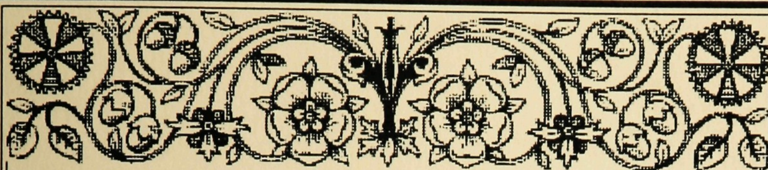

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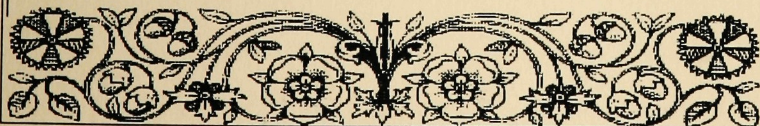

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Letters to the Editor

The Dedication to Shakespeare's *Sonnets*

To the Editor:

In Part One of my paper on the Dedication (ER, 5:2), I calculate the odds that the name "Wr-ioth-esley" might have occurred by chance in the text (when it is written out in an array with 8 rows of 18 letters), rather than recorded there by a cryptographer.

I am indebted to David L. Webb (private communication) for observing that since the name appears split into three segments, there are many additional ways in which the name might have occurred by chance, if all similar splittings are taken into account. In fact, there are 18 splittings (including the original one) which are roughly similar in form to what was found in the 8 x 18 array (they have segments with lengths 5,4,2; 5,3,3; 6,3,2; 7,2,2), and all have very roughly the same probability of occurring by chance; any of them might therefore appear as the possible work of a cryptographer. The effect is to increase the odds of a chance occurrence of the name (in any of these forms) by a factor of about 16.2.

Thus, on the same basis as before, the odds of the full name "Henry Wriothesley" appearing by chance should be revised from roughly 1 in 320 million (page 103 of my paper) to roughly 1 in 20 million. Taking also into account the coincidence that the name found is that of the principal "fair youth" candidate, and assessing the odds of this coincidence (as before) at 1 in 100, one arrives at revised overall odds that the name "Henry Wriothesley" occurred by chance in the Dedication of roughly 1 in 2 billion.

John M. Rollett
Ipswich, England

Why was *Venus and Adonis* Published?

To the Editor:

Regarding Richard Lester's article on why *Venus and Adonis* was published (ER, 6:1), it strikes me that Oxford might have published *Venus and Adonis* simply because Southampton asked him to, or suggested it to him. Oxford might have been complaining about the special treatment meted out to the dead Sidney and the lack of understanding offered to himself. Southampton then might have pointed out the public could not make any comparison unless Oxford also went into print, and suggested *Venus and Adonis* as a work of Oxford's youth which would show up the lack of vigor in Sidney's work at the same age.

Oxford would probably have been pleased and proud and received the necessary impetus to make him try his work on the outside world.

Southampton could have been friendly with both men and yet still recognize where poetic superiority lay.

Elizabeth Imlay
Speldhurst, England

Shakespeare's Name

Richard Lester

The significance of the various spellings of Shakespeare's name has long been controversial. Some writers say that the Stratford man's name was 'Shakspere' or something similar, while the playwright's name was 'Shakespeare', and since these names were pronounced differently, they must have been two different men. But other writers point out the many different forms of the name and say that there is no significant difference between the names used for 'Shakespeare' from Stratford and those used for 'Shakespeare' the writer or 'Shakespeare' the actor.

Because of the well-known flexibility in Elizabethan spelling, not to mention poor penmanship and opinionated printers, it seems that only a careful statistical analysis has any chance of determining whether the spelling of the name has any ability to discriminate among these several 'Shakespeares'.

The data available for such an analysis are, of course, the surviving contemporary public records and various other documents that referred to the name.[1] Several choices arise in the use of these data. First, one could include in the sample to be used for the analysis only the references made during the Stratford man's life, or extend it to 1623 in order to include the First Folio and references by those who probably knew Shakespeare when he was still alive. The longer period seems preferable, but one can easily try the 1564-1616 period to see what difference it makes.

Then there's the question of whether to count all occurrences of the name, including all repetitions within a document and in a series of related documents. For example, the name 'Shakespeare' appeared 15 times in a series of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* quartos, all most likely based on the first title page.

Historian Richard Lester was formerly asistant director of historical analysis and study valudation for the U.S. Army's Concepts Analysis Agency. He appeared in the previous issue of ER with "Why Was Venus and Adonis *Published?"*

And it appeared over 50 times under a series of excerpts quoted in *England's Parnassus,* also no doubt reflecting a single opinion of the name. Similarly, the form 'Shakespere' appeared 21 times in the Old Stratford land documents. Counting all of these copies of the same name would meaninglessly emphasize that spelling in the comparison. From a statistical point of view, the determination of significant difference among versions of the name depends on an assumption of independence of the references counted. So one must try to eliminate those that are just copies of earlier uses. These superfluous appearances are generally quite obvious, and it appears that one can easily get fairly close to a good sample of names. There are some groups of spellings that may be copies but about which we know too little to draw a firm conclusion. In these cases, as with the span of time to be covered, one tests the uncertainty and sees if it's worth worrying about. As it turns out, the results are stable to a wide variety of uncertainty tests.

To be more specific: the procedure used in this analysis was to include in the sample only the first occurrence of a particular spelling in a single document or in a series of related documents when circumstances indicate that the later appearances of that spelling were most likely based on the first one.[2]

There is also a choice of how to group the names for comparison. If the basic problem is to determine the significance of the various names for distinguishing among possibly different people, or perhaps the same person in different roles, the sample should be divided into groupings corresponding to all possibly distinct persons or roles. In the present case this means 'Shakespeare' from Stratford, 'Shakespeare' the author, and 'Shakespeare' the actor, theater company member, and theater investor. (There are too few references to factor this third group into sub-groups.)

Note that this grouping does not assume that William of Stratford was not the writer or the actor, only that the object is to see whether their names are distinguishable, whoever they may be, whatever their profession, and whatever the reason for the distinction. Of course, if it is found that there is no significant difference between, say, the names used for the Stratford man and those used for the actor, they can be combined.

Therefore, the first group will consist of the names referring to the Stratford man by reference to the town of Stratford, his family, his friends, his property, or some other distinguishing association; and those referring to the author or the actor will identify him by a writing or theater context, as the case may be. Fortunately, there are very few references where assignment to a group is not obvious, the main ones being those in which 'Shakespeare' is not really identified in the reference text.[3] The resulting sample of names is shown at the end of the paper, together with a summation by type.

A valid statistical analysis of the above names grouped by person or profession requires that each name be identified by some meaningful spelling criteria. A reading of various scholars of Elizabethan English [4] suggests the

following general rules about spelling and pronunciation in Shakespeare's time:

1. The middle consonant sound in Shakespeare-like names could be conveyed by various letters: ks, cks, gs, x, kes, etc. So there seems to be little basis for distinguishing among them on this basis.

2. The final e was no longer pronounced as an additional sound in Shakespeare's time, and therefore apparently wouldn't help distinguish one name from another. Thus, 'Shakespeare' would sound the same as 'Shakespear', and 'Shakspere' about the same as 'Shaksper'.

3. Elizabethan English had no dipthong for 'ea' as in the second syllable of Shakespeare, and therefore apparently 'Shakespeare' sounded about the same as 'Shakespere'.

4. An 'e' following a single consonant makes the vowel preceding the consonant long, so that 'Shakespeare' had a long 'a' as in 'ate'.

5. Long vowels were shortened before double consonants or consonant-groups. Thus Shakspere, Shaxper, and Shackspere would have a short 'a' as in 'bad'. Also Shackespere would have a short 'a' in spite of the 'e' following the 'ck'.

Thus, only rules 4 and 5 appear to afford a basis for distinguishing among Shakespeare-like names, and this indicates one can divide the sample of names into two basically different types: those with a long 'a' in the first syllable, and those with a short 'a'.

I should point out that there are exceptions to the above pronunciation rules, depending on the particular evolution of certain words or perhaps the persistence of traditional pronunciation. Furthermore, as one might suspect, the experts often disagree amongst themselves. For example, Kokeritz seems certain that 'Shakspere' was pronounced with a short 'a', whereas Cercignani says that we don't really know. Therefore, rather than try to distill some consensus from these writers, or perhaps just claim that one of them is the foremost authority, I will simply assume as a start point that rules 4 and 5 above are able to discriminate among the various 'Shakespeare' names and see if the statistical analysis bears this out.

Here are the results of the 'base-case' comparisons by group as expressed in the number of names with long 'a' as a percentage of the total:

William of Stratford	28% long 'a'
The author	81% " "
The actor, etc.	81% " "

It can be shown that the 28% long 'a' for the Stratford man is significantly different from 50% at the 5% confidence level, indicating a deliberate preference for Shakspere-like names for him, although there are many departures from that form because of errors, local characteristics, individual whims, etc. The 81% is also significant, indicating a deliberate choice of Shakespeare-like names for the author and actor. These significant differences also indicate that

this criterion is a valid discriminator, whatever the reason might be.

