets had been dead for many years. The dedicatory "To the Reader" page includes this acknowledgment of attribution murkiness with a *Titus Andronicus* touch:

> The trauaile that hath beene taken in gathering them from so many handes, hath wearied some howres, which seuered, might in part haue perished, digested into this meane volume, may in the opinion of some not be altogether vnworthy the labour. If any man hath beene defrauded of any thing by him composed, by another mans title put to the same, hee hath this benefit by this collection, freely to challenge his owne in publique, where els he might be robd of his proper due.

    Poems are attributed to the long dead Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser, to Michael Drayton, Robert Greene, Thomas Watson, W. Shakespeare (57), the Earle of Oxenford (82-83), Christopher Marlowe, and to the more enigmatic "Shepherd Tonie," "Ignoto," W.H., W.S., E.B., S.E.D., and others. This is the collection containing the famous "Come liue with me and be my loue" (186-187) by "Chr. Marlow." The "Nimph's Reply" follows (187-188), and despite every anthology through the decades, it is not credited originally to Sir Walter Raleigh but to "Ignoto." The next poem in the collection is also Ignoto's and in the same vein: "Come liue with mee, and be my deere," with the lines, "Then in mine armes will I enclose / Lillies faire mixture with the Rose" (189): the red and white theme yet again. Ignoto is interested in Thisbe (211) in a poem that begins,

> The frozen snake, opprest with heaped snow
> By strugling hard gets out her tender head,
> And spies farre off from where she lies below
> The winter Sunne that from the North is fled.
> But all in vaine she lookes vpon the light,
> Where heate is wanting to restore her might.
> <div align="center">(210)</div>

    Here we find a sturdier Sir Walter Raleigh connection, but one focused on Oxford, as we saw earlier with an excerpt from a poem in *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* including the reanimated snake image that Raleigh also used in trepidation of helping

Oxford back into Elizabeth's good graces. Shakespeare was subsequently fascinated with this same image or phenomenon, as for example in *Julius Caesar* (2.1.32ff) and *Antony and Cleopatra* (1.2.193f).[62]

A direct link between the Chaucerian lyrical poetry tradition and Shakespeare is the much-neglected poem published originally with *Shake-speares Sonnets* in 1609: *A Lover's Complaint*. To many, it does not sound like Shakespeare, but attempts to remove the work from the canon have usually been ignored, since the poem is not viewed as consequential: "If it is by Shakespeare, it neither detracts from his achievement nor adds anything to it."[63] Charlton Ogburn considers the poem indistinguishable in quality from the early de Vere poetry,[64] and as an early lyrical work the poem fits integrally into the trajectory of Oxford's poetic development into "Shake-speare."

Like Chaucer's *The Book of the Duchess* and the many other poems in this tradition examined above, *A Lover's Complaint* sets a narrator to overhearing a distraught lover, this time a woman, telling an old man of her woe: she was seduced and betrayed by a womanizing, handsome, popular, and privileged youth. Archaic, Chaucerian terms such as *eyne* (eyes), *real* (regal), *sounding* (swooning), etc.[65] are complemented by newly invented words by the poet. And *A Lover's Complaint* is written in rime royal stanzas (ABABBCC): Chaucer's frequent verse form and the form used by Shakespeare for his *Lucrece*. Chiljan speculates that the poem is "perhaps expanding upon the 'echo' poem" of Oxford's,[66] especially considering the first stanza:

> From off a hill whose concave womb reworded
> A plaintful story from a sist'ring vale,
> My spirits t' attend this double voice accorded,
> And down I laid to list the sad-tun'd tale,
> Ere long espied a fickle maid full pale
> Tearing of papers, breaking rings a-twain,
> Storming her world with sorrow's wind and rain.
> (1-7)

The stanza links Chaucer's *The Book of the Duchess* with Oxford's "Echo Poem" and, in the last phrase, with *Twelfth Night*: Feste's final song "The Wind and the Rain." Oxford's sensitivity to both legal language and English poetry prompts him to note and re-use another Chaucerian phrase:

> My woeful self that did in freedom stand,
> And was my own fee-simple (not in part),
> What with his art in youth and youth in art....
> (143-145)

The legal term "fee-simple" refers to complete control of land in freehold. Of Chaucer's Man of Law in the *General Prologue* of *The Canterbury Tales* we hear, "Al

was fee symple to hym in effect" (319): perhaps also meaning that all was simply fee (money) to this shady character, a subtle Chaucerian ambiguity of phrase that Oxford would have appreciated, growing up in the household of William Cecil.

The frequent red and white imagery that we find in Oxford's and Shakespeare's works occurs here too: "pallid pearls and rubies red" (198) are compared with "blushes" (200) and "modesty" (202), as in *Lucrece*. The poem ends with no final commentary by the narrator. This is typical of the similar Chaucer poems, but the effect here makes Chiljan suspect that we are to understand that he was the woman's seducer, and that the lover described all along represents Oxford before his marriage.[67] After all, like Oxford/Shakespeare,

> He had the dialect and different skill,
> Catching all passions in his craft of will.
> (125-126)

The lover, overall, sounds like Lady Olivia's description of Orsino in *Twelfth Night*:

> I suppose him virtuous, know him noble,
> Of great estate, of fresh and stainless youth,
> In voices well divulged [spoken of], free, learned and valiant,
> And in dimension and the shape of nature
> A gracious person.
> (1.5.203-207)

In addition to embodying a courtly ideal, these autobiographical representations have superlative verbal gifts. In modern parlance, they're all "Shakespeares."

"In voices well divulged" means, on the surface, "well spoken of"; but it can also mean "revealed in an assortment of voices." It might serve as a Shakespeare Authorship motto. Ultimately, the evolution of English lyric poetry from Chaucer to Shakespeare is a movement towards assorted voices – characters – activated dramatically. One Chaucer critic claims that "Chaucer's discoveries as a poet, and his originality, lie not in narrative – plots, myth making, invention – but in voices, and in the controlling of language so that voices other than his own are made to speak."[68] In other words, Chaucer establishes himself as a lyric poet but during his career grows more interested in dramatic poetry and the interplay of the voices of various characters. From works such as *The Book of the Duchess* and other dream-visions involving a dull narrator who overhears other matter yet offers no real perspective, Chaucer eventually built *The Canterbury Tales* on a rich assortment of characters, each speaking in his or her own voice, and sometimes interacting with other pilgrims. Chaucer as poet in Richard II's court is depicted in a manuscript illumination reading *Troilus and Criseyde*; so his entertainment for the royals and nobles was tantamount to a kind of theatrical experience already. Although we will never know to what extent he may have "gotten into character" when reading his own works, his court entertainments seem to have evolved from recitals of lyric poetry and tended more

and more towards a kind of reader's theater.

The macroscopic picture of the development of English lyric poetry was in fact nascent in Chaucer's development as poet. Most of the poems we have focused on above involve the same kind of ventriloquism: the poet not just serving as narrator in his own voice but adopting and even giving over most of the poem to other voices – in other words, creating characters almost in terms of dramatic monologue or dialogue. Perhaps this trend explains the surprising poetic occurrence in *Tottel's Miscellany* of the male poet occasionally adopting the voice of a female speaker or persona: typically the moaning of a wife whose husband is at sea – itself a situation undoubtedly inspired by an early portion of Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* in which the narrator reads the story of King Ceyx and his wife Alcion. Chaucer, unlike Ovid in the original source, focuses on Alcion's panic while her husband risks (and indeed loses) his life in a sea-storm. Surrey's two different poems titled "Complaint of the absence of her louer being vpon the sea" (#17 and #19), for one example, seem to anatomize this state of mind in the voice of the fretting female. These poems have no narrative frames: they just plunge into the character's voice, something we can consider is a step on the way to becoming dramatic writing: a step midway between *Romeus and Juliet* and *Romeo and Juliet*. These Chaucer-influenced examples strain the boundaries of the genre of poetry and move towards drama, putting the poetry into other characters' mouths. And this internal ventriloquism is only a step away from ascribing poems and sets of poems to an assortment of other courtiers through the poesies used throughout the Elizabethan anthologies.

So too in the evolution of English literature, the final step in the trajectory from lyric poetry to dramatic literature involves creating or arranging an assortment of characters and doing the speaking for all of them, an organic progress we can understand in the literary life of the Earl of Oxford (but of course something that makes no sense in the picture of William of Stratford): "More than once we find Lord Oxford writing, with considerable insight, from another's point of view."[69] Oxford ended up successfully melding two forms. Very early dramatic works such as *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* and other "apocryphal" or anonymous history plays are blood-and-thunder boisterous over-the-top romps. Oxford's early attempts to infuse this dramatic form with his lyrical gifts yielded early "Shakespeare" plays such as *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *Love's Labour's Lost*, which while clearly disappointing to critics as theatrical events, nevertheless draw praise for their lyrical qualities. Apologizing for the unevenness and "patchy" aspects of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* as a play,[70] critics typically assert that at least it has "a delicate, lyrical charm."[71]

Many critics are willing to carve out stages in Shakespeare's development, much like Chaucer's, with this early stage being "often called Shakespeare's lyric period based on the poetry in plays such as *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Richard II*."[72] The admitted "lyrical grace" of such plays[73] would "suggest that it was the work of a man still more at home with narrative or lyrical verse than with drama."[74] Stanley Wells praises this "appealing verse, passages of which would be entirely at home in the poetical anthologies of the period"[75] – perhaps, for

example, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, or *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites*, or perhaps even among the poems of E.O. Gradually, Oxford would learn how to marry his established poetic talents with the electricity of the drama.

Although J. Thomas Looney had enough of a task at hand in setting forth the true identity of "Shake-speare," he did recognize at least the general scheme of this advancement in English literature, calling the Earl of Oxford "the personal embodiment of the great literary transition by which the lyric poetry of the earlier days of Queen Elizabeth's reign merged into the drama of her later years."[76] Artistically, it is how Oxford became Shakespeare.

Endnotes

[1] Daphne Pearson, *Edward de Vere (1550-1604): The Crisis and Consequences of Wardship* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub. Co., 2005), 135.

[2] Steven W. May, *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: The Poems and Their Contexts* (Asheville, NC: Pegasus Press, 1999), 52.

[3] Such a depiction is more similar to that of the Stratford grain-merchant / money-lender bursting onto the London literary scene.

[4] Ann Thompson, *Shakespeare's Chaucer: A Study in Literary Origins* (NY: Barnes & Noble Books, 1978), 59.

[5] Chaucer/Shakespeare scholar Ann Thompson is justifiably skeptical "about the value of source-studies [as] a remote and pedantic backwater" (vii). She adds Bullough's diagnosis: "This attitude is largely due to the shortcomings of the source-hunters themselves who have failed to realize that pin-pointing sources is not an end in itself: 'their pursuit should be the first stage in an investigation of Shakespeare's methods of composition...'" (qtd. in Thompson, 15).

[6] E. Talbot Donaldson and Judith J. Kollmann, eds, *Chaucerian Shakespeare: Adaptation and Transformation*, Medieval and Renaissance Monograph Series II (Detroit: Michigan Consortium for Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 1983), 5. When Puttenham listed the Earl of Oxford as first among the "new Crew of courtly *makers*," he was using the Chaucerian, medieval term for poets or artists.

[7] Donaldson and Kollmann, 5.

[8] The poetry of Gower, the other significant poet in the court of Richard II, was printed in editions from 1533 and 1554 but not again until 1857. See Alice Miskimin, *The Renaissance Chaucer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 27. The figure of Gower serves as a kind of Chorus in the Shakespeare play *Pericles*. Chaucer is mentioned by name only in the Prologue to *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, but that portion is certainly by the "collaborator" rather than by Shakespeare himself.

[9] Miskimin, 21.

[10] Thompson, 2.

[11] Ralph Hanna III and A.S.G Edwards, "Rotheley, the De Vere Circle, and the Ellesmere Chaucer," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 58.1 (1996), 11-35.

[12] E. Talbot Donaldson, *The Swan at the Well: Shakespeare Reading Chaucer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 4.

[13] All Shakespeare references are, unless otherwise noted, to *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997) and given parenthetically in the text.

[14] Dorothy Ogburn and Charlton Ogburn, *This Star of England* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, Pub., 1952), 688-689.

[15] All Chaucer line references are to *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd. ed. by Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1987), and are given parenthetically in the text.

[16] Joseph Sobran, "Oxford's Uncle Henry: *Sir Thomas More* Considered in Oxfordian Light," *Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter* 38.1 (Winter 2002), 6.

[17] Sobran, "Oxford's Uncle," 6.

[18] Robert Hutchinson, *The Last Days of Henry VIII: Conspiracies, Treason and Heresy at the Court*

of the Dying Tyrant (NY: HarperCollins, 2005), 181-182.

[19] Joseph Sobran, *Alias Shakespeare: Solving the Greatest Literary Mystery of All Time* (NY: The Free Press, 1997), 177. "Troy is Shakespeare's favorite emblem of suffering, loss, and unbearable grief" (177). Oxford refers to the Trojan debacle in a 1572 letter to Burghley following and concerning the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, citing "a number of French *Aeneases*." Sobran points out that one of Oxford's poems mentions "Paris, Priam's son" (177).

[20] And although credit for the English sonnet always goes to "Wyatt and Surrey," Surrey should receive top billing. He is the many times more prolific contributor to *Tottel's Miscellany*.

[21] Sobran, *Alias Shakepeare*, 176.

[22] J. Thomas Looney, *"Shakespeare" Identified, Vol. I*, 3rd ed. by Ruth Loyd Miller (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1975), 543.

[23] All references to Henry Howard poems are from *Tottel's Miscellany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), given parenthetically by number (#) and/or by page.

[24] Ross W. Duffin, in *Shakespeare's Songbook* (NY: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 2004), 463, points out the connection, calling Surrey's poem "If Care Do Cause Men Cry" and, I hope accidentally, misidentifying Surrey as Thomas Howard (369n, 520), rather than Henry Howard (1517-1547). Is he blurring Thomas Wyatt with Surrey?

[25] Similarly, "She died, my lord, but whiles her slander liv'd" (*Much Ado* 5.4.66).

[26] One might fill in the time-line with Robert Henryson's interest in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. The fifteenth-century northern poet wrote a bleak sequel, *The Testament of Cresseid*, which was often printed along with Chaucer's poem. Criseyde becomes unrecognizably disfigured by leprosy.

[27] May, 52.

[28] One wonders how the notion of naming a car, the Toyota Cressida, after the paragon of unreliability passed however many board meetings. Similarly, the Ford Phaeton; read Ovid's account of the worst traffic accident of the gods in Book 2 of *Metamorphoses*.

[29] C.F. Tucker Brooke, ed, *The Shakespeare Apocrypha* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), xvii.

[30] Ruth Loyd Miller, qtd. in Eva Turner Clark, *Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays*, 1931. 3rd ed. by Ruth Loyd Miller (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1974), 676.

[31] Ruth Loyd Miller, ed., *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press Corporation, 1975), 301. All quotations from poems in *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* come from this edition with page numbers given parenthetically in the text.

[32] Miller, ed., 183.

[33] *Richard Edwards'* Damon and Pithias*: a critical old-spelling edition*. Ed. Jerry White (NY: Garland Pub., 1980).

[34] *Brooke's 'Romeus and Juliet' Being the Original of Shakespeare's 'Romeo and Juliet' Newly Edited by J.J. Munro* (1908, rpt. NY: AMS Press, Inc., 1970).

[35] See Sobran, *Alias Shakespeare*, 235; or May, 271. The poem begins, "Even as the waxe doeth melt."

[36] May, 292.

[37] May, 84-87.

[38] May, 96.

[39] May, 66.

[40] May, 77.

[41] Charles Beauclerk, *Shakespeare's Lost Kingdom: The True History of Shakespeare and Elizabeth* (NY: Grove Press, 2010).

[42] Richard M. Waugaman, M.D. "A Shakespearean 'Snail Poem,' Newly Attributed to Edward de Vere." *Shakespeare Matters* 7.2 (Winter 2008): 1.

[43] Waugaman, 6.

[44] Looney, 563; for the poem, see Sobran, *Alias Shakespeare*, 255-256.

[45] Sobran, *Alias Shakespeare*, 116, 202.

[46] To be found in May, 282-283; also, with verbal connections to Shakespeareean works, see Sobran, *Alias Shakespeare*, 260-262. Looney himself first recognized the importance of this poem (560-561).

[47] May, 53.

[48] May, 54.

[49] May, 55.

[50] May, 57.

[51] May, 58.

[52] Looney comments on the poem (565), and Sobran includes it in *Alias Shakespeare*, 245.

[53] May, 275-276.

[54] Hyder E. Rollins, ed., *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), xiv. Subsequent page numbers for poems quoted are from this edition.

[55] Rollins, xix.

[56] Rollins, xxi.

[57] See the poem in May, 272-273; also Sobran, *Alias Shakespeare*, 239.

[58] Looney's analysis appears in Clark, 20-21; cf. Ogburn and Ogburn, 52; also Charlton Ogburn, *The Mysterious William Shakespeare: The Myth and the Reality*, 2nd ed. (McLean, VA: EPM Pub., 1992), 583.

[59] *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites*, ed. Clement Robinson (London, 1878). Subsequent poems belonging to this collection are from this edition.

[60] W.J. Ray, "Proofs of Oxfordian Authorship in the Shakespearean Apocrypha," *The Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter* 45.2 (September 2009), 23.

[61] *England's Helicon* (London: Frederick Etchells and Hugh Macdonald, 1925). Subsequent poems quoted are from this edition.

[62] And here's a stanza from a "Greene" poem:

> I stoode amaz'd, and wondring at the sight,
> while that a dame,
> That shone like to the heauens rich sparkling light,
> Discourst the same,
> And said, My friend, this worme within the fire:
> Which lyes content,
> Is Venus worme, and represents desire.
>
> (99)

Ignoto also has some connection with Weelkes' 1597 madrigals (231); and one of the Thomas Watson (another musician) pieces focuses on the Actaeon myth (60): "I dare not name the Nimph that works my smart, / Though Loue hath grau'n her name within my hart."

[63] Hallett Smith, Introduction, *A Lover's Complaint*, in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 1875.

[64] Ogburn, 393.

[65] Katherine Chiljan, "Complaints About *A Lover's Complaint*," *The Shakespeare-Oxford Newsletter* 44.1 (Winter 2008), 6.

[66] Chiljan, 8. Chiljan also scrutinizes *A Lover's Complaint* in *Shakespeare Suppressed*: *The Uncensored Truth about Shakespeare and his Works* (San Francisco: Faire Editions, 2011), 76-83.

[67] Chiljan, "Complaints," 7-8.

[68] Miskimin, 31.

[69] Miller, ed., 301. This is why it is so unlikely that Anne Vavasour wrote the "Echo Poem," especially given a very self-glorifying Ver poem in the *Hundreth Sundrie Flowers* which is a delightfully cheeky stance (to put words into the mouth of a regretful lady pining for oneself). At least one poem ascribed to Queen Elizabeth seems to have been penned by Oxford (Looney, 600-601). And what is the authorial truth behind Arthur Golding, Arthur Brooke, Thomas Watson, Thomas Weelkes, William Shaksper? At the other end of the ventriloquism spectrum, we have the poem in the voice of Anne Cecil, expressing grief at the loss of her newborn son: a gift from her husband? The practice could seem insensitive or pushy, presuming to speak through other people – but perhaps it's no more peculiar than letting Hallmark express one's emotions.

[70] Anne Barton, Introduction, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1997), 179.

[71] Barton, 177.

[72] Terry A. Gray. "1599 The Great Globe." <http://shakespeare.palomar.edu/timeline/greatglobe.htm>.

[73] Stanley Wells, *Shakespeare: A Life in Drama* (NY: W.W. Norton and Co., 1997), 41.

[74] Barton, 178.

[75] Wells, 41.

[76] Looney, 292.

Comparative Caricatures

in *King John* and *Troublesome Raigne*

Jacob Hughes

proverbial "the chicken or the egg" question pervades the majority of scholarly discussion concerning *The Troublesome Raigne of John, King of England*—published anonymously in 1591, reprinted as by "W.Sh." in 1611—and its very close Shakespearean cousin, the canonical *King John*. Beatrice Groves effectively summarizes the general ambiguity: "One of the playwrights, as he writes his play, is remembering an earlier play; one of them is not."[1] Brian Boyd notes, "Everyone concurs that *The Troublesome Raigne* is intimately related to and manifestly inferior to *King John*, but there agreement ends."[2] Thus, the gist of the pervading arguments suggests that one play spawned the other—one author is essentially plagiarizing nearly every aspect of the other play, either through Shakespeare's use of memory as Groves suggests[3] or "access to an outline of Shakespeare's scenes but not to the details of his language" as postulated by Boyd.[4] But scholars on both sides of the fence on this issue seem to be ignoring another viable possibility—both plays were written by the same author.

Ramon Jiménez suggests that "In view of the extraordinary similarities of structure, plot, characters, language, and dramatic detail in the two plays, it is not hard to conclude that they were written by the same person—William Shakespeare."[5] Both productions are nearly identical in their procession of scenes, the lists of *dramatis personae* are virtually the same, and the authors both seem to be following and manipulating the Holinshed source in analogous ways.[6] To Boyd the author of *Troublesome Raigne* merely is parroting Shakespeare's use of Holinshed, and indeed the rest of the source material in general.[7] Groves, on the other hand, points out that Shakespeare either shortens or omits entire conversations altogether from *Troublesome Raigne*, and suggests that if *King John* had been the derivative play, then "it would seem frankly bizarre to choose to dedicate forty-five lines" to a joke that

Shakespeare spends only a line or two on, i.e., the interchanges between the Bastard and Austria in Act III of both plays (which will be discussed in greater detail below): "No one with the slightest ounce of theatrical sense would change a witty, snappy comeback, to an intricate and less funny version of the same joke."[8]

Perhaps more telling is the means by which the author changes, exchanges, and modifies his caricatures, especially those embodied in John and the Bastard. For as closely as the plays are related in plot, both the Bastard and John inhabit starkly differing character roles that are almost mutually exclusive with their counterparts in the other play. John, for example, is a far less wormy king in *Troublesome Raigne* than in *King John*. Although he is still weak, John puts up a stronger front against Pandulph, the papal legate:

> Philip, though thou and all the Princes of Christendome
> suffer themselves to be abusde by a Prelates slaverie, my
> minde is not of such base temper. If the Pope will bee
> King in England, let him winne it with the sword, I know
> no other title he can alleage to mine inheritance.
> (*TR* 3.85-89)[9]

In *King John* he responds in a very similar fashion, but focuses primarily on commodity rather than force of arms:

> Thou you and all the kings of Christendom
> Are led so grossly by this meddling priest,
> Dreading the curse that money may buy out,
> And by the merit of vild gold, dross, dust,
> Purchase corrupted pardon of a man
> Who in that sale sells pardon from himself;
> Though you, and all the rest so grossly led,
> This juggling witchcraft with revenue cherish,
> Yet I alone, alone do me oppose
> Against the Pope, and count his friends my foes.
> (3.1.163-71)[10]

On first glance it may appear as if John in *King John* is more eloquently saying the same as his counterpart in *Troublesome Raigne*, yet a closer examination of the text reveals that in *King John* he, in hypocritical fashion, rails against commodity and being alone in this travail. Simply, it sounds like John is whining. John in *Troublesome Raigne* refers only to martial defiance against the Pope: "let Innocent *try* to dislodge me!"

John's greater strength manifests itself in a variety of other ways in *Troublesome Raigne*. After Philip asks John what dowry he will receive for Blanch, John responds, "First Philip knows her dowrie out of Spaine / To be so great as may content a King: / But more to mend and amplifie the same, / I give in money thirtie

thousand markes" (*TR* 2.404-407). It is only after some haggling on the part of Philip and Elinor's intervention that John reluctantly relinquishes his historical French territories. However, in *King John*, John gives the farm away at the outset:

> Then do I give Volquesson, Touraine, Maine,
> Poitiers, and Anjou, these five provinces,
> With her to thee, and this addition more,
> Full thirty thousand marks of English coin.
> (2.1.527-532)

No mention is made of the Spanish provinces, but those can be assumed and are not what is at moral hand here. The Bastard laments, "Mad world, mad kings, mad composition! / John, to stop Arthur's title in the whole, / Hath willingly departed with a part" (2.1.561-563). John is reprehensible in that he is dumping the lands his older brother fought so hard to keep.

In several key moments in *Troublesome Raigne*, the Bastard comes off as far less able than John, and morally questionable in his own right. For instance, during the dowry scene, the Bastard complains of losing out to the Dauphin:

> 'Swounds Madam, take an English Gentleman:
> Slave as I was, I thought to have moovde the match.—
> Grandame you made me halfe a promise once,
> That Lady Blanch should bring me wealth inough,
> And make me heire of store of English land.
> (*TR* 2.371-375)

Elinor tells the Bastard to shut up; she will find him another wife. The Bastard responds with a snippy remark about cuckolding the Dauphin, but then lets it go: "If Lewes get her, well, I say no more: / But let the frolicke Frenchman take no scorne, / If Philip front him with an English horne" (*TR* 2.378-380). The most disturbing factor in the Bastard's compliance is that he seems to be a willing participant in the aristocratic culture of commodity, the very thing that the *King John* Bastard rails against:

> Mad world, mad kings, mad composition!
> John, to stop Arthur's title in the whole,
> Hath willingly departed with a part,
> And France, whose armor conscience buckled on,
> Whom zeal and charity brought to the field
> As God's own soldier, rounded in the ear
> With that same purpose-changer, that sly devil,
> That broker that still breaks the pate of faith,
> That daily break-vow, he that wins of all,
> Of kings, of beggars, old men, young men, maids,

> Who having no external thing to lose
> But the word "maid," cheats the poor maid of that,
> That smooth-fac'd gentleman, tickling commodity,
> Commodity, the bias of the world—
> The world, who of itself is peized well,
> Made to run even upon even ground,
> Till this advantage, this vile-drawing bias,
> This sway of motion, this commodity,
> Makes it take head from all indifferency,
> From all direction, purpose, course, intent—
> And this same bias, this commodity,
> This bawd, this broker, this all-changing word,
> Clapp'd on the outward eye of fickle France,
> Hath drawn him from his own determin'd aid,
> From a resolv'd and honorable war
> To a most base and vile-concluded peace.
> And why I rail on this commodity?
> But for because he hath not woo'd me yet:
> Not that I have the power to clutch my hand
> When his fair angels would salute my palm,
> But for my hand, as unattempted yet,
> Like a poor beggar, raileth on the rich.
> Well, whiles I am a beggar I will rail,
> And say there is no sin but to be rich;
> And being rich, my virtue then shall be
> To say there is no vice but beggary.
> Since kings break faith upon commodity,
> Gain, be my lord, for I will worship thee.
>   (2.1.561-598)

John, on the other hand, seems to be making the deal in order to effect peace, and recognizes that Richard fought hard for those lands: "Mother: / What shall I doo? my brother got these lands / With much effusion of our English bloud: / And shall I give it all away at once?" (*TR* 2.415-417). Elinor says that he should give up the territories in order to save him any further trouble or challenges to his title. The Bastard complains of a loss of personal wealth while the King makes a sacrifice, albeit under sleazy pretences. Unlike his counterpart in *Troublesome Raigne*, the Bastard of *King John* can objectively and without hypocrisy provide commentary on the self-interest of kings. The *Troublesome Raigne* Bastard is a willing participant in the culture of commodity, and only gets snippy when he does not get his.

Although King John in *King John* is a clever fellow, he rarely expresses the same level of wit as his bastard nephew. The *Troublesome Raigne* John, on the other hand, gets in his comedic licks, unlike his counterpart who seems to be a spoilsport. In *King John* Constance rails against Austria for being a coward in the face of the

new Dauphin-Blanch deal: "Thou wear a lion's hide! Doff it for shame, / And hang a calve's skin on those recreant limbs" (3.1.128-129). Austria blusters, "O, that a man should speak those words to me!" (130). The Bastard obliges: "And hang a calve's-skin on those recreant limbs" (131). The comedic moment continues until John ruins the atmosphere: "We like not this, thou dost forget thyself" (133). John from *Troublesome Raigne*, however, inhabits the opposite role. The Bastard challenges Austria to a duel, but is promptly rejected:

> Base Bastard, misbegotten of a King.
> To interrupt these holy nuptial rytes
> With brawles and tumults to a Dukes disgrace:
> Let it suffice, I scorne to joyne in fight,
> With one so farre unequall to my selfe.
>   (*TR* 3.31-35)

Essentially, Austria declaims that since the Bastard is not a legitimate son of Richard I, then his peerage is in question. Austria's honor is intact if he refuses the challenge of someone unequal to his station. John, however, sets a trap:

> Philip, we cannot force the Duke to fight,
> Being a subject unto neither Realme:
> But tell me Austria, if an English Duke
> Should dare thee thus, wouldst thou accept the challenge?
>   (*TR* 3.38-41)

Naturally, Austria accepts, and then John promptly knights the Bastard as Duke of Normandy—a symbolically significant title, as William the Conqueror held it, and so did subsequent English kings.[11] Groves notes that similar plot devices are employed in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and *Rumpelstiltskin*—a tribute to popular structures employed in folklore on the part of the author.[12] Despite the questionable title, especially one so close to that of the English kings, John is driving the show in *Troublesome Raigne*. If John and the Bastard's places were switched in *King John*, one half expects that the Bastard would have made a similar call, save for the granting of Normandy. *Troublesome Raigne*'s Bastard is certainly noble, but not as wise as his counterpart.

The Bastard's caricature in *Troublesome Raigne* is more in keeping with that of Richard I. Elinor remarks, after the humiliation of Austria and the Bastard's subsequent proclamation that "I cannot live unless his life be mine" (*TR* 3.58), that "[The Bastard's] forwardness this day hath joyd my soule, / And made me think my Richard lives in thee" (*TR* 3.59-60). Though *King John*'s Bastard is forward, and pleases Elinor similarly, he is only ever physically likened unto Richard. It is significant that he *would* have been king if legitimacy were not an issue; the Bastard would have made a better king in *King John*, regardless of how close he was in character to Richard. Rather, the inherent nobility of *King John*'s Bastard

is downplayed in favor of his ability. Gieskes points out that he has chosen his noble identity[13]; after all, John did rule in his favor regarding the Faulconbridge inheritance. The Bastard could have easily resumed his tenure at the Faulconbridge estate. On the other hand, the *Troublesome Raigne* Bastard is inherently noble, "naturalized" in his position.[14]

The question of noble identity pervades both of the Bastard's caricatures. Gieskes notes, "Philip Faulconbridge claims royal ancestry (after direct supernatural prompting) and proceeds to behave as a person of noble descent."[15] It is significant that the *Troublesome Raigne* Bastard only capitulates to his nobility after direct prompting from John, in yet another scene depicting the King as more able than Faulconbridge. After being asked by Essex (at the King's behest) three times who his father is, the Bastard falls into a trance, and upon awakening is questioned by John himself. The Bastard responds:

> Please it your Majestie, Sir Robert—
> Philip, that Fauconbridge cleaves to thy jawes:
> It will not out, I cannot for my life
> Say I am Sonne unto a Fauconbridge
> Let land and living goe, tis honors fire
> That makes me sweare King Richard was my Sire.
> Base to a King addes title of more State,
> Than Knights begotten, though legittimate.—
> Please it your Grace, I am King Richards Sonne.
>   (*TR* 1.273-281)

The Bastard claims that honor is his primary motivating factor, though he had to fall into a trance before his honor vaunted forth. Additionally, he seems to justify his loss of landed privilege through the improvement of his "state." The Bastard's rumination may initially seem to indicate that he has decided, amidst the heated discussion among his brother, mother, and the nobles, that being the bastard son of a king is more profitable: "inherent nobility" seems in this case to be a far cry from the Bastard's actual motivations. However, Groves suggests that folkloric tradition drives the author's use of convention in *Troublesome Raigne*: primogeniture, the anointment of rulers, and rigid social hierarchy are all prevalent conventional factors.[16]

What remains unclear, however, is why the Bastard justifies his choice through commodity, and just how rigidly the author is adhering to folkloric tradition. It is true that the Bastard behaves like a member of the aristocracy throughout the duration of *Troublesome Raigne*, and this seems to set him completely apart from the Bastard in *King John*, both in his initial unwillingness to give up his estate and his rigidly honorific behavior. However, the latter Bastard in *King John* is also initially opposed to giving up his estate, stating that if his brother can prove his illegitimacy, then "a pops me out / At least from fair five hundred pound a year. / Heaven guard my mother's honor, and my land!" (1.1.67-70). In addition, once the Bastard accepts

his position as a Plantagenet, he resolves to adjust to this "worshipful society" and means "to learn; / For it shall strew the footsteps of my rising" (1.1.205, 215-216). Here the Bastard does not seem so much like an aspiring employee as Gieskes and Groves would have it, but rather an honorable, if intelligent and shrewd, individual in a play filled with backbiting nobles. Thus, the *Troublesome Raigne*'s Bastard seems prototypical of his counterpart in *King John*. The former Bastard's motivations are not as simplistically linked to honor as they would initially seem, and the latter Bastard is not merely a grasping social climber.

Despite the moderation of the supposed starkly differing caricatures of the Bastard between *King John* and *Troublesome Raigne*, John and the Bastard have an inverse power relationship in both plays. Groves points out, "In Shakespeare's play King John is not the undisputed hero (as he had been in *The Troublesome Raigne*) and the Bastard's importance rises to compensate for the relative demotion of the King."[17] The dramatic purpose of John and the Bastard is generally the same in both plays, but *King John* rearranges caricatures in more complex ways. For instance, while John opposes papal authority he whimpers at being alone in doing so, and shows no remorse for eventually capitulating as he does in *Troublesome Raigne*, who laments "Shame be my share for yielding to the Priest" (*TR* 12.76). The Bastard in *Troublesome Raigne* is not nearly the pun-master that he is in *King John*, save for his quip about cuckolding the Dauphin, and seems to rely on honor rather than wit or any combination thereof, and yet is motivated by commodity. The complex rearranging and balancing of the primary two character roles strongly suggests that *Troublesome Raigne* was written first, as it is generally wordier than *King John* and contains additional character roles. It is more logical to omit rather than to add.[18]

Shakespeare's careful attention to the inverse character balance between the Bastard and John in *King John* suggests that the Bard was *intimately* familiar with *Troublesome Raigne*. This fact necessitates that Shakespeare saw the performance and had an eidetic memory, or that he possessed a copy of the play. Additionally, Shakespeare's motivation for composing *King John* must be ascertained—other than its vigorous anti-papal elements and topical relationship with Elizabeth's relationship with the Vatican, the historical King John was very weak and generally accepted as a vastly inferior ruler to his brother. *King John* also is also set in a far earlier period than his other history plays, begging the reason for the author's temporal departure. Other English kings, notably John's father Henry II, had run-ins with the clerical authority, and proved to be stronger rulers.[19] It seems that if Shakespeare was motivated by flag-waving alone, he would have picked a better monarch. Rather, he stunts the monarch in comparison to the bastard. Goddard provides especially helpful insight: "The plan of *King John* is simplicity itself. It is centered around a devastating contrast."[20] Goddard names the Bastard "as upright, downright, forthright a hero as [Shakespeare] ever depicted."[21] Whereas *Troublesome Raigne* only implies the Bastard's superior claim to the throne through his relationship to Richard, and by John granting him Normandy, in *King John* he is superior in nearly every way to John. Goddard suggests that Shakespeare intends irony in the title by naming John "king" — "[The Bastard's] title is the truth."[22] This play concerns "the

everlasting conflict between Truth and Commodity."[23]

Shakespeare tweaks the characters of John and the Bastard from *Troublesome Raigne* in order to unify the theme of his play. In each play both characters exert influence in inverse proportion to one another, though their contrast is not as marked in *Troublesome Raigne* as it is in *King John*. The author deliberately switched roles and made key omissions in order to highlight their disparity. John no longer participates in comedy and fails to make any strong decisions save for his emasculated posturing against Pandulph, and the Bastard is not as beholden to Elinor's will or commodity, taking control of his own fate and becoming the source of comedy for the play. Thus, Shakespeare has transformed a moderately palatable king into a sniveling creep and a noble but dense Bastard into a paragon of honor and wit. The dramatic effect of *Troublesome Raigne* is not so much abandoned as it is heightened.