One can now test the importance of various assumptions and uncertainties by comparison with the base-case. For example, counting only the 1564-1616 references instead of out to 1623 doesn't give significantly different results:

William of Stratford	27% long 'a'
the author	81% " "
the actor, etc.	79% " "

The uncertainty about the identification of the 'Shakespeares'in the St. Helen's tax group was also tested by assuming the traditional judgment that he was the Stratford man. There was no significant change from the base case because this group of tax references have about the same mix of type names as in the whole sample. Similarly, one can add in the Rutland reference to the actor group without changing the significance of the difference between that group and the names used for the Stratford man.

As mentioned earlier, judgment is involved in deleting 'copied' names. It was assumed in the preceding cases that the author's name in re-editions of each play had been copied from the first quarto. But the references in the first quarto of each play (and the *Sonnets*) were assumed to be independent. One can't be sure of this because of the probably strong influence of certain documents like Francis Meres' *Palladis Tamia* in 1598. So another test assumed that all the author names on play (and *Sonnets*) title-pages were inspired by the earliest published title page using that version of the name. This deleted another 15 of the 'Shakespeare' references to the author, lowering the author percentage of long-a names from 81% to 76%. But since this is still in the 5% tail of the coin-flipping distribution, the difference between the Stratford man and the author remains significant.

Finally, one might say that the use of a hyphen is not really a different spelling in spite of its indication that the user might be intending something different by its use. There are only two cases where these are counted as different, one in Jonson's cast lists and the other in Digges' F1 verse, and as might be expected there was no significant change in results.

Thus, in sum, there is a robust statistically significant difference between the names used for the author, actor, and theater man and those used for the Stratford man, and it appears one would have to resort to extreme assumptions in order to change this basic result. But how can one explain this in terms of the people and events of the time? There seem to be three possibilities:

1. The Stratford man chose to use 'Shakespeare' for his London literary and acting affairs, while keeping Shakspere-like names for Stratford and personal affairs. But he did use 'Shakespeare' in Stratford in situations where he presumably had a choice and, according to this explanation, would have used 'Shakspere'. Also, there seems to be no plausible reason for him to maintain two different but similar names.

2. The author references were all strongly influenced by the name that appeared in *Venus and Adonis, Lucrece,* and *Palladis Tamia.* But this answer just shifts the question to why these seminal documents, especially the first two, which were certainly author-approved, used the 'Shakespeare' spelling. And this, of course, leads us either back to the double name hypothesis above, or to the third possibility:

3. The Stratford man was in fact not the author and therefore the two type names had different origins and intentions. But if so, one would also have to conclude that the actor's name in some way came from, or was confused with, the writer's name.

There is another characteristic of the name that should be discussed with regard to distinguishing between William of Stratford and the other 'Shakespeares'; namely the incidence of hyphenation. Some writers say that the hyphenated form is a clear indication that the name was considered a pseudonym. Others say that it was used only occasionally, that it doesn't imply a pseudonym, and that it was nothing more than, perhaps, an heroically descriptive name given as a sign of admiration.

There are several interesting things about the occurrence of hyphenation: First, about 18% of the author references in the sample are hyphenated; second, it is never used for the identifiable William of Stratford; and third, its uses suggest they were not trivial: they were used on the title pages of quartos, in introductory dedications, in the First Folio itself, and by reliable and serious writers like Davies, Webster, and Jonson. Thus the hyphen appears to be a significant characteristic for differentiating between William of Stratford and the other 'Shakespeares', and not just an occasional aberration.

As to whether it means the writers using it believed the name 'Shake-speare' was a pseudonym, I can only point out that descriptive hyphenated names like this were quite common in literature at that time, and they were apparently intended to describe some prominent characteristic of the person. Shakespeare used a number in his plays; for example: Deep-vow, Copper-spur, Starve-lackey, and Shoe-tie.[5] There was also John Lyly's Papp-hatchett and, in the contemporary translation of Cervantes, Crack-rope and Slip-string. But evidence overwhelmingly shows that actual family names did not have a hyphen except when two family names were joined, in which case both start with a capital. Chambers collected 83 versions of the name and apparently none were hyphenated except Shakespeare. P.H. Reaney's book on English surnames listed about 6000 names, none of which were hyphenated. The few odd exceptions to this rule, for example those found by Irving Matus, only tend to confirm it.[6]

REFERENCES TO THE IDENTIFIABLE WILLIAM OF STRATFORD:
(the parentheses show the number considered redundant.)

1564 Shakspere (+3) Stratford register

1582 Shaxpere	marriage license
1582 Shagspere	marriage bond
1588 Shackespere (+1)	Lambert case
1597, 1602 Shakespeare (+5)	New Place purchase
1598 Shaksper	Sturley letter
1598 Shackespere	malt & corn note
1598 Shackespere	SQuiney letter
1598 Shaxspere	payment for stone
1601 Shaxspere (+1)	Whittington will
1602, 1610 Shakespere (+20)	Old Stratford land docs.
1602 Shackespere	Rowington Court roll
1602 Shakespere (+1)	Rowington Court roll
1603 Shaxpeare	lease near New Place
1604 Shakespere (+1)	Rowington survey
1604 Shexpere (+1)	Rogers suit
1605 Shakespear (+16)	tithes purchase
1608 Shackspeare (+6)	Addenbrooke suit
1608 Shakespere	Addenbrooke suit
1611 Shackspeare (+3)	tithe complaint
1611 Shakspeare	tithe complaint
1611 Shaxper	Robert Johnson inventory
1611 Shackspere	repair of highways
1612 Shakespeare (+17)	Mountjoy suit
1612 Shakspeare	Mountjoy suit
1612 Shakspe (+5)	Shakspere signatures
1613 Shackspere	John Combe's will
1613 Shakespeare (+24)	gatehouse docs.
1614 Shakspere	20p from Stratford
1614 Shakspeare (+1)	Welcombe encl. docs
1614 Shackespeare (+6)	Welcombe encl. docs.
1614 Shakspeare (+6)	Thomas Greene notes
1614 Shakespeare	Thomas Greene notes
1615 Shakespere	gatehouse complaint
1616 Shackspeare (+1)	Shakspere's will
1616 Shackspere	Shakspere's will
1616 Shakspere	burial register
c1620 Shakspeare	Stratford monument
1623 Shakespeare	Anne's grave

REFERENCES TO THE AUTHOR:

1593-4 Shakespeare (+15)	Qs of *V & A* and *Lucrece*
1593 Shakspere	Stonley purchase of *V&A*

1594 Shake-speare	Willobie commend. verse
1595 Shakspeare	Covell's marginal notes
1598 Shakespere	Q1 of *L.L.L.*
1598 Shakespeare (+8)	*Palladis Tamia*
1598 Shake-speare (+3)	Q2 of *Richard II*
1598 Shake-speare (+4)	Q2 of *Richard III*[7]
1598 Shakespeare	Richard Barnfield
1598 Shakespeare (+?)	Northumberland MS[8]
1598> Shakespeare (+1)	Harvey's note
1599 Shakespeare (+2)	Weever's *Epigrammes*
1599 Shakespeare (+1)	O1, *Passionate Pilgrim*
1599 Shake-speare (+3)	Q2 of *1 Henry IV*
1599< Shakespea	anon. MS notes
1600 Shakespeare (+52)	*England's Parnassus*
1600 Shakespere	S.R., *Much Ado & 2HIV*
1600 Shakespeare	Q of *Much Ado*
1600 Shakespeare (+1)	Q1 of *Mer. of Venice*
1600 Shakespeare	Q of *2 Henry IV*[9]
1600 Shakespeare (+1)	Q1 of *M.N.D.*
1600 Shakespeare	S.R. *King Stephen*, etc.
1600 Shakspeare	Bodenham's *Epistle*
1600 Shakspeare (+4)	*Parnassus* play
1600 Shakespeare (+1)	*England's Helicon*
1601 Shakespeare (+2)	*Parnassus* play
1601 Shake-speare (+1)	*Phoenix and Turtle*
1602 Shakespeare	Q1 of *Merry Wives*
1603 Shake-speare (+2)	Q1 of *Hamlet*
1603 Shakspeare	Mourneful Dittie
1604 Shakespeare	Cooke's *Epigrammes*
1604 Shakespeare	Scoloker Epistle
1604-5 Shaxberd (+3)	Revels acc'ts
1605 Shakespeare	Camden's *History*
1605 Shakespeare	Q of *London Prodigal*
1607 Shakspeare	Barksted's 'Myrrha'
1607 Shakespeare	S.R. of *King Lear*[10]
1608 Shakespere	S.R. *Yorkshire Tragedy*
1608 Shake-speare (+1)	Q1 of *King Lear*
1608 Shakspeare	Q1 *Yorkshire Tragedy*
1609 Shakespeare	Q1 *Troilus & Cressida*
1609 Shakespeare (+2)	Q1 of *Pericles*
1609 Shakespeare	S.R. of *The Sonnets*
1609 Shake-speare (+3)	Q of *The Sonnets*
1609 Shaksper	Alleyn sonnet purchase