The authorial motivations for the composition of *Troublesome Raigne* and *King John* are likely differing, yet inextricably related. Sider initially argues that "*Raigne* is just not like Shakespeare,"[24] yet concedes that it may reflect his poetic development in the late 1580s. Sider's assertion is problematic: the "Queenes Maiesties Players," the troupe responsible for *Troublesome Raigne's* production, formed in 1583 and fell into decline by 1588 after the death of Richard Tarleton, along with competition from the Admiral's Men and other personnel problems.[25] Thus, *Troublesome Raigne* most likely was composed no later than 1588 and perhaps as early as 1583.

The Queen's Men were formed under auspices that reveal some potentially interesting Shake-speare connections. Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's spymaster, was responsible for the company's inception in 1583, as Lord Chamberlain Sussex, to whom the duties would have "naturally fallen," was taken ill.[26] Walsingham may seem like an odd choice: he was interested primarily in national security and the preservation of Elizabeth's police state. Far from concerned with an artistic agenda, Walsingham shrewdly recognized the value of the public theater, and sought to employ it in order to bolster fervor against Catholicism and solidify national unity.[27] *King Leir, The Famous Victories of Henry V, The True Tragedy of Richard III*, and *The Troublesome Raigne of John* were all major productions undertaken by the company,[28] a veritable laundry list of plays that would be used, as orthodox critics would put it, as sources for some of Shakespeare's key tragedies and histories. Anderson argues that "*source* is too timid a word" to describe the bard's derivations—"first draft" seems more appropriate.[29]

The anonymity of *Troublesome Raigne's* author, among the other Shakespeare "sources" performed by the Queen's Men, is conspicuous. Walsingham certainly was not penning the plays, as he had numerous other affairs of state to attend to and seems to have no record of artistic inclination. Rather, the playwright was in the employ of the government, but no record exists of payments to any person for the specific task of writing the works. However, Anderson points to correspondences throughout a six-day period in 1586 between Lord Burghley, Walsingham, and Edward de Vere, all alluding to an "unnamed proposal."[30] Days later, Elizabeth, with

the seal of the Privy Council, granted an annuity of 1000 pounds per year to de Vere —an incredible amount of money to say the least, especially considering that it lasted the course of the Earl's life, even after James I ascended.[31] No stipulation was made as to the purpose of the annuity. Anderson finds it suspicious that the majority of the Shakespeare "source" plays were seemingly composed in conjunction with de Vere's inexplicable turn of good fortune with the Queen, coinciding with Walsingham's supervision of the Queen's Men.

Initially, it may seem that Oxford's annuity concerned a different matter: three years had passed between the inception of the Queen's Men and the granting of the annuity. However, it must be noted that during its developmental stages, Walsingham suggested to Elizabeth that top actors should be siphoned off from other groups and added to the Queen's Men. Oxford, among others including Leicester, lost top talent to Walsingham's company.[32] Leicester's and Oxford's companies actively toured not only the court but London and surrounding areas as well; tours became so frequent as even to incur Puritan backlash due to increased levels of "rowdyism."[33] Thus, theater at the time was not only booming, but Oxford's company was apparently quite popular. By 1586, de Vere's fortunes had been in decline, and it has been argued that the Queen's annuity was granted to improve his estate. However, 1000 pounds per year is a tremendous amount of money, and Walsingham's involvement further complicates matters. Though the connections are circumstantial, it is not unreasonable to consider Oxford as a viable candidate for author of the Shake-speare "sources" performed by Walsingham's propaganda troupe. With his former top actors already in the mix, financial woes to consider, and a reputation to rebuild, Oxford would have been an auspicious commission on the part of the spymaster.

The authorial problem of connecting *Troublesome Raigne* to *King John* is somewhat disentangled by an Oxfordian reading of the texts. Groves already has pointed out that *Troublesome Raigne* invokes numerous popular folk elements.[34] If Oxford was composing these plays as part of a propaganda machine, it makes sense that he would incorporate popular folk elements and tropes, giving his audience several ways to relate to the events depicted in the production. However, like *King John*, *Troublesome Raigne* is ever aware of primogeniture, land disbursement, politically motivated marriage arrangements, and commodity—all of which concerns are reflective of a privileged worldview. From this perspective, de Vere's revision of *Troublesome Raigne* yielded the canonical *King John*, a play no longer bogged down by so many heavy-handed folkloric elements, and with caricatures that reflect not only noble ambivalence and weakness, but constancy through honor and a rejection— by the Bastard at least—of the mercantile machine's "commodity": the usurper of anointed privilege. Shakespeare had begun turning his works inward toward his own personal life and court politics, focusing now on those darker elements he treated with better favor in earlier efforts.

Regardless of the authorship issue, the composition of *King John* in

relation to *Troublesome Raigne* is especially reflected in its complex rearranging of the original's caricatures. Shakespeare transforms two moderately laudable characters into a simpering and weak king and a valiant and witty Bastard. Though his motivations for doing so remain a mystery (one especially wonders why he would have bothered rearranging and adapting a somewhat lackluster production), Shakespeare's mastery is reflected in rearrangement and omission, a reprioritization of the play's loci. Otherwise, we are left to assume that *Troublesome Raigne* was composed by someone with not only an eidetic memory, but also a flair for ponderous jokes rooted in folklore, with a copy of Holinshed at hand. The circumstantial case for Oxford's authorship requires far fewer leaps in logic.

Endnotes

[1] Beatrice Groves, "Memory, Composition, and the Relationship of *King John* to *The Troublesome Raigne of King John*," *Comparative Drama* 38.2 (2004), 277.

[2] Brian Boyd, "*King John* and *The Troublesome Raigne*: Sources, Structure, Sequence," *Philological Quarterly* 74.1 (1995), 37.

[3] Groves, 277.

[4] Boyd, 37.

[5] Ramon Jiménez, "Who Was the Author of Five Plays that Shakespeare Rewrote as His Own?" *Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter* 44.1 (2008), 17.

[6] Jiménez, 16.

[7] Boyd, 39.

[8] Groves, 287.

[9] All quotations of the anonymous play are from *The Troublesome Raigne of John, King of England*, ed. J.W. Sider (New York: Garland, 1979).

[10] All quotations of the canonical play are from *The Life and Death of King John* in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1997), 809-840.

[11] Brian Tierney, *Western Europe in the Middle Ages: 300-1475*, 6th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1999), 196-197.

[12] Groves, 284.

[13] Edward Gieskes, "'He is but a Bastard to the time': Status and Service in *The Troublesome Raigne of John* and Shakespeare's *King John*," *ELH* 65.4 (1998),780.

[14] Gieskes, 794.

[15] Gieskes, 779.

[16] Groves, 285.

[17] Groves, 285.

[18] Groves, 287.

[19] Tierney, 327.

[20] Harold C. Goddard, *The Meaning of Shakespeare, Volume 1* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951), 141.

[21] Goddard, 141.

[22] Goddard, 141.

[23] Goddard, 147.

[24] J.W. Sider, "Introduction" in *The Troublesome Raigne of John, King of England* (New York: Garland, 1979), lii.

[25] E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage, Volume 2* (London: Oxford University Press,

1923), 104, 109.

[26] Chambers, 104.

[27] Mark Anderson, *Shakespeare By Another Name* (New York: Gotham Books/Penguin, 2005), 207.

[28] Anderson, 114.

[29] Anderson, 208.

[30] Anderson, 209.

[31] Anderson, 210.

[32] Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 22.

[33] Gurr, 23.

[34] Groves, 285.

Bayesian Interrogation of the Elizabethan Social Network for First Folio Authorship

Stuart Nettleton

lizabeth I's court favorites and heroes such as Robert Dudley, Walter Raleigh, Francis Drake, and enigmatic polymaths like Francis Bacon and John Dee provided fertile ground for the English Renaissance. Such was the demand for new entertainment in this exciting era that around 2,400 plays were presented from 1590-1642.[1] Of these, about two per cent were the Shakespearian canon.

A playwright's intellectual property was generally protected through registration and censorship approval. However, plays usually had little economic value after the typical performance period of one week. While William Shakespeare may be a notable exception, the vocation of playwright was a hand to mouth existence and often dependent upon the favor of a wealthy patron.

A number of Medici-like patron-families economically sponsored and shepherded players groups. Foremost among them were Robert and Ambrose Dudley, the patrons respectively of Leicester's Men and Warwick's Men. The Stanley family was an early patron of the Lord Admiral's Men and Lord Strange's Men (or Derby's Men), which probably became the Herbert family's Pembroke's Men. Similarly, the de Vere family sponsored a boy troupe, the Oxford's Men and later adopted the Warwick's Men. Royal approval ensued with Elizabeth I's patronage of the Queens' Men, which drew on Robert Dudley's Leicester's Men, and the company with whom William Shakespeare associated, the Lord Chamberlain's Men, evolving into the King's Men under James I's patronage.

Official documents, private letters, insightful commentaries and gossips record Elizabethan social relationships in considerable detail. One of relatively few thin patches in this social fabric is the Shakespeare authorship question. *Prima facie* evidence for William Shakespeare's authorship is indisputable, with that name being

recorded on the latter two-thirds of Shakespearean plays and in the First Folio.

The surfeit of such records rests somewhat incongruously alongside a dearth of independent documentary evidence. This issue may be of little consequence to many persons, but others feel challenged by the mystery of this inconsistency or seek to better appreciate Western culture through developing an improved understanding of Shakespeare's depth of character. The latter group believes that it is a moral imperative to discover whether the dazzling and multidimensional playwright "Shakespeare" was someone other than the sharp businessman, lender and grain hoarder from Stratford-on-Avon portrayed in the few extant legal records.

In recent decades this controversial topic has grown in both intrigue and scope. Over sixty candidates have been put forward for potential authorship and the presentation of arguments is becoming ever more flamboyant. For example, a number of U.S. Supreme Court Justices have expressed opinions about the candidacy of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford. At a 1987 moot court, three Justices ruled in favorfavour of the Stratford man. But by 2009 three of Justices favored Oxford's authorship, two favoured William Shakspere of Stratford and four abstained. Edward de Vere's candidacy remains very much alive. A recent feature film, *Anonymous*, with a production cost of $27.5 million, controversially argued his case.[2]

The potential authors selected for study are: William Shakspere of Stratford-on-Avon (1554-1616), Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford (1550-1604), Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593), Francis Bacon, 1st Viscount St. Albans (1561–1626), Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke (1561-1621), Sir Philip Sidney, brother of Mary Sidney (1554–1586), Roger Manners, 5th Earl of Rutland (1576-1612), William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby (1561-1642), Edward Dyer (1543-1607), Elizabeth I (1533–1603) and Mary Sidney's niece Mary Wroth (1587-1651/3). Mary Wroth is included since she was a renowned poet and author of the first known piece of fiction in the English language. Born in 1587, she would have been only eleven years old when the first plays were printed. Nevertheless, she would be of interest if she contributed to the later plays as part of an authorship group.

The wealth of extant information on Elizabethan social relationships provides a framework amenable to social network analysis. While researchers routinely highlight particular social relationships as *ad hoc* elements in their historical and literature research, formal mathematical social network analysis using random exponential graph models (ERGM) has not hitherto been applied to a more dynamic understanding of important relationships in the Elizabethan theater.

The first part of this research applies new Bayesian ERGM techniques to investigate these eleven authors against the background of the wider Elizabethan Social Network. Over the last five years ERGM techniques have matured using Markov Chain Monte Carlo integration, maximum likelihood estimation and shared partner statistics that address potential model degeneracy.[3]

The second part applies modern cryptography with log likelihood estimators to a cipher that may increase the authorship probability of Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, who is a prime candidate. The seat of the Earls of Pembroke at Wilton House, near Salisbury, has been a cultural icon for many centuries. Kennedy writes,

"The Earls of Pembroke had from the reign of Henry VIII been encouragers of fine arts, and very early shewed their taste in employing Holbein and Jones in improving their noble seat at Wilton."[4]

In 1743 Henry Herbert (c.1689-1750), 9th Earl of Pembroke, commissioned Peter Sheemakers to sculpt a statue of William Shakespeare for Wilton House. It was placed in the Black Marble Table Room alongside an ancient bust purchased by his father, Thomas Herbert (1656-1733), 8th Earl of Pembroke, "The Bustos of LYSIAS the Orator, of whom Cicero gives this Commendation: Venustissimus scriptor ac politissimus, & alter pene Demosthenes."[5]

The Wilton Shakespeare statue is almost identical to one in Westminster Abbey, also by Peter Sheemakers. Aside from their bases, the only difference between the statues is the verse inscribed on the scroll held by the statue:

Scroll in Wilton House	Scroll in Westminster Abbey
(from *Macbeth* 5.5.24-6)	(modified from *The Tempest* 4.1)
LIFE's but a walking SHADOW	The Cloud cupt Tow'rs,
a poor PLAYER	The Gorgeous Palaces
That struts and frets his hour upon the	The Solemn Temples,
STAGE,	The Great Globe itself
And then is heard no more!	Yea all which it Inherit,
	Shall Dissolue;
	And like the baseless Fabrick of a Vision
	Leave not a wreck behind.

Table 1: Shakespeare Scroll Inscriptions at Wilton House and Westminster Abbey.

In Westminster Abbey, Shakespeare's finger points to the capitalized word "Temples," whereas at Wilton House the it points to the all upper case word "SHADOW." It may be preemptory to conclude that the word "SHADOW" means that William Shakspere was merely a shadow of the real author. The interpretation that Shakspere was a shadow player does not make sense because he was a real player. Perhaps there is some sense to be made of these words if the order is shifted to "shadow life stage player" since Shakspere is thought to have played parts such as Banquo's ghost. However, it seems unlikely that this would warrant special mention on the statue.

In times past it was considered intellectually piquant to place ciphers in full view, often as capital or italic letters within normal text. If this is the case then a full cipher problem may exist as "LIFE SHADOW PLAYER STAGE". While this cipher appeared over a century after her death, Mary Sidney was deeply engaged in code, secret inks and advanced metaphysics of the day. For example, Walter Raleigh's half-brother Adrian Gilbert maintained an alchemist's laboratory at Wilton House.[6]

While a feasible solution to a cipher cannot be regarded as evidence, modern techniques that determine result log likelihoods can rank solutions in confidence. If

a solution is found it may be possible to incorporate this extra information into an improved Bayesian posterior probability for an authorship candidate. For example, if a cipher solution has a useful probability and the cipher credibly refers to Mary Sidney, then Bayes Rule may be used to calculate a significantly improved posterior probability for her authorship.

Methodology

The methodology of this research has two parts. The first part is a Bayesian estimation of authorship probabilities for each potential author based on ERGM analysis of the Elizabethan Social Network. The second phase of the research applies Bayesian methods to investigate an improvement in the probability of Mary Sidney's authorship given the log likelihood of a cryptographic solution to the Wilton House cipher.

1.1. ERGM Research Methodology

The general form of the ERGM model was first proposed by Frank & Strauss in 1986.[7] Pairing, or dyad relationships, develop between two people (or nodes) based on the attractiveness of the attributes of each to the other. Triad relationships are triangles involving three people. Classic triad closure occurs when two nodes that have independent dyad relationships to a common node, form a relationship and thereby create a triangle.[8] Stochastic transitivity is the process of increasing the number of triads through of evolving friendships, i.e., "the friends of my friends become my friends." This matches real dynamic social networks, in practice, which display a propensity for triad closure.

ERGM probabilistic models for the observed network of relationships are evaluated using logistic regression. A key advantage of the ERGM approach is that the restrictive assumption of dyadic independence may be relaxed in favor of stochastic transitivity. ERGM achieves this through a Geometrically Weighted Edge Shared Partner (GWESP) factor. This associates a higher probability with networks that have a greater density of triads. A scaling parameter of zero in GWSEP means that only the first shared partners are recognized. If a very high scaling parameter is used, then all triangles with any two of the three triad nodes are counted. However, geometric weighting decreases the marginal return from edge shared partners as the number of shared partners increases, thereby limiting triangle recognition by about threefold.

The probability of a connection between two people may be estimated by measuring the probability of the network forming, both without and with a connection between these two people. In social networking as in real life, the cliché "birds of a feather flock together" is apt.

When introducing a test relationship either no new triads may be formed, if there are no common partners in the network, or one or a number of new triads

may be formed. If the density of the network increases rapidly with a number of triangles being formed, then the probability of the network rises. This provides the attractive facility of ERGM analysis, which is to infer the probability of "that which is not there" given evidence that is present. It aims to naturally evolve the development of relationships to prospectively fill out "thin patches" in our understanding of social fabric, such as the enigmatic Shakespeare authorship question within the Elizabethan social network.

While probabilities for "that which is not there being there" illuminate investigation, such seer-like analysis must be kept in perspective: probabilities never substitute for tangible evidence.[9] If an alternative answer to the Shakespeare authorship controversy is to be found, then it awaits the fortuitous discovery of definitive evidence.

The ERGM research in this paper is focused on an investigation of the Elizabethan social network to understand the network probability associated with a connection of each potential author to the Shakespearean works. The period under consideration is the golden era of Queen Elizabeth I (reigned 1558-1603) and James I (reigned 1603-1625). The scale of the task is not so daunting as London's population in 1610 was only about 200,000.[10] The London theater industry comprised about 1500 people, including playwrights, players and patrons.[11]

The Elizabethan Social Network developed in this research shows that about 200 persons are prominent in the arts over the Elizabethan period. Data about the relationships between them, or nodes, are derived from many diverse and detailed sources, primarily available through the Internet. In addition to marital and filial relationships, the database captures friendships, favorites, patrons, reported affairs, disputes, denouncements, and associations such as Mary Sidney's Wilton Circle of poets and Kings' Men players and rumored organizations such as Walter Raleigh's esoteric School of the Night. Subgraphs from the Elizabethan Social Network with a connection between each potential author and the First Folio are provided in Appendix: Social Network Connections of Potential Authors to the First Folio. Future development of the Elizabethan Social Network database may seek to expand the number of organizational entities.[12]

The nature of social network analysis means that results may only be interpreted in relation to the specific data used; relationship databases can never be complete, no matter how exhaustive the complication. There will always be many relationships that are personal, secret or did not warrant a mention in the records of the time. However, the 635 unique undirected positive relationships assembled in the Elizabethan Social Network are believed to capture the essence of the social fabric at the time. Negative relationships such as trenchant criticism and religious or political denouncements also exist, but have not been included in the ERGM analysis.

The positive relationships are pre-processed as adjacency matrix using Mathematica.[13] This matrix is processed as a social network using the R-language *ergm* function of the *statnet* package.[14] The *ergm* command to process a social network adjacency matrix file using a GWESP factor of 0.65, one million samples and 1,500 iterations is:

```
ergm (social network file name ~ edges + gwesp(0.65, fixed = TRUE), MCMCsamplesize = 1e+6,
maxit = 1500, verbose = FALSE, control = control.ergm(steplength = 0.25), seed = 123,eval.
loglik=TRUE)
```

The ERGM function returns the maximum log likelihood of the network. This represents the probability that a particular network occurs out of all possible networks.

Using the First Folio as a proxy for Shakespeare's plays, the relative log likelihoods for link to each potential authorship candidate is calculated against the structure of social network relationships using the ERGM method. This provides the conditional probability of the network given the author $P(\hat{a} \mid \acute{a})$.

The conditional probability of an author given the network $P(\acute{a} \mid \hat{a})$ is the Bayesian interchange of $P(\hat{a} \mid \acute{a})$ and may be calculated with Bayes Rule:

$$P(\acute{a} \mid \hat{a}) = \frac{P(\hat{a} \mid \acute{a}) \; x \; P(\acute{a})}{P(\hat{a})}$$

$$= \frac{P(\hat{a} \mid \acute{a}) \; x \; P(\acute{a})}{P(\hat{a} \mid \acute{a}) \; x \; P(\acute{a}) + P(\hat{a} \mid \bar{a}) \; x \; P(\bar{a})}$$

where :

$P(\acute{a})$ = Prior probability ó author

$P(\hat{a})$ = Total probability ó network

$= P(\hat{a} \mid \acute{a}) \; x \; P(\acute{a}) + P(\hat{a} \mid \bar{a}) \; x \; P(\bar{a})$

$P(\hat{a} \mid \acute{a})$ = Probability ó network conditional upon author connection to First Folio

$P(\hat{a} \mid \bar{a})$ = Probability ó Elizabethan Social Network (prior to any author connection)

$\begin{bmatrix} P(\hat{a} \mid \acute{a}) \\ P(\hat{a} \mid \bar{a}) \end{bmatrix}$ = e^{a} , where a is the log likelihood ó the applicable network

The calculation requires an estimate of the probability of an author's connection to the First Folio $P(\alpha)$ prior to the ERGM social network analysis. This may be calculated from the base Elizabethan Social Network log likelihood statistic γ for an edge taking into account the GWESP factor:

$P(\alpha)$ = e^{γ}

where:

γ = $a + b \; x \; (c + d)$

a = Edge log likelihood

b = GWESP log likelihood

c = number of nodes in common (est. 2)

d = number of edges that first enter triangles when the two nodes are joined (est. 1)

For comparison purposes the probability of each author's connection to the First Folio is assumed to be uniform across potential candidates.

1.2.   *Cryptographic Research Methodology*

Cipher topics have a mixed heritage because of base rate fallacy such as the prosecutor's fallacy.[15] Ciphers may have tens, hundreds or even thousands of possible solutions, so a single feasible solution provides no basis for causation.

There continues to be a fine balance between legitimate areas of academic research and the more degenerate aspects of cipher topics. Positive aspects have emerged in recent decades, which include the respected Bayesian sciences of probability, cryptography and search and marketing methods. Indeed, many people now enjoy the benefits of cipher research on a daily basis in activities from shopping and banking to email and spam detection. Another legitimate area for academic enquiry is a deeper understanding of the intricacies of history, philosophy, geopolitics and literature expressed through diplomatic intelligence methods. The second part of the research in this paper concerns a branch of literary history and diplomatic intelligence methods that has relevance to the social network research.

There are numerous techniques for enciphering a message. Two common methods are simple letter substitution ciphers and polyalphabetic substitution. The famous Caesar and Atbash ciphers are examples of simple letter substitution using code words and shifted or reversed alphabets. Vigenère ciphers are polyalphabetic versions of these that use multiply shifted code words. Encryption with Vigenère rotation can be near perfect if strict rules are followed during the encipherment. However, this is an exhaustive process. Shortcuts are usually taken that permit decipherment. For example, if a message is sufficiently long it is sometimes possible to detect a keyword using letter frequencies.

There are well-regarded programs for decipherment of Caesar and Vigenère ciphers.[16] However the use of letter frequency analysis, together with a range of specific clue words, did not provide any optimism that the Wilton House "LIFE SHADOW PLAYER STAGE" message might be deciphered in this way.

Furthermore, the inability of such techniques is to be expected because of the exigency to achieve sensible words in both the message and its enciphered result. For this reason the cipher, if it is indeed one, is more likely to be a simple but clever mixed letter substitution. This assumption does not significantly simplify the task. The variation of spaces and perhaps some letter transposition create a huge solution space that can be daunting for well-regarded dictionary attack programs. The Decrypto package is used for mixed letter substitution decipherment in this research.[17]

The usual way to penetrate such ciphers is to constrain the solution space using a clue word drawn from human intuition about the context of the solution. While this may produce an interesting potential solution, it is analogous to a local rather than global minimum in optimization. There is no guarantee that the original message has been found.

For example, it may be observed that "shadow player" has two "a" letters separated by five unique letters with other unique letters before and after. Various clue words that match this pattern may then be pegged to the two "a" letters. While this pattern might seem fairly unusual, there are 322 surnames in the Welsh Medieval Database of Primarily Nobility and Gentry[18] that match the pattern, for example Chamberlain, Golding and Oldcastle. "MarySidney" is also clue word based on the two "y" letters. Even "Elizabeth" is a surprisingly strong clue word as it directly matches two "e" letters and the "a." However, none of these five clue words appear to generate a sensible result.

A number of criteria need to be satisfied for a clue word to produce a sensible result. The message is then subjected to a "dictionary attack" where the unmatched letters and spaces are varied to complement the clue word cipher letter equivalences. Progressively, some elegant words may be distilled that seem sensible with the clue word and the context. Sometimes, unusual words may indicate an interesting and desirable solution. For example, the Elizabethan spelling of "blood" as "bloud." Finally, a table of trigram probabilities, which encompasses all the three-letter sequences in the recovered text, is applied to calculate a log likelihood for each candidate solution.

Following decipherment, the log likelihood of the solution may be used to adjust the probability of the relevant author. In Wilton House the relevant author is Mary Sidney, but could also be another candidate depending upon the nature of the deciphered message. The adjusted probability $P(\acute{a} \mid \ddot{a} \cap \hat{a})$ of Mary Sidney's authorship (α) may be calculated with the general conditional version Bayes Rule, given the probabilities that Mary Sidney is the person referred to in the cipher (δ) and the cipher (β) with clue word is correct.

$$P(\acute{a} \mid \ddot{a} \cap \hat{a}) = \frac{P(\ddot{a} \mid \acute{a} \cap \hat{a}) \times P(\acute{a} \mid \hat{a})}{P(\ddot{a} \mid \hat{a})}$$

$$= \frac{P(\ddot{a} \mid \acute{a} \cap \hat{a})}{P(\ddot{a} \mid \hat{a})} \times \frac{P(\hat{a} \mid \acute{a}) P(\acute{a})}{P(\hat{a})}$$

$$= \frac{P(\ddot{a} \mid \acute{a} \cap \hat{a})}{P(\ddot{a} \mid \hat{a})} \times \frac{P(\acute{a}) - P(\acute{a} \mid \bar{a}) P(\bar{a})}{P(\acute{a})}$$

where :

$P(\acute{a})$ = Prior probability **δ**   Mary Sidney's authorship

$P(\hat{a})$ = $P(\hat{a} \mid \acute{a}) \times P(\acute{a}) + P(\hat{a} \mid \bar{a}) \times P(\bar{a})$

         = $e^{\ddot{a}}$ (for cipher log likelihood $\ddot{a}$)

$P(\ddot{a})$ = Probability that Mary Sidney **is** the Pembroke referred to in the cipher

As there is no information for the required distributions $P(\ddot{a} \mid \acute{a} \cap \hat{a}), P(\ddot{a} \mid \hat{a})$ and $P(\hat{a} \mid \bar{a})$, the adjusted (posterior) probability $P(\acute{a} \mid \ddot{a} \cap \hat{a})$ of Mary Sidney's authorship is calculated using Monte Carlo

simulation. The unknown distributions are simulated by Bates Distributions parameterized by the minimum and maximum expected values in each case. The Bates Distribution can represent uniform, triangular and quasi-normal distributions that range from a minimum to maximum value. The simulation outcome for Mary Sidney's authorship probability is found to be similar for each distribution type.

2. Results

2.1. *ERGM Results*

The maximum log likelihood of the Elizabethan Social Network, excluding all potential author connections, rises from the dyad only value of about -1588 to about -1576 as the Geometric Weighted Edge Shared Partner (GWESP) weighting parameter α increases from 0 to 0.7. Illustration 1 provides a curve fitted to the results that suggests only minor improvements in log likelihood might be possible by increasing α beyond 0.7.
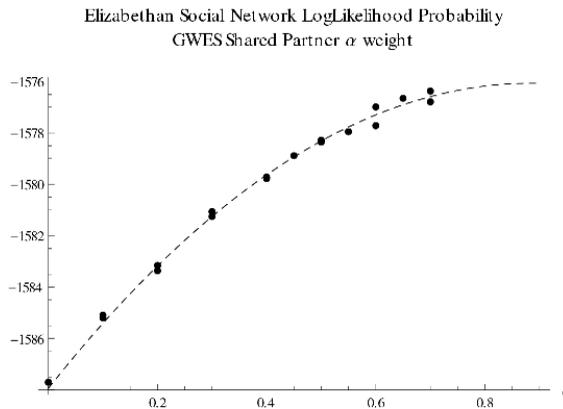

Illustration 1: Elizabethan Social Network loglikelihood as a function of the GWESP factor.

Inherently, the Elizabethan Social Network is incipiently unstable, which is common for sparse social models. Ideally, the index of instability would be less than unity but could range up to infinity. The index of instability for the Elizabethan Social Network remains at about 3 with α ranging from zero to 0.65. With an increase in α to 0.7 the network becomes sharply degenerate resulting in very long search times that mostly achieve no increase in log likelihood. An optimal α is therefore a trade-off between improving model log likelihood and model stability. In addition, the reliable estimation of the edge and GWESP factors needs to be verified using Monte Carlo Markov Chain (MCMC) diagnostics. Taking these criteria into account, the maximum reliable α for the Elizabethan Social Network is found to be 0.65.
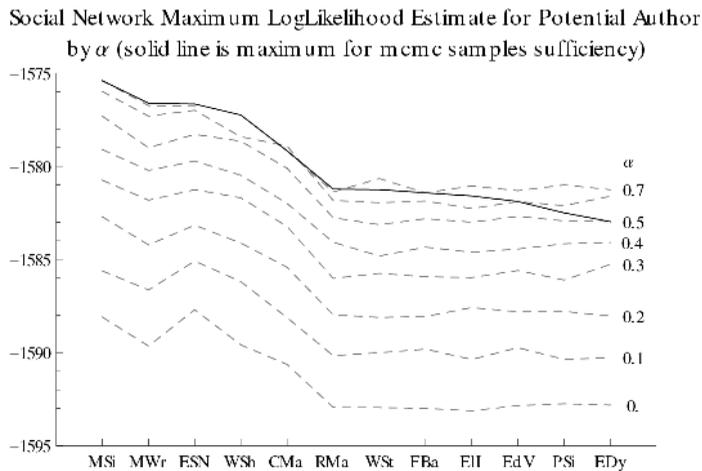
Illustration 2: Loglikelihood of Elizabethan Social Network with Author connection to First Folio as a function of GWESP factor.

Illustration 2 provides the maximum reliable log likelihood of the potential author models (solid line) where the GWESP α parameter is manually tuned for simultaneous incipient degeneracy and reliable parameter estimation. This maximum reliable profile is overlaid on dashed iso-α profiles. It may be noted that networks with higher log likelihoods tend to be reliable at the higher α parameters of 0.65 to 0.7, while the α decreases toward 0.5 for lower likelihood author profiles. Notwithstanding this reliability effect, the maximum reliable log likelihoods profile is consistent with the overall structure of the iso-α profiles.

In Illustration 2 and subsequent illustrations categorized by author, the Elizabethan Social Network (ESN) and the authorship candidates and are referred to by three-letter labels based on their initials: William Shakespeare (WSh), Edward de Vere (EdV), Christopher Marlowe (CMa), Francis Bacon (FBa), Mary Sidney (MSi), Philip Sidney (PSi), Roger Manners (RMa), William Stanley (WSt), Edward Dyer (EDy), Elizabeth I (ElI) and Mary Wroth (MWr).

The log likelihood of two models of potential authors, Mary Sidney (MSi) and Mary Wroth (MWr), exceeds that of the Elizabethan Social Network (ESN) prior to any author connections. The log likelihood for the William Shakespeare model is about the same as that of the Elizabethan Social Network. All other potential authorship models significantly impair the log likelihood of the network, suggesting that these models are less likely than the Elizabethan Social Network itself.

Bayes Factors may be used to rank preferences for authorship candidates. In Table 2 (below), cell values express the strength of preference for a column author over a row author as *Decisive*, *Very Strong*, *Strong*, *Substantial* and *Barely* a preference.

	MSi	MWr	ESN	WSh	CMa	RMa	WSt	FBa	ElI	EdV	PSi
	Strength of Bayes Factors for each column model compared to the row models: Decisive(4), Very Strong(3), Strong(2), Substiantial(1), Barely (~)										
MWr	1										
ESN	1	~									
WSh	1	~	~								
CMa	3	2	2	1							
RMa	4	4	3	3	1						
WSt	4	4	3	3	1	~					
FBa	4	4	4	3	1	~	~				
ElI	4	4	4	3	2	~	~	~			
EdV	4	4	4	4	2	~	~	~	~		
PSi	4	4	4	4	2	1	1	~	~	~	
EDy	4	4	4	4	3	1	1	1	1	~	~

Table 2: Bayes Factor Rankings of Authorship Probability.

The first column in Table 2 suggests a *Substantial* preference for Mary Sidney (MSi) over Mary Wroth (MWr), William Shakespeare (WSh) and the Elizabethan Social Network (ESN) without any other authorship candidate. There is a *Very Strong* preference for Mary Sidney over Christopher Marlowe (CMa) and a *Decisive* preference for Mary Sidney over all other candidates.

The second column suggests that the Elizabethan Social Network (ESN) without any authorship candidate is *Barely* preferred to William Shakespeare (WSh), *Strongly* preferred to Christopher Marlowe (CMa) and *Very Strongly* or *Decisively* preferred to all other candidates.

The very poor Bayes rankings of Roger Manners (RMa), William Stanley (WSt), Francis Bacon (FBa), Elizabeth I (ElI), Edward de Vere (EdV) and Philip Sidney (PSi) suggest that these are inferior authorship candidates. Within this group of potential authorship candidates the relative preferences are not meaningful.

While the analysis above clearly establishes the preference for potential authors, the conditional probability of each author may be calculated with Bayes Rule. It is necessary to estimate the prior probability $P(\acute{a})$ that a potential author has a connection to the First Folio. This may be calculated from the log likelihood $\tilde{a}$ of the Elizabethan Social Network, given the edge log likelihood and GWESP factor.

The prior probability assumptions suggest a value for $P(\alpha)$ of approximately 0.21. This appears to be a reasonable estimate given the limited number of potential candidates and that literature and history research suggests that these candidates are significantly preferred to other people in the network. This prior probability might also be considered conservative given the potential for unknown, unclosed triads in the vicinity of the true author that are currently not represented in the Elizabethan Social Network because they are not yet known or perhaps forever secret.

As shown in Illustration 3 (below), the effect of increasing the prior probability from 0.05 to 0.25 is to amplify the posterior probability of the most likely candidates. As relative author probabilities might be considered more important than an exact value of an author probability, a midpoint prior probability of 0.17 is

considered satisfactory for comparative purposes.