1609 Shakspear	Harington play list
1610 Shake-speare	*Scourge of Folly*
1611 Schaksp	Drummond list of books
1612 Shake-speare	Webster's Epistle
1613 Shakespeare	Digges note
1614 Shakespear	Drummond
1614 Shakespheare	Carew's Epistle
1614 Shakespeare (+1)	*England's Helicon*
1614 Shakespeare (+1)	Thomas Freeman
1615 Shakespeare (+8)	Globe suit
1615 Shakespeare	Howes in *Annales*
1615 Shakespeare	Porter's *Epigrams*
1615 Shakespeare	F.B. verse to Jonson
1616 Shakespere	Bolton's *Hypercritica*
1618 Shakespeare	Basse's elegy
1619 Shaksperr	Drummond quoting Jonson
1619 Sheakspear	Drummond quoting Jonson
1619 Shakespeare	Q3 of *1,2 Henry VI*
1619 Shakespeare	Q2 of *Merry Wives*
1619 Shakespeare	Q2 *Sir John Oldcastle*[11]
1619 Shakespeare	Q2 *Yorkshire Tragedy*
1620 Shakespeare	Taylor's *Hemp-seed*
1622 Shakespeare	Q of *King John*
1622 Shakespeare	Frankfurt catalogue
1622 Shakespeare	Q1 of *Othello*
1623 Shakspeer	S.R. for F1
1623 Shakespeare	Holland verse in F1
1623 Shake-speare (+1)	Digges verse in F1
1623 Shakespeare	Digges verse in F1
1623 Shake-speare (+1)	I.M. verse in F1
1623 Shakespeare (+19)	other F1

REFERENCES TO THE ACTOR, COMPANY MEMBER, OR THEATER-OWNER:

1595 Shakespeare	payment for plays
1596 Shakspere	sureties of peace[12]
1599 Shakespeare	Globe occupancy
1601 Shackspeare	Globe deed to Brown
1601 Shakspeare	update of Globe deed
1602 Shakespeare (+1)	Manningham diary
1602 Shakespear	note on arms doc[13]
1603 Shakespeare (+1)	King's Men license
1604 Shakespeare	Red cloth list

1605 Shakespeare	Phillips' will
1608 Shakespeare (+1)	other Globe deeds
1615 Shakespeare (+8)	Ostler v. Heminges
1616 Shakespeare	Jonson's actor list
1616 Shake-speare	Jonson's actor list
1619 Shakespeare (+6)	Witter v. Heminges
1623 Shakespeare	F1 actor list

UNIDENTIFIED 'SHAKESPEARES':

1597 Shackspere	St. Helen's tax list[14]
1598 Shakespeare (+1)	St. Helen's tax lists
1599, 1600 Shakspeare (+1)	Residuum tax lists
1613 Shakspeare	Rutland's Impresa[15]

NUMBER OF NAMES BY CATEGORY

Stratford man		long 'a'	short 'a'	Total
1564-1616		10	27	37
1617-1623		1	1	2
	total	11	28	39
Author				
1564-1616		46	11	57
1617-1623		12	3	15
	total	58	14	72
Actor				
1564-1616		11	3	14
1617-1623		2	—	2
	total	13	3	16

NOTES

1. The references used for this paper came from E.K. Chambers' *William Shakespeare: A study of the Facts and Problems*, and D. Kathman's "The Spelling and Pronunciation of Shakespeare's Name" in www.clark.net/pub/tross/ws/will.html. These references are certainly not all that existed at the time, and one can only hope that the sample is a fair one; i.e., that losses over time did not particularly favor any one version of the name. One would think that printed documents or public record MSS would survive better than private MSS, and therefore that the sample would be short on the latter. However, the sub-sample of private MS names is similar in mix of basic types to that in the total sample, so it can be shown that, even if twice as many private MSS had survived, the results would not have been significantly changed.

2. This method would seem at least questionable for those cases in which more than one spelling type was used in the same document or series or by the same writer. For example, if one form of the name was used six times and another form only once, should both be counted exactly once? In these cases an alternative method was tested; i.e., counting in proportion to the number of uses but normalized to 1.0 for that document, series, or writer. Thus in the example, one name would have a weight of .86 and the other .14. It's as if one were trying to weight the writer's conviction about the name. But it doesn't really matter since this method reinforced the conclusions of the analysis based on the simpler counting method rather than changed them. The reason being, as with other tests of this sort, that the change tends to affect the basic types of names randomly and therefore more or less in proportion to their number. Incidentally, the removal of copied names from the sample not only makes possible a more valid comparison of names but also makes certain sub-groups of names more obvious. For example, almost all of the long-a forms of the name in Stratford appear in connection with the big purchases - New Place, the cottage, the tithes, and the Old Stratford property. The odds suggest that there would have been only one or two long-a forms. And it doesn't seem likely that this higher than expected usage was because of legal actions being more careful to use the 'right' name, since there were about as many other legal documents that used the short-a form. Also, of course, the Stratford man consistently signed his name 'Shakspere' which indicates that it had more claim to be the 'right' name than 'Shakespeare'. It seems much more likely that these purchases were arranged by the same agent, someone who for some reason preferred the 'Shakespeare' spelling. This, of course, raises the question of the independence of these references and whether all should be counted.

3. Other criteria of difference were checked but only the presence of 'ear' rather than 'er' in the second syllable was able to discriminate. But since the 'ear' is fairly well correlated with the long-a in the first syllable, this criterion doesn't give any new information. The appropriate statistical assumption is that of a binomial distribution in which the two types of names were chosen with equal probability. One then calculates whether the actual count falls in the 5% tail of the distribution for that sample size. If so, they are not random, but based on a preference for that type name.

4. Especially G. L. Brook, *The Language of Shakespeare*; F. Cercignani, *Shakespeare's Works* and *Elizabethan Pronunciation*; and H. Kokeritz, *Shakespeare's Pronunciation.*

5. Camp-bell in a running title across page-tops, and Walde-grave used by a printer well-known for his eccentricities.

6. Reaney, P.H., *The Origin of English Surnames*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1967.

7. This name is not counted because it's probably based on the one in Q2 of RII, both being hyphenated and both printed by Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise in 1598.

8. Although there is one 'Shakspe' in this MS, 'Shakespeare' was clearly the writer's view of the name.

9. This name is not counted because it is probably based on that in the Q of *Much Ado*, both being printed by Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise in the same year.

10. E.K. Chambers shows one of these without the first "e" although Q2 does show it, and it was "set-up" from the Q1. And both were printed for Nathaniel Butter. Finally the absence of an "e" seems inconsistent with the hyphenation which in all other cases gives the two parts of the compound as two stand-alone words.

11. This name and that in Q2 Yorkshire Tragedy are ommitted since they were probably based on the name in Q4 Pericles, all printed for Thomas Pavier by Jaggard in 1619.

12. This Shakspere is not identified, but the presence of Francis Langley of the Swan theater indicates he was probably the actor/theater 'Shakespeare'.

13. Although on John Shakspere's arms document, the reference is to an actor and is therefore placed here.

14. Although traditionally said to be the Stratford man, these tax-defaulting 'Shakespeares' are not identified. Note that I am assuming that the residuum Sussex name was copied from the residuum London tax list.

15. It seems most likely that this is John Shakespeare, the King's bitmaker who also made decorations for tournaments. See C.C. Stopes, *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage*, Haskell, 1970.

Christopher Hatton, Edward Dyer and the "First Adonis"

Patrick Buckridge

Sir Christopher Hatton--Captain of the Queen's Guard, Vice-Chamberlain, Knight of the Garter, Privy Councillor, and Lord Chancellor of England--was, together with Burghley, Leicester and Walsingham, one of the four most influential statesmen of Elizabeth's reign. Leicester aside, he was also the Queen's most loyal and long-term personal favorite, and probably her lover. The relative lack of interest in him by historians and biographers is therefore a little surprising. Until 1944 there was no modern full-length biography of him, and there has been none since. The reason for this inattention, as suggested by that sole biographer, Eric St. John Brooks, is that Hatton has traditionally been thought of as a lightweight and a dandy. The first of these epithets, at least, is open to dispute: Brooks makes a strong case for recognizing the weight and scope of his public performance, first as Vice-Chamberlain in controlling the Parliament on the Queen's behalf, and in exposing and prosecuting Catholic plots and Puritan sedition alike; and later, as Lord Chancellor, in preparing the nation and Parliament for the coming of the Armada.[1]

Hatton, then, was no political lightweight; but he probably was a bit of a dandy. The legend--and there is no reason to doubt its essential truth--is that Christopher Hatton danced his way into the Queen's heart in January of 1562.

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The occasion was a mask presented at Court by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple, of whom the 21-year old Hatton was one, and Elizabeth was so taken with his handsome face and graceful figure that she made him one of her own Gentlemen Pensioners and a close favourite. The sneering but essentially accurate observation by his enemy Sir Thomas Perrot that Hatton 'came to Court by the galliard' was first reported by Perrot's son-in-law Robert Naunton in his *Fragmenta Regalia* in the early seventeenth century, and passed down to nineteeth-century historians like Froude and Lord Campbell in whose hands he became the effeminate clothes-horse, of whom Lytton Strachey would say, wittily but untruthfully, 'Hatton danced, and that is all we know of him'.[2]

He died in 1591 at the age of 51, apparently of acute cystitis, and his death was the occasion for an unusually large number of eulogies over the next few years, including one by Robert Greene called "A Maiden's Dream upon the Death of my late Lord Chancellor." Most of these stressed his gentle and courteous manners, his amiability, integrity and compassion. Some look back to his former beauty of face and figure, and to his youthful prowess in the hunt and the tiltyard, in both of which he excelled as much as he did on the dance floor. His heraldic animal, or 'cognizant', was the hin--Drake named his flagship (the 'Golden Hind') in honour of it--and it surmounted the sumptuous monument erected for him in the old St Paul's, which was by Sir William Dugdale.

Hatton's literary and dramatic interests both before and after he came to Court were not insignificant. While at the Inner Temple he took part in plays and masks, including, almost certainly, a part in *Gorboduc*, the play that preceded the great mask of January 1562 where he caught the Queen's eye. He even did a bit of writing himself. The tragedy of *Tancred and Gismund*, acted before the Queen in 1566 or 1567, and not published until 1591, was the joint effort of five authors, one for each Act, and the fourth Act is signed Christopher Hatton.

Further literary endeavours, if there were any, are less certain. He may have contributed a group of about twenty poems and translations to that peculiar anonymous anthology of 1573, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*. These poems are linked to Hatton by a particular Latin motto, or 'posy', *Si fortunatus infoelix* ('If fortunate, unhappy'); which is clearly stated by Gabriel Harvey, in his marginalia, to be 'lately the posie of Sir Christopher Hatton'.[3] His actual authorship of these poems must, in my view, remain a distinct possibility, despite Prouty's insistence that the whole volume be attributed to George Gascoigne--as was done by the publisher three years later in a revised edition--and despite the efforts of B.M.Ward and others to assign all or most of the volume to Edward De Vere.[4]

The Hatton posy, 'Fortunatus infoelix', is also the key to the dancing chancellor's one reputed appearance in the Shakespeare canon. When Malvolio, in *Twelfth Night*, reads the forged letter, ostensibly from Olivia, the signature

is given as 'The Fortunate Unhappy' (a direct translation of the Hatton posy), and this has been taken by Oxfordians, understandably enough, as an indication that Malvolio was modelled on Hatton. The primary evidence of the posy is supposedly reinforced by:

- Sir Toby's epithet 'sheep-biter' applied to Malvolio earlier in the same scene (II v 5). 'Sheep' and 'mutton' (or 'mouton') were Elizabeth's favourite nicknames for Hatton.

- the known enmity between Oxford and Hatton, as evidenced in Hatton's letter to the Queen, of which more later;

- the image of Hatton (in some circles) as a fop and a dandy;

- his image as a social upstart among aristocratic courtiers, as illustrated by Naunton's description of his career as that of 'a mere vegetable of the Court that sprang up at night and sank again at his noon';[5]

- the supposed presumptuousness and suspected impropriety of his relationship with the Queen, as evidenced by Mary Stuart's letter to Elizabeth (intercepted by Burghley); and by his own highly charged letters to her in the early 1570s.

- the external evidence of Francis Peck in the eighteenth century: that he had seen a manuscript of 'a pleasant conceit of Vere, Earl of Oxford, discontented at the rising of a mean gentleman in the English court, *circa* 1580.'[6]

This is an imposing list of reasons, but it is easy to overlook the lack of a single clincher among them. Peck's lost manuscript, if it was indeed a Court interlude of some kind, may well have had nothing to do with *Twelfth Night*. Indeed, if Peck's 'mean gentleman' had resembled Malvolio one might have expected Peck, writing in the eighteenth century, to mention the resembalnce. Secondly, the hoaxing letter in *Twelfth Night* is not written by Malvolio, but to him: the posy should thus logically be associated not with the receiver of the letter but with its real or ostensible writer - that is, with Maria or Olivia, neither of whom makes much of a Hatton figure.

Similarly, the 'sheep-biter' epithet does not equate at all easily with 'sheep' (even 'sheep-who-bites', *pace* Ogburn).[7] A 'sheep-biter', according to the OED, is primarily 'a dog that bites or worries sheep', with several secondary meanings, one of which, 'a malicious or censorious fellow' fits Malvolio well enough.[8] If the 'sheep' element in the epithet does, or did at some stage in the play's evolution, contain a cryptic allusion to Hatton, it would

more logically have been a reference to somebody who was an enemy, or at least a nuisance, to Hatton (as the dog is to the sheep) than to Hatton himself.

If, for the sake of argument, the name of Edward De Vere were proposed in place of Christopher Hatton as the original for Malvolio, it would at least highlight the reversibility of several of the Oxfordian arguments about Malvolio: the known enmity between the two men, their suspected sexual intentions towards the Queen, and the image of the affected fop. All of these can support an Oxford allusion as strongly as a Hatton one. Gabriel Harvey's "Mirror of Tuscanism" provides a well-known description of Oxford's affected foppery on his return from Italy in 1575, and this description provides at least as plausible an external referent for Malvolio's sartorial aberration as anything in Hatton's reputation.

> His cringing side neck, eyes glancing, fisnamie smirking,
> With forefinger kiss, and brave embrace to the footward.
> Large-bellied Kodpeasd doublet, unkodpeasd half hose,
> Straight to the dock like a shirt, and close to the britch like a diveling.
> A little Apish flat, couched fast to the pate like an oyster,
> French Camarick ruffs, deep with a whiteness starched to the purpose.
> . . . . .
> Delicate in speech, quaint in array, conceited in all points,
> In Courtly guiles, a passing singular odd man,
> For Gallants a brave Mirror, a Primrose of Honour.[9]

There are, of course, many ways in which Malvolio is patently not Oxford: Malvolio is a servant and a stickler for moral proprieties, and Oxford was neither. But no more was Hatton. And if the meaning of Malvolio's name--'I wish [thee] ill' --were to be applied to a real individual at Elizabeth's court there were undoubtedly many there who would have thought (rightly or wrongly) that it fitted the haughty Oxford better than the courteous Hatton.

But whatever person or persons may have been glanced at, and recognised, in some version of *Twelfth Night* performed at Court in the late 1570s, it is a safe bet that these allusions and the topics that gave them their point most obviously at that time the topic of the French marriage - would have been long-forgotten by the Middle Temple audience on the occasion of the first recorded performance of Twelfth Night, in 1602. For that performance, different topical themes and different personal allusions would very likely have been in play.

The process by which such changes come about has been called 'serial composition', which refers to the writing, over a period of time, of a series of versions of a play for a succession of different audiences and occasions. Such versions may be done by the same or different hands, but each is complete in itself and needs to be accorded its own textual integrity. Leah S. Marcus, Steven Urkowitz and other orthodox scholars have applied the principle to some of the

Shakespearean 'bad quartos' with interesting results: indeed, the unintentionally heterodox implications of their work have yet to be exploited.[10] In the present context, given the chronology of publication, it is clear that if Hatton, who died in 1591, is to be found anywhere in the Shakespeare canon, it can only be as a residual allusion from an earlier version of one or other of the Shakespeare texts we now have. If not in Twelfth Night, where else might he be found?

One intriguing possibility, I want to argue, is in *Venus and Adonis*. Serial composition, after all, could occur with poems as well as plays, and it could and did occur with manuscript as well as printed publications.[11] The notion that Shakespeare's first long poem might be a product of serial composition has been around in semi-orthodox circles since 1930 when it was argued at length by H.T.S. Forrest, a scholarly civil servant in the British Raj, in a book called *The Original 'Venus and Adonis'*.[12]

Forrest had written a book some years earlier on the Sonnets, arguing that they were written by five different authors - Shakespeare and four others - on themes supplied by Southampton in a long-running sonnet competition. His views on *Venus and Adonis* were decidedly less radical. His argument was simply that Shakespeare wrote and circulated, in MS, a complete version of *Venus and Adonis* that was less than two-thirds of its published length (127 stanzas as against 199), and that the 72 additional stanzas were interpolated by a different hand - probably Southampton's, he hints; but he does not pursue the identity of the interpolator, nor does he speculate about historical parallels or allusions. He is interested only in establishing serial composition by two hands, and he purports to do this by identifying stanzas containing a device he calls 'duplication'. By this he means multiple uses of the same conceit, where one instance of it, for example, can be shown to be illogically or incongruously placed in the poem. Forrest takes these to be the inferior contributions of at least one reviser other than Shakespeare whom he regards as the original author.