Author Probability of a Connection to the First Folio given
the Elizabethan Social Network & various Prior Probabilities
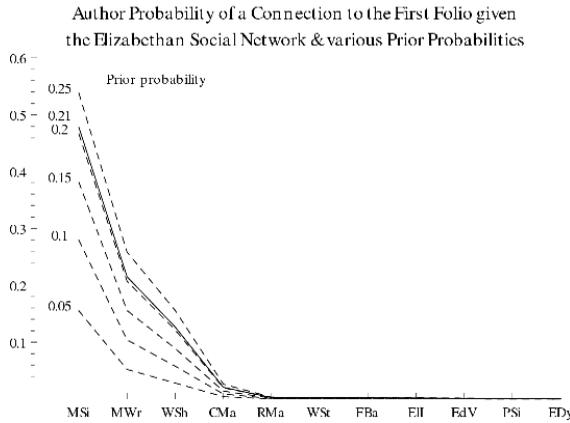
*Illustration 3: Author Probability based on ERGM analysis of
Elizabethan Social Network*

Based on a prior probability $P(\acute{a})$ of 0.21, Mary Sidney has a conditional authorship probability $P(\acute{a} \mid \hat{a})$ of 0.48. The second most likely candidate, Mary Wroth, has a conditional probability of 0.22 (which is 45% that of Mary Sidney). The conditional probabilities for the two next most likely candidates, William Shakespeare and Christopher Marlowe, are 0.13 and 0.02 (26% and 4% that of Mary Sidney) respectively.

Introducing a test connection between various potential authors and the First Folio may lead to the formation of three new triads. Illustration 4 shows that three new triads arise from connecting Mary Sidney Countess of Pembroke with the First Folio, two in connecting each of Mary Wroth and William Shakespeare, one in connecting Christopher Marlowe and none in connecting the remaining potential authors.
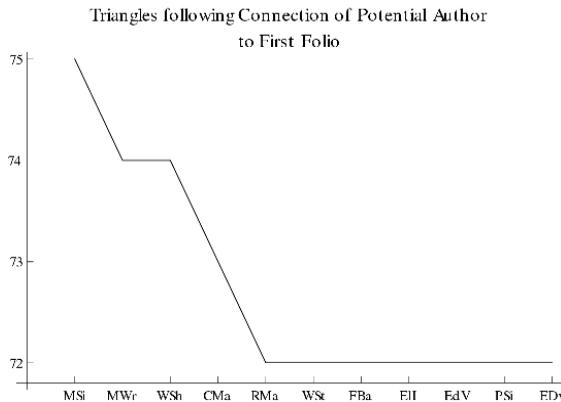

*Illustration 4: Increase in Triads (triangles) resulting from a
Relationship between the Author and the First Folio.*

This suggests that particular authorship probabilities may be improved through intensifying the investigation of potential triangular relationships surrounding the author.

2.2   *Cryptographic Analysis Results*

Of the many clue words tested, "pembroke" provides consistent solutions enhanced by the unusual word "bloud" and with log likelihoods that are significantly greater than those for other keywords. Table 3 provides the best four solutions for the clue word "pembroke."

Candidate Solution	Effective letter arrangement of "life shadow player stage"	Log likelihood $\tilde{a}$
I who have pembroke bloud	W PLA LIFE YERSTAGE SHADO	-1.895
In a few no pembroke bloud	W LIFE PLAYER STAGE SHADO	-1.965
A two bloud pembroke wife	W PLA SHADO YERSTAGE LIFE	-2.121
Two wives pembroke bloud	PLA LIFEW YERSTAGE SHADO	-2.274

Table 3: Potential Solutions of the Wilton House Shakespeare Cipher.

The highest probability cipher solution is "I who have Pembroke bloud." However, this is not straightforward as the word "life" needs to be relocated into the middle of the word "player."

As the first and second Earls of Pembroke were men of action rather than letters, it is unlikely that this cipher solution refers to their Pembroke blood. Nor is Mary Sidney directly of Pembroke blood, although her epitaph (by Ben Johnson, William Browne or perhaps her son William "Sidney's sister and Pembroke's mother") might be seen to satisfy the cipher result from an unusual perspective. Setting aside this interpretation, the cipher result suggests further research in the collateral branches of the Herbert family might be worthwhile. The collateral branches are descended from the first and second creations of the first Earl and had given rise to more than 300 male Herberts by Elizabethan times. Collateral branch analysis is somewhat complicated by traditional family names. For example, 21% of male Herberts are named William, and a further 40% are John, Thomas, Richard or Edward.

The second cipher result "In a few no Pembroke bloud" is quite elegant because it has no letter rearrangement and only a single letter rotated from the end of the cipher to the beginning. The statement seems to imply that the work of a Pembroke can be found in the majority of Shakespeare's plays. In this context the word "bloud" may be less of a biological imperative than in the first cipher result and more like a metaphor for Pembroke workmanship. It might be quite logical to argue that Pembroke workmanship is the vital force in Shakespeare's plays. This Pembroke

work may well, of course, be that of the Countess of Pembroke, Mary Sidney, who has been highlighted by the social network analysis.

The third cipher result is "A two bloud pembroke wife." Mary Sidney's bloodlines could well justify such a claim arising from the Dudleys, Northumberlands, Mortimers and Nevilles.[19] It might be recalled that the affinity between the Dudleys, Sidneys and Herberts was exceedingly strong.[20] For example, in his defense of the Earl of Leicester (1584), Mary's brother Phillip wrote "I am a Dudley in blood, that Duke's daughters son; and do acknowledge, - though, in all truth, I may justly affirm that I am, by my father's side, of ancient and always well-esteemed and well-matched gentry, - yet I do acknowledge, I say, that my chiefest honour is to be a Dudley." There is an interesting suggestion that Mary Sidney proclaim her blood in the 1608 play *Coriolanus* (Folio 1, 1623, 1.9 lines 763-64): "My Mother, who ha's a Charter to extoll her Bloud, ..."

Elizabethans were fascinated by notions of blood. The poet John Donne was a member of the illustrious First Friday Club of poets and playwrights that met regularly at the Mermaid Tavern. His analogy of God's harmony to the two bloods of Philip and Mary Sidney would provide compelling ambience for any inscription. In Donne's well-known eulogy *Upon the Translation of the Psalms by Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke*, he describes the fusing of Philip and Mary's blood with God's Spirit: "ETERNAL God - for whom who ever dare / Seek new expressions, do the circle square / ... That, as thy blessed Spirit fell upon / These Psalms' first author in a cloven tongue / ... So thou hast cleft that Spirit, to perform / That work again, and shed it here, upon / Two, by their bloods, and by Thy Spirit one; /A brother and a sister, made by Thee / The organ, where Thou art the harmony."

Another interpretation of this third cipher result is Mary Sidney's dual personas. The first is her public profile of a quiet, private, pious wife who translates Psalms. The other is her covert but presumably boisterous life of Court masques and Shakespearean productions. The latter is certainly supported by Mary's sponsorship of the Wilton Group of poets, her hosting the presentation of plays by Pembroke's Men (*Titus Andronicus*, *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Henry VI Part 3*) and premiering of plays to Elizabeth I at Wilton House (*As You Like It*).

The final cipher result, "two wives Pembroke bloud," suggests that two Pembroke wives have collaborated. The social network analysis highlighted Mary Wroth. Although she was not by law a Pembroke wife, following the death of her husband in 1614 when she was 27 years old, Mary Wroth became the mistress of Mary Sidney's first son, William 3rd Earl of Pembroke, and mother of his only two children that did not die at birth, albeit they remained illegitimate.

Another Pembroke wife candidate might be Magdalen Newport (c.1570-1627), who married Richard Herbert (c.1550-1596) of Montgomery Castle (about 150 miles from Wilton). Magdalen was Sir Phillip Sidney's childhood friend and outwardly shared piety with Mary Sidney. John Donne saw both Magdalen and Mary Sidney as similarly gifted and praised them both. He dedicated the *Holy Sonnets* to Magdalen and presented the sermon at her funeral. Magdalen's children were highly regarded in the arts. Her first son, Lord Edward Herbert of Chirbury

(1582-1629), was a noted philosopher and historian. Mary Sidney's son William 3rd Earl of Pembroke also assisted Magdalen's fifth son, George (1593-1633), who was Cambridge University's Public Orator and a celebrated poet to whom Francis Bacon dedicated his *Translation of Certaine Psalmes*.

Using the general conditional version Bayes' Rule with a background event, the posterior probability $P(\acute{a} \mid \ddot{a} \cap \hat{a})$ of Mary Sidney's authorship $\acute{a}$ given the probabilities that Mary Sidney is the person referred to in the cipher $\ddot{a}$ and the cipher $\hat{a}$ is correct with clue word "pembroke" may be calculated as.

$$P(\acute{a} \mid \ddot{a} \cap \hat{a}) \quad = \frac{P(\ddot{a} \mid \acute{a} \cap \hat{a})}{P(\ddot{a} \mid \hat{a})} \; x \; \frac{P(\acute{a}) - P(\acute{a} \mid \overline{a})P(\overline{a})}{P(\acute{a})}$$

$$= \frac{P(\ddot{a} \mid \acute{a} \cap \hat{a})}{P(\ddot{a} \mid \hat{a})} \; x \; \frac{0.1503 - P(\acute{a} \mid \overline{a})(1 - 0.42)}{0.1503}$$

where :

$P(\acute{a})$ = Prior probability of Mary Sidney's authorship (0.42)

$P(\hat{a})$ = $e^{-1.895}$ (for the best cipher log likelihood $\tilde{a} = -1.895$)

= 0.1503

$P(\ddot{a})$ = Probability that Mary Sidney is the Pembroke referred to in the cipher

The posterior probability $P(\acute{a} \mid \ddot{a} \cap \hat{a})$ of Mary Sidney's authorship is estimated with Monte Carlo simulation using the following three random variates:

$P(\ddot{a} \mid \acute{a} \cap \hat{a})$ = random variate of Bates Distribution[3] with high probability over {0.9,1.0}

$P(\ddot{a} \mid \hat{a})$ = random variate of Bates Distribution[3] with medium probability over {0.65,1.0}

$P(\acute{a} \mid \overline{a})$ = random variate of Bates Distribution[3] with low probability over {0.05,0.3}

The result is an estimate of the mean posterior probability $P(\acute{a} \mid \ddot{a} \cap \hat{a})$ of Mary Sidney's authorship of 0.46. Given the standard deviation of 0.17, this is a non-material change in the prior probability of 0.48 from the social network research. The main reason for this finding is that there is a non-trivial probability of the cipher existing $P(\acute{a} \mid \overline{a})$ in the absence of Mary Sidney's authorship. For example, another Pembroke or another person entirely could well be the author.

The posterior probability $P(\acute{a} \mid \ddot{a} \cap \hat{a})$ of Mary Sidney's authorship would have increased significantly if the cipher had provided unambiguous and credible evidence of her authorship. For example, the presence of her name in the cipher would have reduced the probability of the cipher existing $P(\acute{a} \mid \overline{a})$ in the absence of her authorship to almost zero, thereby increasing the posterior probability of Mary Sidney's authorship $P(\acute{a} \mid \ddot{a} \cap \hat{a})$ towards one (i.e., 100% probability).

As interesting as this cipher is in providing directions for further investigation, no reliance can be placed on it for the purposes of enhancing Mary Sidney's probability of authorship. Mary Sidney's probability of authorship therefore remains unchanged from the social network analysis estimate of 0.48.

3. Discussion

This research does not set out to unequivocally answer the authorship question because social network analysis and other Bayesian inference can only provide insights. However, some of these insights are of interest.

The ERGM social network research suggests that Mary Sidney is the preferred authorship candidate with an authorship probability of 0.48. A relationship between Mary Sidney and the First Folio materially improves the log likelihood of the Elizabethan Social Network. A cryptographic analysis of the Wilton House Shakespeare statue scroll found interesting solutions to the cipher but these were insufficient to enhance the probability of Mary Sidney's authorship. However, these cipher solutions may provide directions for further research in this topic.

The second most likely candidate, Mary Wroth, has a probability of authorship of 0.22. A relationship between Mary Wroth and the First Folio provides a marginally positive increment over the probability of the Elizabethan Social Network, which is 0.21.

William Shakspere remains enigmatic as ever due to the limited direct and indirect evidence of his relationships. His authorship probability is 0.13, which is only 26% of that of Mary Sidney and significantly less likely than the base Elizabethan Social Network. What little is known of his social network is sufficient neither to discount him as a potential author nor to favor him. Interestingly, the prospects for his authorship are enhanced by the outcome that his prospective authorship does not reduce the log likelihood of the network from that of the Elizabethan Social Network. It might be conjectured that William Shakspere's probability of authorship is finely balanced and poised to increase with additional information.

In sharp contrast, the potential authorship of the other candidates (Christopher Marlowe, Roger Manners, William Stanley, Francis Bacon, Elizabeth I, Edward de Vere and Philip Sidney) has negligible probability. There may be valid reasons for this. For example, Christopher Marlowe and Philip Sidney have exceptional literary reputations. Their low authorship probabilities may be attributable to their lengthy overseas sojourns and tragic early deaths in 1593 and 1586 respectively. Therefore, each had limited opportunities to establish the social relationships necessary to enhance their network probability.

Perhaps a surprising outcome is Edward de Vere's low authorship probability and that a relationship between Edward and the First Folio materially reduces the log likelihood of the Elizabethan Social Network. The reason for this appears to be that while Edward de Vere could be described as a supernova of Elizabethan literature patronage, his influence appears to have remained quite distinct from that of the Dudley, Sidney and Herbert family cluster with whom he appears to have had little empathy.

For example, there is a story that Edward de Vere insulted Philip Sidney at a tennis game and threatened to kill him.[21] Although each of Edward de Vere and the Herberts showed great deference to William Cecil 1st Baron Burghley, both seemed cool to Cecil's efforts to marry Mary Sidney's first son, William, and Edward de Vere's 13-year-old daughter, Bridget. Conveniently the issue of dowry payment timing frustrated the plan. Relationships between Edward de Vere and Mary Sidney appeared to have remained thorny, with no further social or commercial relationships developing notwithstanding their arts patronage. Shortly after Edward's death, his daughter Susan and Mary Sidney's second son Phillip announced their plans to marry. Although Susan's uncle Robert Cecil intervened against the arrangement, James I overrode his objection to approve the union and even seems to have romped in the nuptial bed.[22]

The Sidneys' rich contribution to the English Renaissance has been recognized: "We remember how much the Florentine Renaissance owed to the Medici, but we forget that a similar debt was owed by the English Renaissance to the Sidneys."[23] The underlying reason appears to be Elizabeth's deep-seated suspicion of potential claimants to the throne, which led to her rather overt discrimination against Mary Sidney's brothers, Philip and Robert. Elizabeth's dislike of Philip Sidney is evident in her often repeated statement about Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex: "We shall have him knocked o' the head like that rash fellow Sidney."[24] Following Elizabeth I's death in 1603, James I promptly atoned for Elizabeth I's sustained dissonance by elevating Mary Sidney's brother Robert and sons William and Philip Herbert to positions of substantial wealth and power.

Some of Shakespeare's plays had the potential to be interpreted as seditious. For example, Elizabeth I said of the performance of *Richard II* at the Globe on the eve of the 1601 Essex rebellion, "I am Richard II, know ye not that."[25] The title page of the 1598 reprint is the first of Shakespeare's plays to actually state that it was by William Shakespeare. Although the players' manager and one of the actors were arrested and gave evidence, William Shakespeare was neither arrested nor mentioned as the author of the play in Court records.

If Mary or Philip Sidney's literature had been interpreted as seditious or treasonous, then their estates and perhaps their lives would have been forfeited, as had been the case with their grandfather John Dudley Duke of Northumberland. It is notable that Mary Sidney's husband, Henry Herbert 2nd Earl of Pembroke, who died in January 1601, ingeniously ameliorated this pervasive threat to the family's wealth by disenfranchising Mary of the corpus of family wealth, even the traditional widow's one-third and her personal jewelery, whilst otherwise arranging generous income for her and access to assets through contracts to manage the family estates.

Although the ERGM social network analysis did not highlight Philip Sydney as a prime authorship candidate, it is apparent that his literary brilliance was shared with his sister Mary Sidney. Philip Sidney's sole works, the pastoral love story *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* and sonnets *Astrophel and Stella*, might be considered impressive in their classical scope and workmanship but otherwise rather uninteresting. Sidney's women are objects of puppy love, lacking the strength of

character that distinguishes Shakespeare's women.[26]

In *A defence of Poesie and Poems* (1581), while generally dismissing English drama as a whole, Philip Sidney gives only limited approval to the first major use of blank verse in Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton's *Gorboduc* (1561). Sidney writes: "Our tragedies and comedies, not without cause, are cried out against, observing rules neither of honest civility nor skilful poetry. Except *Gorboduc* ... as it is full of stately speeches, and well-sounding phrases, climbing to the height of Seneca in his style ... yet in truth, it is very defectous in the circumstances, which grieves me, ... for it is faulty both in place and time. But if it be so in *Gorboduc*, how much more in all the rest?" Details of time and place never seemed to concern Shakespeare. Shortly after Philip Sidney wrote these words, Christopher Marlowe developed blank verse into what Ben Jonson described as Marlowe's "mighty line" and Shakespeare ever more cleverly exploited the art.

Mary Sidney's highly admired completion of her brother Philip's *Sidney Psalms* was presented to Elizabeth I in 1599. Its inspired and vivid translations led to immediate acclaim. In major part the work was that of Mary, suggesting that she may have possessed the greater talent. Writing in 1611, Aemilia Lanyer considered Mary the sole translator.[27]

However, a year before Mary Sidney presented the *Sidney Psalms*, Meres wrote in *Palladis Tamia* (1598) that in Mary's patronage of the arts she "is very liberal unto Poets." He compared her to Octavia Minor, who generously rewarded Virgil for each verse of the Aeneid he recited. Just as Octavia was devoted to her brother Augustus, the first Roman Emperor, so was Mary to her brother Philip. Indeed, Philip Sidney is said to have similarly rewarded Edmund Spenser for every stanza of the Shepherd's Calendar that he recited.

Meres also described Mary as a "most delicate poet" and likened her to Sappho (c. 600 BCE), for which there are a number of parallels. For example, both were poets of love, careful to remain at length from politics, active developers of verse structure, leaders of literary circles and the single female poet among highly regarded male poets.[28]

Although much of Sappho's work is lost, it is clear from the surviving epigrams that she was a Mysteries lyricist. For example, in one of the earliest references to Sappho, Dioscórides (c. 250 BCE) praises her while referring to the rites of Persephone and of Adonis: "O Sappho, sweetest support for young passions, / You must surely be keeping company with the Muses, / Honoured by ivied Helicon and by Pieria, / for the songs of the Muse from Eresus equal theirs / or else it's the God of weddings, Hymen, / who stands by you over the bridal bed, torch in hand; / or else you share Aphrodite's weeping for young Adonis, / and so come to see the holy grove of the blessed. / Greetings wherever you are, lady, greetings as to a god: / for your songs, your immortal daughters, are with us still."[29] Aside from the context of the Mysteries, Mary's love for her dead brother Philip is plainly analogous to Aphrodite weeping for young Adonis.

It became popular to refer to Sappho as the tenth muse, fourth Grace or second Helen. For example, Antipater of Sidon (c. 150 BCE) writes: "Hearing the

songs of honey-voiced Sappho, the goddess Memory stood amazed, / [Mother of nine immortal muses], she wondered: / could there, on earth, be a tenth?"[30] (Antipater also laments for Sappho: "O ye Fates twirling the / triple thread on the spindle, why spun ye not an / everlasting life for the singer who devised the / deathless gifts of the Muses of Helicon?" [31] In likening Mary Sidney to Sappho, Meres really compares Mary to a Mysteries lyricist and to the person who coordinated or brought the Muses together through a circle of playwrights. He directly compares her neither to the Muse of sacred poetry and hymns, Polyhymnia, which would have been appropriate if Meres had knowledge in advance of the *Sidney Psalms*, nor to the other Muses that inspired Shakespeare's themes: Calliope (heroic poetry), Melpomene (tragedy) and Thalia (comedy).

It may be appropriate to sever Mary Sidney's work in these themes from her quite different efforts in theater patronage and entertainment. The latter is consistent with suggestions from the cryptographic research. Mary Sidney's role as patron, sponsor, motivator, circle leader, coordinator and project manager is very influential and important, but is distinct from direct authorship of tragedies, histories and comedies.

The proposition that Shakespeare's plays were project managed by Mary Sidney is also supported by hesitant authorship attributions. The first three of the initial eight plays (*Titus Andronicus* [1594], *Taming of the Shrew* and *Henry VI Part 3* [1595]) substituted statements that various acting companies had performed the plays for authorship attributions. For example, the title page of *Titus Andronicus* unusually stated that it had been acted by all three of the Pembroke's Men, Derby's Men, and Sussex's Men. The title page of *Henry VI Part 3* named only the Pembroke's Men.

The first play to mention the name William Shakespeare was *Loves Labour's Lost* (1598), which was the ninth play to be published. It recorded him not as author but merely noted that William Shakespeare corrected and augmented the plays. Even later, within a year two of the first eight anonymous plays being reprinted, it was merely noted that William Shakespeare had "augmented" one and "corrected" another. The third of the anonymous plays to be reprinted, *Richard II* (1598 reprint) was the first play to state explicitly that it was "by William Shakespeare." Incongruously, the printing of *Henry V* (1600) again reverts to anonymous authorship. The next ten plays contiguously stated his authorship.

If Mary Sidney's primary roles were primarily those of patron, sponsor, motivator, coordinator and project manager, then she has very strong associations with the plays. It is also feasible that she developed strong female characters in the plays, such as Portia in *The Merchant of Venice*.[32] Recalling Mary's enthusiastic participation in Ben Jonson's Court masques, Mary may have been an original contributor to masque-like scenes in many plays.

It is notable that Mary Sidney's niece Mary Wroth developed almost as many social connections that favor potential authorship links to the First Folio as did her aunt. Perhaps this is unsurprising given Mary Wroth's literary talents, her father's patronage of the arts in London, the extensive sojourns with Mary Sidney at Wilton

House from childhood onwards, and that she also participated enthusiastically in Court masques designed by Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones. The cryptographic phase of this research provides little positive support for Mary Wroth's involvement in the plays. Perhaps the most that can be advanced in support of Mary Wroth authorship is that she, in the same way as Mary Sidney, may have helped produce or project manage the plays and have contributed to the masque-like elements in Shakespeare's later plays.

From an evaluation of the social network results in the context of the period, it may be the case that First Folio is as likely to be a tribute to the life of Mary Sidney as it is to William Shakespeare. Although Mary Sidney has one epitaph ascribed to her friend Ben Jonson, it is suspected that he didn't write it. This hardly constitutes the usual outpouring of grief that accompanies the passing of a highly regarded poet or playwright. Nor is absence of grief consistent with the torchlit procession of over one hundred coaches that attended Mary's body from London to Salisbury Cathedral for burial, where there is no monument to Mary Sidney.[33]

Prior to commencing a large and expensive project, publishers would often seek an indication of buyer demand by pre-announcement of the publication in a book fair catalogue. The concept of a folio of Shakespeare plays was commercially announced in 1622, in a semiannual Frankfurt Buch Mess Katalog. This was within about six months of Mary's death. The printed First Folio subsequently became available in December 1623.

4. Conclusion

Exponential Random Graph Model (ERGM) analysis of the Elizabethan Social Network facilitates an assessment of potential authorship connections to the First Folio. The analysis provides some support for the authorship of Mary Sidney Countess of Pembroke, her niece Mary Wroth and is ambivalent in regard to William Shakspere.

Mary Sidney and her niece Mary Wroth have the potential to form multiple relationships with the First Folio, which increases the log likelihood of the Elizabethan Social Network and increases their probability of authorship or involvement in the plays. Decipherment of an inscription on a statue of Shakespeare at Wilton House provides interesting context and directions for future research, but does not enhance Mary Sidney's probability of authorship.

William Shakspere's authorship remains enigmatic due to the limited extant information about his social relationships. This contributes to a low probability of authorship in social network research. While William Shakspere's authorship does not increase the log likelihood of the Elizabethan Social Network, it is significant that neither does his authorship reduce it.

Perhaps the most significant finding is that the log likelihood of the Elizabethan Social Network is materially reduced by the potential authorship of Christopher Marlowe, Roger Manners, William Stanley, Francis Bacon, Elizabeth I,

Edward de Vere and Philip Sidney.

Conclusions for all Bayesian probability studies are limited to the data and may not be generalized. Enhancement of the probability of any potential author relationship with the First Folio is possible with the discovery of additional dyad and triad social network relationships.

Appendix One:
Social Network Connections of Potential Authors to the First Folio
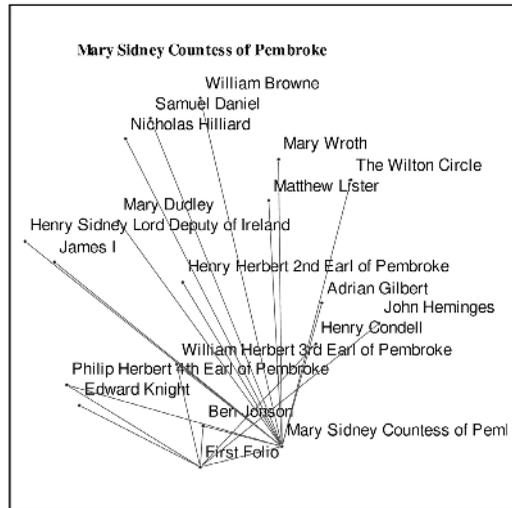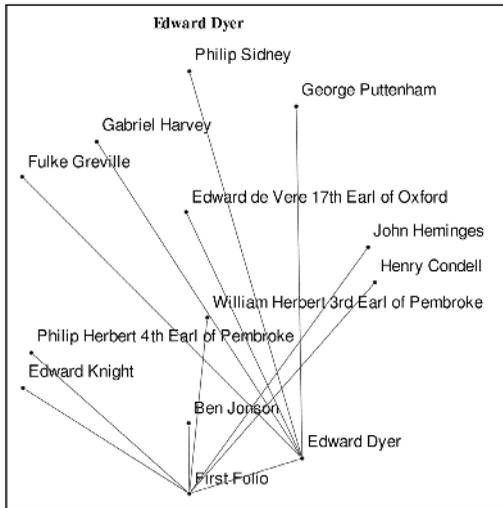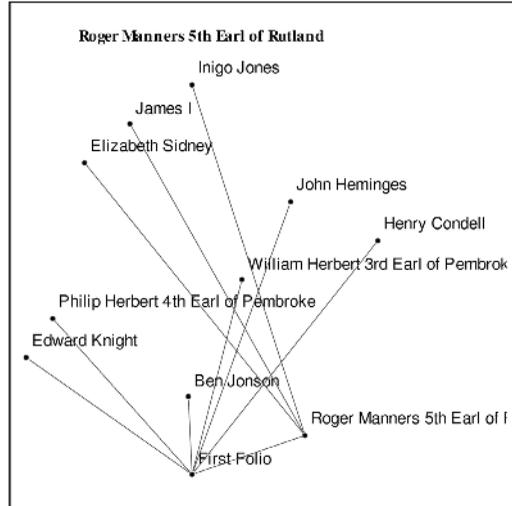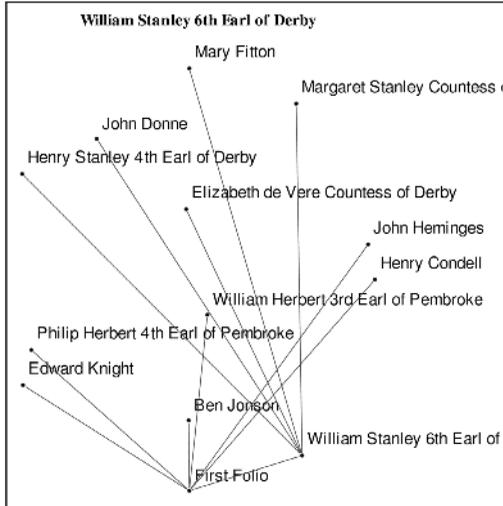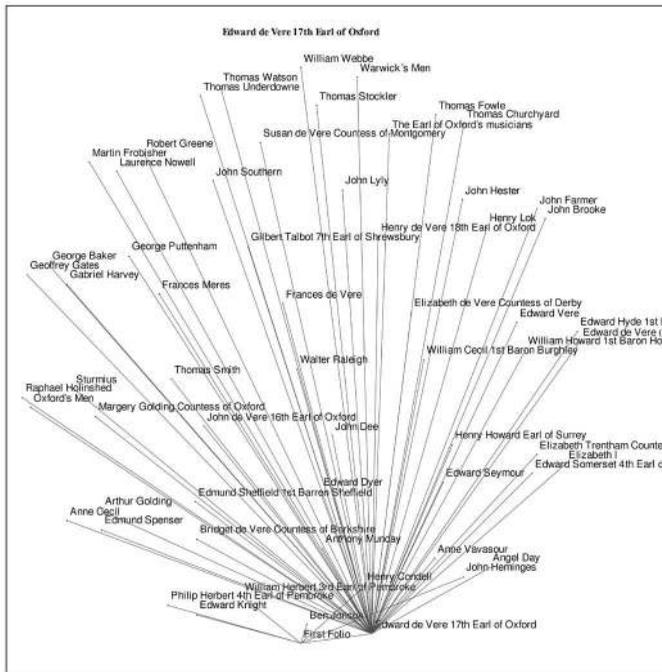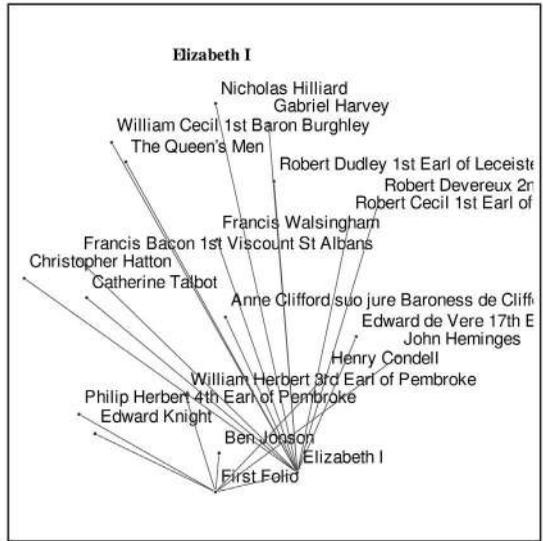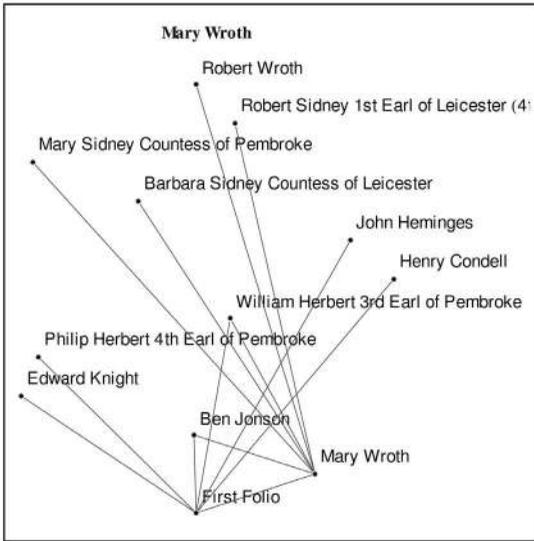
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The Logical Basis of Oxford's *Troilus and Cressida*

Michael Wainwright

> O madness of discourse
> That cause sets up with and against itself—
> Bifold authority, where reason can revolt
> Without perdition, and loss assume all reason
> Without revolt! This is and is not Cressid.
>
> *Troilus and Cressida* (5.2.141–145)[1]

William Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* appreciates the truly fundamental in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* as fundamentally true: frustrating and sometimes paradoxical logic defines certain social dilemmas.[2] In turn, Chaucer's understanding of the rational faculty, which intuitively perceives the preexisting structure to interpersonal relations, draws concertedly on the work of the Roman scholar and Christian philosopher Boethius (c. 480–c. 525). Boethius' desire to translate the texts of Aristotle and Plato reflects his concern with logical prefiguration, which "comes across most powerfully in the *Consolation* [*of Philosophy*], where," as Rosalyn Rossignol notes, "he frequently refers to the arguments and examples of these writers to support his own logic-based analysis of his fate."[3] Boethian philosophy, as an Aristotelian structuralism that at once actualizes a teleological and a Neoplatonic framework, laid the foundations of scholasticism, and this normative intellectual movement retained adherents in England during the High Middle Ages thanks to the increased stability and resultant expansion of the universities at Oxford and Cambridge.

"Some time at a university," states Kathryn L. Lynch, "is not incompatible with the documentary records we possess of Chaucer's life or with the shape that his career had taken up to the early 1360s or would take afterwards."[4] "It is not . . . to be imagined," writes William Godwin, "that a young man so advantageously

circumstanced as to be designed to finish his general education at the universities," and then, as Godwin speculates, "to remove to the inns of court, was not made to partake of every advantage that the scholastic institutions of the city in which he resided could afford, for the cultivation of his infant mind."[5] Rather than the enjoyment rendered by "the nobler classics," details Godwin, "the daily amusement of scholars was in the unnatural style of Seneca and Boethius."[6] When but during the fourteenth century, as Godwin reports of Bishop Robert Lowth's complaint, "was not the science of logic most assiduously, perhaps too emphatically and earnestly pursued?"[7] No wonder, as Morton W. Bloomfield asserts, the rationalistic view of the world so impressively forwarded in Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* "pervades *Troilus and Criseyde* like reason itself."[8]

Nonetheless, Chaucer's abiding interest in the demands of logic seems at odds with fourteenth-century voluntarism, which Duns Scotus (1266–1308) had promoted alongside nominalism, and which came to dominate theological thinking with its emphasis on God's *potentia absoluta*. In separating rationality from God's omnipotence, however, Duns Scotus made possible the individual development of logic and mysticism. This epistemological bifurcation led in one direction toward rationalism, and in the other toward skepticism. A small band of scholars, including Thomas Bradwardine (*c.* 1295–1349), Nicholas Trevet (*c.* 1257–*c.* 1334), and John Wyclif (*c.* 1325–1384), who were dedicated to the powers of rationality, hereby emerged against the intellectual background of voluntarism and nominalism. This select few, relates Bloomfield, "developed logic as an autonomous tool, speculating about a three-modal logic"[9]—what John P. Burgess describes as the "relationships among *may be* and *is* and *must be*, or possible and actual and necessary"[10]—and used "a more mathematical notation than hitherto."[11] That mysticism increasingly influenced fourteenth-century theology made this small band of scholars acutely conscious of the importance of human reason. Their approach to scholasticism, as Chaucer appreciated, tended to extract meaning from its theological context; as a result, reason not only informed Chaucer's poetic methodology, but also imbued his delineation of the mental faculty. "Chaucer is a very rationalistic poet," insists Bloomfield, he believes in structure, order, and "the rules of the reason game."[12]

Hence, *Troilus and Cressida* recognizes in *Troilus and Criseyde*, as E. Talbot Donaldson affirms, "a work full of ironic contradictions and yet ringing true in a way that far more realistic literature fails to do."[13] There are, of course, noteworthy differences between the two works, but genre rather than compositional period accounts for many of these contrasts. Although *Troilus and Cressida* "reworks Chaucer's love poem," as Kris Davis-Brown relates, "drastically compressing its plot and foreshortening character development,"[14] such alterations do not impinge upon the rules of logic. Chaucer's literary descendent finds in *Troilus and Criseyde* an emphasis on the logical explanation of events in general and human behavior in particular, so that little surprise should attend Hector's anachronistic reference in the play to Aristotle. "You have both said well," he caustically remarks to two of King Priam's sons, Paris and Troilus, "And on the cause and question now in hand / Have glossed, but superficially—not much / Unlike young men," he adds, "whom Aristotle

thought / Unfit to hear moral philosophy" (2.2.163–167). Your minds, imputes Hector, are rather immature and shallow.