A fair number of Forrest's particular judgments of incongruity and inferiority can be dismissed as narrow and ahistorical - as an unfashionable intolerance of tonal ambiguity, in some cases; in others as ignorance of the importance of standard devices of repetition (like anaphora) in Renaissance rhetoric and poetry. But even allowing for this, there is still a substantial remainder of cited instances from the poem where it is difficult to disagree that the duplications do seem more like elaborated imitations of conceits that were already there, than original articulations of a basic idea. Forrest's most persuasive examples are those that draw attention to the placement of a more complex or ironic form of a particular conceit ahead of its simpler form in the narrative sequence. This version of duplication in particular - and Forrest finds several instances of it - does suggest a piecemeal 'padding out' of a completed poem.[13]

There is, however, no equivalent cogency in Forrest's insistence that the revisions were carried out by a different hand. Alden Brooks asserts that 'the verses [Forrest] designates as interpolations, though harmful to sequence and unity, are in themselves of the same excellence as the rest'.[14] I am less certain of this than Brooks, I must admit, but in any case a difference in literary quality--even if it were clearly demonstrable--is not proof of dual authorship: the greatest authors can and do have lapses. Nor, for that matter, need we share Forrest's confidence that the poem as we have it can be 'unrevised' merely by subtracting the interpolated stanzas. Other, much more subtle modifications may have been involved, especially if the reviser and the original author were the same person.

Brooks's view, a variant of Forrest's, is that *Venus and Adonis* was revised at least once, and by the original author (who he believes was Edward Dyer) rather than by a second hand. An assumption of the serial composition model, whether it involves one, two or more authors, is that the successive revisions are carried out for mainly external reasons, having to do with changing economic motives and opportunities on the part of those involved, or changing sets of contemporary, extra-textual referents. In the case of *Venus and Adonis* both factors may have come into play; and although the economic factors can only be effectively considered in relation to a particular assumed author, some progress is possible on the extra-textual referents while suspending judgment, for the moment, as to specific candidates.

Orthodox commentators are generally reluctant to endorse contemporary allusions in Shakespeare's poems or plays, but acknowledging a link between Adonis and the young Earl of Southampton is something of an exception. The poem's explicit Dedication to Southampton, and the marked similarities between many of the descriptions of Adonis in the poem and existing portraits and descriptions of Henry Wriothesley make this one of the least resistible, least contentious equations in Elizabethan literature.

A few have taken the logical next step: if Adonis alludes to Southampton, then Venus must surely allude to Elizabeth Vere,[15] Oxford's eldest daughter, to whom Southampton was engaged from about 1590--with increasing reluctance, it would appear, from his determination to extract himself from the engagement despite an enormous financial penalty.[16] The Ovidian story of an attractive and physically active young man who is vigorously pursued by a somewhat predatory woman, whose amorous interest in him he does not reciprocate and whom he finally rejects, obviously lent itself to a satirical rendering of Southampton's dilemma at the time of its resolution, or soon afterwards, in 1592/3.

The match between the two situations is not perfect; such analogies seldom are. In the poem Venus is a Queen, beautiful, and somewhat older than the young man, and Elizabeth Vere was apparently none of these things. Further-

more, in the undisputed source for the basic narrative, the tale of Venus and Adonis in Book Ten of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Adonis, though beautiful, is first and foremost a great hunter, who, as Bullough puts it, 'shows no great bashfulness'--in fact none at all--in response to Venus' determined wooing. The theme of Adonis's resistance to love comes from the tale of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus in Book Four. Here, in the vain but vigorous wooing of the boy-traveller Hermaphroditus by the wood-nymph Salmacis, we find all the most memorable details of the one-sided encounters in Shakespeare's poem: his blushes, the begging and refusal of a kiss, her imprisoning embraces, his continued reluctance. A small but important contribution is also made by the story of Echo and Narcissus in Book Three, namely the self-love with which Venus charges Adonis.[17]

I rehearse these agreed facts about the Ovidian sources of *Venus and Adonis* in order, firstly, to note that a spread of three distinct sources for one mythological poem is unusual, and secondly, to briefly entertain the possibility that if *Venus and Adonis* was indeed serially composed, the seriality of the process may be reflected in a successive rather than simultaneous appropriation of the three Ovidian sources (or at least of the last two together). That is, the stories of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, and of Echo and Narcissus, may have been blended in to produce a new version of an old poem that was being revised to reflect a new historical situation.

What 'meta-textual' encouragements might there be for seeing the poem in this way, as the end-product of one or more revisions. There is one encouragement ready to hand in the much-masticated Dedication of which I merely observe that the poet's famous vow that if the poem is disapproved he will 'never after ear so barren a land' is explicitly a metaphor of repeated cultivation --cultivation even to exhaustion and sterility--of the one plot of earth. (Later I shall have something to say about 'the first heir of my Invention'.) The other encouragement, admittedly dependent on the assumption that the author of the poem and the author of the *Sonnets* were one and the same, is all those sonnet conceits--goring his own thoughts, selling cheap what is most dear, dressing old words new, spending again what is already spent--that hint at the revision of old work as a central part of this particular poet's everyday experience.

If the 'Southampton version' of the poem is the last of a series, the nature and address of the preceding version or versions is of some interest. Oxfordians, who tend to accept a principle of single-author serial composition, are awkwardly placed on this. Some, following Ogburn, seem content to see the poem as an updating of a much earlier poem by Oxford in which he figured as Adonis to the Queen's Venus. But who is now (in 1593) Venus to Southampton's Adonis? Ogburn is reluctant to say, perhaps because there are really only two possibilities, neither of them credible.

Venus is either the Queen, exactly forty years older than Southampton, and approaching sixty years of age in the early 1590s. Her relationship with the young Essex notwithstanding, this is hardly a believable identification within this version. The other possibility is that Venus stands for Elizabeth Vere, if only by inescapable inference from the identification of Adonis with Southampton. But this is virtually impossible if the author is Oxford, since it would mean he had not only written but seen published a poem that would most naturally be read at the time of publication as exposing and ridiculing his own daughter's unreciprocated lust for a well-known young aristocrat. Whatever one thinks of Oxford--and reading his letters it is hard to feel unqualified admiration for him--he was surely not that much of a monster!

What this has to mean, surely, is that Edward De Vere did not write--could not have written--the 1593 'Southampton version' of *Venus and Adonis*. The standard Oxfordian hypothesis for an earlier version reflecting the Queen's supposed seduction of Oxford in the 1570s should probably then also fall by the wayside, since it would entail a highly improbable 'takeover' by a reviser hostile to the dignity of Oxford's own family.

Leaving aside the authorship question as such for a moment longer, what alternative historical analogies are there that might provide referents and occasions for the poem in its (putative) earlier versions? Or to put the question more directly, who was the earlier 'real-life' Adonis if it was not Oxford? One likely candidate, clearly visible once the disparaging Oxfordian spectacles are off, is Sir Philip Sidney. There are several Adonis allusions in *Astrophel*, the small volume of elegies Spenser compiled after Sidney's death, and there is a long reproach to Death here in the verses Spenser attributes to the Countess of Pembroke which parallels Venus's reproach to Death in *Venus and Adonis* (931ff.).[18]

Richard Lester, in the latest issue of *The Elizabethan Review*, proposes a different kind of link with Sir Philip Sidney. Writing from Oxfordian premises, he argues that *Venus and Adonis*, though composed much earlier, was published when it was as a kind of 'answer' to Sidney's *Arcadia*, first published in 1590, and written a decade earlier.[19] It is perhaps difficult to see how a 1200 line jeu d'esprit like *Venus and Adonis* could be seen as effectively 'capping' the half-million words of the published *Arcadia*, but Lester points to some interesting similarities between the two Dedications: similarities he interprets as ironic on Oxford's part, but which might be more naturally explained as a gesture of common purpose between Sidney and the close friend and fellow-poet with whom, in the early 1580s, he shared an ambition to refine and enrich the language of English poetry. Both works, in their very different ways, can be seen as contributions to such a project.

The friend and fellow-poet was Edward Dyer, and if a case could be made for seeing Dyer as the author (and reviser) responsible for the published *Venus*

and Adonis, it might then be possible to see Sidney, on the basis of the allusions and analogies just mentioned, as the Adonis of a postulated earlier version of the poem. Can such a case be made for Dyer as author? It would surprise most people to know that he has a more straightforwardly documentary claim to *Venus and Adonis* than any candidate other than William Shakspere (who has the title page and the Dedication). This claim rests on Gabriel Harvey's cryptically framed quotation of the poem's two-line epigraph from Ovid's *Amores* --lines not known to be used elsewhere in Elizabethan literature--in a marginal annotation to his copy of Speght's *Chaucer* (acquired in 1598). Harvey annotation reads:

> *Vilia miretur vulgus; mihi flavus Apollo*
> *Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua*
> quoth Sir Edward Dyer, between jest and earnest.[20]

Not conclusive evidence, certainly, but perhaps sufficient, to justify adopting Dyer's authorship of *Venus and Adonis* as at least a working hypothesis.

Alden Brooks, the champion of the Dyer claim, speculated that Sidney was the original Shakespearean Adonis in the limited sense that Venus's lament for the slain youth had its origin in Dyer's elegy for Sidney. The lament became, on this theory, one of the building blocks of the full poem published in 1593. Brooks hypothesised further, however, that the narrative core of the poem originated in a very different kind of work, a satire on the Queen's incorrigible wooing of young courtiers (a regal habit of which the young Edward Dyer may himself have had personal experience).

Brooks's reasons for suspecting that Elizabeth's dealings with Dyer might at some stage - perhaps on just one awkward occasion - have resembled those of an amorous Venus with a reluctant Adonis are at least as cogent as those for suspecting any such dealings between Elizabeth and Oxford. The same much-quoted source that provides evidence of the Queen's attraction to Oxford - Gilbert Talbot's gossipy letter to his father, the Earl of Shrewsbury, in May 1573 - also gives us a rather fuller account of what was clearly, at least at this point in time, a longer and more complex personal relationship, that of the Queen with Dyer. Talbot's story begins with Elizabeth's concern for Hatton, who had been seriously ill with a kidney complaint:

> The Queen goeth almost every day to see how he doth. Now there is devices, chiefly of Leicester, as I suppose, and not without Burghley's knowledge, how to make Mr. Edward Dyer as great as ever was Hatton; for now in this time of Hatton's sickness the time is convenient. It is brought thus to pass: Dyer lately was sick with a consumption, in great danger; and as your Lordship knoweth, he hath been in displeasure these

> two years. It was made the Queen believe that his sickness came because of the continuance of her displeasure towards him, that unless she forgave him he was not like to recover. And hereupon her Majesty hath forgiven him, and sent unto him a very comfortable message; now he is recovered again and this is the beginning of this device. These things I learn from such young fellows as myself.[21]

It is difficult to know which of the half-dozen actors we learn most about from this remarkable vignette; but our focus for the moment is on Dyer, and what this letter tells us is that two years after incurring the Queen's 'displeasure' he was still remembered by her with enough affection to be restored to her favour on the basis of a transparently flattering lie. Just what he did to displease Elizabeth is unknown, but it is a fact that exactly three years earlier, in May 1570, she suddenly gave Dyer, who was then a young courtier employed as Leicester's secretary, the stewardship of Woodstock, her favourite rural retreat, where she could enjoy his company and attendance in some semblance of privacy. To suggest that something slightly injurious to the Queen's vanity, but not entirely unforgivable, may have occurred between them at Woodstock in the following year, is of course mere speculation, but not as rank or as free-floating as some.

It is worth noting at this point that Hatton's biographer, Eric Brooks, and at least one other scholar, Kenneth Thorpe Rowe, have argued that an 86-line poem called 'Amarillis', attributed to Edward Dyer, and praised by Gabriel Harvey, in which two friends are smitten with love for the same woman, is based on precisely the relationships and strategems described in the Talbot letter.[22] On this reading of the poem, Amarillis is the Queen, and Coridon and Charamell, her two suitors, are Dyer and Hatton respectively. There can be no doubt that the poem does treat of real events and people, since the poet says so in the penultimate couplet:

> Well I wott what here is ment, and though a talle it seme,
> Shadows have ther bodies by, and so of this esteme.[23]

Dyer's biographer, Ralph Sargent, believed that the romantic triangle consisted of Dyer, Philip Sidney, and Mary Sidney, but aginst this Rowe makes a detailed and powerful case for Hatton and Elizabeth as Charamell and Amarillis. Alden Brooks follows Sargent, but confuses the issue by asserting that Dyer's 'Amarillis' is lost, and that the extant poem of that name is a 'scurrilous caricature' of it by another poet altogether, probably John Lyly.[24] There appears to be no basis for this claim other than Brooks's reluctance to accept that Dyer would have dealt, even in pastoral mode, with the reputedly incestuous passion of Philip and Mary--something which, as Rowe argues, the poem does not do.

One problem with seeing Dyer's own experience with the Queen as the referent for an early version of *Venus and Adonis* , as Alden Brooks seems disposed to do, is the enormous risk--and for that matter the impropriety and discourtesy--involved in committing such revelations even to manuscript. As it happens, Dyer was not averse to taking some public risks with Elizabeth's temper,[25] and even--as we'll see in a moment--some private liberties with her reputation; but not to that degree. A socially and ethically plausible conjecture about this 'ur-*Venus and Adonis*' needs to incorporate culturally credible propositions about what the situation was to which the poem was alluding, and about why and for whose benefit the allusion was being made.

Such propositions--culturally credible ones--do seem to me to arise from the situation at Elizabeth's Court in 1572/3, broadly the time-frame to which the Talbot letter refers. In October of 1572 Edward Dyer wrote an extraordinary letter to Christopher Hatton in which he enlarged, tactfully, acutely and candidly, upon an earlier response he had made, in person, to Hatton's request for advice on the matter of how best to counter the Queen's evident attraction to the Earl of Oxford. The letter is too long to quote in full. Suffice it to say that it shows considerable hostility towards Oxford on Hatton's behalf, but advises Hatton, sympathetically but firmly, against any attempt to 'have it out' with the Queen.

> That the Queen will mislike such a course this is my reason. She will imagine that you goe about to imprison her Fancye, & to wrapp her grace within your disposicion.[26]

Hatton's best course of action, Dyer assures him, is 'to use your suit towards her Majesty in words, behaviour and deed to acknowledge your duty; declaring the reverence which in your heart you bear, and never seeming deeply to condemn her frailties, but rather joyfully to commend such things as should be in her as if they were in her indeed; hating my Lord of [Oxford][27] in the Queen's understanding for affection's sake and blaming him openly for seeking the Queen's favour.'

Elizabeth's 'frailties' have already been frankly if euphemistically specified in the second paragraph:

> First of all, you must consider with whom you have to deale, & what wee be towards her, who though she does descend uery much in her Sex as a woman, yet wee may not forgett her Place, & the nature of it as our Sovraigne.

And this even though, as he goes on to say--with perhaps the most cryptic of allusions to his own experience with her--'a man of secrett cause knowne to

himselfe might in common reason challenge it'.

Elizabeth's aggressive and indiscreet sexuality in this fourth decade of her life had been noted by others with much less tact and goodwill than Dyer displays in his letter. Archbishop Parker was scandalised by reports of her behaviour with Leicester and Hatton;[28] and Mary Stuart's intercepted letter to Elizabeth, though written in 1584, was retailing gossip from the Countess of Shrewsbury, her jailer, that may well have been a dozen years old. Mary's admittedly second-hand version of the Queen's behaviour is interesting in its emphasis on her amorous assertiveness with Hatton, and his embarrassed retreat from her public advances:

> Quant au dict Haton, que vous le couriez a force, faisant si publiquement paroÓtre l'amour que lui portiez, qui [sic: que?] lui mesmes estoit contreint de s'en retirer...'[29]

The forty-year old Elizabeth that comes into view in descriptions like these is certainly a believable Venus, and this is hardly a new or surprising identification. But the Adonis to her Venus, in this case, is neither Oxford, nor Sidney, nor Edward Dyer, but the 32-year old Christopher Hatton.

Hatton as the 'ur-Adonis' of the Shakespearean poem? Standing in the way of it are three things: the centuries of mild contempt to which historians have subjected him; several decades of Oxfordian hostility arising from the undoubted enmity between Oxford and Hatton; and the sexually ambivalent image of a reluctant, self-regarding Adonis, influenced in this respect more by Ovid's Hermaphroditus and Narcissus than his Adonis, who is beautiful like them, but also robust, manly and at worst a bit offhand with the lady reminiscent, again using Dyer's words, of the 'rugged dealing' the Queen had put up with from Hatton 'untill she had what she fancyed'.[30]

One problem that might be solved by seeing Hatton as the first Adonis is the emblematic role of the boar in the poem. Oxfordians have noted, as well they might, that the boar is the De Vere family crest. But since the boar in Venus and Adonis is the villain of the piece, not the hero, it is surely difficult to interpret this fact otherwise than as an argument against Oxford's authorship, and against identifying Adonis with Oxford in an early version of the poem. If on the other hand Adonis stood for Christopher Hatton, then the boar's deadly hostility to Adonis can be read as a straightforward figure for Oxford's known (and reciprocated) hostility to Hatton. Indeed, one of Hatton's letters to the Queen from this period strongly supports such a reading. Written during the same period of ill health to which the Talbot letter refers,[31] the letter expresses Hatton's gratitude for a favour the Queen has sent him--a 'branch of the sweetest bush':

> It is a gracious favour, most dear and welcome unto me. Reserve it to the Sheep, he hath no tooth to bite; where the Boar's tusk [or 'tush'] may both rase and tear.[32]

The sexual innuendos of bush, tooth and tusk are intriguing, but even without them, there can be no doubt that, in the letter, the sheep is Hatton and the boar is Oxford. The latter equation clearly supports the same identification of Oxford with the boar in the poem, and may even suggest why the author chose as his narrative vehicle an Ovidian tale with a dangerous boar in it.