Concordance between the narrative poem and the play, however, should not mask the contradictory intellectual relays that scholasticism would have established with the work of the sixteenth-century logician Pierre de la Ramée (1515–1572)—better known under the name, which he eventually adopted, of Peter Ramus—whose influence on both the logic and rhetoric of *Troilus and Cressida* is undoubted. That this play at once examines the basic structure of human logic, the multifarious impresses that personally articulate that foundation, and the rhetoric associated with that articulation, testifies to a university-educated playwright. Biographical and historical evidence therefore identify the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, Edward de Vere (1550–1604), rather than a provincial citizen of Stratford-upon-Avon, William Shakspere (1564–1616), as the author of *Troilus and Cressida*.

Shakspere probably attended the Edward VI Grammar School in Stratford-upon-Avon, where the curriculum would have covered the essentials of rhetoric as well as the basics of logic.[15] "The English humanists of the sixteenth century put into practice the ideals of studying classical literature which had been developed in fifteenth-century Florence," chronicles Stefan Daniel Keller, "and made far-reaching changes in the grammar school and university curricula." Thus, "where logic had held the main place," as Keller notes, "rhetoric and grammar now shared it with logic, as these disciplines became more important in the humanist curriculum." Keller cites Bishop Richard Fox's foundation of "Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1517," to illustrate his point. Fox "specified that lectures should be given on Cicero's *Orator*, his *Parts of Rhetoric*, Quintilian's *Institutiones*, and the *Declamationes* attributed to Quintilian. By the same token," maintains Keller, "classical rhetoric became ever more important at grammar school level."[16] Certainly, as Keller asserts, secondary education would have honed "Shakespeare's abilities in rhetoric," yet in comparison, Edward de Vere benefited not only from "the advantages of the best private tuition," as literary historian J. Thomas Looney remarks, but also from a university education—and Ramism dominated the Oxbridge landscape.[17]

In this regard, de Vere's tutelage under William Cecil (1520–1598) is of additional significance because of Cecil's own education.[18] Cecil "entered St. John's College, Cambridge," chronicles Martin A. S. Hume, "when he was fifteen years of age."[19] A zealous scholar, documents Edward Nares, Cecil "was accustomed to hire the college bell-ringer to 'call him up at four of the clock every morning.'"[20] At the time of Cecil's attendance, as Hume notes, the university was fostering an intellectual movement based on Ramism, "the young leaders of which at once became Cecil's chosen friends."[21] Ramus' "stress upon a practical approach to logic and the importance of knowledge from experience appealed to the English Puritans," explains Garry J. Moes. "He defined logic as a tool of demonstration rather than an abstract idea." [22] This approach suited those whom Cedric B. Cowing describes as the "godly merchants" of East Anglia and, with their endorsement, Ramism "took hold early [...] at Cambridge University."[23] Hence, Keller's focus on academic interest in rhetoric fails to appreciate the importance of the Cambridge Ramists, whose high profile

successfully attracted the attention of Oxford scholars too. In consequence, Ramism would remain prominent on the intellectual landscape of Britain into the second half of the next century—"As I hold with our countryman Sidney," writes John Milton (1608–1674) in *Artis Logicæ* (1672), "Peter Ramus is believed the best writer on the art."[24]

Beyond what Jack Cunningham calls the "puritan" in Cecil, there was a more personal reason for his affinity with Ramism.[25] Ramus, "after being under the protection of the Cardinal of Lorrain," as Nares details, "had turned Calvinist,"[26] but Protestantism served him ill. For, "among the sufferers most basely betrayed, and most cruelly used" in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in Paris on 24 August 1572, as Nares reports, "was the celebrated Peter Ramus." Moreover, "it has been conjectured that Lord Burghley was meant to be included in the massacre."[27] Holding firm to his Protestantism in reaction to this bloody affair, and with his continued tenure of the Chancellorship of Cambridge University (1559–1598), Cecil retained his "faith" in Ramism. What is more, as Nares contends, Cecil was as influential at Oxford as he was at Cambridge. "Both universities seem almost equally to have been submitted to his care and the decision of his judgment."[28] Cecil's influence on university affairs even extended as far as Trinity College Dublin. Under Cecil's stewardship (1592–1598), as Cunningham remarks, Trinity "had a strongly Ramist ethos."[29] In short, Edward de Vere's familiarity with his guardian's Ramism is difficult to discount. Cecil, as Bronson Feldman emphasizes, "kept the young man at his books,"[30] de Vere graduated from Cambridge University in 1564,[31] and he gained a Master of Arts degree from Oxford University two years later.[32] De Vere acquired a formal knowledge of logic that Shakspere could not have obtained.

The fundamentals of this formalness concern protologic. A preexisting framework structures logic—"something protological," insists the analytical philosopher Robert Hanna, "is built innately into human rationality itself"—and Ramism appreciates this precondition.[33] "Philosophy was not the arcane pseudo-science of the theologians, but something else altogether," writes George Huppert of Ramus' principled attitude, "a method of reasoning—the only method—which was so natural, so simple, that it had always been practiced, even in pre-historic times."[34] "Thus, antediluvian men, who already understood mathematics," as Ramus avows in *Dialectique* (1555), "were skilled in logic."[35] To the detriment of philosophy, however, the "Peripateticians moved away from a genuine love of wisdom," which counsels the examination and review of inherited precepts, "and devoted themselves slavishly to the love of Aristotle."[36] In Ramus' judgment, the last of the creditable Aristotelian dialecticians was Claudius Galenus (c. 130–c. 200); hereafter, the Peripateticians effectively barred access to the consistent practice of logical principles. Ramus reopened that entrance.

At its heart, Ramus' understanding of rationality retains two-valued Aristotelian logic, which recognizes any proposition as either true or false. This system of logic uses the terminology of categorical (or attributive) and hypothetical (or conditional) propositions. The former type affirms or denies according to its predicate; the latter type contains two subcategories: the conjunctive, with the form

"if *A*, then *B*," and the disjunctive, with the form "either *A* or not *A*." Two-valued Aristotelian logic is "formal" in the modern sense of the term. Notwithstanding this fundamental retention, Ramus criticized Aristotle for certain pedagogical notions. Matthew Guillen explains that Ramus dismissed the Aristotelian beliefs that "rhetoric and dialectic were inseparably intertwined" with "logic a subset of rhetoric." For Ramus, rationality was not subservient to rhetorical expression, his enterprise "elevating the status of logic," and "putting an end to the *morbus scholasticus*," which Fox's sterile and inflated scholasticism represented.[37] Put succinctly, simplicity enhances functionality, and Aristotle's elaborations muddle his own account of logic. Furthermore, as James J. Murphy adds, "Aristotelians have distorted his books over many centuries," with Boethius' intervention being typically problematic: "in trying to clarify Aristotle," while retaining two-valued logic, Boethius compounds Aristotle's "confusions."[38]

In comparison, Ramus' perspective on rationality held that the reasoning faculty (*ratio naturalis*) required the art of logic, with the assistance of observation, experience, and induction, to produce trained reason (*ratio artificiosa*). "According to Ramus," as Peter F. Fisher details, "the ground of . . . *ratio naturalis* was to be found in rhetoric and grammar."[39] "The production of speech content privileged by the [Aristotelian] rhetorical tradition," explains Guillen, "depended on an auditory understanding of specific 'seats,' 'images' and 'common places'—what could be described as a memory theatre—with stock arguments and structures which had accumulated through centuries of use. These *loci communes* were supported by a complex art of memory techniques that nourished the rhetorical practice."[40] Ramus' approach maps the structure and flow of arguments. His compositional method, which includes the use of tables and diagrams, presents subject matter in discrete units. "In lieu of merely telling the truth," explains Walter J. Ong, "books would now in common estimation 'contain' the truth."[41]

Ramism was of interest not only to creative writers—because, as Manuel Breva-Claramonte comments, "Ramus initiates a new conception of linguistics: a definitely structural approach to language"[42]—but also to logicians, lawyers, and mathematicians—because, as Guillen remarks, "*loci*-based memory, a mentalization structured by division and composition, was simply transformed by Ramus into content structured in a set of visible or sight-oriented relations on the page."[43] Where Keller's interpretation of sixteenth-century education separates logic from rhetoric not only in grammar schools, but also in universities, Breva-Claramonte, Fisher, Guillen, and Ong build a more convincing picture of reciprocity between the two disciplines at the highest academic level, especially where Ramism is considered. Hence, Ramus remains a significant figure in the history of thought, as P. A. Duhamel contends, "for his revisions of the arts of logic *and* rhetoric."[44]

The humanistic curriculum at the grammar school in Stratford-upon-Avon would not have honed Shakspere's practical skills in the application of logic and rhetoric to the extent afforded by Oxford's formal tuition. In contrast, de Vere's education would have apprised him of the complex relationship between logic, cognition, and linguistic expression. In this paradigm, logic depended principally on a

preexisting structure; "thinking did not depend primarily on an abstract framework," explains Fisher, "but on the concrete perception of living minds without which the most formidable logical analysis was no more than a *tour de force*"[45]; and rhetoric articulated the linguistic expression of these perceptions. Literary masterpieces are not only the products of reasoning, but also the expression of reasoning in various forms of individual practice.

For de Vere, as for Ramus, a natural capacity attended logic. Logic studied the prototypical framework of thought, addressed the rules of argument, and aided rational fitness. "Following in the footsteps of Continental rhetorician Peter Ramus," writes Bernard J. Hibbitts, "leading English legal scholars such as Sir Edward Coke [1552–1634] and [Sir] Henry Finch [1558–1625] promoted the usage of schematic, dichotomizing diagrams to clarify legal concepts and arguments."[46] Both Edward de Vere and William Shakspere are likely to have encountered this methodology, but the formal roots of de Vere's grounding in logic went far deeper than Shakspere's did.

After leaving Oxford University, and echoing his patron's removal to the same Inn in May 1541, de Vere entered Gray's Inn in February 1567.[47] "It was no unusual thing, in those days," as Nares explains, "for young men of family or talents, who had any prospects of becoming members of the legislature, to go through a course of law at some one of our Inns of Court."[48] Removal to the Inns of Court, as Godwin's speculation about Chaucer's attendance suggests, had been a common route by which advantaged young men could complete their education. That less than a mile separated Cecil House from High Holburn facilitated de Vere's regular presence at Gray's Inn. The Inns of Court, where experienced lawyers gave lectures and moot proceedings were a part of the training, offered students a legal education tailored to actual practice.

De Vere's attendance paid off. "The 14th [*sic*] year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth was in 1572. This was about the time," state Paul Altrocchi and Hank Whittemore, "when Edward de Vere had 'shone' at her court."[49] Hereafter, the intellectual milieu of London helped Oxford to maintain this aura. For example, as Jess Edwards chronicles, Thomas Hood was "appointed mathematical lecturer to the City of London in 1598." A fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Hood had published a translation of Ramus' *Geometria* (1569) in 1590, and he maintained a desire to popularize mathematics. "Hood's lectures," observes Edwards, "were clearly part of that third university established in late sixteenth-century London, where knowledge was designed to be shared between university scholars and practical men. Their audience was an open one."[50] At this period, Shakspere could have enjoyed the same source of Ramism as Oxford did, but not to the same extent, owing to his inferior standard of education. That Hood, as Mathematical Lecturer to the Captains of the Trained Bands, corresponded with Lord Burghley adds another dimension to this Oxfordian-Stratfordian difference.[51]

Mind maps of the sort employed by Coke, Finch, and Hood, which applied what Duhamel identifies as Ramus' basic rule of logic—"every art should imitate nature"—established a representational and methodological tradition that remains vital. [52] "PowerPoint presentations, outlining tools and 'the scourge of bullet points,'"

avers Guillen in quoting Steven Maras, are "the most obvious evidence of lingering Ramist issue."[53] Less explicitly, but of similar importance, the organizational schemas of Ramism also anticipated the game-theoretic appeal to protologic. "The art of logic," writes Ramus in *Aristotelicae animadversiones* (1543), "is grounded in the dialectics of nature."[54] Thus, as Ramus insists in *Dialecticae institutiones* (1543), the faculty for logical thought is inborn. "Natural dialectic is the talent, reason, mind, image of God, in short, the blessed light that approaches eternal light; it is proper to man and is therefore born with him."[55]

Game Theory and Ramist Visualizations

Ramism and game theory share the same principles: nature endows humans with rational minds that can negotiate the preexisting structures of logic. Founded by John von Neumann in "Zur Theorie der Gesellschaftsspiele" (1928), and extended by von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern's *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* (1944), game theory has become a wide-ranging discipline. The basic theory concerns games of strategy. The word "strategy," "as used in its everyday sense, carries the connotation of a particularly skillful or adroit plan, whereas in game theory it designates any *complete* plan." In short, summarizes John Davis Williams, "*a strategy is a plan so complete that it cannot be upset by enemy action or Nature*; for everything that the enemy or Nature may choose to do, together with a set of possible actions for yourself, is just part of the description of the strategy."[56]

Game theory simulates the logical decisions made by individuals when such *players* have to consider the choices made by other players. The number of individuals faced with a particular decision—one, two, or more than two—combined with the number of available choices helps to categorize strategic games. Dilemmas that involve two or more individuals are termed *coordination problems*; coalitions mean that many multi-participant dilemmas can often be treated as two-person games; if the number of choices faced in each decision-making process is more than two, then these choices can be broken into a series of binary options. Much game-theoretic mathematical modeling therefore deals with two-person two-choice games. "Whether the outcome of a game is comic or tragic, fun or serious, fair or unfair," notes Steven J. Brams, "it depends on individual *choices*."[57] Each logically-minded participant in a coordination problem shares the same information concerning possible outcomes, anticipates the choices of his counterparts, and picks a strategy in the hope of maximizing his *score* (*payoff* or *utility*) according to those prospects.

In basic simulations, a player ranks each prospective outcome from best to worst in an ordinal sequence; in complicated models, he builds his strategic preferences into the payoffs. Hierarchies emerge from the dialectics of deduction, and Ramus suggested, as Harald Kleinschmidt explains, "that the order of the world could be . . . .successively divided into the hierarchical order of its constituent elements, right down to the smallest recognisable part."[58] Whether one believed in divine systematic formation or not, Ramus explicitly opened the human mind to relational dynamics and phenomenal ordering, and the notion of hierarchical structures soon

achieved currency beyond the confines of academia. Two of the schemas Ramus employed in this endeavor were matrices and decision trees. While both models have game-theoretic scope, matrices are most pertinent to the logical basis of Oxford's *Troilus and Cressida* because they offer a succinct depiction of the classified outcomes for social dilemmas involving two players facing a pair of choices.

Social dilemmas, as coordination problems that commonly occur in real-life interactions, provide abundant material for mathematical insight, with the application of game theory to literature encouraging the careful analysis of character motivation, interpersonal conflicts, and the effects of coordinated actions. A hermeneutic based on game theory does not lift arcane theory from one domain (mathematics) and inappropriately apply that theory to a disconnected discipline (literary studies), but posits rationality as the regulating structure of reflective thought rather than the sole motivation of behavior. For, in the thought processes that constitute individual consciousness, the reasoning faculty does not operate in isolation; rather, rationality traverses all aspects of mental constitution. Likewise, insightful authors acknowledge the psychical pressures that shape generic consciousness into individual expression. Edward de Vere's *Troilus and Cressida*, as a work that owes a significant debt to both Ramism and Chaucer's Boethian *Troilus and Criseyde*, cannot but appeal to game-theoretic interpretation.

Game Theory Applied to *Troilus and Cressida*

The impasse at the level of social groups in *Troilus and Cressida* is a game-theoretic *Deadlock* between the Trojans and Greeks. "After seven years' siege," decries the Greek general Agamemnon, "yet Troy walls stand" (1.3.12). Deadlock is a common case of strategic interdependence in which cost-benefit calculations usually precede either-or decisions. Figure 1 illustrates the game-theoretic utilities assigned to Deadlock; player choice is a matter of *cooperation* (*C*) or *defection* (*D*). Each pair of digits in the matrix refers to the Trojan and Greek payoffs, respectively—"the Greek debate . . . . about what constitutes value," confirms Anthony B. Dawson, "is matched by the Trojan argument"—with 3 the highest and 0 the lowest utility, respectively.[59]

	Grecian	
	Cooperate	Defect
Trojan	Cooperate	**1,1**	**0,3**
	Defect	**3,0**	**2,2**

		Grecian	
		Cooperate	Defect
Trojan	Cooperate	**1,1**	**0,3**
	Defect	**3,0**	**2,2**

Figure 1
The Trojan-Grecian Deadlock

Self-interest in the face of an opponent's altruism promises the highest possible outcome (winning the payoff of 3); mutual self-interest guarantees the next highest result (gaining the score of 2); mutual altruism returns the third highest

outcome (winning the payoff of 1); altruism in the face of an opponent's self-interest offers the lowest result (with a score of 0).

In the stalemate between the warring Trojans and Greeks, each side hopes for the maximum payoff. For, as the prologue makes clear, "expectation, tickling skittish spirits / On one and other side, Trojan and Greek, / Sets all on hazard" (0.20–22). Whether the impasse is active (warfare in which "honour, loss of time, travail, expense, / Wounds, friends, and what else dear" [2.2.4–5] is aggressively "consumed" [2.2.5]), or passive ("so many hours, lives, speeches, spent" [2.2.1] in respite) makes no strategic difference. One side's expression of this equilibrium merely seems to promote its expression by the other side, with the current "dull and long-continued truce" (1.3.263), according to Aeneas, making warriors such as Hector "resty grown" (1.3.264). "While here the truce is said to be long-lasting," remarks Dawson, "in the first two scenes war is being vigorously waged."[60] This type of inconsistency, claims Dawson, did not bother either the playwright or the playgoer, and game theory explains such creative and receptive indifference by emphasizing that a deadlocked war and a ceasefire without an armistice are alternative expressions of the same coordination problem.

From a Ramist perspective, Ulysses' disquisition on the "fever" (1.3.134) engendered by this impasse—the stalemate that "rend[s] and deracinate[s], / The unity and married calm of states" (1.3.99–100), and in which "Force should be right, or rather, right and wrong, / Between whose endless jar justice resides" (1.3.116–117)—is less an expression of "the Aristotelian idea that virtue follows a 'middle way' between two vicious extremes," which Dawson attributes to general critical comment, and more Dawson's own implicitly game-theoretic sense (in this instance) "that justice consists in adjudicating between opposing claims, one of which is right and the other wrong."[61] Ulysses' argument, which concerns the mediation between the antagonistic claims of two state powers, conjures up the quaternary structure of rational thought summarized by the inner four boxes of a two-player two-choice matrix, as instanced in figure 1. *Troilus and Cressida* hereby contains "the truth," as in Ong's description of a Ramist visualization of logical processes, "like boxes."[62] As if to confirm this interpretation, Ulysses continues his disquisition with a statement about power, which the quarto italicizes, as Dawson notes, "to emphasise its aphoristic quality."[63] This aphorism—"Then everything includes itself in power, / Power into will, will into appetite, / And appetite," reasons Ulysses, "an universal wolf, / So doubly seconded with will and power" (1.3.119–122)—has a fourfold aspect, with that aspect itself of a double binary nature.

The truth, like boxes in the Trojan-Grecian Deadlock, is stark: no matter what the other side does, as the four-term mathematical inequality that describes the descending payoffs—DC > DD > CC > CD—shows, each side achieves a better outcome if it defects. By defecting, a side is certain to avoid the two lowest outcomes, whatever its opponent does. Indeed, the play opens with the Trojan-Grecian conflict already having settled into equilibrium. This diachronic stalemate forces on the poet-persona a "Beginning in the middle" (0.28) of events, "but not in confidence / Of author's pen or actor's voice, but suited / In like conditions as our argument"

(0.23–25) to the prospect of "what may be digested in a play" (0.29); namely, no overall alteration in the affairs of state. Briefly put, the interstate politics of *Troilus and Cressida* illustrates the sort of strategic impasse that, as Morgenstern avows, "can never be broken by an act of knowledge."[64]

"It is scarcely surprising," notes historian Heather M. Campbell, in her study of the emergence of modern Europe, "that, when any struggle became deadlocked, the local rulers should look about for foreign support; it is more noteworthy," however, as she maintains, "that their neighbours were normally ready and eager to provide it."[65] For example, with the assassination of William the Silent (1533–1584), who had begun his campaign against Spanish rule over the northern Netherlands in 1567, Queen Elizabeth tendered practical support to the rebels. The Dutch accepted this offer with "an outpouring of gratitude. In fact," as Mark Anderson reports, "it was even thought that Elizabeth might rule over the Dutch as new subjects to the English crown." This possibility raised the question of a monarchical governorship. The Earl of Leicester, who had commanded the initial campaign for Elizabeth, was the obvious choice, but de Vere also coveted the position. "This was a candidacy," writes Anderson, "that de Vere took seriously. And in the Elizabethan court's Christmas revels of 1584, he gave his aspirations voice," when Oxford's Boys performed *A History of Agamemnon and Ulysses* at Windsor Castle on 27 December. "This 'lost' play," believes Anderson, "was probably a draft of part of Shake-speare's [*sic*] dark satire *Troilus and Cressida*," with Agamemnon's anger at a seven-year impasse reflecting the timeframe of William the Silent's campaign.[66] "Agamemnon and Ulysses also argue over some of the very issues at stake in the Lowlands," adds Anderson, and "a play staged for Queen Elizabeth about the siege of Troy would readily have been seen as a representation of the siege of the Netherlands."[67]

That the Trojan-Grecian impasse helps facilitate the social dilemmas internal to each party lends further support to the Oxfordian case concerning *Troilus and Cressida*. These inner problems reveal the attempts by particular individuals to promote their social rank. Ulysses' disquisition on degree, a speech that Dawson rates as "the most famous in the play," introduces this subject:[68] "The heavens themselves, the planets and this centre," intones Ulysses, "Observe degree, priority, and place, / Insisture, course, proportion, season, form, / Office, and custom in all line of order" (1.3.85–88). Thus, contends Ulysses, "How could communities" (1.3.103), "But by degree stand in authentic place?" (1.3.108). Queen Elizabeth, "no less an exponent of medieval notions of royalty than de Vere," writes Anderson of *A History of Agamemnon and Ulysses*, "must have found an appeal in de Vere's rhetoric of rank and deference. Foolish though it would have been to appoint her court playwright as a general and colonial governor, Elizabeth would not acknowledge as much until the last possible moment"—on 10 July 1585, making Sir John Norris temporary commander of the English expeditionary force in the Netherlands.[69] Elizabeth knew how to play the hierarchical game to her own advantage. On the one hand, as Ulysses acknowledges in *Troilus and Cressida*, concord is needed for group action—"When that the general is not like the hive / To whom the foragers shall all repair, / What honey is expected?" (1.3.81–83). On the other hand, as Ulysses also

appreciates, self-promotion produces dissonance in leveling a hierarchy: "O, when degree is shaked, / Which is the ladder of all high designs, / The enterprise is sick" (1.3.101–103). Without established social classes, maintains Ulysses, there will be internal strife. "Take but degree away, untune that string," he warns, "And hark what discord follows: each thing meets / In mere oppugnancy" (1.3.109–111). The choice is between a rigid hierarchy—controlled by primogeniture, inheritance, and accredited superiors—and a descent into chaos, which "when degree is suffocate, / Follows the choking" (1.3.126–127).

Queen Elizabeth faced a somewhat similar choice when faced with the open hostility between the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford and Sir Philip Sidney. The two men, states William Farina, "were rivals politically, personally, and poetically." [70] A long gestation attended this enmity. "De Vere matriculated at Gray's Inn," as Anderson documents, "around the same time as another young and charming prodigy—the frequent guest at Cecil House, Philip Sidney."[71] Sidney's earlier education had followed a similar route to Oxford's, but with far less success. "Sidney left Oxford," as David A. Richardson chronicles, "without taking a degree. After recovering from the plague in the spring of 1572, he may have spent a term at Cambridge."[72] This academic difference between the two noblemen, however, spilled over into other matters of degree. First, the promise of Anne Cecil's hand in marriage to Sidney fell through in 1571, with Cecil's daughter marrying de Vere later that year. Second, as the two men rose in prominence before Elizabeth, two literary factions formed around them. "The court litterateurs," as Looney remarks, "were divided into two parties, one headed by Philip Sidney, and the other by the Earl of Oxford."[73] The rivalry "came to a head on a London tennis court in 1579," as Farina documents, "when a dispute arose over whose turn it was."[74] The order of play became symbolic of the sociopolitical order, with Sidney unwilling to kowtow to Oxford, and Oxford unwilling to set a precedent in backing down.

Like Oxford, and despite his earlier educational travails, Sidney would have appreciated the logic behind this impasse, his French sojourn of 1572 having enabled him to "cultivate the friendship—and earn the admiration—of an extraordinary variety of people," as Richardson enumerates, "including Walsingham, the rhetorician Peter Ramus, the printer Andrew Wechel, and perhaps even the distinguished Huguenot Hubert Languet."[75] Sidney hereafter acted as a patron to Ramus.[76] The Ramist ethos shared by Oxford and Sidney led to a Deadlock. In effect, the tennis court oaths, which witnessed Oxford belittling the "puppy" Sidney for challenging him to a duel, demanded the intervention of a game-theoretic umpire. "Serious in her conception of 'degree,'" as Gāmini Salgādo asserts, Elizabeth acted.[77] "We forget sometimes," counsels Christopher Morris, "that in Shakespeare's England the feudal nobility still mattered," and that Queen Elizabeth "could be almost snobbishly respectful to them." [78] Oxford was assured of the outcome, Elizabeth found in the earl's favor, and rebuked the knight.

Hence, as Morris reasons, "Ulysses' speech on 'degree, priority and place' is not a sermon on the divine right of kings. It is a sermon on the divine right of

aristocracy."[79] Moreover, and to the immediate point, this lack of hierarchical respect prolongs the Trojan-Grecian impasse. "The general's disdained / By him one step below, he by the next, / That next by him beneath," reasons Ulysses, "so every step, / Exampled by the first pace that is sick / Of his superior" (1.3.130–134). That sickness "grows to an envious fever / Of pale and bloodless emulation," he complains, "And 'tis this fever that keeps Troy on foot, / Not her own sinews" (1.3.134–137). "Degree being vizarded," rages Ulysses, "Th'unworthiest shows as fairly in the mask" (1.3.83–84). In Ulysses' judgment, Achilles and Ajax are the major culprits: each commander has become pompous in overvaluing his own status.

Although, as Nestor acknowledges, Achilles carries "our dear'st repute" (1.3.339) abroad, as Nestor simultaneously laments, Achilles also mocks his superiors. The instinctive rhetoric of both Ulysses and Agamemnon, which draws on nature in accordance with *ratio naturalis*, evinces a Ramist inflection in confirming Nestor's opinion. Ulysses thinks that "seeded pride" (1.3.317) has to "maturity blown up / In rank Achilles" (1.3.318–319). Achilles' self-regard overrules his judgment. "A stirring dwarf we do allowance give," concurs Agamemnon, "Before a sleeping giant" (2.3.125–126). Rather than manufactured to demonstrate a theoretical principle, this metaphor would have earned Ramus' seal of approval, conflating as it does impressive rhetoric with two-valued Aristotelian logic—logic that Ulysses takes a step further by conjuring up the specter of paradox. Achilles' disrespect finds support from Patroclus, rails Ulysses, with their overweening self-regard making a mock of their leaders' studied rationality:

> All our abilities, gifts, natures, shapes,
> Severals and generals of grace exact,
> Achievements, plots, orders, preventions,
> Excitements to the field, or speech for truce,
> Success or loss, what is or is not, serves
> As stuff for these two to make paradoxes.
> (1.3.180–185)

Even worse is Ajax's imitative behavior. "Ajax is grown self-willed and bears his head / In such a rein, in full as proud a place, / As broad Achilles," Nestor observes, "keeps his tent like him, / Makes factious feasts, rails on our state of war / Bold as an oracle" (1.3.189–193). Furthermore, Ajax undervalues the dangers hazarded by the Greek forces in their exposed position on the battlefield, and does so to promote his own status (or ordinal rank): "To match us in comparisons with dirt, / To weaken and discredit our exposure / How rank soever rounded in with danger" (1.3.195–197). Achilles and Ajax, "tax our policy and call it cowardice," fumes Ulysses, "Count wisdom as no member of the war, / Forestall prescience, and esteem no act / But that of hand" (1.3.198–201). Neither commander appreciates the *ratio artificiosa* of his superiors, who "By reason guide his execution" (1.3.211). Rankness of the unschooled, which demeans their rank (or dangerously exposed) position on the battlefield, is the Greek's internal problem.

This dilemma echoes the jockeying for social position among ambitious men in Renaissance England. "Erasmus was anything but a Jeffersonian democrat," comments Herschel Clay Baker, "but—with the notable exception of Vives— almost alone in the sixteenth century he deplored the misery of the downtrodden in a ruthless hierarchal society."[80] Although seditious sentiments were "more characteristic of the seventeenth than of the sixteenth century," a number of Erasmus' Protestant coevals, "eager to rise in the world . . . were more outspoken."[81] Just as the logical rhetoric of Ulysses and Agamemnon becomes something of a sparring match, so the Earls of Oxford and Leicester contested the prospective Dutch governorship.

With the "nature of the sickness found," Agamemnon asks Ulysses, "What is the remedy?" (1.3.141–142). Ironically, the Trojans provide a possible solution with their own internal strife. For, although the Trojans might experience more anxiety and less ennui in the Deadlock than the Greeks do—because a hostile force pens them in, however exposed that hostile force is—the impasse also prompts their warriors to consider the matter of individual status. The "resty grown" (1.3.264) Hector, who challenges any Greek commander to personal combat, does so because he is ashamed of his recent confrontation with Ajax, his first cousin, whose own attributes the Trojans despise. "There is no man hath a virtue that he hath not a glimpse of," according to Alexander, "nor any / man an attaint but he carries some stain of it" (1.2.21–22). "But how should this man that makes me smile," asks Cressida, "make Hector / angry?" (1.2.27–28). "They say he yesterday coped Hector in the battle," replies Alexander, "and / struck him down, the disdain and shame whereof hath ever since / kept Hector fasting and waking" (1.2.29–31). In effect, Ajax has reduced Hector (another of King Priam's sons) to the ranks—and, in praising Troilus to Cressida, Pandarus inadvertently confirms Hector's relegation in Trojan estimation: "No, nor Hector is not Troilus in some degrees" (1.2.60).

From Ulysses' perspective, however, Hector's challenge "Relates in purpose only to Achilles" (1.3.325). Hector's intention is as obvious, agrees Nestor, "as substance / Whose grossness little characters do sum up" (1.3.326–327). Read by a game-theoretic hermeneutic, this metaphor connotes the act of assigning utilities. Nestor's prediction of a synechdochic outcome, with the equal match between Hector and his opponent representative of the Trojan-Grecian war, immediately extends Ulysses' analogy. "For here the Trojans taste our dear'st repute / With their fin'st palate; and trust to me," he assures Ulysses, "Our imputation shall be oddly poised / In this vile action" (1.3.339–342). Individual combat (the insignificant or "vile" part) will merely ("oddly") confirm the Trojan-Greek Deadlock. The reputation ("imputation") of Greece—and by logical symmetry the reputation of Troy too—will continue to attend this uncomfortably insoluble impasse ("oddly poised").

Achilles' pride "must or now be cropped," frets Ulysses, "Or, shedding, breed a nursery of like evil / To overbulk us all" (1.3.319–321). With his calculating mind, Nestor now becomes the catalyst for Ulysses' "remedy" (1.3.142): "I have a young conception in my brain," reveals Ulysses, "Be you my time to bring it to some shape" (1.3.313–314). This cure must not only answer Hector's challenge, but also bring

Achilles and Ajax to heel. Notwithstanding the need to puncture the overblown pride of Achilles and Ajax, counsels Nestor, "their fraction is more our wish than their / faction" (2.3.88–89). Nestor's use of the words "fraction" and "faction" appeal to a game-theoretic hermeneutic; in effect, Nestor advocates playing each man off against the other in a situation of coordination that will both cut them down to size (a fraction of their original pomposity) and preclude their possible confederation (in a faction where cooperation meets cooperation) against their superiors. "By device," suggests Ulysses, "let blockish Ajax draw / The sort to fight with Hector" (1.3.374–375).

Agamemnon, who agrees on this course of action, plays his ludic part. In praising Ajax to Ajax himself, Agamemnon favorably compares Ajax's attributes to those of Achilles: "you are as strong, as valiant, as wise, no / less noble, much more gentle, and altogether more tractable" (2.3.136–137). The irony of being tractable is lost on Ajax. His *ratio naturalis*, according to Ulysses' slight, is incapable of *ratio artificiosa*. For, in an aside to Ajax's conditional clause—"An all men were o'my mind" (2.3.199)—Ulysses conjoins, "Wit would be out of fashion" (2.3.200). Such jokes, however, do not hide the serious implications of unreasonable pride. "He that is proud eats up himself," maintains Agamemnon, "pride is his own glass, his / own trumpet, his own chronicle, and whatever praises itself but in / the deed devours the deed in the praise" (2.3.141–143). Overblown pride can be fatally autotelic because, as the leitmotif of self-consumption in *Troilus and Cressida* affirms, the proud man devours himself. In *Troilus and Cressida*, the want of humility is a lack that speaks loudly, a need that cries out for remedy.

Ulysses, as the umpire in the strategic game between Achilles and Ajax, attempts to provide this cure. Employing not only the conjunctive, but also the disjunctive category of hypothetical proposition from Aristotelian first principles, Ulysses maps out a coordination problem in which "Two curs shall tame each other" (1.3.389). On the one hand, "If the dull brainless Ajax come safe off" (1.3.380), then "We'll dress him up in voices" (1.3.381). On the other hand, "if he fail" (1.3.381), then "go we under our opinion still / That we have better men" (1.3.382–383). Whether, "hit or miss" (1.3.383), believes Ulysses, "Ajax employed plucks down Achilles' plumes" (1.3.385).

In game-theoretic terms, as summarized in figure 2, the players are Achilles and Ajax, and each player must choose either to *avoid* or *confront* Hector—cooperation means avoiding Hector while defection entails confronting him. Confrontation in the face of a counterpart's avoidance vouchsafes the highest possible outcome (winning the payoff of 3), while avoidance in the face of a counterpart's confrontation promises the lowest result (with a score of 0). Between winning laurels as sole aggressor and earning rebukes as sole pacifist, each commander would prefer the shared honor of confronting Hector to the shared opprobrium of being labeled a coward. Thus, mutual confrontation guarantees the next highest result (gaining the score of 2), while mutual avoidance provides the third highest outcome (winning the payoff of 1).

		Ajax	
Achilles		Avoidance (cooperate)	Confrontation (defect)
	Avoidance (cooperate)	**1,1**	**0,3**
	Confrontation (defect)	**3,0**	**2,2**

Figure 2
Ulysses' Coordination Problem for Achilles and Ajax

Ulysses' coordination problem for Achilles and Ajax, as a dilemma in which both players should be willing to confront Hector, is another Deadlock. This outcome is equivalent to mutual game-theoretic defection.