What we do not find, at least in the published poem, is a sheep. But the Sheep was the Queen's private nickname for Hatton, not a heraldic device. Presumably it was a playful alternative to 'mutton', which may have arisen, in turn, from its phonetic similarity to Hatton. And there is, as it happens, another near-homonym for 'Hatton' in the poem, namely 'Adon', the metrically shortened form of 'Adonis', which is used twice (ll. 769, 1070).[33] One would not want to stake an argument on the resemblance of Hatton to Adon, but it might have been one more reason for the author to choose the story he chose in order to write about his friend's dilemma at Court.

But for whose eyes, and for what reason? If Edward Dyer did write an early version of *Venus and Adonis*, with the Queen and Hatton as the eponymous lovers and the Earl of Oxford as the ruthless boar set upon destroying their idyll, he can only have done it as a witty warning to Hatton himself, a warning in the same vein as his letter, but in a different mode. The substance of the warning, in both cases, was; 'Don't pit yourself directly against Oxford. The Queen is infatuated with him and you'll lose'. The poem, however, carries the warning not in the form of positive strategic advice (as the letter does) but as a cautionary tale: Adonis, against strong pleas to the contrary, hunted the boar and was killed by it, to the unending grief of Venus. If Hatton indulges in the same sort of bravado he is likely to end up in the same condition, metaphorically at least, as Adonis did; and the Queen, like Venus, will be unhappy forever.

Is it possible, finally, that there is a reason why it occurred to the author of the 'Southampton version' published in April 1593 to revive and refurbish a poem he had first written for Christopher Hatton twenty years before - perhaps genuinely then 'the first heire of [his] Invention'? In November 1591 Hatton died, and within the next two months as many as five eulogies were published.[34] Perhaps this gave Dyer a chance to offer his own cryptic memorial to an old friend, while at the same time freeing him to publish it in print (and to make some money), knowing that the one person who understood its original meaning--perhaps the only person who had read the earliest version-- could not be embarrassed by it.

NOTES

1. Eric St. John Brooks, *Sir Christopher Hatton, Queen Elizabeth's Favourite* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1944), pp.13-22.

2. Quoted. E.S.Brooks, p.13.

3. George Gascoigne, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowers*, ed. Charles T. Prouty, Vol. 17, University of Missouri Studies No. 2 (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1942), p. 25.

4. That Oxford was the author of some of the poems, Prouty's arguments notwithstanding, seems to me equally probable. Ward spends much effort and ingenuity 'deciphering' the posy 'Meritum petere, grave' as an acrostic of 'Edward De Vere', and Ogburn, Jr. follows him down this dubious path. But the posy 'Ever or never', which is signed to eight of the poems, requires no great ingenuity to connect it to Oxford, though it is notable that these are the poems which are most unequivocally assigned to Gascoigne in the headnotes. Oddly enough, this posy is only to the prose narrative, 'The Adventures of Mr. F. J.', in the revised edition of the anthology, the one entitled *George Gascoigne's Posies*. I have no explanation for this fact, but it does seem, on the face of it, to damage Prouty's and Ward's positions about equally.

5. Sir Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia*, quoted by E.S.Brooks, p.15.

6. Quoted by Charlton Ogburn Jr., *The Mysterious William Shakespeare: the Myth and the Reality* (McLean, Va.: EPM Publications, 1992), p.386.

7. Ogburn, p.634.

8. See *Twelfth Night*, ed by J.M.Lothian and T.W.Craik. Arden Edition of the *Works of William Shakespeare*. (London: Methuen, 1975), p.62, n.5.

9. Quoted by Ogburn, p.630.

10. Leah S. Marcus, *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p.350, note 8.

11. On 'serial composition' in manuscripts that circulated privately for many years, see Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1993).

12. Henry Telford Stonor Forrest, *The Original 'Venus and Adonis'* (London:

The Bodley Head, 1930).

13. A fairly convincing example is Forrest's treatment (pp.22-23) of stanzas 9, 32 and 161, of which he argues 9 and 161 are 'interpolations'.

14. Alden Brooks, *Will Shakspere and the Dyer's Hand* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943), pp.108-9.

15. A. Brooks, p.109.

16. Henry Garnett, in a letter dated November 1594 (p.24), says that Southampton had to pay £5,000 'for refusing the Lady Vere'. Cited by A.W. Titherley, *Shakespeare's Identity* (Winchester: Warren & Son, Ltd., Wykeham Press, 1952), 314.

17. Geoffrey Bullough, ed. *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), Vol. I, pp.162-163.

18. The Death-chiding passage occurs in 'The Dolefull Lay of Clorinda' (so designated by Spenser), beginning at about line 31: 'What cruell hand of cursed foe unknown/Hath cropt the stalke which bore so faire a flowre?' There is also an explicit Sidney/Adonis analogy in the anonymous 'Mourning Muse of Thestylis' (ll. 128ff.), and in Spenser's own contribution, 'Astrophel', Sidney is described, Adonis-like, as a fierce hunter gored to death by a boar (ll. 115ff.).

19. Richard Lester, 'Why was *Venus and Adonis* published?' *The Elizabethan Review* vol. 6, no. 1 (Spring 1998), pp. 67-72.

20. Cited by Alden Brooks, *Dyer's Hand*, p.632.

21. Qtd. By Alden Brooks, pp.444-45.

22. E.S. Brooks, *Sir Christopher Hatton*, p.94; Kenneth Thorpe Rowe, 'The Love of Sir Philip Sidney for the Countess of Pembroke', *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters* Vol. 25, Part IV (1939), 579-595.

23. Ralph Sargent, *The Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), p. 195.

24. Sargent, pp.67-70; A. Brooks, *Dyer's Hand*, pp.456-7.

25. Sargent (p.131) and A. Brooks (pp.666-667) both allude to Dyer's acerbic

and pointed response to the Queen's playful question to him, 'Sir Edward, what does a man think of when he thinks of Nothing?': 'A woman's promise'. (Elizabeth had promised him financial relief, but had been dissuaded by Burghley).

26. This and subsequent extracts from the letter to Hatton are taken from Sargent's original-spelling transcription (pp.24-26) rather than the modern-spelling versions of Nicolas and Alden Brooks. Nicolas and Brooks, however, both print the entire letter whereas Sargent unaccountably omits about ten lines.

27. The word in the MS (an early 17th century transcription) is either 'Crm' or 'Ctm'. Dyer's (orthodox) biographer Sargent (158, following B.M.Ward, *The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford,* 1928, p.74) reads it as a scribal misreading for 'Oxon' (as does Ogburn, *The Mysterious William Shakespeare*, 503-4). Other possible readings include 'Ctm' for 'Chm', short for '[Lord Great] Chamberlain', hence Oxford; and 'Crm' for 'Orm', hence perhaps the Duke of Ormonde, a lesser favourite (E.S.Brooks, *Sir Christopher Hatton*, p.88) but the known circumstances do, as Sargent says, make the Oxford identification 'reasonably certain'.

28. Letter to Burghley, September 1572, cited by Sir Harris Nicolas, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton* (London: Richard Bentley, 1847), p.14.

29. Nicolas, *Memoirs*, p.15. 'As for the said Hatton, [I have heard] that you would run at him so hard, making the love you bore him so public, that he himself felt constrained to draw back.' (My trans.)

30. Sargent, p.25.

31. The letter is without date or place of origin, but Nicolas (28) and E.S.Brooks (98-100) both conclude on the internal evidence that it was written either in July-August 1573 from Spa, or earlier in the year, before Hatton left England for the sake of his health.

32. Nicolas, *Memoirs*, p.28.

33. The form is also used in Thomas Edwards' *Narcissus*, in an explicit reference to the Shakespearean poem. See Roger Nyle Parisious, 'Occultist Influence on the authorship Controversy', *The Elizabethan Review*, vol. 6, no. 1 (Spring 1998), p.32.