Ajax might be, as Thersites jests, "like an hostess that hath no arithmetic but her / brain to set down her reckoning" (3.3.252–253). Dawson might attribute this reference to a "barmaid or tavern-keeper who must rely on her weak brain to sum up the bill," but before the introduction of computerized tills, bar staff needed to have a fair degree of computational prowess.[82] Moreover, as Ann E. Moyer argues, an Oxfordian awareness of the basic direction of academic trends toward mathematics underlies Thersites' statement. "By the late years of the sixteenth century," chronicles Moyer, "such steps tended mainly in the same direction, away from the 'theoretical' arithmetic of Boethius and toward computational, 'practical' arithmetic," as propounded by Ramus.[83] What is more, as the coordination problem between Achilles and Ajax begins to dawn on them, that dilemma demands a practical, ordinal awareness of possible outcomes, not a theoretical understanding of probabilities. If these payoffs equate to social degree, then the outcome to this dilemma, which sees Ajax accept Hector's challenge in the face of Achilles' avoidance, promotes Ajax to the highest available rank (the score of 3) and demotes Achilles to the lowest possible station (the score of 0). No wonder, as Thersites remarks, Ajax "stalks up and down like a peacock" (3.3.251), while the satiric tone of act 3 scene 3 suddenly closes on Achilles' moment of deep self-scrutiny. Like Ajax, Achilles needs only an ordinal awareness to acknowledge defection as his best course of action, but unlike Ajax, he does not react in time. Only after Ajax has assumed the plaudits for his willingness to challenge Hector does Achilles realize his game-theoretic tardiness. Achilles' new status is so low, "I myself see not the bottom of it" (3.3.299).

After requiting Hector's challenge, however, Ajax is even prouder than before. The historical analogy is revealing. That the selectively deferential Queen Elizabeth found in favor of Edward de Vere over Philip Sidney can only have added to the "insolence and pride" that John Aubrey blames for the earl's eventual downfall.[84] Complete success, then, did not crown Elizabeth's intervention in the tennis court dispute. Nor was Ulysses' strategy, with Oxford's art prefiguring his own life from Aubrey's perspective, an unmitigated triumph: an inverse proportionality describes the alteration in the two commanders' conceit, with only Achilles' pride suffering thorough diminishment. "The policy of those crafty / swearing rascals—that stale

old mouse-eaten dry cheese, Nestor, / and that same dog-fox, Ulysses—," proclaims Thersites, "is not proved worth a blackberry" (5.4.7–9). In retrospect, therefore, Ulysses' rant about Achilles and Patroclus—for taking their superiors' "abilities, gifts, natures, [and] shapes" (1.3.180) as material "to make paradoxes" (1.3.185)— carries a game-theoretic irony. Although Ulysses and Nestor have reaped a reward above Thersites' estimation, they were not as logical as they might have been. As prefigured by his instinctive rhetoric of *ratio naturalis*, Ulysses' (and by implication Nestor's) reason, as with the rationality of Ajax and Achilles, exhibits the potential for refinement. That Ulysses as well as Agamemnon uses "rhetorical tricks such as euphuism," as Anderson observes, confirms this untapped potential.[85] Affected and overly ornate language at once testifies to Ulysses' slightly clouded mind and clouds the issue for his interlocutors; as with Boethius' dialogue with the Aristotelian, Ulysses unintentionally compounds confusion.

Although Deadlock is not always as simple as it seems, the separation of Troilus and Cressida, which provides the third two-player two-choice dilemma in the play, is particularly intriguing. This situation is not a Deadlock; furthermore, Cressida's *ratio artificiosa* accounts for this strategic difference. She is more logical than Troilus, Achilles, and Ajax are. Notwithstanding Pandarus' uncertainty as to his niece's mental "discretion" (1.2.214), she is certainly versed in the art of logic, as her "discrete" skills in setting ordinal utilities and calculating possible payoffs show. The first of these two attributes prompts her to rate Troilus' love in excess of her uncle's estimation of the young man's ardor. "But more in Troilus thousandfold I see," she tells herself, "Than in the glass of Pandar's praise may be" (1.2.244–245). Her rejoinder to Pandarus' assertion that Helen admires Troilus—"Indeed a tapster's arithmetic may soon bring his particulars / therein to a total" (1.2.99–100)— confirms the second of her "discrete" skills. To repeat, the arithmetical prowess of old-fashioned bar staff is greater than Dawson allows, but more importantly, Cressida's strategically calculative turn of phrase in these two instances also points to her game-theoretic abilities. This simultaneity of logic and rhetoric exemplifies Ramus' insistence in *Brutinae quaestiones* (1547) that "although associated through usage, the aims and instruction of these arts are kept apart."[86]

In addition, specific outcomes for social dilemmas often pair opposing payoffs—the scores of 0 and 3, for example, mark cooperative-noncooperative behavior in Deadlock—and there is a lineal predisposition to disjunctive conditional thinking in Cressida's family. For, when jesting with his niece—one of his "kindred . . . . burrs" (3.2.91–93)—about Troilus' complexion, Pandarus' rhetoric reveals not only his disjunctive turn of hypothetical mind, but also that same tendency in Cressida. Troilus is not dark, she laughs. "Faith, to say truth," jokes Pandarus, "brown and not brown" (1.2.84). "To say the truth," replies Cressida, "true and not true" (1.2.85). Cressida is alive to both the paradoxes of rationality and the inversion of expectations latent within many coordination problems. When Pandarus charges Cressida as "such a woman" whom "a man knows not at what ward / you lie" (1.2.220–221), she retorts, "Upon my back to defend my belly, upon my wit to

defend / my wiles" (1.2.222–223). Tellingly, as another of her rejoinders to Pandarus suggests, Cressida thinks Troilus rather naïve or "green." Helen favors Troilus, goads Pandarus, as the laughter during their recent meeting revealed. "At what was all this laughing?" (1.2.131), asks Cressida. "Marry," Pandarus informs her, "at the white hair that Helen spied on Troilus' chin" (1.2.132). "An't had been a green hair," responds Cressida, "I should have laughed too" (1.2.133).

Certainly, when Troilus' emotions run high, he is inclined to eschew rational calculation. For instance, in the discussion over whether the Trojans should hand Helen back to the Greeks, Troilus' brother Hector wonders, as if attributing a minimum game-theoretic utility, "What merit's in that reason which denies / The yielding of her up?" (2.2.24–25). "Weigh you the worth and honour of a king / So great as our dread father," Troilus heatedly responds, "in a scale / Of common ounces?" (2.2.26–28). Troilus understands the utilities associated with this social dilemma, but discounts Hector's approach to settling the question of Helen's presence in Troy. "Will you with counters sum / The past-proportion of his infinite," he rages, "And buckle in a waist most fathomless / With spans and inches so diminutive / As fears and reasons?" (2.2.28–32). Do you invoke logic to liken the highest and lowest payoffs? Another of Troilus' brothers, Helenus, answers by criticizing Troilus for his lack of rationality. "No marvel, though you bite so sharp at reasons," he chaffs, "You are so empty of them" (2.2.33–34). Notwithstanding his brothers' advice, Troilus continues to disdain reason: his only answer to perceived violence is violence. "Here are your reasons," he tells them, "You know an enemy intends you harm, / You know a sword employed is perilous, / And reason flies the object of all harm" (2.2.38–41). "Manhood and honour," reiterates Troilus in asserting his machismo, "Should have hare hearts would they but fat their thoughts / With this crammed reason" (2.2.47–49).

Of course, certain coordination problems would ratify tit-for-tat action, but emotion overrules Troilus' rational faculty where the Trojan-Grecian war is concerned. "Reason and respect," he intones, "Make livers pale and lustihood deject" (2.2.49–50). Yet, failing to weigh a situation rationally, as Hector counsels, can amount to foolish fondness: "the will dotes that is inclineable / To what infectiously itself affects," he warns, "Without some image of th'affected merit" (2.2.58–60). Willfulness can infect, affect, and ultimately destroy reason. In comparison, consistency of thought was fundamental to Ramus. "Whatever is treated in an art," explains Duhamel of Ramism, "must be basic to the art and must belong to it because of a natural priority. The rule of homogeneity seems to be the one which he saw most frequently violated."[87] Ramus held that logic must not contain the illogical. To which danger, not only the matter of Troilus' reply to Hector, but also the muddled reasoning of that content, expose the young Trojan's basically unrefined and rhetorically infected reason. The analogy Troilus draws from a hypothetical situation has his senses informing his will, his will informing his decision-making:

> I take today a wife, and my election
> Is led on in the conduct of my will,

> My will enkindled by mine eyes and ears,
> Two traded pilots 'twixt the dangerous shores
> Of will and judgement: how may I avoid,
> Although my will distaste what it elected,
> The wife I chose? There can be no evasion.
>   (2.2.61–67)

Troilus "argues that one's choice ('election') is 'led on' by will, when the orthodox view," as Dawson notes, "is that the will chooses what reason ('judgement,' 2.2.65) presents to it as a good." One aspect of Troilus' confusion, as Dawson astutely observes, "arises from the slippage in the meaning of 'will' from 'desire' (2.2.62, 2.2.63) to 'the mental faculty that effects choice' (2.2.65)."[88] No wonder Hector decries the hematological tempers that prevent Troilus from thinking rationally: "is your blood / So madly hot," he demands, "that no discourse of reason, / Nor fear of bad success in a bad cause / Can qualify the same?" (2.2.115–118).

The willful Paris, another of Priam's sons, now joins the debate on Troilus' side. "Were I alone to pass the difficulties, / And had as ample power as I have will," he protests, "Paris should ne'er retract what he hath done / Nor faint in the pursuit" (2.2.139–142). "You speak," retorts his father, "Like one besotted on your sweet delights" (2.2.142–143). Hector views Paris similarly. To excerpt from an earlier quotation, he compares Troilus and Paris to those "young men whom Aristotle thought / Unfit to hear moral philosophy" (2.2.166–167). This anachronism expresses the contention that the basics of logic—and Aristotle's name, as Oxford's Ramism would have insisted, is the most appropriate one to affix to these first principles—are prefigurations. Zeal rather than sanguine logic, continues Hector, has control of Troilus' and Paris' decision-making. "The reasons you allege do more conduce / To the hot passion of distempered blood," he declares, "Than to make up a free determination / 'Twixt right and wrong" (2.2.168–171). Gratification and vengeance, "Have ears more deaf than adders to the voice / Of any true decision" (2.2.172–173).

What Troilus fears, as his expectations of his love match with Cressida reveal, are coordination problems that are too complicated for his current ratiocinative powers: "some joy too fine, / Too subtle-potent, tuned too sharp in sweetness," he admits, "For the capacity of my ruder powers" (3.2.20–22). Troilus' desire for Cressida, which makes his "heart beats thicker than a feverous pulse / And all my powers do their bestowing lose" (3.2.32–33), accentuates this fear. This lack of *ratio artificiosa* forces Troilus to rely on Pandarus during his pursuit of Cressida's love. Although Pandarus, as the one "gone between and between" (1.1.67) the prospective lovers, keeps Troilus and Cressida's channel of communication open, the situation he umpires is a coordination problem in which one player is determined on a single strategy: Troilus loves Cressida whether she requites his feelings (cooperates) or not (defects). Pandarus, aware of Troilus' tunnel vision, advises him to be patient. After "the kneading, the making of the cake, the heating of the oven, and / the baking,"

he counsels, "you must stay the cooling too or you may chance / to burn your lips" (1.1.22–24).

Ironically, Troilus' perspective of strategic inflexibility also deems Cressida to be following a single strategy. "She is stubborn," he bemoans, "chaste against all suit" (1.1.91). More accurately adduced, Cressida's strategy acknowledges her desire for but hides that desire from Troilus—"Then though my heart's content firm love doth bear, / Nothing of that shall from mine eyes appear" (1.2.254–255). In effect, she is waiting to disabuse Troilus of his mistake. "I'll be sworn 'tis true, he will weep you an 'twere a man / born in April" (1.2.148–149), Pandarus warns his niece. "And I'll spring up in his tears," replies Cressida in maintaining her resolve, "an 'twere a nettle against May" (1.2.150). Cressida's behavior, which manifests what sociobiologists call the *strategy of domestic-bliss*, and which answers to her sense that "Men prize the thing ungained more than it is" (1.2.249), ensures that Troilus is a trustworthy suitor by extracting a form of prenuptial investment from him. If Troilus' interest in Cressida is only casual, then her demureness should induce him to give up in frustration.[89] Her strategy of domestic-bliss, behavior that prompts Davis-Brown to describe Cressida as "coldly rational,"[90] confirms the relative maturity of her *ratio artificiosa* in comparison to the reasoning powers of Troilus, Achilles, and Ajax.

To Troilus' relief, Pandarus finally manages to break the impasse enforced by Cressida's rational caution, instituting an unofficial contract between them. Dawson, whose critical discourse often courts a mathematical interpretation, describes this agreement as a "legal *formula*."[91] The terms of this formula promise Troilus to Pandarus' niece and vice versa. In effect, Pandarus ratifies a coordinated relationship between Troilus and Cressida "In witness whereof the parties" are taken "interchangeably" (3.2.50). The mathematical subtext to what Dawson describes as these "contracts signed in duplicate" is a coordination problem with reciprocal payoffs.[92] Troilus has the tendency to visualize his desire in binary terms—"I was about to tell thee" of my love for Cressida, he informs Pandarus, "when my heart, / As wedged with a sigh, would rive in twain" (1.1.32–33)—but this inclination anticipates the two choices of the four-faceted dilemma that will soon face the young lovers. Cressida is more capable of logically accepting this coordination problem than Troilus is.

Textual evidence supports this claim. For, immediately after ratifying their mutual contract, whether Cressida is trepidatious or merely simulating apprehension, she displays a more seasoned attitude toward their future than Troilus does. "Fears make devils of cherubims," he tells her, "they never see truly" (3.2.59). "Blind fear that seeing reason leads," she replies, "finds safer footing than / blind reason stumbling without fear" (3.2.60–61). The resolute faith that characterizes Troilus' love worries Cressida. "This is not to say," emphasizes Brams, "that faith is irrational. On the contrary, being faithful means having preferences such that one's rational strategy is independent of the strategy of another player—that is, one's own values completely determine how one acts."[93] From a game-theoretic perspective, Troilus' willfulness prompts him to act as if he has a dominant strategy. Ironically, then, Troilus' admittance of blind love for Cressida—"in all Cupid's pageant there / is

presented no monster" (3.2.63–64) and his desire is like "firm / faith" (3.2.89–90)—expresses a partial awareness that such an attitude is a personal defect (or "my fault" [4.4.101]).

In contrast to Troilus' resolute faith in Cressida, her feelings toward him respect trained reason, with Cressida's thoughts being of a reflexive nature. "I have," she tells him, "a kind of self resides with you" (3.2.128). This "unkind self that itself will leave / To be another's fool" (3.2.129–130) empowers Cressida's strategic thinking with an awareness of Troilus' injudicious thoughts concerning her. Cressida's admission "Where is my wit? I know not what I speak" (3.2.131) therefore expresses the possibility of her honest dishonesty toward Troilus rather her own irrationality. "Troilus," comments Dawson, "smitten by Cressida's wit as well as her beauty, nevertheless seems aware of the possible calculation in her words and behaviour."[94] Any such understanding, however, is merely vague, while Cressida's admittance of an "unkind self" (3.2.129) suggests her cultural perceptivity: men assign irrationality to women. If I could believe in such an unnaturally reasonable woman, thinks Troilus—a woman who "keep[s] her constancy in plight and youth, / Outliving beauty's outward with a mind / That doth renew swifter than blood decays" (3.2.141–43)—then "How were I [...] uplifted!" (3.2.148). Troilus pities the improbability of this occurrence, "But, alas, / I am as true as truth's simplicity / And simpler than the infancy of truth" (3.2.148–150), and his simple unreasonableness denies him the chance to know Cressida for the reasoning person she is.

In agreeing to disagree on the issue of faithfulness—"In that I'll war with you," states Cressida. "O virtuous fight," responds Troilus, "When right with right wars who shall be most right!" (3.2.151–152)—the lovers instantiate another impasse. Troilus predicts that he will break this game-theoretic Deadlock to his advantage ("sanctify the numbers" [3.2.163]) by securing an official marriage license, which Dawson deems an "imprimatur."[95] Sanctifying their coordination in this manner will guarantee Troilus and Cressida's relationship. All true lovers, when in need of similes but "truth tired with iteration" (3.2.156), will thereafter invoke the name of Troilus. As Ramus appreciated, and Troilus does not, however, proving a truth through iterative evidence alone (inductive reasoning) is no proof at all. Thus, with a logical Cressida and an immaturely rational Troilus, Oxford's play skillfully inverts the sexual politics of Chaucer's narrative poem. Chaucer is "a very rationalistic poet," as Bloomfield avows, but his depiction of Cressida lacks the subtlety of Oxford's bequest to feminism.[96]

From the sociohistorical context of each text, rationality is a male preserve; the complementary female preserve is emotionality. Chaucer encapsulates this divide, argues Helen Phillips, with the notion of domination in marriage (*maistrie*): "marriage as man's control of woman, political domination as the source of social harmony, and the psychological hierarchical harmony resulting from the proper subjugation of sensuality and emotion (deemed to be feminine in medieval thought) to mature rationality (deemed to be masculine)."[97] Agreeing with this historical picture, Bloomfield describes Criseyde's quest as a search for "human joy," Troilus as "in part a Boethian *manqué*," and the poet-persona as "in part a Christian Boethian"

(and presumably masculine).[98] While some critics of *Troilus and Cressida* concede that the "use of Chaucer is both extensive and sophisticated," laments Davis-Brown, "few compare the love story with its source in Chaucer in any detailed manner"; as a result, he maintains, "critics generally agree" that *Troilus and Cressida* "reduce[s] the complexity of the medieval characters."[99] Davis-Brown counsels scholars of Renaissance literature to reevaluate this attitude.

A game-theoretic reading of *Troilus and Cressida* supports this proposal. Thus, when Kenneth Muir states that the difference between the two authors' attitudes toward the lovers owes much to "the hardening of opinion towards Cressida in the intervening two hundred years," and that "she had become a type of inconstancy,"[100] he unintentionally supports the thesis that Cressida's (rather than Criseyde's) *ratio artificiosa* is more developed than Troilus' is. Game theory attributes any crystallization of attitude toward Troilus' lover to Oxford's appreciation of her logical hardheadedness and any inconstancy to the playwright's delineation of a rational mind taxed with the logical uncertainty of a particular kind of coordination problem. For, in certain social dilemmas, as Morgenstern avers, "always there is exhibited an endless chain of reciprocally conjectural reactions and counter-reactions"; however logical the player, "the paradox still remains no matter how one attempts to twist or turn things around."[101]

The sociopolitical effect on situations of coordination can be dynamic and players who are rational, rather than blindly resolute, will register the consequences wrought by this influence. What plunges Cressida into an endless chain of reasoning is the prospect (followed by the realization) of physical separation from Troilus. Calchas, whom the Greeks billet, successfully sues for his daughter's return in exchange for Antenor. As in *Antony and Cleopatra*, the eponymous lovers in *Troilus and Cressida* must confront an environmental change instigated by state rather than individual politics. Mark Antony—whose triumvirate with Octavius Caesar and M. Aemilius Lepidus is under territorial threat from Pompey, Menecrates, and Menas— must return to Rome; Cressida must cross the Trojan-Grecian battle lines and rejoin her father.

Neither Troilus nor Cressida welcomes state interference: Troilus "cannot bear it" (4.2.90), while Cressida "will not go" (4.2.91). Pandarus might have truly believed that "our kindred, though they / be long ere they are wooed, they are constant being won" (3.2.91–92) and "stick where they are thrown" (3.2.93), but he had not foreseen Cressida, his "kindred burr," being transplanted into an unfamiliar environment. Troilus agrees to accompany Cressida "to the Grecian presently" (4.3.6), but neither his acknowledgement of Greek astuteness, which simultaneously indicts his own lack of rational prowess, nor his conveyance of Cressida to Diomedes bodes well for Troilus in game-theoretic terms. Troilus deems the Greek commanders masters of the logical framework that awaits all rational minds—that "dumb-discoursive devil / That tempts most cunningly" (4.4.89–90). In comparison, he admits to Cressida, "I cannot [...] play at subtle games" (4.4.84–86). Troilus even reiterates this self-awareness in again admitting the "fault" (4.4.101) of his unreasonable love for Cressida. "I with great truth catch mere simplicity," he

concedes, "Whilst some with cunning gild their copper crowns, / With truth and plainness I do wear mine bare" (4.4.103–105). "My wit," concludes Troilus, "Is 'plain and true'" (4.4.106–107).

Cressida's exchange for Antenor confirms Troilus' fears. "To her own worth," Diomedes tells Troilus, "She shall be prized, but that you say be't so, / I speak it in my spirit and honour, no" (4.4.132–134). In effect, the Greek commander will ascribe the utilities to his forthcoming relationship with Cressida: "I'll nothing do," he avows, "on charge" (4.4.132). Diomedes' statement is succinct and cogent. Although he distinguishes logic from rhetoric, he connects them in practice, like a Ramist. "O you gods divine," Cressida had sworn, "Make Cressid's name the very crown of falsehood / If ever she leave Troilus" (4.2.96–98). In the obvious sense of physical relocation, however, she now leaves Troilus. In Chaucer's rendition of the resultant dilemma, Troilus and Criseyde have previously agreed to fake their cooperation with the Trojan state. Having spent some time with Calchas for the sake of appearances, she and Troilus plan to defect from the Trojan-Grecian environs. "I will see you without fail on the tenth day," Criseyde assures Troilus, "unless death strikes me down."[102] "Provided that's true," he replies, "I'll endure until the tenth day."[103]

That Oxford's version of the story omits this detail does not alter the resultant coordination problem, which pits the lovers' faithfulness to each other (the C of cooperation) against their loyalty to Troy (the D of defection). In each case of non-complementary behavior, the person loyal to Troy gains the best possible outcome (the score of 3) by revealing the disloyalty of an erstwhile partner; by symmetry, the disloyal partner experiences the worst outcome (the score of 0), having betrayed Troy for an unfaithful lover. In the cases of complementary behavior, whereas combined disloyalty to Troy involves the faithful lovers' continued union but physical and moral ostracism from the city (the score of 2), combined loyalty to Troy involves the partners' realization of mutual unfaithfulness (the score of 1). In terms of the mathematical inequality that describes these descending payoffs, DC > CC > DD > CD, the separated lovers must endure a game-theoretic *Prisoner's Dilemma*. Figure 3 summarizes their situation:

		Cressida	
		Faithful to Lover (cooperate)	Loyal to Troy (defect)
Troilus	Faithful to Lover (cooperate)	**2,2**	**0,3**
	Loyal to Troy (defect)	**3,0**	**1,1**

FIGURE 3
THE PRISONER'S DILEMMA BETWEEN TROILUS AND CRESSIDA

This social predicament plunges Cressida into an endless chain of reasoning because she is rational enough to appreciate that a "paradox still remains no matter how one attempts to twist or turn things around," and that this chain of contrasting solutions (to expand a previous quotation from Morgenstern) "can never be broken by an act of knowledge but always only through an arbitrary act."[104] The strategically "green" (1.2.133) Troilus does not share Cressida's mental "discretion" (1.2.214); as an ironic result, he endures their separation as a trial but not a paradox. In contrast, Diomedes demonstrates what Dawson calls "precise intelligence,"[105] and this attribute puts him on the same rational plane as Cressida. Her dilemma—the fact that Cressida's unilateral defection guarantees her a better payoff than mutual cooperation affords—is clearer to Diomedes than to Troilus.

In leaving Troilus to join her father, Cressida had appealed not only to "Time" (4.2.98) to "Do to this body what extremes you can" (4.2.99), but also to place: "the strong base and building of my love" (4.2.100), she tells her uncle, "Is as the very centre of the earth / Drawing all things to it" (4.2.101–02). With her translocation to the Greek camp, however, this spatial metaphor favors Diomedes over Troilus. The Greek commander is a satellite within Troilus' outer orbit. Worse, from Troilus' standpoint, Cressida's passion, excited by her single night with Troilus, remains unspent. "If [only] I could temporise with my affection" (4.4.6), she had complained the next morning to Pandarus. This residual desire works in conjunction with the sociopolitical environment and intuitive game-theoretic reasoning to forward Diomedes' cause. The four-level structure of act 5 scene 2, which echoes the quaternary structure of a two-player two-choice strategy matrix, results.

This famous eavesdropping scenario, explains Dawson, is

> all about watching; in it, at the centre, Diomedes accosts the hesitant, half-willing Cressida, demanding sexual favour and impatient with what he regards as her teasing. They are watched by an increasingly distraught Troilus who himself is observed and cautioned by his Greek companion, Ulysses. At the edges of the scene hovers the ubiquitous Thersites, commenting sourly on the spectacle of betrayal and lust before him. And, of course, we the audience form the outer circle of this web of observation.[106]

The playwright, as Dawson observes, "had used this strategy of layered observation and split perspective before, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, 4.3, for example, and in the Mousetrap scene in *Hamlet*, but never to such devastating effect."[107] This devastation alights on Troilus; the unfamiliar turns familiar; the known becomes unknown.

What was good as a token of faithfulness in the Trojan environment—as Cressida's exhortation to Diomedes to "keep this sleeve" (5.2.65), a favor that she had originally accepted from Troilus, attests—is just as good in the different but similar environment of the Greek camp. Cressida's expectation concerning the single-minded faithfulness of Troilus—"O pretty, pretty, pledge," she intones, "Thy master now lies thinking on his bed / Of thee and me, and sighs and takes my glove

/ And gives memorial dainty kisses to it" (5.2.76–79)—is simply logical. To repeat, whereas Troilus' faithfulness to Cressida is resolute and blindly instinctive, Cressida's faithfulness to Troilus is open to trained reason. Cressida welcomes this leeway, while Troilus can only watch the "withered truth" (5.2.46) of his game-theoretic faith.

Thus, as if to confirm a *ratio artificiosa* not developed enough to appreciate the sense of Cressida's solution to their Prisoner's Dilemma, Troilus asks Ulysses, "Shall I not lie in publishing a truth?" (5.2.118). This question, notes Dawson, is "the first of a series of paradoxes that Troilus explores over the next 40 lines in an effort to reconcile his split image of Cressida and, indeed, the rifts in truth itself."[108] With one of these logical contradictions, Troilus acknowledges a "discourse" (5.2.141) that "sets up with and against itself" (5.2.142), yet the young Trojan ascribes this inconsistency not to paradoxical logic but to "madness" (5.2.141). Troilus' avowal, "This is and is not Cressid" (5.2.145), "derives from a structured sequence of reasoning," as Dawson believes, but is not, as Dawson further contends, "irrational"; rather, logic assumes the mantle of paradox without Troilus' full appreciation of that assumption.[109] Just as Troilus' physique requires more development—"No, faith, young Troilus, doff thy harness, youth. / I am today i'th'vein of chivalry," implores Hector, "Let grow thy sinews till their knots be strong" (5.3.31–33)—so his *ratio naturalis* needs further training.

What Troilus misconstrues as the irrationality of his own paradoxical discourse is actually a rational means of expressing in literary rather than mathematical language Morgenstern's identification of the "reciprocally conjectural reactions and counter-reactions" that characterize certain social dilemmas.[110] The linguistic techniques employed by Oxford evince this understanding. "The content of the oration became the object of reason and method," states Duhamel of Ramism; "the function of rhetoric was to gild the furnished material."[111] Oxford's invented adjectives seem to prefigure game-theoretic logic. The Trojan-Grecian Deadlock is actively protracted ("protractive" [1.3.20]); the payoffs for coordination problems can be symmetric ("corresponsive" [0.18]) or asymmetric ("unrespective" [2.2.71]); numbers, matrices, and game trees are alternatives to the soliloquies of logic ("dumb-discoursive" [4.4.89]); and logical dilemmas can be logically insoluble ("uncomprehensive" [3.3.199]). Oxford's use of oxymorons also contributes to his delineation of conjectural reactions and counter-reactions. Thersites' comment about Diomedes' wish for Cressida to be unfaithful, or "to be secretly open" (5.2.24), is especially apposite in this regard. Reasoning of the type that swallows its own tail can be self-effacing rather than irrational. Coordination problems, as Troilus unintentionally, unknowingly, but accurately describes them, display "Bifold authority, where reason can revolt / Without perdition, and loss assume all reason" (5.2.143–144).

An arbitrary solution to a social dilemma can be unpleasant, but sometimes that type of solution is the only one allowed; otherwise, as *Troilus and Cressida* attests, a player must step outside the ordinary rules of engagement: Diomedes implicitly usurps Pandarus' role as Troilus and Cressida's agent; Achilles, in order to diffuse his shame at Ajax's unforeseen promotion, orders his "fellows" to "strike"

(5.9.10) the "unarmed" (5.9.9) Hector; and Ulysses, beyond the extent of Oxford's play, but surely on the playwright's mind, breaks the stalemate at Troy with his deployment of the Trojan Horse.

In short, only Edward de Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, was capable of delineating in a Ramist manner the two-valued logic of Aristotelian first principles on show in *Troilus and Cressida*; only de Vere had what Virginia Woolf in *A Room of One's Own* (1929) describes as a truly "androgynous" (or two-valued) mind; and only he could have appreciated the necessary but unsportsmanlike solutions to such dilemmas.[112]

Endnotes

[1] Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. Anthony B. Dawson (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[2] "*Troilus and Cressida*," chronicles Evangeline Maria O'Connor, "was first published in a quarto edition in 1609." Evangeline Maria O'Connor, *An Index to the Works of Shakespeare: Giving References, by Topics, to Notable Passages and Significant Expressions; Brief Histories of the Plays; Geographical Names and Historical Incidents; Mention of all Characters and Sketches of Important Ones; Together with Explanations of Allusions and Obscure and Obsolete Words and Phrases* (London: Kegan Paul, 1887), 378. Anthony B. Dawson, however, adds an important caveat. Although *Troilus and Cressida* "was only published in 1609, near the end of Shakespeare's career, *it was almost certainly written several years earlier*." Anthony B. Dawson, Introduction, *Troilus and Cressida*, by William Shakespeare, ed. Anthony B. Dawson (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1–70, quotation on 6 (emphasis added).

William Caxton was the first to publish *Troilus and Criseyde*, but the date of publication remains a little hazy: Simone Celine Marshall attributes Caxton's Westminster edition to 1483, Barry Windeatt to circa 1483, and Deanne Williams to 1484. Simone Celine Marshall, *The Anonymous Text: The 500-Year History of the Assembly of Ladies* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 54; Barry Windeatt, Introduction, *Troilus and Criseyde*, by Geoffrey Chaucer (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998), ix–xlvi, quotation on xlvi; Deanne Williams, *The French Fetish from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Cambridge, UK Cambridge University Press, 2004), 110.

A number of prominent critics agree that Shakespeare drew extensively on Chaucer's narrative poem. "Shakespeare understood Chaucer's poem for what it is," remarks E. Talbot Donaldson, "a marvelous celebration of romantic love containing a sad recognition of its fragility." E. Talbot Donaldson, *The Swan*

at the Well: Shakespeare Reading Chaucer (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 3. Robert S. Miola has no doubts that Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* "refashions Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde.*" Robert S. Miola, *Shakespeare's Reading* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2000), 137.

3 Rosalyn Rossignol, *Critical Companion to Chaucer: A Literary Reference to his Life and Work* (New York: Infobase, 2006), 32. Boethius wrote the *Consolation of Philosophy* "while he was awaiting execution (by having his head slowly crushed)." Michael B. Wilkinson and Hugh H. Campbell, *Philosophy of Religion: An Introduction* (London: Continuum, 2010), 62.

4 Kathryn L. Lynch, *Chaucer's Philosophical Visions* (Cambridge, UK: Brewer, 2000), 20.

5 William Godwin, *Life of Geoffrey Chaucer, The Early English Poet: Including Memoirs of his Near Friend and Kinsman, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster: With Sketches of the Manners, Opinions, Arts and Literature of England in the Fourteenth Century*, 4 vols. (London: Richard Phillips, 1804), 1:35.

6 Godwin, 1:37.

7 Godwin, 1:317.

8 Morton W. Bloomfield, "Fourteenth-Century England: Realism and Rationalism in Wyclif and Chaucer," *English Studies in Africa* 16.2 (1973): 59–70, quotation on 68. Theodore A. Stroud and Bernard Levi Jefferson, as Bloomfield notes, are of the same opinion concerning this pervasiveness. Theodore A. Stroud, "Boethius' Influence on Chaucer's *Troilus,*" *Modern Philology* 49 (1951–1952): 1–9. Bernard Levi Jefferson, *Chaucer and the* Consolation of Philosophy *of Boethius* (Princeton, 1917).

9 Bloomfield, 61.

10 John P. Burgess, *Philosophical Logic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 40 (emphasis original).

11 Bloomfield, 61.

12 Bloomfield, 66.

13 Donaldson, *The Swan at the Well*, 3.

14 Kris Davis-Brown, "Shakespeare's Use of Chaucer in *Troilus and Cressida*: 'that the will is infinite, and the execution confined,'" *South Central Review* 5.2 (Summer 1988): 15–34, quotation on 15.

15 "The roll of the Stratford-upon-Avon grammar school is lost," laments Jonathan Bate, "but Shakespeare was entitled to attend it free of charge, by virtue of his father's civic office[s]." Jonathan Bate, Introduction, *William Shakespeare: Complete Works (The RSC Shakespeare)*, ed. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (London: Macmillan, 2007), 8–57, quotation on 51.

16 Stefan Daniel Keller, *The Development of Shakespeare's Rhetoric: A Study of Nine Plays* (Tübingen, Ger.: Francke, 2009), 15.

17 Keller, *The Development of Shakespeare's Rhetoric*, 15. J. Thomas Looney, *"Shakespeare" Identified in Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford*, Intro. William McFee, 2nd ed. (New York: Duell, Sloane and Pearce, 1948), 202.

18 The death of his father in 1562 left Edward a member of William Cecil's London

household.

[19] Martin A. S. Hume, *The Great Lord Burghley: A Study in Elizabethan Statecraft* (London: Nisbet, 1898), 8.

[20] Edward Nares, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of the Right Honourable William Cecil, Lord Burghley: Containing an Historical View of the Times in which He Lived, and of the many Eminent and Illustrious Persons with whom He was Connected; with Extracts from His Private and Official Correspondence, and other Papers, Now First Published from the Originals*, 3 vols. (London: Saunders and Otley, 1828–1831), 3:406.

[21] Hume, *The Great Lord Burghley*, 9.

[22] Garry J. Moes, *Streams of Civilization: Cultures in Conflict Since the Reformation until the Third Millennium After Christ* (Arlington Heights, IL: Christian Liberty Press, 2007), 142.

[23] Cedric B. Cowing, *The Saving Remnant: Religion and the Settling of New England* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 16.

[24] John Milton, *Artis Logicæ*, ed. Frank Allen Patterson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), 3.

[25] Jack Cunningham, *James Ussher and John Bramhall: The Theology and Politics of Two Irish Ecclesiastics of the Seventeenth Century* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), 4 n.25.

[26] Nares, 2:602 n.

[27] Nares, 2:602.

[28] Nares, 2:405–06.

[29] Cunningham, 3.

[30] Bronson Feldman, *Hamlet Himself* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2010), 24.

[31] See Ursula Zzirg, *Shakespeare and Michelangelo: The Style of Gods Eyed Awry; The Leonardo Code; Text and Images; Satires and Epigrams* (Victoria, BC: Trafford, 2005), 39.

[32] See Paul Altrocchi and Hank Whittemore, *So Richly Spun* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2009), 253.

[33] Robert Hanna, *Rationality and Logic* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006), xviii.

[34] George Huppert, "The Age of Philosophy," *Studies in Early Modern France*, Vol. 2, *Signs of the Early Modern: Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. David Lee Rubin (Charlottesville, VA: Rookwood Press, 1996), 16–28, quotation on 23.

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[36] "Péripatéticiens ont délaissé le vrai amour de la sagesse et se sont adonnés servilement à l'amour d'un Aristote." Ramus, *Dialectique*, 13 (my translation). Web. 30 January 2013. <http://books.google.co.uk>.

[37] Matthew Guillen, *Reading America: Text as a Cultural Force* (Bethesda, MD: Academica Press, 2007), 44.

[38] James J. Murphy, Introduction, *Arguments in Rhetoric against Quintilian: Translation and Text of Peter Ramus's* Rhetoricae Distinctiones in Quintilianum, trans. Carole Newlands (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2010), 1–44, quotation on 15.

[39] Peter F. Fisher, "Milton's Logic," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 23.1 (Spring 1962): 37–60, quotation on 43.

[40] Guillen, 44.

[41] Walter J. Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (New York: Octagon, 1974), 313.

[42] Manuel Breva-Claramonte, *Sanctius' Theory of Language: A Contribution to the History of Renaissance Linguistics* (Amsterdam: John Benjamin's Publishing Company, 1983), 73.

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[44] P. A. Duhamel, "The Logic and Rhetoric of Peter Ramus," *Modern Philology* 46.3 (February 1949): 163–71, 163 (emphasis added).

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[49] Altrocchi and Whittemore, 255.

[50] Jess Edwards, *Writing, Geometry and Space in Seventeenth-Century England and America: Circles in the Sand* (London: Routledge, 2006), 103.

[51] See E. G. R. Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 328.

[52] Duhamel, 168.

[53] Guillen, *Reading America*, 45. Inner quote: Steven Maras, "Reflections on Adobe Corporation, Bill Viola, and Peter Ramus while Printing Lecture Notes," *M/C Journal* 8.2 (2005). 31 January 2006. Web. 18 October 2013. <http://journal. media-culture.org.au /0506/05-maras.php>.

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Was Shakespeare a Euphuist?

Some Ruminations on Oxford, Lyly and Shakespeare

Sky Gilbert

For Oxfordians, the fact that John Lyly was Oxford's secretary for fifteen years makes him a significant literary figure. Some Oxfordians have suggested that Lyly's plays are the works of a young Shakespeare written under a pseudonym. Oxford patronized two theater companies during the 1580s, Oxford's Boys, and Oxford's Men. Oxford's Boys were based at the Blackfriar's Theatre as well as Paul's Church. Oxford transferred the boy's company to Lyly, and Lyly went on to write many plays for them, including *Endymion, Sapho and Phao, Gallathea,* and *Love's Metamorphosis*.

John Lyly was born in 1553 or 1554. His grandfather was the noted grammarian William Lyly, famous for having written a widely utilized grammar textbook as well as for founding St. Paul's School in London. Lyly attended Oxford but left before graduating, finding life more suitable as a poet. In 1579 he published his first novel, *Euphues or the Anatomy of Wit*. Apparently Lyly's goal was to become Master of Revels, and he dedicated himself mainly to playwriting after the publication of his first novel.

It is significant that Oxford and Lyly were (and are) linked as "Italianate" figures. Alan Nelson, in his biography of the Earl of Oxford, *Monstrous Adversary*, makes it abundantly clear that Oxford's trip to Italy and his subsequent return to court flaunting his Italian clothes and manners branded him as not only Italianate, but superficial and effeminate: "His braggadocio is unmatched by manly deeds. Glorious in show, his actions are frivolous, his appearance Italianate" (226). Lyly's work was enormously popular in Elizabethan England, but its popularity waned soon after that. As Lene Ostermark-Johansen reminds us, "By 1630 the craze for Lyly's Euphuism had resulted in twenty-six editions of the separate works and

three editions of a double volume; then, for well over two hundred years, Euphues remained out of print until the late nineteenth century took a renewed interest in Lyly's literary style and reprinted his dramas and romances in new editions" (4). When Lyly re-emerged as an important literary figure in the late 19th century, he served as a whipping boy for those who disdained the sensuality and effeminacy of Oscar Wilde.

Ostermark-Johansen cites a diatribe against euphuism in the mid-1800s entitled "Fleshly School of Poetry," which was "essentially the outcry of a highly patriotic Victorian male against a whole tradition of French and Italian influence on English literature. Advocating a Wordsworthian approach to poetry, the language spoken by men to men, Buchanan perceived the influence of Romance literature as affected, effeminate, and overtly sensuous" (17). Interestingly Ostermark-Johnson attributes the lean masculinity of Walt Whitman's style to a reaction against what was perceived as the effeminacy of euphuism.

Probably because of 19th century associations between euphuism and effeminacy, Shakespeare is rarely spoken of as a euphuist; instead when links are found between euphuism and his work, it is suggested that he is parodying Lyly. There is a passage from *Romeo and Juliet*, for instance, in which a servant's list of comparisons goes comically awry: "It is written, that the shoemaker should meddle with his yard, and the tailor with his last, the fisher with his pencil, and the painter with his nets" (1.2.39-41). This passage is interpreted, in the notes to Oxford School Shakespeare, as a parody of the following passage from Lyly's *Euphues* "The shoemaker must not go above his latchet, nor the hedger meddle with anything but his bill" (14). Though the quotations are similar, singling out these two similar passages reveals a limited knowledge of euphuism's relationship to Shakespeare. For one thing, Lyly's writings are littered with extended, elaborate comparisons (endless comparison is one of the central features of euphuism), so it is much more likely that in this passage from *Romeo and Juliet* Shakespeare is referencing Lyly's style in general, rather one particular instance.

Also, this instance in *Romeo and Juliet* is not the only place where Shakespeare's writing resembles Lyly's. There are many other examples — which I will itemize in this paper — that suggest there is a fundamental relationship between the work of Lyly and the work of Shakespeare. But I am certainly not the first to suggest this. Walter Pater, like Oscar Wilde, was accused of being a euphuist. As Ostermark-Johansen reminds us. Pater found a link between Shakespeare's work and euphuism, citing their confluence as a justification for his own experiments in the florid style:

> Such modes or fashions are, at their best, an example of the artistic predominance of form over matter; of the manner of the doing of it over the thing done; and have a beauty of their own. It is so with that old euphuism of the Elizabethan age—that pride of dainty language and curious expression, which it is very easy to ridicule, which often made itself ridiculous, but which

had below it a real sense of fitness and nicety; and which, as we see in this very play, and still more clearly in the Sonnets, had some fascination for the young Shake-speare himself. It is this foppery of delicate language, this fashionable plaything of his time, with which Shakespeare is occupied in "Love's Labour Lost." . . . In this character [Biron], which is never quite in touch with, never quite on a perfect level of understanding with the other persons of the play, we see, perhaps, a reflex of Shakespeare himself, when he has just become able to stand aside from and estimate the first period of his poetry. (53)

Though Pater posits a significant stylistic link between Shakespeare and Lyly, and dismisses those who would ridicule it, he also suggests that euphuistic style resembled Shakespeare's early poetic efforts, not his mature work. If we take the precedence of "form over matter" as an accurate estimation of the essence of euphuism (and I think we might say that it is) then I would argue that Shakespeare's work is more like euphuism in the later plays, where it approaches a kind of apotheosis of the euphuistic style. Some think that Shakespeare's later plays are more profound that his earlier ones (i.e., that the "matter" is more pronounced than the form in his mature works). But what high school student would trade the stylistic complexities of *Coriolanus* or *Antony and Cleopatra* from the relatively straightforward syntax of an early effort like *Julius Caesar*?

To view the correspondences between Shakespeare and Lyly as somehow accidental or coincidental is to misunderstand that character of Queen Elizabeth's court. As Hunter reminds us speaking in this case of Lyly (among others):

> For the court of Elizabeth was neither natural nor free . . . its ritual was artificial to the last degree. . . .[T]he sovereign was a painted idol rather than a person, and the codes of manners it encouraged were exotic Petrarchan and Italianate. . . . The artifice of these writers was a serious attempt to display what were generally taken to be the deepest values of the age. (7-8)

In other words, Lyly and the Earl of Oxford (if Oxford was indeed Shakespeare) were courtiers who adopted the style of the court that was gilded and excessively style-obsessed. A comparison between their works accentuates an interdependence of form and content that is often overlooked in the academic rush to view Shakespeare as the "earliest" of early moderns. I would certainly agree with Harold Bloom that Shakespeare's finely drawn and expertly detailed characters instigated certain modern notions of interiority. But in the area of style versus content — which I would argue was for Shakespeare and Lyly an overwhelming concern — Shakespeare proves himself to be less an early modern than a very, very, late, late medievalist.

I am not necessarily suggesting that the young Oxford disguised his own writing as Lyly's. Although it is certainly possible that he may have been involved in their creation. (Interestingly, Lyly stopped writing plays sometime in the early 1590s, when he was no longer Oxford's secretary. This suggests that Oxford may

have been somehow involved in co-authoring Lyly's plays.) I am also not implying that the real Shakespeare was, strictly speaking, a euphuist. I am suggesting that what makes Shakespeare's work singular in respect to his contemporaries, and in respect to Western culture in general, is the extraordinarily delicate balance between content (matter) and style (form). When the young and/or uneducated learn to read and understand Shakespeare for the first time, they often rail against what they see as needless wordplay: "Well, why didn't he just come out and *say* that?" In other words, why all the embellishment? I would suggest that within this seemingly simpleminded critique lies a fundamental truth. Shakespeare's writing descends from a tradition connected with Lyly and the patristic medieval school of grammarians and rhetoricians, a tradition that is significantly alien to us.

Before examining both form and matter in the work of Shakespeare and Lyly it is important to take note of the pedagogical methods that prevailed in Shakespeare's time. We like to think of Shakespeare as emblematic of the literary pioneer (and indeed, he certainly is, to some degree). But in the context of the literature of his time he was deeply, deeply conservative, resisting the most radical stylistic movements (and their philosophical implications) and clinging to the old ways.

An Early Modern Education

Foucault's *The Order of Things* (1966) attempts to describe the epistemic shift in perception, epistemology and ontology that occurred between the 16th and 17th centuries, and which came to full flower in the 19th century:

> The theory of representation disappears as the universal foundation of all possible orders; language as the spontaneous *tabula*, the primary grid of things, as an indispensable link between representation and things, is eclipsed….Above all, language loses its privileged position and becomes, in its turn, a historical form coherent with the density of its own past. But as things become increasingly reflexive, seeking the principle of their intelligibility only in their own development, and abandoning the space of representation, man enters in his turn, and for the first time, the field of Western knowledge. (xxiii)

I think Foucault is right to accentuate the decreasing power of language and representation, and also to suggest that the changes that occurred involved a fundamental shift in how the West processed knowledge. If this change was indeed a profound shift in our manner of thinking about almost everything (for this is what an epistemic change means) then it may be difficult for us to understand how people wrote, thought, and learned in the Middle Ages.

Marshall McLuhan's doctoral thesis *The Classical Trivium: The Place of Thomas Nashe in the Learning of his Time,* was published posthumously in 2006, and his findings predate and somewhat predict Foucault's musings on topic of medieval

and early modern education. It's important to remember that the subject is very difficult for us to understand, as the young McLuhan pointed out: "We, inevitably, are attempting to deal with the complex and sophisticated intellectual disciplines provided by the trivium in the terms of the naïve literary and linguistic culture of our own day" (105). So any attempt to explain the education of young men like Oxford and Lyly will necessarily be at least as limited as one historical era can be when it attempts to understand another. (It's a bit like imagining life in a fourth dimension.)

What is the classical trivium? The three subjects dominating medieval pedagogy were grammar, dialectics and rhetoric. But, grammar barely resembled what we know as grammar today, and rhetoric meant much more than the study of figures of speech. As McLuhan points out, the Latin rhetorician Cicero "dominates all the Renaissance handbooks on education of princes and nobility. It is the ideal of the practical life, the service of the state and the exercise of all ones faculties for achievement of glory and success. . . .The extraordinary anti-Ciceronian movement which emerges . . . gives us our post-Renaissance world" (8). McLuhan explains that Cicero was not merely about speechmaking, but concerned himself with the principle that a man who speaks well must necessarily also be a good man.

Dialectics, the newest of the three medieval subjects that battled for superiority in the curriculum, was associated with Plato and Aristotle; it contained within it the seeds of what we now call science. (The battle between the old learning — grammar and rhetoric — and the new learning — dialectics — was not only pedagogical, but epistemological). It would be an oversimplification to say that there was no dialectical movement in the medieval era. There were in fact periods during the 12th and 13th centuries when the pedagogical pendulum swung towards the dialectics (what we now called science) only to swing back to grammar in the early modern era. But, as McLuhan says, "From the point of view of the medieval grammarian, the dialectician was a barbarian . . . .The Grand Renaissance was in the matter of the revival of grammar, both as the method of science and of theology, not fully achieved until the sixteenth century" (7).

Essential to understanding the medieval and early modern worldview is the third element of the classical trivium: grammar. Essentially we have no words to properly describe the subject. Here Foucault attempts to define a grammarian epistemology, quoting Paracelsus:

> The world is covered with signs that must be deciphered, and those signs, which reveal resemblances and affinities, are themselves no more than forms of similitude. To know must therefore be to interpret: to find a way from the visible mark to that which is being said by it and which, without that mark, would lie like unspoken speech, dormant within things. 'But we men discover all that is hidden in the mountains by signs and outward correspondences; and it is thus that we find out all the properties of herbs and all that is in stones. There is nothing in the depths of the seas, nothing in the heights of the firmament that man is not capable of discovering. There is no mountain

so vast that it can hide from the gaze of man what is within it; it is revealed to him by corresponding signs.' Divination is not a rival form of knowledge; it is part of the main body of knowledge itself.   (32)

 If grammar is the opposite of science, it offers the possibility of reading the world like a book. Such a reading involves not only magic, but observation of nature, and the creation of poetry.

This is a terribly difficult concept for us to grasp today, but it was hugely significant for any 16th century writer. McLuhan explains it like this: "Adam possessed metaphysical knowledge in a very high degree. To him the whole of nature was a book which he could read with ease. He lost his ability to read this language of nature as a result of the fall" (16). Just as medieval grammarians would have looked for the resemblances and reccurrences in nature that confirmed God's plan, so they would have considered poetry to be the word of God. McLuhan quotes Salutati (the 14th century Italian humanist) on the relationship between God and poetry: "Since we have no concept of God we can have no words in which to speak to him or of him. We must, therefore fashion a language based on his works. Only the most excellent mode will do, and this is poetry. Thus poetry may be outwardly false but essentially true. Holy Writ is of this kind. The origins of poetry are in the foundations of the world" (158). Poetry was to elucidate these truths through not only the matter but form – because that is what differentiates poetry from plain, everyday speech -- what we today might term "embellishment." But what separated poetry and plain speech was not merely decoration. McLuhan cites Robin explaining Gorgian poetics – the language used in medieval sermons (which he notes was similar to euphuism): "the balance of antithetical words and sentences is a process by which the speaker breaks up his thought and develops it, in the air, as it were, on a purely formal plane" (45).

Euphuism's primary feature is often assumed to be *unnecessary* embellishment, but this is a misconception. Yes, many of Lyly's works, even the novels, were written to be spoken aloud. They thus feature rhetorical techniques that are accentuated in speech, and are related to the pure beauty of sound. It's also important to remember that the sound of words is related to rhetoric, which was thought of as a distinctly moral endeavor. Nevertheless, Lyly's work is filled with concepts, embodied in his endless use of comparison and antithesis. Undoubtedly there is a somewhat different balance between form and content in Lyly and Shakespeare, but nevertheless it is this balance that is consistently at stake in the work of both poets.

Their concerns were very different from those of Ramism. Ramism was named after the educational reformer and Protestant convert Ramus (1515-1572). McLuhan points out that Ramism was the chief challenge to medieval grammar. He credits the rise of the anti-grammarian Ramus (along with the decline of Ciceronian rhetoric) with destroying the old pedagogical forms and ushering in the new. Ramist rhetoric severed style and matter, demanding clarity of moral message. Ramist theories influenced the Puritans, who fought for clearer and more accessible English

translations of the Bible. McLuhan tells us — "the complete severance of style and matter in the Ramist rhetoric was a directly contributing influence in bringing about that deliberate impoverishment of poetic imagery after the Restoration. It co-operated with Cartesian innatism to render imaginative or phantasmal experience frivolous at best" (192-193). The Ramist critique of the marriage of style and matter suggests that those who criticized euphistic embellishment were more concerned with separating embellishment and message than they were with the superficiality of embellishment itself.

In 1579, Oxford and Sydney had a famous quarrel in a tennis court that might have led to a duel (if Queen Elizabeth hadn't intervened). Their argument is often rumored to have been about poetry. McLuhan suggests that the rivalry between Ramist rhetoricians and old style grammarians was the subject of de Vere and Sydney's quarrel. Their difference of opinion was reflected in later disputes, including the Martin Mar-prelate controversy, and later, the disagreement between Nashe and Harvey.

The pamphleteering feud between the old-fashioned stylist Thomas Nashe and the more modern stylist Gabriel Harvey was a fight between the humanist school of Erasmus, as represented by Nashe (and associated with Lyly and Edward de Vere, the Earl of Oxford) and Harvey's scholasticism. McLuhan says (quoting McKerrow): "The quarrel between Nashe and the Harveys seems in its origin to have been an offshoot of the well known one between Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Sydney" (210). McLuhan further explains: "Spenser was Ramistic in theology and rhetoric like Sydney, versus the Italianate Earl of Oxford, who was an obvious mark for puritans. Lyly sided with Greene and Nashe against the Ramistic Harvey. Sydney's secretary was a Ramist — Sir William Temple. Oxford's secretary was the patrist old style Lyly" (210). The Oxford/Sydney tennis quarrel occurred in 1579, and the Harvey Nashe quarrel occurred in the 1590s; in between the Martin Mar-prelate controversy took center stage. That quarrel, too, was between Puritans and Protestants on one side (Martin was named for Martin Luther) and those who defended the Anglican priests (Leland Carlson tells us that Puritan pamphleteer Master Job Throkmorton labeled them "pettie popes") on the other. Oxford seems to have defended a pseudo-catholic Church of England under the pseudonym "Pasquill Cavilliero" — a suitably Italianate name. Lyly and Nashe published supporting pamphlets along with him. These complex controversies make somewhat more sense when viewed in the context of the religious "style wars" between Ramists and patrists.

It is often suggested that Shakespeare's work allows us few glimpses of the author's opinions. Hunter says that Lyly was "witty enough to avoid being identified with any of the views he puts forward" (31): something that has often been said of Shakespeare. But I would contend that Shakespeare, de Vere and Lyly all had very strong opinions about the interdependence of matter and form in poetry – opinions strong enough for de Vere to have risked a fight to the death with Sydney over them.

Colet, along with Lyly's grandfather William Lyly, founded St. Paul's, which was dedicated to a humanist philosophy, teaching students Ciceronian Latin and Greek.   Hunter reminds us that students were not asked to learn the rules of

Latin speech but to practice speaking in Latin, therefore putting the form before the content: "Latin speech was before the rules, not the rules before latin speech" (20). Style comes before matter because *style* is, in a sense, matter. Hunter quotes Erasmus: "They are not to be commended who, in their anxiety to increase their store of truths, neglect the necessary art of expressing them" (21). Croll gives us Ascham: "ye know not what hurt ye do learning . . . that care not for words but for matter" (xxii).

This polarization goes back to the ancient Greek dispute between the Stoics and Sophists, between those who believe that truth is important, and those who, instead, value the art of persuasion. Certainly Shakespeare's work seems to be in the Sophist tradition. Though the plays and poems frequently mention the dangers of art and artistry, they often come down on the side of fancy. And the plays are, after all, fictions. The stoics were dialecticians, and Stoic rhetoric (says McLuhan, here quoting Cicero) believed that "speaking well . . . is neither more nor less than speaking truthfully; for the Stoic needs only to instruct his hearer, and will not lower himself either to amuse him or to excite his emotions" (53). This is the very opposite of the sentiment expressed by Touchstone when he is teaching the naïve Audrey about love and art in act three scene three of *As You Like It*. Here Shakespeare the man speaks directly to us. This passage seems to faithfully echo the views of de Vere, Shakespeare and Lyly, when Touchstone says "the truest poetry is the most feigning" (3.3. 16).

Formal Similarities between Shakespeare and Lyly

Shakespeare and Lyly share formal similarities that are related to their groundings in humanist pedagogy, anti-Ramist rhetoric, and the medieval patristic style. Lyly's style and Shakespeare's are certainly not the same, but there are significant fundamental similarities.

In his introduction to *Euphues*, Croll gives us this definition: "Euphuism is a style characterized by figures known in ancient and medieval rhetoric as schemes (*schemata*) and more specifically by the word schemes (*schemata verbortum*), in contrast to tropes; that is to say, in effect by the figures of sound" (xv). Croll stresses that what separates euphuism from other rhetorical styles is vocal ornament. Croll means that through frequent use of antithesis and simile — and a plethora of comparative lists that characterize Lyly's style — Lyly's embellishments exist to create pleasing sounds, not to express ideas: "In Lily's use of it . . . antithesis is purely a scheme, that is, a figure of the arrangement of words for the effect of sound. It is not meant to reveal new and striking relations between things . . ." (xvii). Here is an example of Lyly's use of antithesis, as Eumenides describes his friend Endymion's love for Cynthia. True, on the one hand it seems to be fanciful, yet I would argue it is not completely devoid of ideas: "When she, whose figure of all is the perfectest and never to be measured, always one yet never the same, still inconstant yet never wavering, shall come and kiss Endymion in his sleep, he shall then rise, else, never" (139). Croll's argument is that thoughtful prose (like the writing of Francis Bacon) was anti-Ciceronian in its intent, and that a clean line can be drawn between

ornament (which is contentless) and thoughtful 'stoic' prose (which is supposedly devoid of style). I would suggest that euphuism, though obsessed with form, was not contentless, and that in Shakespeare one finds not Ramist, Stoic, moral truths, but a complex apotheosis of the melding of form and content that is the euphuistic style.

Lyly, like Shakespeare, not only utilizes vocal ornament — i.e., sounds that are pleasing to the ear — but also relies heavily on similes and antithesis to express ideas. One only need look at the following passage from *Endymion*. Here, the leading character, in typical euphuistic manner, offers a list of natural occurrences that display inconstancy, in order to praise Cynthia (a character inspired by Queen Elizabeth). The idea the passage attempts to convey is complex; the comparisons do not exist merely to provide opportunities for vocal ornament. Endymion's list relates, through extensive comparison, the notion that what is deemed changeable or inconstant may simply be in a state of movement, and that movement is an aspect of nature that is necessary, natural and beautiful:

> O fair Cynthia why do others term thee unconstant . . . .There is nothing thought more admirable or commendable in the sea than the ebbing and flowing; and shall the moon from whom the sea taketh this virtue, be accounted fickle for increasing and decreasing? Flowers in their buds are nothing worth til they be blown, nor blossoms accounted til they be ripe fruit; and shall we then say they be changeable for that they grow from seeds to leaves, from leaves to buds, from buds to perfection? (81)

Lyly does not use comparison only to create pleasing alliterative sounds. Though the above argument certainly provides an opportunity for vocal ornament, that is not all that is afoot. The comparative list not only allows Lyly to utilize alliteration with the words "buds," "blown," and "blossoms," and to create an echoing pattern in the words "increasing and decreasing," but it is an expression of a complex idea. The use of vocal ornament, combined with simile, antithesis, and quasi-philosophical argument, is what typifies the verse of both Shakespeare and Lyly. And these elements are combined in such a way that the very diverse elements that constitute style and form seem to be wrestling for supremacy. One is never quite certain whether one is being wooed by the style or the content; indeed most often it seems that the two are working in complex conjunction.

Lyly and Shakespeare are of course not the only early modern English poets who employ vocal ornament, antithesis, similes, or the judicious weighing of ideas to create their effects. But I would suggest that Spenser and Sydney (for instance) share a different focus. This is supported by the fact that Sydney and de Vere almost fought a duel over the issue of style versus content. Sydney along with the anti-Ramists, Protestants, and dialectitians alike were all intent on clearing the verbal and syntactical jungle that constituted the dense and complex style that was so much in vogue. They wanted to lay bare the moral message beneath the words, so that the ideas might be heard understood as clearly and simply as possible.

A fondness for the enjambment of form and content is not the only formal similarity to be found in both Shakespeare and Lyly. Lyly's favorite rhetorical devices are much the same as those utilized by Shakespeare. The rhetorical technique most typical of the euphuist style is the absence of obvious rhymes (Croll is quick to point out that this is also typical of the patristic style associated with medieval sermons). Instead of rhyme, the pleasing subtle "schemes" involve highlighting the sometimes nearly invisible similarities between words, including, as Croll notes: "Isocolon — successive phrases of about the same length, secondly Parison . . . corresponding members of the same form...noun to noun, verb to verb . . . Paromoion — similarity in sound of words" (xvi). The blank verse that typifies Shakespeare's verse plays rarely features rhyme but instead relies on subtler, balanced similarities between words. In fact I would suggest these devices are the essence of Shakespeare's poetic technique —which is often described as having a heightened sensitivity to echoing sounds.

Medieval sermons during the golden period of medieval English sermonizing, the 14th century, were written in a style that combined Latin and Middle English. In 1215 the Catholic church urged that churches preach to their flocks, and in England the rhetorical devices associated with Latin sermons began to make their way into the vernacular. As Croll notes, "the vernacular was thought to be too crude to bear the ornaments associated with the ancient tongue; and they were first employed with regular and conscious art at the time when modern poetry was born, -- in the fourteenth century" (lvi). As Croll also mentions, the patristic rhetorical devices common in Lyly (and I would suggest also common in Shakespeare) were criticized as being "wanton." Croll tells us Wilson speaks of "'Minstrels elocution' which in lieu of 'weightiness and gravitie of wordes' has nothing to offer but 'wantonness of invention'" (xl). Shakespeare was likely aware of this criticism—Viola, in an extensive discussion about the dangers of language in *Twelfth Night* says: "They that dally nicely with words may quickly make them wanton" (3.1. 14-15).

Over-embellished language was viewed in the 19th century as effeminate, and even as signaling sexual perversion; it seems likely that in Shakespeare's time there were also dangerous associations with sexuality. In the dialogue between Viola and the clown the fear is that language has the ability to draw people away from the church. It was precisely this fear that lay behind anxiety behind the use of the use ornamental vernacular in sermons.

Other stylistic similarities between Shakespeare and Lyly are, I would suggest, directly related to the body. David Bevington, in his introduction to *Endymion*, rates the characters according to their relationship to the carnal: "Endymion and Cynthia are at the apex of the play's structure by virtue of Cynthia's regal stature and the spiritualized nature of Endymion's love. Below them, [are the other characters] on the Neoplatonic ladder from contemplative union down towards fleshiness" (38). The device is Neo-platonic because it separates different pairs of lovers by their specific relationship to the soul or the body; in that way referencing Neo-platonism's concern over how the soul could be housed in the body, or how two such opposite things could ever be related to each other.

In Lyly's *Endymion* the characters are separated as are so many in Shakespearean comedies — Endymion and Cynthia, as well as Endymion and his best friend Eumenides, sit at the top of the heap, being possessed of the most soulful wit, while characters like Sir Tophas and Dipsa (comic figures) are at a more grossly physical level on the scale — and their humor reflects it. In Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* there is a similar stratification of characters, from Olivia and Orsino down to Sir Toby, Andrew Aguecheek, and the servant Maria, at a baser carnal level. In *As You Like It* Rosalind and Orlando represent the highest permutations of the soul, whereas Phoebe and Silvius are still chaste but less witty, while Touchstone and Audrey share an obscene bodily passion.

Finally, there is one aspect of both Lyly and Shakespeare's style that has an elliptical relationship to sex and sexuality. It is a technique that frustrates many a theatergoer, and seems somewhat counterintuitive to the idea of drama. In both writers, the complex syntax often slows down the narrative, and can hinder understanding of the ideas. Lene Ostermark-Johansen quotes Devon Hodges on the fact that antithesis itself, as a rhetorical technique, naturally interrupts the movement of the story: "Though antithesis provides an authoritative and obvious method of organization, it also frustrates the linear development of the narrative and its ethical goals" (13). Antithesis is not the only interruptive technique employed by both Shakespeare and Lyly. These devices frustrate not only the progression of the plot, but the audience's need to find the moral center of the work (which so often is connected with the story's ending). Shakespeare and Lyly's favorite syntactical device embodies an aesthetics of delay.

Ostermark-Johansen comments on this device as utilized by the self-confessed late euphuist Walter Pater: "But perhaps the most striking characterization of Pater's syntax and refined style is Linda Dowling's concept of Pater's 'aesthetic of delay': 'Pater . . . . puts off the moment of cognitive closure, not least because it is a little emblematic death. And he does this not simply by writing long sentences, but by so structuring his sentences as to thwart— at times, even to the point of disruption — our usual expectations of English syntax'" (8). Critics have commented on Shakespeare's tendency to place the object at the beginning of the sentence and the subject at the end, thus keeping us in suspense about the most important element. Polonius, in *Hamlet*, says "These blazes, daughter/Giving more light than heat, extinct in both/ Even in their promise as it is a-making/ You must not take for fire" (1.3. 117-120). Any page of Lyly's *Endymion* will reveal several sentences that have a reverse construction, either beginning with the object or a subordinate clause: "And welcomest is that guest to me that can rehearse the saddest tale or the bloodiest tragedy" (131). This technique — combined with Lyly's use of very long sentences and extensive comparisons, makes him a master of what Dowling calls "the aesthetics of delay." Dowling also suggests that the reason Pater doesn't wish to reach the end of the sentence is because it is an "emblematic death." To coin a reverse syntactical sentence of my own —what is another emblematic death, but the orgasm? I don't think it too much of a stretch to suggest that such delaying tactics are connected with the pleasure of sentences, the pleasure of reading, and with pleasure in general. Such

concern with beauty and pleasure — for Ramists and Protestants — (the foes of Lyly and Shakespeare) might have seemed not only to detract from the moral message of the work, but to indicate a kind of decadent immorality that was related to ornate, Italianate Catholicism.

Concurrences of Subject in Shakespeare and Lyly

What makes Shakespeare our contemporary is not only the somewhat naturalistic interiority of his well-observed characters, but also the fact that it is not always easy to understand what the overarching moral of each play might be. Such vagueness seems very modern in a post *Waiting for Godot* era, but constituted a somewhat scandalous aporia for critics in the past, and led to extensive revisions of Shakespeare. For instance, 18th century actor/director David Garrick provided Shakespeare's works with the neat, Christian-style moralizing that they so obviously lack. Our inability to pin down the slippery moral of these ornate plays is another aspect of Shakespeare's euphuism.

So "concurrences of subject in Shakespeare and Lyly," is not about deciphering the moral messages in Shakespeare. Whether in the comedies, tragedies, histories or problem plays, Shakespeare's work seems to touch on the deepest and most fundamental questions of our very humanity — without offering pat answers. And yet Shakespeare often hangs his plays on more mundane topics, that were, I expect, important to him and his daily life. Bertolt Brecht chose socialism as the subject for his works, and, true to form, his plays seem *on the surface* to be about issues that our related to shared wealth and the division of labor. But in fact Brecht's work is timely because it is really, in a larger sense, about people and their foibles, their physical bodies and their vices, and the possibility (or not) of morality in a materialist world. Similarly, although Shakespeare's overarching human concerns go beyond the more obvious subject matter of his great plays, nevertheless, certain persistent subjects keep cropping up. Some subjects are particularly interesting in terms of the authorship question. For instance, one of Shakespeare's favorite subjects is jealousy; usually a man is jealous of his wife, but — before the play ends — he sees the error of his ways. For Oxfordians, this choice of subject matter may or may not have to do with the real life issues between Edward de Vere and his first wife concerning what eventually proved to be her imagined infidelity.

I am not the first to suggest that Shakespeare and Lyly shared ideas. A comprehensive bibliography would mention several articles, including M. Mincoff's "Shakespeare and Lyly" (1961), and "Shakespeare, Lyly and Ovid: The Influence of Gallathea on A Midsummer Night's Dream" (1977). Of particularly interest is Rushton's book *Shakespeare's Euphuism* (1871)— a slim volume, mainly comprised of quotations from both writers. It claims that "Shakespeare and Lyly have often the same thoughts, use the same language and phrases, and play upon the same words" (1). Rushton is able to find more than one hundred instances of similarities in not only word usage, but subject matter.

Sometimes it seems that Shakespeare and Lyly may have just stumbled on the same common proverbs, for instance, by accident. Both quote "a friend in the court is better than a penny in the purse" (10) — which might very well have been so common that the concurrence then becomes somewhat accidental. Rushton also picks out the instances in which the same words are used by the two authors. But the correspondences between the works prove most interesting when Rushton compares the ideas in the works. For instance, there is the stunning instance where both Shakespeare and Lyly make poetry of the Renaissance notion that chameleons eat air. Rushton quotes Hamlet "Excellent 'i' faith, of the chamelon's dish : I eat the air, promise crammed; you cannot feed capons so" (3.2. 95-97). This significantly resembles Geron's simile in *Endymion*: "Love is a chameleon, which draweth nothing into the mouth but air, and nourisheth nothing in the body but lungs" (137). The comparisons also spread beyond words, imagery, and proverbs to ideas, for instance, as Rushton notes: "Euphues says . . . '*to a wise man* all lands are as fertile as his own inheritance 'and Shakespeare says, 'All places that the eye of heaven visits are *to a wise man* ports and happy havens'" (28).

But I would like to move beyond Rushton and suggest that there are ideas both writers share that deserve to be labeled as tropes. For instance, some of Shakespeare's plays (including *Twelfth Night, Coriolanus,* and *Romeo and Juliet*) seem significantly concerned with male effeminacy. The Early Modern period was somewhat preoccupied with issues of effeminacy, especially in relation to the rise of the new courtier, as described in Castiglione's *The Book of The Courtier.* The Italianate Earl of Oxford exemplified this revolutionary creature, who was both a warrior and a poet. In Lyly's *Endymion*, the errant night Sir Tophas (his name brings to mind Sir Toby Belch in *Twelfth Night*) is a knight who is not very knightly, and like Andrew Aguecheek (Sir Toby's friend in *Twelfth Night*) he is more obsessed with romantic concerns that fighting. Sir Tophas falls in love with an old woman, Dipsas, and is quite unmanned by it — much to the consternation of his loyal sidekick Epiton: "Love hath, as it were, milked my thoughts and drained from my heart the very substance of my accustomed courage. It worketh in my heat like new wine….first discover me in all parts, that I may be a lover, and then will I sigh and die. Take my gun, and give me a gown" (122-123).

Like Sir Tophas, Shakespeare's Romeo is unmanned by love. It's interesting that when he first appears in the play, he speaks in euphuistic antithesis "Oh heavy lightness! Serious vanity!" (1.1. 176). He then is contrasted against warring males in the play, for the aggressive Tybalt, is described as "the very butcher of a silk button" (2.4.22-23) and "the pox of antic, lisping, affecting, fantasticoes" (2.4.28-29), whereas Romeo is greeted by his enemies as a foreign fop: "Signior Romeo bon jour! there's a French salutation to your French slop" (2.4.42-44). The list of Shakespeare's effeminate warriors goes on and on, and includes Coriolanus — who is dominated by his mother and finally unmanned by a military defeat, as well as the brave Achilles in *Troilus and Cressida* — who is accused of spending too much time languishing with his "male varlet" Patrocles.

Effeminacy is something that is associated, in modern minds, with the construction of homosexuality. Interestingly, both Shakespeare and Lyly not only deal with male effeminacy but also the issue of love between men. Each playwright features characters who idealize male romance and extol its superiority over heterosexual love. Eumenides' love for Endymion in Lyly's play of the same name surpasses the love of women (as David's love for Jonathan famously does in the Bible). In a long scene in which he discusses his love for Endymion with his father, Eumenides says "The love of men to women is a thing common, and, of course, the friendship of man to man infinite and immortal" (136). This echoes Bassiano's love for Antonio in *The Merchant of Venice* when he says "Antonio, I am married to a wife Which is dear to me as life itself; But life itself, my wife, and all the world Are not esteemed above thy life. I would lose all, aye sacrifice them all Here to this devil, to deliver you" (4.1. 281-286). Bassanio's feelings for Antonio resemble another Antonio's feelings for Sebastian in *Twelfth Night*, and the love between the young Leontes and Polixenes in *The Winter's Tale*. Of course it might be argued that all these 'loves' are friendship and have nothing to do with romance – but if so, then why are they compared with heterosexual romance, and held to be of more value?

Another trope common to both Shakespeare and Lyly is the reverse blazon; the anti-Petrarchan ode that itemizes a woman's ugliness instead of her beauty. The most famous version of this is in Shakespeare's Sonnet 130 that begins "My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun." But Olivia touches on the reverse blazon when she sarcastically minimizes her charms when speaking to Viola in *Twelfth Night*: "O sir, I will not be so hard hearted. I will give/ out divers schedules of my beauty. it shall be/ inventoried, and every particle and utensil labeled to my will: as, item, two lips, indifferent red; item, two grey eyes, with lids to/ them; item, one neck, one chin, and so forth. Were you sent hither to praise me?" (1.5. 244-250). Launce has a full strength reverse blazon when he describes the ugly, unsuitable woman he is in love with, in *The Two Gentleman of Verona*:

> **Speed**. 'Item: She doth talk in her sleep.'
>
> **Launce.** It's no matter for that, so she sleep not in her talk.
>
> **Speed.** 'Item: She is slow in words.'
>
> **Launce.** O villain, that set this down among her vices! To be slow in words is a woman's only virtue. I pray thee, out with 't and place it for her chief virtue.
>
> **Speed.** 'Item: She is proud.'
>
> **Launce.** Out with that too. It was Eve's legacy, and cannot be ta'en from her.
>
> **Speed.** Item: 'She hath no teeth.'
>
> **Launce.** I care not for that neither, because I Iove crusts
>
> **Speed.** 'Item: She is curst.'
>
> **Launce.** Well, the best is, she hath no teeth to bite.
>
> (3.1.320-332)

Endymion too has its own reverse blazon, when Sir Tophas describes his beloved Dipsas, detailing her ugliness and the advantages of being in love with an old woman. It shares much with the above passage, in tone, humor and content:

> Oh what fine thin hair hat Dipsas! What a pretty low forehead! What a tall and stately nose! What little hollow eyes! What great and goodly lips! How harmless she is, being toothless! Her fingers fat and short, adorned with long nails like a bittern! In how sweet proportion her cheeks hang down to her breasts like dugs, and her paps to her waist like bags! What a low stature she is, and yet what a great foot she carrieth! How thrifty she must be in whom there is no waste! How virtuous she is like to be, over whom no man can be jealous!
>
> (124-125)

I think it is significant that all of these subjects, which become tropes for Shakespeare and Lyly, have one thing in common: By challenging the usual assumptions of masculinity in men and beauty in women, they challenge the typical gender binary — our usual assumptions about what is male and what is female.

But for those unimpressed by an analysis of sexual politics in the work of both writers, there is simply the music of their language. For writers so steeped in rhetorical figures this is perhaps the most important aspect of their work. One can find similarities in the rhythmic patterns and word usage of the two writers. In fact, each wrote descriptions of the beguiling effects of music and the passages are markedly similar. From *Twelfth Night*, there is the famous "If music be the food of love, play on, Give me excess of it, that, surfeiting The appetite may sicken, and so die. That strain again! It had a dying fall" (1.1.1-4). From *Endymion* comes an echoing passage spoken by Eumenides: "Father, your sad music, being tuned on the same key that my hard fortune is, has so melted my mind that I wish to hang at your mouth's end till my life end" (131). Hamlet's famous melancholy musing on sleep and death ("To die, to sleep — No more — and by a sleep to say we end The heartache, and the thousand natural shocks That flesh is heir to! 'Tis a consummation Devoutly to be wished. To die, to sleep — To sleep — perchance to dream" [3.1.60-65]) certainly finds its echo (if not its meaning) in the poetic music of Endymion's melancholy thoughts on sleep and death: "No more, Endymion! Sleep or die. Nay die, for to sleep it is impossible; and yet, I know not how it cometh to pass, I feel such heaviness in mine eyes and heart that I am suddenly benumbed. It may be weariness, for when did I rest? It may be deep melancholy, for when did I not sigh?" (113).

For sheer music there is nothing quite as remarkable as the echoes between the fairy chants in *Endymion* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. There is this from Shakespeare, as the fairies dance around Falstaff:

> Fie on sinful fantasy!
> Fie on lust and luxury!

> Lust is but a bloody fire,
> Kindled with unchaste desire,
> Bed in heart whose flames aspire,
> As thoughts do blow them higher and higher,
>
> Pinch him fairies, mutually
> Pinch him for his villainy,
> Pinch him, and burn him, and turn him about,
> Till candles and starshine and moonshine be out.
>   (5.5.93-101)

This finds its match as the fairies put Endymion to sleep:

> **All.** Pinch him, pinch him, black and blue,
>   Saucy mortals must not view
>   What the queen of stars is doing,
>   Nor pry into our fairy wooing.
> **First Fairy.** Pinch him blue
> **Second Fairy.** And inch him Black
> **Third Fairy.** Let him not lack
>   Sharp nails to pinch him blue and red
>   Til sleep has rocked his addle head.
>   (155-6)

So many echoes. Comparing Shakespeare and Lyly is something like shouting into a very deep well. Which brings us to "bottomlessness." The trope is much remarked upon by Ron Rosenbaum in *The Shakespeare Wars*. Rosenbaum suggests that the wealth of meanings and associations that we are confronted with when we hear or read Shakespeare is endless: "When we call down the corridors of Shakespeare, do we continue to hear back deepening ramifying echoes, or at some point will we have heard all there is to hear? Can we get to the bottom of Shakespeare or is he in some unique way bottomless?" (22-23). Rosenbaum's suggestion is that Shakespeare's work is so resonant that there is no end to the number of interpretations and associations that reverberate from it.

What inspires Rosenbaum's musing on bottomlessness are Shakespeare's own references to the concept. Rosenbaum mentions two passages in which Shakespeare makes particular reference to bottomlessness, though he indicates that there are many more references to the notion to be found in the canon. For instance, Rosalind, in *As You Like It,* refers to a fabled body of water that has no bottom, when she says "My affection hath an unknown bottom like the Bay of Portugal" (4.1.197-198). And then of course there is Bottom in *Midsummer Nights Dream*. When talking about his own dream he intones: "It shall be call'd 'Bottom's Dream,' because it hath

no bottom." (4.1.213-214). *Endymion* too offers us its share of bottomlessness. When Dipsas is revealing her powers as a witch she says "I can restore youth to the aged and make hills without bottoms" (96). And finally, when Geron and Eumenides are discussing how Eumenides might awaken his friend Endymion from a deep slumber (the sleep of Eumenides, by the way, is very like the sleep of Hermoine in *The Winter's Tale*), Geron suggests that Eumenides visit a famous fountain. Lovers who cry into the fountain can read the answers to their problems at the bottom it — except that — "For often I have seen them weep, but never could I hear they saw the bottom" (133).

This discussion of the similarities between Shakespeare and Lyly may have landed us at the bottom of a hill with no bottom, or a bottomless fountain, or a bottomless bay or a bottomless dream — it could certainly go on and on. Though I have perhaps not answered the rhetorical question "Was Shakespeare a Euphuist?" it was not really my intention to do so. But I hope that I have indicated some of the implications that a comparison between Shakespeare's work and Lyly's work might have for future research.

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Shakespeare Beyond Doubt? Exposing An Industry in Denial
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254 pp. Florida: Llumina Press

Reviewed by Don Rubin[1]

Delicious. The controversy will finally be solved. Two major books on the greatest theatrical mystery in the history of world theater. In the champion's corner, the current titleholder and people's choice: the Man from Stratford, the Man who spells his family name Shakspere, the Man who had a seventh grade education, the Man who never left England but set a third of his plays in Italy (and got Italy right), the Man who never studied law but whose plays are rife with arcane legal argument (and always got the legal arguments right), the Man who apparently never wrote a letter to anyone and who could barely scratch out his name on documents but who could clearly utilize seven languages in his three dozen or so plays, the Man who never actually claimed to have written a single one of the plays. A curious titleholder but, for most, the titleholder nevertheless.

In the challenger's corner, all clearly still hiding behind a cloak of anonymity, the primary challengers – Francis Bacon, Christopher Marlowe, and the current number one candidate, Edward de Vere, the 17th Earl of Oxford, who gained fame as the hero of the film *Anonymous*, the Man whose father died while Edward was still young and the Man who raised in London under the guardianship of William Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's Polonius-like chief advisor and who was given the most extraordinary education that money could buy studying such subjects as law and languages and philosophy, the Man who traveled widely in Europe to France, to Italy (where he spent a year traveling, seeing plays and carnivals and commedia dell'arte), a Man who loved the theater profoundly and supported it with his patronage of John Lyly and Anthony Munday, and his adult and boys acting companies.

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The Seconds for each of the fighters are equally impressive: for the titleholder and representing Cambridge University Press, Stanley Wells, Emeritus Professor at the University of Birmingham, the acknowledged most-knowledgeable of the most-knowledgeable, the authority of authorities on all things Shakespearean, and the public voice of Stratford-upon-Avon's Shakespeare Birthplace Trust. Backing up Prof. Wells here, one Paul Edmondson, an ordained priest in the Church of England, and head of "Research and Knowledge" for the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust.

For those challenging the Stratford man, the Second is John M. Shahan, Chair of the US-based Shakespeare Authorship Coalition and principal author of the on-line Declaration of Reasonable Doubt About the Identity of William Shakespeare, a website that boasts thousands of signatories including such theatrical heavyweights as Mark Rylance (Artistic Director of the rebuilt Globe Theatre from 1995 to 2005), Shakespearean actor Sir Derek Jacobi, and voice coach extraordinaire Kristin Linklater and supported by such well-known historical doubters as Mark Twain, Henry James, Sigmund Freud, Orson Welles and Sir Tyrone Guthrie (co-founder of Canada's Stratford Festival). Backing Shahan and company up editorially is Alexander Waugh, grandson of the eminent British writer Evelyn Waugh and General Editor of the 42-volume scholarly edition of Waugh's Complete Works.

And as the bell rings for the first round, we look for the Wells' team to punch quickly and hit hard, to go right after the key question for everyone in this battle: could the name Shakespeare have been a pseudonym? Instead, the Wells team feints to the right ignoring the issue almost completely and drags out a series of hugely-dated arguments about the 19th century female scholar Delia Bacon. Repeated is the old saw that because she was not a great writer herself and ultimately went mad she and all other doubters who followed her must also be consigned to Bedlam. Wells also punches hard at several more of the ancient arguments about Francis Bacon and Christopher Marlowe. Sitting ringside for this, one has to wonder where all the academic debate about pseudonym has gone. Wells doesn't seem to want to go near it.

The Shahan team, on the other hand, leads the fight back to the pseudonymic center with a quick overview of all the reasons to doubt that the man from Stratford could have been the author. Among them: William of Stratford never claimed to be the dramatist, not one play or poem or even a letter in William of Stratford's hand has ever been found, Stratford's will contains nothing to suggest that he was a writer — no books, writing materials or intellectual property, nothing to suggest in any way that this man led an intellectual life. Good points. But will Wells respond to facts?

Silence. Silence and more silence. Even the de Vere challenge is not taken up until late in the bout and then only in a short shot by Alan Nelson, author of *Monstrous Adversary,* a biography of de Vere painting him as a vain narcissist, based largely on the libels of Charles Arundel. Going, like Wells, after messengers rather than messages, going after people rather than evidence, Nelson brings up yet again Delia Bacon, the Prince Tudor Theory (suggesting de Vere might have had a sexual relationship with Queen Elizabeth) and a few unnecessary cheap shots at the film *Anonymous*. Nelson's most egregious sin of omission in this attempt to

disqualify Oxford is his cleaving to the 1611 dating of *The Tempest;* Prof. Nelson is well informed on published research by Stritmatter and Kositsky that challenges this theory. But where is the substance? At only nine pages, the de Vere chapter seems intentionally lightweight indeed.

Meanwhile the Shahan team continuously pounds away with concrete chapters on the consistent use of two different names (Shakspere for the Stratford man and Shakespeare for the writer), with questions about a lack of contemporary evidence as opposed to evidence from the first Folio and after (the Folio was published seven years after the Stratford man's death), the oddness of the Stratford man's will and the absence of tributes to the author Shakespeare after Mr. Stratford died.

Wells and associates land only glancing blows, however, linking all the Shahan evidence over and over again to conspiracy theory while looking seriously at the many fictional treatments of Shakespeare in film (indeed, the cover of the Wells volume features actor Joseph Fiennes in the 1998 fiction *Shakespeare in Love)*. Shahan, on the other hand, comes back with the author's obsession with Italy (Shakspere, of course, never left England), Shakespeare's knowledge of law and medicine, and even the revealing changes to the bust of "Shakespeare" in Stratford.

Wells finally takes on Shahan's own Declaration of Reasonable Doubt with the argument that the Declaration seems connected to people who want to "promote their own theories about 9/11 or argue (in one case) that Shakespeare was a woman." A low blow to be sure. The Wells team insists that if the Declaration is to be taken seriously it must supplement its list of signatories with real, "documentary evidence." Until such evidence is produced, we are told, the Declaration's intent to legitimize the academic study of the authorship issue, "will remain unfulfilled."

It is a woman, ironically, who lands the strongest shot of the battle, who sends the Stratford man to the canvas with exactly that: "documentary evidence," evidence that no one on the Wells' team seems able to stand up and refute. This solidest of evidentiary blows references authorship scholar Diana Price and her own extraordinary book (*Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography)*. It is Price who brings into the battle some two dozen dramatists from the period. A core part of the Shahan book, she looks at each writer in terms of education, correspondence concerning literary matters, proof of being paid to write, relationships to wealthy patrons, existence of original manuscripts, documents touching on literary matters, commendatory poems contributed or received during their lifetimes, documents where the alleged writer was actually referred to as a writer, evidence of books owned or borrowed, and even notices at death of being a writer. Such evidence, we find out, exists in some or even all of these categories for each of the writers studied. For the Stratford man, however, not a single check in a single category. Stratford comes up blank.

The Wells team is silent here and, in the end, Wells and company do not prove in any way what they set out to prove: that the man from Stratford is the actual author of some of the greatest plays ever written, that the man from Stratford is "Shakespeare Beyond Doubt." Reading both these books, the doubts are even stronger.

All that that the Wells' team really proves here is that they can be very good at not looking at evidence and that they are really fine at attacking messengers rather than messages, par for people working on faith rather than fact. No surprise that. It took authority 500 years to admit it was wrong about the sun moving around the earth. During those centuries, those who kept trying to show people the facts were ridiculed into oblivion. And, no doubt, those who today want to open the authorship debate in academe find themselves under similar attack. Trial by real evidence will just have to wait a little longer. The Cambridge Press Goliath does little more than huff and puff and shadow box around the issue. Despite Wells' attempt to put the challengers away in this battle, the authorship issue, without any doubt, remains and seems (if the remarkable number of books pouring out on this subject is any indication) to be getting even hotter.

Does it ultimately matter? The plays still remain whoever wrote them. Certainly that's true. But if we get the identity of the greatest writer of all time wrong, surely there's a problem somewhere that needs to be solved.

Shakespeare Beyond Doubt: Evidence, Argument, Controversy
Edited by Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells
Cambridge University Press, 2013.
284 pp.

Reviewed by Thomas Regnier[1]

A few preliminary observations on *Shakespeare Beyond Doubt: Evidence, Argument, Controversy* (hereinafter referred to as *SBD*)*:* First, the book's central message is that Shakespeare's works are not to be read as having any connection with the author's life. While the relationship between an author's life and his works would seem to be a worthy topic for exploration and discussion, the authors of *SBD* are adamant that it is not debatable. Nevertheless, the book accuses its opponents of dogmatism.

Second, the man from Stratford's authorship is taken as "given" in the book, and the evidence supporting it is mentioned only in passing, with little acknowledgement of the ambiguities inherent in it. Yet *SBD* accuses Shakespeare skeptics of being fanatics.

Third, the authors of *SBD* show little familiarity with the best anti-Stratfordian scholarship, most of which is never mentioned in the book. They focus on the craziest and least impressive anti-Stratfordians (Delia Bacon gets three chapters) and frequently misstate anti-Stratfordian scholarship when they bring it up at all. Meanwhile, *SBD* accuses anti-Stratfordians of ignoring the evidence.

Fourth, *SBD* takes an unbearably condescending attitude toward those who doubt the traditional theory of authorship. It at least admits that some anti-Stratfordians are reasonable people but asserts that reasonable people can hold unreasonable views. Worst of all, the book makes a concerted effort to displace the word "anti-Stratfordian" with "anti-Shakespearian," arguing that if you don't believe in the Stratford theory of authorship, then you don't believe in Shakespeare. And *SBD* accuses its opponents of being bullies.

Fifth, *SBD* is dripping with appeals to authority. Don't question the professionals, who know better. "Open-mindedness" is a sin, at least when it comes to the authorship question. And *SBD* accuses "anti-Shakespearians" of snobbery.

Sixth, *SBD* does not attempt to answer the crucial question of how the Stratford man acquired the tremendous knowledge evident in the plays. *SBD* does not even acknowledge that the question exists. But the book compares anti-Stratfordianism to religious faith.

SBD is a book of propaganda, not scholarship. It is a web of attitudes, not ideas. Its method is to lull the reader into drowsy acceptance, not alert skepticism. It tries to shame the reader into agreeing with it for fear that he will seem odd or eccentric. I hope that every person who has doubts about the traditional authorship theory will read this book very closely and make a list of its many logical and evidentiary fallacies.

Literature as Biography?

Consider the proposition that there was no connection between an author's life and his works, at least in the Elizabethan age. Matt Kubus, echoing James Shapiro, argues in chapter 5 of *SBD* that the problem with reading the works biographically is that it assumes that there is an "inherent connection" between the author and "the content of his works."

Before the Romantic Era, presumably, writers were more self-effacing, much too modest to write about themselves. They wrote more objectively about life, teaching parables about how to live as a member of society: not how to be a rebel, but how to successfully fit in. But is it really all that simple? Did human nature change all of a sudden during the Romantic Era?

I suspect that even before then, writers were expressing themselves, only not so obviously as the Romantics did. Doesn't the fact that a writer chooses to write a certain story tell us something about him as a person? Maybe the story doesn't follow the facts of his life like a thinly disguised autobiography, but a writer tells a story because it speaks to him in some way. Isn't it conceivable that all literary writing is, deep down, self-revelatory, that authors give themselves away in their writings in ways that they aren't always aware of?

Besides, weren't the seeds of the Romantic Era sown in *Hamlet*? Was there ever a character so aware of his own thoughts, his own struggles? I believe that it is an open question for any author how much and in what ways he reveals himself in his writings. Indeed, it should be a rich area for exploration and discussion. But the Stratfordians have decided to close that door, and the poorer they will all be for it.

The Case for Stratford

Stanley Wells (chapter 7) attempts to bolster the case for the Stratford man by listing every historical reference to "Shakespeare" up to 1642. As Wells admits, however, no reference to "William Shakespeare" before 1623, when the First Folio was published, explicitly identifies the writer with Stratford. All the references to Shakespeare up to that time are references to the written works of "William Shakespeare," whoever that was, but not necessarily to the Stratford man who died in

1616.

Because any evidence linking the works to Stratford is posthumous, Wells argues that we can't refuse to credit posthumous evidence. I agree that we shouldn't refuse *absolutely* to consider posthumous evidence. But while we might place some reliance on it, we are surely justified in giving it less credit than contemporary evidence. In legal terms, I would say that posthumous evidence is admissible, but a jury may be correct in giving it less weight than contemporary evidence. Wells argues that "if we refused to accept posthumous evidence we should have to refuse the evidence that anyone has ever died." This comment is ridiculous. Of course a person cannot report his own death, but evidence does not have to be self-reported to be reliable.

In looking for evidence of the Stratford man as a writer, the testimony of other people is perfectly admissible. But a report right after an incident is more likely to be reliable than a report issued several years later. In the law of evidence, a statement made at the time of an occurrence is considered more reliable than a statement made long after the event, especially when a motive to fabricate may have arisen between the time of the original incident and the time of the later statement. It is exceedingly odd that no written record clearly links the Stratford man to the works of Shakespeare until seven years after his death, and skeptics are right in seeing that as a weakness in the Stratford theory.

Andrew Hadfield (chapter 6) makes a roundabout attempt to answer Diana Price's thesis in *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography* that the Stratford man, unlike all other literary men of his day, left no literary paper trail during his lifetime. While Hadfield never mentions Price, he almost completely concedes her main point by saying, "there are virtually no *literary* remains left behind by Shakespeare outside his published works, and most of the surviving records deal with property and legal disputes" (emphasis added). Hadfield doesn't explain what the "virtually" refers to. He goes on to cloud the issue by pointing out that there are gaps in the historical records of many Elizabethan playwrights: we don't know, for example, specifics about Middleton's religion, Dekker's or Munday's education, or Nashe's date of death. This may be so, but Hadfield evades Price's point that for all of these writers there is contemporary evidence, linked to each man personally, of a *literary* career; for the Stratford man, there is none. This could mean that the evidence is lost, but it could also mean that it never existed. Considering the many anomalies in the existing evidence (none of it linking the Stratford man personally to the plays until seven years after his death), Shakespeare skeptics quite rightfully suggest that something doesn't add up.

In chapter 10, authors Mardock and Rasmussen reveal the astounding discovery that the thirty-one speaking roles in *Hamlet* can be performed by only eleven actors who play double or triple roles because—get ready for the revelation (sound of trumpets)—certain characters do not appear onstage at the same time! This type of information is so dazzling that James Shapiro even repeats it in his Afterword because it "proves" that Shakespeare had to be a professional man of the theater. But, realistically, is a playwright who writes a play with thirty-one characters

likely to put them all onstage at the same time? Isn't it possible that an earl who had his own theater troupe (such as Oxford or Derby) might be aware of some of the practical problems of putting on a play? And the "doubling" revelation certainly does not by itself disqualify Christopher Marlowe as the Bard.

The general reader may be most impressed by MacDonald P. Jackson's discussion of stylometrics (chapter 9), which "proves" by computer analysis of grammatical patterns and word usage that the Stratford man wrote the vast majority of Shakespeare's plays with a little help from other playwrights of his time. Many readers will readily believe anything a computer tells them, but a computer is only as good as the data and programs that go into it. If the program is flawed, the result will be flawed. Stylometrics, while it uses computers, still has its glitches. How do we know? Different stylometrics analyses come out with different answers as to who collaborated with whom on what, as Ramon Jiménez has demonstrated.[2] Several years ago, Donald Foster attributed a poem called "A Funeral Elegy for Master William Peter" to William Shakespeare based on a stylometric computer analysis. Later analyses by Gilles Monsarrat and Brian Vickers showed Foster's attribution to be flawed and that the true author may have been John Ford. Foster admitted his error in 2002.

Besides, the most that stylometric studies show, as Jackson describes them, is that the person who wrote the bulk of the plays sometimes collaborated with others. They cannot prove that that central figure was the Stratford man because there is no known writing unquestionably belonging to the Stratford man to be used as a standard. As Ramon Jiménez has said, stylometric analysis "can never be more than a portion of the evidence needed to [identify the work of an individual author]. External evidence, topical references, and the circumstances and personal experiences of the putative author will remain important factors in any question of authorship." *SBD* urges us not to doubt the Stratford man just because Shakespeare scholars don't always agree among themselves about such matters as who the Bard's collaborators were. Apparently, disagreement is acceptable as long as everyone agrees that the Stratford man was the main author—a premise that *SBD* never questions.

Battling Pygmies, Ignoring Giants

Stratfordians have always been skilled at the sophistic "straw man" technique of restating one's opponent's argument in its weakest form and then demolishing that argument to make plausible-sounding, but inherently flawed, arguments. Here, they raise this ploy to an art form, usually by attacking the weakest spokespersons for their opponents' views. Their preferred target in *SBD* is Delia Bacon, who wrote an unreadable book about the authorship controversy and later went mad. *SBD* has three whole chapters (1, 2, and 15) mainly devoted to Delia Bacon. While no serious authorship skeptic of the past century relies on Delia Bacon's work, the Stratfordians can't get enough of her. They want to paint all doubters with the same brush as Delia Bacon and make the reader think she is a beacon to other anti-Stratfordians. The book even admits, in a condescending way, that Ms. Bacon was right about a few

things, except that she was grievously wrong in thinking that Shakespeare didn't write the plays attributed to him.

The condescension gets even worse. Poor Delia, *SBD* laments, she was denied a university education because she was a woman. Then she wrote a book in which she argued that a powerful woman, Queen Elizabeth, suppressed some brilliant men such as Francis Bacon and Sir Walter Raleigh, who then secretly wrote plays about democratic ideals while hiding their identities behind the name "William Shakespeare." Andrew Murphy (chapter 15) sees through Delia Bacon's narrative, however, and reveals that she was really complaining about how she, as a woman, was suppressed. Ms. Bacon merely reversed the genders in her book and made it about a woman suppressing men, rather than men suppressing women! I am not making this up. Murphy really says this. Murphy even claims that you can't understand Shakespeare from his biography but you can understand Shakespeare doubters from theirs. Apparently, anti-Stratfordians are just working out their inner neuroses by doubting Shakespeare, while the Stratford man wrote impersonally, from his imagination—no sweat, no personal involvement necessary.

But do the Stratfordians address any serious anti-Stratfordian scholarship in *SBD*? Diana Price, Tony Pointon, George Greenwood, Joseph Sobran, Ramon Jiménez, Richard Whalen, and Roger Stritmatter, to name just a few, are not mentioned. The Ogburns get a few sentences, but nowhere does *SBD* address the gist of their thesis. Thomas Looney, who first promulgated the theory that Oxford was Shakespeare, also receives several nods along the way, but no one does a serious, thoughtful critique of his method for determining that Oxford was the real Shakespeare.

Charles Nicholl (chapter 3) quotes Looney's contention that the true author of the plays was not "the kind of man we should expect to rise from the lower middle-class population of the towns." Nicholl responds that Looney is wrong because many Elizabethan playwrights sprang from the lower middle-class. But Nicholl takes Looney's comment out of context. What Looney actually said is that Shakespeare's "sympathies, and probably his antecedents, linked him on more closely to the old order than to the new: not the kind of man we should expect to rise from the lower middle-class population of the towns." Nicholl entirely misses Looney's point: Shakespeare's works evince an aristocratic viewpoint that is inconsistent with a lower middle-class upbringing. Looney was speaking about Shakespeare specifically based on the content of his works, not about playwrights in general. This is typical of the failure of the authors of *SBD* to truly engage with and respond to the writings of anti-Stratfordians.

Nicholl at least does us the service of explaining that spelling found in the published plays may not be the author's spellings, but may be those of compositors, whose spelling choices were often controlled by such factors as lineation and availability of type. Nicholl mentions this as part of an anti-Marlowe argument, but I wish he would explain the principle to Alan Nelson, who argues (not in *SBD*, but elsewhere) that Oxford couldn't be the true author because he used different spellings in his letters than are used in Shakespeare's plays.

Matt Kubus (chapter 5) argues that the sheer number of candidates destroys the anti-Stratfordian argument and that, mathematically, every time a new candidate is suggested, the probability decreases that it is the true author. If ever there were a facile argument, this is it. If your name is one of many to be drawn at random from a drum in a lottery, then, yes, the more names in the drum, the less likely it is that your name will be chosen. But the authorship question is not about randomly drawing names from a drum. It is about examining the evidence for specific candidates. One should go about this through the standard scientific method, which Kubus describes as starting with a hypothesis, analyzing the data, and making a logical conclusion based on the facts. Once one actually does that, however, the number of serious candidates dwindles to a precious few.

In line with the *modus operandi* of *SBD*, Kubus examines only bad examples of anti-Stratfordian "research," such as wacky cryptogram theories and some pathetically stupid blogger he finds on the web, and then argues that alternative candidate theories are all the same. Again, this shows the lack of care and critical attention that the authors of *SBD* have paid to the arguments of the better anti-Stratfordian scholars.

Indeed, "misdirection," of the kind that a pickpocket uses to take your attention off his hand while he steals your wallet, abounds in this book. It spends an inordinate amount of time on subjects that have nothing to do with serious authorship evidence or scholarship, including one chapter (16) on *fictional* treatments of the authorship question and another chapter (18) on the film *Anonymous*. Again, it's all part of a not-so-subtle attempt to leave the reader with the impression that all anti-Stratfordian writings are fictional and that the scenarios put forth in films and novels are exactly the ones believed by all anti-Stratfordians.

Douglas M. Lanier says of *Anonymous* that its "claim to historical authenticity is crucial to its case for Oxford as the true author of Shakespeare's plays." To knowledgeable Oxfordians, who were more adept than anyone else in pointing out historical inaccuracies in the film, this is a howler. Oxfordians saw *Anonymous* as merely a fiction that melded historical fact with fantasy. Yet Lanier would try to pawn off this film as the summit of anti-Stratfordian thinking. With Lanier, as with most of the authors of *SBD*, it is difficult to tell if he has simply never read any serious anti-Stratfordian scholarship or if he is purposely trying to throw the reader off the scent. I suspect that he has never read us. Many Stratfordians are probably wary of reading their adversaries' works for fear of being seduced by the sirens' song.

Monstrous Distortions

Alan Nelson, author of the anti-Oxfordian biography of Oxford, *Monstrous Adversary*, was the obvious choice to write the *SBD* explanation of why Oxford couldn't have been Shakespeare (chapter 4). Nelson argues that Oxford couldn't be Shakespeare because he killed a cook, was a spendthrift, was mean to his wife, and lived for a while with an Italian choirboy. But maybe Nelson didn't read other chapters in *SBD* in which his co-authors chastise some anti-Stratfordians for saying

that the Stratford man couldn't be the Bard because he was a grain-hoarder and money-lender. If there is one lesson to be learned from *SBD*, it is that one's life has nothing to do with one's writing. Apparently, Nelson didn't get the memo. If a grain-hoarder could have written the plays, then so could a playboy.

But Oxfordians have never claimed that Oxford was a saint. They see him as a temperamental, mercurial personality, and the character flaws that Nelson enumerates are actually evidence of Oxford's connections to the works of "Shakespeare." Nelson comes dangerously close to admitting this: he claims at one point that Oxford was "apparently" homosexual (or bisexual) and later links this to the homoerotic overtones of Shakespeare's Sonnets, many of which were written to a fair young man, thought to be the Earl of Southampton. Traditional scholars are stumped when trying to explain how William of Stratford, a commoner, could have had the gall to write such intimate poetry to a nobleman, but an older nobleman might have more easily gotten away with it.

Nelson points out that Oxford, when he was a young man, killed a cook and escaped a murder charge on the questionable finding that the cook "committed suicide" by deliberately running on the young earl's sword. Oxford would eventually use this as self-parody in Act Five of *Hamlet*, where one of the Gravediggers supposes that a person might be blameless for committing suicide, and thus eligible for Christian burial, if the act were done in self-defense.

Nelson criticizes Oxford for his extravagant lifestyle, but Nelson doesn't mention that this behavior is mirrored in the plot of *Timon of Athens*, in which the hero gives away his fortune. Oxford was also, admittedly, estranged from his wife for some time, thinking she had been unfaithful to him. This became fodder for Hamlet's estrangement from Ophelia and Othello's distrust toward Desdemona, not to mention Leontes' jealousy in *The Winter's Tale*. Oxford's wife was rumored to have gotten him back by using a "bed trick"—that is, making him think he was being led into the dark bedchamber of another woman, when actually it was his own wife's room. Such "bed tricks" are used in two Shakespeare plays—*Measure for Measure* and *All's Well That Ends Well*.

Nelson devotes only passing remarks to *"Shakespeare" By Another Name*, Mark Anderson's thoroughly researched, copiously documented biography of Oxford, which receives only one other mention in all of *SBD*. Nelson has nothing to counter Anderson's meticulous research but a shallow quip: "For Anderson, scarcely an incident in Oxford's life remains unconnected to the Shakespeare canon; and scarcely a detail of the Shakespeare canon remains unconnected to Oxford's life." Actually, that's a fairly accurate description of Anderson's work, which demonstrates an astounding number of parallels between Oxford's life and Shakespeare's works. Nelson doesn't bother, however, to specify any points on which Anderson's book might be wrong.

Nelson tells us that Francis Meres listed Oxford and Shakespeare as two different people in *Palladis Tamia* (1598), as if this were proof that they were not the same person. But Don C. Allen, the editor of the modern edition of Meres' book,

called Meres' chapter on poetry, "pseudoerudition and bluff." Meres derived his information on poetry from numerous, conflicting sources. Besides, if Oxford was hiding his identity behind the pen name "Shakespeare," why should we think that Meres would be privy to the secret? Nelson notes that Oxford is mentioned in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) but neglects to tell the reader that that book also reveals that "Noblemen . . . have written excellently well as it would appear if their doings could be found out and made public with the rest, of which number is first that noble gentleman Edward Earl of Oxford."

Nelson argues that Oxford couldn't have written *The Tempest* because he died in 1604 and the play refers to a 1609 shipwreck off the coast of Bermuda. Some scholars believe, based on imagery and word choices in the *The Tempest*, that it was influenced by William Strachey's account of the wreck of the *Sea-Venture*, which happened in 1609. But shipwrecks near Bermuda, an island surrounded by reefs, were common. In fact, one occurred in 1595, when Oxford was still alive. Furthermore, Stritmatter and Kositsky's book, *On the Date, Sources and Design of Shakespeare's The Tempest*, demonstrates that much of the language of Strachey's narrative about the *Sea-Venture* was borrowed from earlier works, such as Richard Eden's *The Decades of the New World* (1555). Thus, there is no reason to believe that the author of *The Tempest* had to have read Strachey's account. In fact, Strachey's account was not actually published until 1625, long after the Stratford man was dead, so Stratfordians are left to speculate, based on no external evidence, that their man somehow had access to Strachey's manuscript.

Nelson claims that Oxfordians "fantasize" that Oxford left drafts of plays that were released after his death. But anyone who believes that William of Stratford was the real Shakespeare must also indulge in such "fantasies." About half of Shakespeare's plays were never published until the First Folio appeared—seven years after the Stratford man died. If he indeed made his living as a playwright, why would he have withheld half his output from publication during his lifetime, especially after he retired to Stratford? Such a practice seems more consistent with a nobleman who wrote privately and couldn't allow his name to be connected to his writings.

Both Stratfordians and Oxfordians have long noted that Polonius in *Hamlet* appears to be a satire on Lord Burghley, Queen Elizabeth's power-behind-the-throne. Oxford had a long, and often strained, relationship with Burghley. Burghley became Oxford's guardian when Oxford's father died. Later, Oxford married Burghley's daughter, Anne Cecil. Lord Burghley wrote out a set of rules for his household that includes maxims such as, "Towards thy superiors be humble yet generous; with thine equals familiar yet respective." As Polonius says to Laertes, "Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar." Burghley's rules were not published until 1618, long after *Hamlet* was published. The scene in which Polonius sends Reynaldo to spy on his son Laertes strengthens the similarity to Burghley, who maintained a network of spies. In the first edition of *Hamlet*, Polonius' name was "Corambis"—perhaps a pun on Burghley's Latin motto, "*Cor unum, via una*," which means "One heart, one way." "Corambis" could be translated as "double-hearted," i.e., two-faced. Just as Hamlet was captured

by pirates and left naked on the shore of Denmark, Oxford was captured by pirates and left naked on the shore of England. In 1573, Oxford, who was a patron of the arts, wrote a preface to an English translation of *Cardanus Comfort*, a book of consoling advice that likely influenced Hamlet's "To be or not to be" soliloquy.

Nelson, however, makes a tortured attempt to dissociate *Hamlet* from the facts of Oxford's life: Oxford was twelve when his father died, whereas Hamlet was an adult when he lost his father; Oxford married Burghley's daughter, whereas Hamlet rejected Ophelia and consigned her to a nunnery. One half-expects Nelson to add that Oxford didn't stab Lord Burghley while he was hiding behind an arras. Nelson's analysis insults the reader's intelligence. While artists often use real-life people and situations as raw material for their creations, they transform their materials into something new, mixing fiction with real life to create a higher reality. For example, while we know that Charles Dickens was writing somewhat autobiographically in *David Copperfield*, the novel does not follow Dickens's life in all respects. Any literate reader of fiction understands this. It is surprising that Nelson, an English professor, doesn't understand it, or pretends not to. Although Oxford didn't stab Burghley in real life, the murder of Polonius may well have been Oxford's revenge fantasy.

Finally, Nelson insists that Oxford couldn't have been Shakespeare because Oxford, as owner of his own theater troupe, would never have let the Lord Chamberlain's Men, a "rival" theater company, perform his plays. Nelson's theory rests on the assumption that noblemen's companies competed jealously against each other and never shared their works. Yet this assumption is brought into doubt by the title page of the 1594 First Quarto edition of *Titus Andronicus*. (Like all "Shakespeare" plays published before 1598, it is *anonymous*, i.e., no author is named on the title page.) The title page states that the play is "as it was played" by the servants of the Earls of Derby, Pembroke, and Sussex. This shows that various noblemen might have passed plays around from one to another rather than jealously guarding them. Historically, Oxford had strong ties to these other noble families—two of his daughters would later marry into the Derby and Pembroke families, and the Earl of Sussex was something of a mentor to Oxford. If the Earl of Oxford was indeed the author of *Titus Andronicus*, why *wouldn't* he have shared his play with other noblemen?

Kinder, Gentler Stratfordians

Stuart Hampton-Reeves in chapter 17 departs from the recent Stratfordian strategy of labeling all doubters as crackpots or mentally deranged. He appears as kinder, gentler, and less fanatical, admitting that it is no longer possible to dismiss anti-Stratfordians as "ill-informed cranks." He understands that reasonable people can hold unreasonable opinions.

Except that the book doesn't call doubters "anti-Stratfordians." Instead, it calls them "anti-*Shakespearians*." As Edmondson and Wells explain in their introduction, the authors employ that word because "anti-Stratfordian . . . allows the

work attributed to Shakespeare to be separated from the social and cultural context of its author." How's that for circular reasoning? We cannot doubt that the Stratford man was Shakespeare because we know that Shakespeare was from Stratford. According to *SBD*, to speak of "anti-Stratfordians" would be wrong because "to deny Shakespeare of Stratford's connection to the work attributed to him is to deny the essence of, in part, what made that work possible."

Got that? Shakespeare just wouldn't have been Shakespeare without Stratford. So, if you're against Stratford, you must be against Shakespeare. Or something like that. I guess this means that clues of a Stratfordian life are all over the plays and that's how we know the man from Stratford wrote them. Not that we read the works biographically, mind you. *SBD* is very clear about that. But, still, the works are full of Stratfordian words and references, as David Kathman argues in chapter 11, apparently oblivious of Michael Egan's devastating rebuttal in 2011 to similar claims by Kathman.[3] Undaunted, Kathman says that words like "ballow" and "mobbled" are unique to Warwickshire, despite Egan's having explained that the words were either from other places or were simply misreadings. As Egan pointed out, the Oxford Companion to Shakespeare (of which Stanley Wells is an editor) notes that "It is somewhat strange that Shakespeare did not . . . exploit his Warwickshire accent, since he was happy enough to represent, in phonetic spelling, the non-standard English of French and Welsh speakers, and the national dialects of Scotland and Ireland." Kathman does admit that the alleged presence of Warwickshire words in the plays "doesn't prove anything." At least he's right about something.

Kathman's big point, however, is that Stratford was not a cultural backwater, but had many educated, cultured people. Some of the evidence for this is that many Stratfordians left long lists of book bequests in their wills. Kathman passes over in silence the anomaly that Shakspere mentioned no books in *his* will. Shakspere's friends, such as Richard Quiney, Thomas Greene, and Thomas Russell, all left documentary paper trails showing that they were literate and educated. To Shakspere, however, as Kathman admits, "No specific surviving books can be traced." Right again. It's strange how all the evidence of Shakspere's purported education vanished while that of his friends didn't.

And by the way, *SBD* hardly ever uses any other spelling than "Shakespeare" to refer to the Stratford man. When it does mention another spelling, such as "Shakspere," it is for the purpose of showing how those bad old "anti-Shakespearians" are always trying to denigrate good old Will by misspelling his name, making it seem as if he was a different person than the one who wrote the plays under the name "Shakespeare." The purpose of this tactic is to make the reader come away thinking that the Stratford man always spelled his name "Shakespeare," the way it was spelled in the plays, when in fact there is no record that the Stratford man *ever* spelled it that way.

Don't Question Authority

The Declaration of Reasonable Doubt is derided in *SBD* as a declaration of faith, and also a declaration of loss of faith—faith in Shakespeare! Hampton-Reeves notes that the Shakespeare Authorship Coalition criticized James Shapiro for not engaging with the Declaration's arguments and then states that he will also disappoint readers by not offering a point-by-point rebuttal. But if these people won't, then who will? *SBD* has it backwards about who is operating on faith. Its authors believe that they are the high priests and we have "lost the faith" by failing to believe their self-evidently correct interpretation of the sacred texts.

Paul Edmondson's closing chapter (19) is particularly repugnant when it questions how anyone can be open-minded "given the positive historical evidence in Shakespeare's favour." He says that "open-mindedness" is merely a rhetorical maneuver and should be allowed only after the evidence for Shakespeare has been disproven, not (as Edmondson says) "merely ignored." "There is, too," says Edmondson, "the loaded assumption that even though one may lack the necessary knowledge and expertise, it is always acceptable to challenge or contradict a knowledgeable and expert authority. It is not." This is probably the least subtle of the many appeals to authority that pervade the book. Edmondson also compares anti-Stratfordians to bullies. Near the end, he says, "One likes to think that if there were any actual evidence that Shakespeare did not write the plays and poems attributed to him, then it would be Shakespeare scholars themselves who would discover and propagate it in their quest to know as much as possible about him." And may the fox guard the henhouse!

Shakespeare's Knowledge

Finally, *SBD* completely ducks (by never mentioning) the question of how the Stratford man acquired the vast knowledge of law, medicine, Italy, and a great many other subjects that is evident in the plays. In 1942, Paul Clarkson and Clyde Warren noted that: "Books by the score have been written to demonstrate [Shakespeare's] intimate and all pervading knowledge of such diverse subjects as angling, hunting, falconry, and horsemanship; military life, tactics, and equipment; navigation, both of peace and of war; medicine and pharmacy; an almost philological erudition in classical mythology; folklore, and biblical lore; and a sweeping knowledge of natural history, flora as well as fauna . . . agriculture and gardening; music, heraldry, precious stones, and even typography. . . jurisprudence—civil, ecclesiastical, common law, and equity."[4]

Clarkson and Warren listed at least one book or article for every subject and noted that they could have listed many more. That was in 1942. Surely a much longer list could be compiled today with many more subjects—Italy, philosophy, astrology, and Greek drama, for example. The lesson to be learned from all these books about Shakespeare's knowledge in a vast array of subjects is that the author had a thorough and broad-ranging education and experience, which he often called upon to advance

his dramatic purposes. The author of Shakespeare's plays had to be one of the most literate people who ever lived. He very likely had extensive formal education, easy access to books, abundant leisure time to study on his own, and wide experience of the world gained through travel. This makes authorship by a nobleman more likely than that of the Stratford man. *SBD* fails to deal with this question because it simply can't.

One might have thought that, given the chance to put the authorship controversy to rest once and for all, the authors and editors of *SBD* would have laid out their evidence in all its glory, with clear, cogent explanations of its significance and coolly reasoned rebuttals to any arguments questioning its authenticity. That they have chosen instead to assert authority, disparage open-mindedness, and belittle adversaries says a great deal about the mindset and the state of scholarship, as it regards the authorship question, of the Shakespeare establishment.

Endnotes

[1] This is an expanded version of a review that was originally published in *Shakespeare Matters*, 12:3 (Summer 2013).

[2] Ramon Jiménez, "Stylometrics: How Reliable is it Really?" in *Shakespeare Beyond Doubt? Exposing an Industry in Denial*, John Shahan & Alexander Waugh, editors (Tamarac, FL: Llumina, 2013), Appx. B, 235.

[3] *Exposing an Industry in Denial* (2011), reprinted in Part II of Shahan, *Shakespeare Beyond Doubt?*, 164-166.

[4] Paul S. Clarkson & Clyde T. Warren, *The Law of Property in Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Drama* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press 1942), xvi (footnotes omitted).

AKA Shakespeare
A Scientific Approach to the Authorship Question
by Peter A. Sturrock
Palo Alto, Exoscience, 2013, xiii + 320 pages

Reviewed by Hanno Wember

Il est très bon esprit, mais il n'est pas géomètre
-            Blaise Pascal

The book represents an absolutely unprecedented and incomparable never-before-seen approach to the authorship question. Though the author has tried to accommodate it to usual reading habits by working it into a narrative shape, the basic method of applying the theory of probability may still act as a deterrent to some readers, which would be unfortunate, since this is not only a fine book but a mighty tool to undercut the rhetoric of Shakespearean orthodoxy. The aim of the present review is to bring his unusual book closer to the reader, and this can best be done anecdotally.

Last July a friend of mine traveled to Los Angeles. In the exit hall of the airport (after an intercontinental flight), he unexpectedly met a former colleague, whom he had not seen since her retirement. He later went to his hotel, and when he wanted to check in, he stood as if rooted to the earth: Directly in front of him at the counter was his sister, whom he had not seen in three years. She had studied in L.A., but that was long ago. He at first thought he was imagining things, but there could be no doubt – it was really his sister. In the evening, he went to a concert at the Disney Hall: Maxim Vengerov, with Brahms and Lorin Maazel on the podium. In the lounge, he met a woman he immediately recognized as Eva, his first girlfriend from his youth.

A realistic story? Certainly not. A single totally unexpected meeting does rarely happen. But three of them? Not in a lifetime! The odds of rolling a six with one die are one in six. The probability of meeting your first girlfriend after 25 years at the other end of the world in a concert hall must be much lower: Maybe 1:50 or 1:1,000 or more likely 1:10,000 or even less.

The odds of rolling three consecutive sixes with one die are 1:(6 x 6 x 6) or one in 216. The chances of meeting your former colleague, your sister and your first girlfriend in L.A. (assuming you are not all from L.A.), on the other hand, must be something like 1:(1,000 x 1,000 x 1,000) or one in a billion or even less, i.e., extremely unlikely. In other words, impossible in everyday life. And now to Shakespeare.

Hamlet reported in a letter to Horatio that he had been attacked and captured by pirates. Edward de Vere, the 17th Earl of Oxford, was actually captured by pirates on a sea voyage; this is a documented fact. William of Stratford-upon-Avon is not known to have ever taken a sea voyage. According to one highly popular and successful theory, he invented the pirate episode in *Hamlet* with poetic imagination. Although the Earl of Oxford experienced the story very much like Hamlet, these events were completely unrelated and Oxford, we are told, could have nothing to do with the drama. The correlation of de Vere's live and the literary *Hamlet* must be purely coincidental. A random event with a probability of (let's say) one in 1,000.

Why one in 1,000? We'll leave this question unanswered for a while and continue to develop the basic idea – but the question will be addressed in detail before we conclude.

In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, a Friar Patrick is mentioned three times. An Irish monk in Milan, strangely enough. But in 1575, an Irish Friar Patrick actually traveled through northern Italy and most likely visited Milan.[1] Edward de Vere traveled extensively throughout northern Italy and was in Milan in 1575. Friar Patrick was well known in northern Italy at that time, so de Vere could easily have heard his name in Milan, and might have even met him personally. On the other hand, the merchant of Stratford never visited Italy. This seems incredible, but it may be a coincidence. A priest named Patrick shows up in a Shakespearean drama set in Milan as a mere invention at the same time that Oxford, on his visit to Milan, could have heard of the real Friar Patrick there – but this Earl of Oxford, we are again assured, could have nothing to do with the drama. Let's say the chance of this coincidence is again one in 1,000 (you doubtless have the same question as above, but see below).

For a third instance, consider that William of Stratford repeatedly attempted to attain his own coat of arms, which he finally got. But when the First Folio of Shakespeare's works was published in 1623, the coat of arms was nowhere to be found in this volume. Instead, one finds heraldic elements similar to those of the Earls of Oxford integrated into the Folio ornamentation: one on top of "A Catalogue" and the other on top of "The Tempest." These elements are calygreyhounds, hybrid creatures of antelope, deer and dog. The calygreyhound can also be found for example in black marble on the gravestone of the 15th Earl of Oxford in the Church of St. Nicholas in the village of Castle Hedingham. An almost identical ornamentation was already depicted in a book dedicated to Edward de Vere in 1582: *Hekatompathia* by Thomas Watson.[2] Again, this could be sheer coincidence. An engraver or publisher could have accidentally failed to include William of Stratford's coat of arms in the *First Folio*, and at the same time engraved the Earl of Oxford's

calygreyhound in the volume. Such a thing is, theoretically, possible. Let's suppose the probability of this is again one in 1,000. Or should we say one in 100,000 (see below)?

Do you believe this? Most likely you will believe it no more than the eerie story from L.A. In conclusion, every individual fact could be a coincidence; but all three facts happening together has a chance of one in a billion (or even much less than that). It would be many times more likely for you to win the lottery.

To call these events random is absurd. We may call them "chance" only when we look at them as completely isolated events. When we consider them together, calling them "chance" is nonsense. All three examples, on the other hand, can be explained through de Vere's biographical background and his ancestry, without any additional assumptions or fig leaves. In other words, the Stratford thesis – or the theory of any other candidate for authorship – may allow Stratfordians to *explain away* each example, but only as being *accidentally* in accordance with the known facts of de Vere's biography. For each isolated example, coincidence could be a possible explanation, but as all three examples exist together, this explanation is impossible. The overall probability shrinks to become infinitesimal. Unfortunately for Stratfordians, the basic rule of probability theory states that the probabilities of stochastic, independent events are multiplied. Someone who thinks that these things could be ignored and that it would still be possible to explain each isolated example without taking the clustering of the facts into account is not only running contrary to common sense, but also shows a startling lack of basic knowledge of probability theory.

So far we have discussed only three issues. We could easily expand the list to thirty, and experts could even expand it to hundreds. The probability that all these events are just random would be unimaginably tiny (somewhere around ten to the power of negative 48, or even much smaller).

The encounters in L.A. could have actually occurred in a similar, apparently accidental way, but only if someone had arranged the encounters behind my friend's back as a surprise. But then it would have been due to deliberate planning, not random chance. And this is, for me, the only possible explanation for the huge number of extremely unlikely coincidences in Edward de Vere's biography and background and Shakespeare's works. To expect something with a probability of ten to the power of negative 48 to happen is absolutely absurd. There must be a directing force working behind the scenes. Obviously, this directing force is de Vere's biography and identity. To many, including Sturrock – Emeritus Professor of Applied Physics and Astrophysics at Stanford University – the traditional, alternative account no longer makes any sense.

One could raise the objection that the described random meetings are not comparable with literary texts. The objection is unfounded. Is rolling a die comparable with a meeting at the airport? The *events* themselves are not compared, but the odds or *probabilities* of the occurrence to which both events are subject – however different – are governed by the same statistical principles. And for random events, the laws of probability apply.

Writing a text is an "event." If two people independently write the same or very similar texts, or even parts of texts, these events are regarded as random coincidences. From the aspect of randomness, this is not different from the event of rolling a six when throwing a die. If there are several events, the laws of probability are valid.

Consider: Hamlet says to Polonius "As the grass grows . . ." (the horse starves). Edward de Vere used this proverb in his letter from 3 January 1576 to Burghley ("to starve like the horse while the grass grows"). It is generally accepted that Polonius in *Hamlet* is essentially modelled after Burghley, to whom de Vere is writing. It remains possible that the use of the proverb *and* in a similar context (Burghley – Polonius) was only by chance – however unlikely.

For equivalence or similarity in text elements, dependency is normally assumed. In this case, however, it is excluded from the Stratford theory, as it provides an explanation only by accident. But as there are different and independent events, one cannot avoid the necessity to regard the whole cluster of events and to apply the laws of probability to ascertain the plausibility of competing explanatory hypotheses.

Now to the questions mentioned above.

Although the exposition given here is basically right, it suffers from a deficiency: It cannot derive (or even estimate) an exact mathematical probability for each isolated event in the aforementioned examples and therefore does not permit a valid calculation of the overall probability. This could give a defender of orthodoxy a spurious argument for refusal. But here is where Sturrock's book takes over. To reliably apply probability theory scientifically to the issue at hand, valid methods are necessary that go far beyond the preliminary considerations of our introduction. Sturrock introduces hypothesis-testing procedures developed in astrophysics and based on Bayes' theorem; they are applied as a "basin procedure."

The mathematical foundations (Bayes' theorem, etc.) are presented and derived in the appendices to the book. Access to and understanding of them is not easy for the casual reader, but this does not affect the main approach pursued in the book. Even if the fundamental principles of the applied methods cannot be recreated without a thorough knowledge of mathematics, they are logically postulated in the book, and the implementation and results can be reproduced without detailed knowledge. By way of example, if someone searches for an explanation of why a trip to Mars (one way) takes about 255 days, one can refer to the third law of Kepler. One who knows how to handle a calculator can be easily guided to apply Kepler's law and will be able to calculate the result himself. Proof of why Kepler's law is true is not required. Whoever wants to understand the law will need to engage in further independent study. That also holds true here: There is no obstacle to a study of one's own to understand the elements of advanced probability theory. The materials are provided; they just do not belong to the core content of the book and are not necessary for its understanding.

The book is written in a relaxed and entertaining way, in the "Chaucerian" form of discussions between four people. Beatrice represents the Stratfordian camp; Claudia the Oxfordian; James is a physicist who works in Silicon Valley, who provides

the essential background information for each of the discussed areas; Martin is a mathematician who works in the field of statistics, and is responsible for guiding the group whenever questions of a more technical nature arise. The authorship question is discussed in twenty-four chapters by way of selected examples of "coincidence" to which the reader is invited to assign his or her own probabilities to chart the Bayesian odds for one of three authors – Stratford, Oxford, or "Ignoto." Although often little is known definitely about many of the "events" in question, with the help of probability theory much more valid statements are possible than might be expected at first glance.

The first question is: Was Shakespeare lame? According to background information from the Sonnets (mainly 37 and 89), the question cannot be answered clearly. At least it cannot be completely ruled out that behind the metaphorical applications of the idea of lameness, the author literally was – so many have concluded – lame. Though the evidence for this interpretation does not allow for certainty, the probability of this inference is certainly higher than zero. The subsequent procedure follows in two steps, which have to be strictly separated. This is used as a general method to test hypotheses throughout the book:

1.   *Evidence Analysis*
2.   *Theory* columns

Evidence analysis

The two protagonists separately give their own weighting to the following statements:

(a) Shakespeare was lame at some time in his life.
(b) Shakespeare was never lame at any time in his life.

Neither of the two statements is certainly wrong or definitively true. Different weights are possible (for example, if no further information is available, one can take into account how widespread lameness was in the general population in Elizabethan times). In any case, although the weights 0:1 (definitely not lame) and 1:0 (definitely lame) might in theory be possible, given the nature of the evidence, they are ruled out as reasonable hypotheses. In case of completely implausible assumptions, Martin or James intervenes and suggests reconsideration.

For this problem, Beatrice gives odds of 5:1 as a plausible weight, and Claudia 50:1. Both, in other words, conclude from the evidence of the Sonnets that the author was probably lame, but Claudia gives a higher weight (probability) to this hypothesis than Beatrice.

Theory columns

In the theoretical analyses, the "Stratford theory," "Oxford theory" and "Ignoto theory" (for "somebody else," a possible third candidate) are regarded separately. How plausible are each of the two statements (a) and (b) in the light of

each of the three theories? New information is brought in here: remarks about his health in William of Stratford's will and in one of the Earl of Oxford's letters.

The two protagonists again give weights for each theory independently.

Here impartiality is demanded, because the issue is only how well each statement fits into each of the three theories. Personal preference should have no influence. Again, Martin and James make sure this necessary impartiality is kept. Both Beatrice and Claudia give the same weights concerning statements (a):(b). 1:10 (for Stratford), 20:1 (for Oxford) and 1:10 (for Ignoto). Both obviously agree that the Oxford theory better fits statement (a) and the Stratford/Ignoto theories better fit statement (b).

Now the theoretical analysis has to be correlated with the evidence analysis. This is where the mathematician steps in; the "post-probabilities" are calculated using the "basin procedure" (the formulas are in the appendix), and Martin tells us the results. The "post-probabilities" for the theories are

- 0.15 for Stratford, 0.75 for Oxford and 0.15 for Ignoto (correlating with Beatrice) and

- 0.09 for Stratford, 0.82 for Oxford and 0.09 for Ignoto (correlating with Claudia).

These decimals can also be read as percentages (0.15 equals a probability of 15%, 0.75 equals 75%, etc.).

This is the testing of hypotheses. The results differ somewhat for each protagonist, but they all point in the same direction. The "personal factor" of the given weights has not vanished, but is neutralized by intrinsic objectivity of the method of having different parties, each bringing her own assumptions and biases to the project, estimate separate weights – a process the book invites the reader to join in by making his or her own estimates for each event.

This method is then applied to further examples, including the following:

1. Comparing William from Stratford with known contemporary writers (Diana Price's study is used as the baseline)
2. Shakespeare's education
3. Shakespeare's geographical knowledge
4. William Shakspere's handwriting
5. The design and publishing history of the *First Folio*
6. The content of *Shak-Speare's Sonnets*
7. The *Sonnet* dedication

The examination is carried out for seventeen fields, and the method is further significantly enhanced: First, in case more than two alternative statements (a) and (b) are to be tested, the statements can be considered in parallel. Furthermore, and this is crucial, the cumulative probabilities are calculated continuously. Resulting from

the increasing number of the individual "post-probabilities" is an overall probability presented as the "running degree of belief," which is reproduced graphically for each section as the narrative proceeds.

The relationship between the "simple" probabilities (a number between 0 and 1) and the "degree of belief" (the book depicts numbers between +53 and -261) is derived mathematically. However, the reader can simply take it from the table (p. 50) to understand its use without the derivation. The conversion of probabilities into measures of "degree of belief" constitutes an advantage, as very small probabilities can be expressed only in powers of 10, which is impractical and not suitable for graphical representation.

In a book review of a crime novel, it is frowned upon to spoil the ending. However, this is not a crime novel but an investigation via the scientific method of mathematical statistics and probability, and we can therefore say that the result is overwhelming. Even though there is a range of variation between the results of the pro-Stratford and pro-Oxford protagonists, the overall result is perfectly clear. In both cases, the probability calculation compels the exclusion of the hypotheis of William Shakspere of Stratford as author, and any other "Ignoto" candidate is also ruled out by the same procedure. I will withhold here how overwhelming the probability for the Earl of Oxford really is; this will be found in the book itself.

As noted, a key feature of the book is that it offers every reader to participate and to give his own weights – independently from Beatrice and Claudia – and the necessary calculations will be made on a webpage, specially built for this purpose. So the reader can find out his personal results. An interactive book!

Sturrock has succeeded with a brilliant idea. What common sense suggests from numerous facts, he has put in an unbiased examination and on a rigorous scientific basis. He has solved the authorship question in a very unconventional way. But will *AKA Shakespeare* find the attention it deserves and generate the possible effects? Probably not. Orthodoxy will adhere to previously practiced tactics and the book will be ignored: any serious discussion would be fatal for the Stratford theory. But the little resonance and feared small-scale dissemination of the book, however, is only partly due to this fact. Regardless of the brilliant idea and convincing methodology, the book also shows certain shortcomings, and owing thereto only few will read it duly and assess the implications.

Unfortunately the author may have underestimated to a considerable extent the reserve average readers have to appreciating mathematical representations. This is perhaps understandable for someone who professionally deals on a daily basis with colleagues and students who do not have this fear. But it is regrettable and unfortunate to see this in a book presented to a public of people primarily interested in literature. The two protagonists, Beatrice and Claudia, who have no specific education in mathematics and statistics, seem to have no difficulty in immediately understanding the methods introduced and explained by Martin and James. So they are welcome conversational partners for the two gentlemen and they further the progress of the book, but it would be more realistic to present them as more like average readers, who will have greater difficulty in understanding the abstruse

mathematical principles on which the book depends.

The shortcomings of the book are mainly those of didactic presentation. The calculations of, for example, the "post-probabilities" and the "running degree of belief" are done by Martin, who in turn hands it over to "Prospero," a software that applies the formulas from the appendix. "Prospero" conjures up the figure of a magician, and this will add a hint of mystery to the rational calculations, which is somewhat unfavorable to the ideals of transparency. It would have made more sense to indicate that the calculations are simple in principle but cumbersome in size, which is why they are given to a computer as a willing (or forced) "servant."

It would also be preferable to disclose at least the initial calculations of the "post-probabilities" (46), and the applied formula (45) should be developed with numerical values and without the Σ sign. The interested reader should be able to find, in addition to formula B17 (301), at least one guideline on how to do the calculation with a calculator (only the four basic arithmetic operations are required).[3]

Conversely, on page 48 ff., the reader is bothered with too many formulas and calculations. Many readers will be discouraged by the introduction of the log sign. It would have been better to banish this whole derivation to the appendix and present the results only as a table. This also applies to the abstract calculation section on pages 61-62. It would have made more sense to simply show in simple numbers what is involved and to present the general formula with a notation unfamiliar to most readers in the appendix.

These didactical shortcomings do not discredit the scientific quality and convincing results of the book, but are obstacles for the potential target group and are a bar to wider distribution. Many potential readers may, unfortunately, give up at the latest on page 46, because they may think they do not have enough knowledge in mathematical statistics. This may even lead those truly interested in the subject matter to not read it. Conversely, those who could read it easily due to fluency in the mathematical content and notations may avoid the book because they are not so interested in the authorship question.

Nevertheless, a few historical errors and inaccuracies do occur; although these do not diminish the main theories of the book they should be mentioned here for the sake of completeness (I owe these hints to Robert Detobel). On page 155 is written, "Oddly enough, a ship owned by Oxford was wrecked in the Bermudas." The ship in question was called the *Edward Bonaventure*, but it was not owned by the Earl of Oxford. Edward de Vere intended to buy the ship on behalf of Martin Frobisher in 1581, but Frobisher withdrew from the venture and was replaced by Edward Fenton. It is doubtful whether the Earl of Oxford ever actually owned the ship. On page 196 is written, "Claudia: I wonder if it is purely coincidental that Lord Burghley, who had been in control of publications as Lord Chamberlain, died in 1597?" Burghley died on 4 August 1598, four to five weeks before *Palladis Tamia* of Francis Meres was entered in the Stationers' Register. Burghley was Lord (High) Treasurer, not Lord Chamberlain, and was elevated to the peerage in early 1572. But as stated, these errors have no impact on the main theories.

Even if the didactic approach has to be adjusted, it does not affect the

content or the brilliant idea. The book is a genuine performance that can hardly be overestimated as a big win. The author, who applies this completely unfamiliar methodology to the authorship question and shows how it can be solved, deserves admiration and thanks.

One who does not want to follow the arguments of the book, or denies the consequences it compels, should be well versed in the theory of probability and mathematical statistics.

Those who try to argue generally rather than mathematically ("It is 'only' probability; the reality could be different") are similar to the Chevalier de Méré (1607-1685). Blaise Pascal (1623-1662), one of the founders of probability theory, wrote in a letter to Pierre de Fermat (1601-1655) about him: "Il est très bon esprit, mais il n'est pas géomètre" ("He has a smart mind but is not a mathematician" – he has no idea).

Endnotes

1 Edward Holmes, *Discovering Shakespeare*, Durham: Mycroft Books 2001, p. 206 f.
2 Charles Bird, "Shakespeare und der Caleygreyhound," *Neues Shake-speare Journal*, Band 5, Buchholz 2000, S. 109 ff.
3 Fort the interested reader such a guideline with the numerical calculation is installed at http://www.shakespeare-today.de/index.223.0.1.html

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Reviewed by Felicia Londré

Granted "the most persuasive evidence" for crediting Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, with the authorship of the works ascribed to William Shake-speare is "the large number of correspondences in the plays to Oxford's life experience and his times" (i), this edition makes a compelling case. In 2007, *Macbeth* was the first volume published in the Oxfordian Shakespeare Series, a monumental project that will eventually give all of the plays in the canon the unblinkered placement in their historical context that they deserve. As the project gears up, aspects of the format are refined to enhance these editions' usefulness for readers. In the case of this revised and expanded second edition of *Macbeth*, Richard Whalen has reordered supporting materials into more logical arrangement and has rewritten some selections to emphasize and further explore key ideas.

A fifteen-page overview covers the dramatist's life, his stage and audience, composition and publication of his plays, and the controversy over his identity. This adds up to a lucid presentation of essential points for the non-specialist in Shakespeare authorship studies. Starting from the premise that Edward de Vere is the one whose life and travels "fit the profile" of the author of the works of Shakespeare, the overview covers a lot of ground in short order. It is surely appropriate that the case against the Stratford man gets no attention here. However, the bibliography of Suggested Reading for "the general reader" (17) that follows this overview might more usefully include — along with the basic works that make the case for de Vere — A.J. Pointon's persuasive *The Man who was Never Shakespeare* as opposed to James Shapiro's *Contested Will*.

The "Introduction to Macbeth" signals the main points that will reappear in the textual notes as well as — in some instances — in the commentaries that follow the play text. As a fresh and commonsense reading of the play, two main ideas emerge. First, ambition is not, as generally claimed by rote, Macbeth's tragic flaw; he is rather a man whose honor flourishes in battle but gets corrupted when he tries to function out of his element in the hothouse of political intrigue. Second, the Thane of Ross is not a mere messenger but the very embodiment of manipulative power-mongering. The textual notes on the scene in which Ross visits Macduff's wife further elucidate his villainy (148, 150). Certainly, Oxford was familiar with courtiers jockeying to further their own interests at the court of Elizabeth.

Among the arguments that tie Edward de Vere to *Macbeth* is the author's knowledge of specifics about Scotland ranging from its history and geography to its legal codes and locutions. Beyond Oxford's six-months military service in Scotland in 1570, one may cite his friendship with Lord and Lady Lennox, his access to William Stewart's unpublished Scottish poem that contains at least eight items used in *Macbeth* that do not appear in Holinshed (25), and his presence as a teen in the household of William Cecil in 1567 when Cecil was receiving reports from Scotland about the assassination of Lord Darnley. Indeed, one of those reports included a copy of a sketch of the murder scene that included a dagger apparently hovering in the air above the bodies. In the play text, this information is tellingly placed as a note to Macbeth's line: "Is this a dagger which I see before me?" (74-75).

The witches elicit some fascinating commentary by Whalen, as they have often served as a Stratfordian pretext for dating the play to the reign of James I of England. Whalen's separate essay on dating *Macbeth* shows how the play's presentation of witches and the apparitions they conjure — not to mention the narrative arc from the assassination of one Scottish king to the beheading of another — "would have been more disturbing than pleasing for James" (210). Whalen points out in the Introduction as well as in the textual notes how the bawdy comic Scottish witches of their second appearance on the heath (I.3) morph into their alter egos, the Weird Sisters who prophesy in the manner of Greek Fates (42-45). Whalen's examination of the complex issue of dating the play's composition acknowledges Stratfordian attempts to link it to the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, but he finds topical allusions to earlier times more persuasive: debates over royal succession during the reign of Elizabeth, the 1581 trial of Edmund Campion that made an issue of Jesuit equivocation, a voyage to Aleppo by a ship named *Tiger* that occurred only in 1583, when it was much discussed at court (42-43; 208-209).

The annotations to the selected bibliography are very helpful for readers who might want to pursue further some of the questions raised in the essays: Who was De Vere's tutor who owned the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf* manuscript? What is the source of the "published rumors" that the bed-trick was perpetrated on Oxford? What is the "early record" of Oxford performing in a court masque? What are the sources for Oxford's daughters taking "roles in several court masques" (7)? While this series is admittedly aimed at general readers, it would not hurt in future editions to err more on the side of excess of documentation. Indeed, given the necessary repetitions of

information in the essays and in the textual annotations, it would be worth considering the addition of an index in future editions.

It should be obvious how many insights about *Macbeth* that arise from this work will be eminently useful for directors and actors. For example, how many productions have we seen in which Ross was merely an interchangeable thane? Have we ever seen the double nature of the witches explored in staging? Along those lines, the essay on acting *Macbeth* by Derek Jacobi (himself an Oxfordian) sublimely caps the assemblage of materials. Jacobi recounts illuminating details about the process by which he found the character of the "psychologically, mentally, emotionally, and physically" exhausting title role for the production directed by Adrian Noble in 1993. Like Oxfordian scholars, the artist Jacobi trusted the text to yield its secrets rather than trying to bend it to preconceived notions. Finding the truths in Shakespeare for the stage could well be the greatest contribution of this series of play texts annotated by Oxfordians.

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