34. E.S.Brooks, pp.354-358.

The Use of Renaissance Dance in Shakespearean Productions: A Director's Guide

LeighAnn Heil

Shakespearean productions are sometimes performed experimentally, with new ideas and fresh insights. However, many directors prefer to produce the Bard's work traditionally, with Renaissance costuming, swordplay, music and dancing. Traditional Shakespeare requires several production elements, namely, a director familiar with period styles in both acting and directing, a theatre or space with large playing areas, a talented costume designer, and a fight/dance choreographer with knowledge of period music, dance and swordplay.

Well funded, large theatres can usually afford to employ the personnel necessary for design, direction, music and choreography. However, most small theatres require their director to be designer, choreographer and director in one. What can the director of the smaller theatre do when confronted with traditional Shakespeare? Obviously, there has been much written about the literature, acting styles and even fight sequences of the period.

What of the Dances?

True, there are many sources to consult, John Playford, Arbeau's treatise, and Caroso to name several. The sources are difficult to locate and most only offer a sentence describing the dance, with no indication of how the steps are performed, beats or directional changes. (Dixon III/IV, 9) Unless the director

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is well versed in the different terminology of Renaissance dance, frustration can cause the director to create dances which are neither Shakespearean, nor traditionally Renaissance.

Theatre directors need their own guide to several dances that can be used in Shakespearean plays. The dances should be easy to teach and perform, and music guidelines should also be incorporated. These dances should be catered to particular plays, removing the directorial obstacle of deciding which dances to use, and should further the plot lines as well as present the costumes to their greatest glory.

This paper is intended to be a practical director's guide for using Renaissance music and dance within Shakespearean productions. Directors should feel free to adapt and change the dances to suit their needs. Each dance will be catered to a play and can be used in the portion indicated by the text. Four popularly produced plays will be used, and phrase and terminology will be kept simple. Dance terms will be used only when necessary.

Before any dance may begin, it is traditional to turn and "revere" your partner, with a honor or "reverence". The man steps back on his right leg, removes his hat with his right hand and transfers the hat to his left hand. The forward leg is held straight, the foot still on the floor, as the back leg bends and the man bows slightly from the waist. The man then kisses the right hand, before pushing off from the back leg, replacing the hat, and offering the woman the same hand kissed. (Arena) The motion should be during counts; step back, one, doff hat and bow, two, kiss hand and bring leg back to position on three, and don hat and offer hand on four. (Arbeau 67-68) The lady's reverence is somewhat simpler, she lowers her center of gravity by bending the knees, then gradually returning to beginning posture, kissing her left hand, and taking the gentleman's offered hand. The lady's reverence should take the four counts as well, breathe in on one, bend knees on two, up and kiss hand on three and take gentleman's hand on four. (Caroso 96) A beautiful reverence is flowing and graceful, never stiff or stilted. Both the lady's and gentleman's reverence should be done while looking at partner. The dancer should only look at the floor for the moment of deepest bowing, returning to an eye-contact as the knees straighten. (Dixon III/IV, 25) Remember that this is a rare time for a Renaissance couple to have before marriage, a moment alone to flirt without a chaperone!

There is some disagreement among sources concerning the lady's reverence and leg positioning. According to Caroso, the lady should move one leg out, behind the other, before the actual curtsey can begin. He also suggests that some ladies actually look as though they are "hens laying eggs", which is neither graceful nor desirable. (Caroso 141)

The Plays and The Dances

Much Ado About Nothing

Much Ado About Nothing has received renewed popularity with the release of the recent motion picture. The end of the romantic comedy offers this stage direction:

[Dance, all, Exeunt.] (Shakespeare V,iv,133)

The plot of the play leads to the denouement of celebration. The celebratory feel of the final moments of dialogue is leading to an upbeat dance that all may join. The English country dance, called "Gathering Peascods", is an upbeat dance that lends itself to couples dancing and the celebratory finale'. The dance is from the Playford's English Dancing Master, written in 1651. The piece is a round for as many couples as will, and if the cast is short of men actors, then ladies may partner with ladies. The round is done in common time signature. The feeling is active and happy, and the dance is performed vigorously. The first step is called a "slip-step" and is much like a gallop, and is performed by stepping out sideways in the direction indicated, then quickly replacing that foot with the other foot. For instance, a slip-step to the right would consist of stepping on right foot, hopping to the left, while the left foot replaces the right on the ground. (Dixon V,13) This should take one and one-half counts, and the right foot should then be in the air to step out again.

According to Playford, the indications for "Gathering Peascods" are as follows:

Hands-all, 8 slips L; all turn single. Hands-all, 8 slips back, single.
Men in a double, men's ring round L and fall back. Women, same.
Men in a double, clap, women the same while men fall back.
Men the same while women fall back, men turn single to place,
repeat, women first.
Partners side: turn single. Repeat.
As before, but women's ring first, etc. Arm R; turn single
Arm left; turn single,
As before, men's ring first, etc.
(Playford 1651)

"Gathering Peascods"
Reverence

Step One: All join hands in circle, and slip-step left 4 times. (4 counts)
Drop hands.
All turn one revolution over the left shoulder. (4 counts)

Repeat slip step back to places, again holding hands (4 counts). Drop hands.
All turn left again. (4 counts)

Step Two: Men step forward into circle, right, left, right, together, and join hands. (4 counts)
Run to the left for two counts, still holding hands. (2 counts)
Men fall back to circle. (2 counts)
Women repeat men's circle, run, and fall back

Step Three: Men step forward into circle, right, left, right, together, clapping on last step. (4 counts)
Women step forward into circle, right, left, right, together, clapping on last step.
While women go forward, men fall back to places using same step and clap back. (4 counts)
While women go back, men go forward as before. (4 counts)
Women turn one time in place, men turn one time back to places. (4 counts)

Step Four: Repeat all of step three with women forward first. (16 counts)

Step Five: Turn towards partner. Walk towards the side of partner right, left, right, together. Partners should be looking at each other over their right shoulders. (4 counts)
Walk back to places, (4 counts), repeat to left shoulder, (4 counts), then back to places. (4 counts)
Repeat Step Four, then repeat Step Three.

Step Six: Dancers turn towards partner. Partners take right forearms and turn clockwise.
Other arm is in a upward arc toward the body. (4 counts)
All dancers turn individually, over their left shoulder. (4 counts)
Repeat arming grasping left forearm and turning counterclockwise. (4 counts)
All dancers turn individually, over their right shoulder. (4 counts)
Repeat Step Three, then repeat Step Four. Reverence.

As You Like It

The comedy *As You Like It* requires a dance at the end of the play. The Duke declares in Act V, Scene IV,

> Proceed, proceed, we will begin these rites,

As we do trust, they'll end, in true delights.
[a dance, Exeunt]
(Shakespeare, V, iv, 203)

The English dance called "The Black Nag" is well suited to the court proceedings, as the dance is a jubilant celebration, while allowing relatively easy steps to be performed. This shows the costumes to their fullest extent and protects the costumes by preventing too much boisterous movement. (Playford 1670)

"The Black Nag" requires a step called the "hey", or the "chain" step, which can be confusing. The basic step is a walking step in which the dancer gives the right hand to the person approaching and changes places with that dancer, then the left hand is given to the next person approaching, changing places again. (Dixon V, 12) When the "hey" is on a straight line, such as it is in "The Black Nag", the dancer at the end of the line turns and again gives the hand which was last given. For instance, if the dancer at the end of the line gives his right hand last, he will turn around and again give the right hand, then the left, going up the chain. (Arbeau 167)

The dance uses many of the same elements as "Sellenger's Round." The elements are rearranged to fit "The Black Nag," but the 'slip steps', circling around partner with the right then the left arms clasped, and 'approaching partner and looking over right shoulders', remain the same. "The Black Nag" was first used in *The English Dancing Master* (Playford 1670), and offers this very general direction for the dance,

long ways, couples 3
lead up a double and back; repeat. 1st couple take hands
and go 4 slips up, 2nd and 3rd couple the same; all turn single.
3rd couple slip down, 2nd and 1st the same; all turn single.
Partner's side; repeat
1st man and 3rd woman change
corners, middles, all turn; repeat to places
partners arm R, arm L
gentlemen hey, ladies hey" (Playford, 1670)

This explanations gives no indication of beats, music or direction. However, "The Black Nag" can be simple to learn if the dance is described in detail. The dance begins with three couples in a line, facing down-stage, lady to gentlemen's right. The top couple is the couple directly down-stage, second couple is directly behind top couple, and third couple is directly behind the second. Any medium speed music in 4/4 time can be used. (counted one, two, three, FOUR, five, six, seven, EIGHT)

"The Black Nag"

Reverence

Step One: All couples step forward right, left, right, together, couples still holding hands (1,2,3,4) towards downstage edge.
Couples step right, left, right, together back in place, couples still holding hands (5,6,7,8) towards upstage.
REPEAT last eight counts exactly.

Step Two: Top couple takes both hands, facing one another, and slip-steps (man with left foot first, woman with right) downstage. (1,2,3,4)
Second couple takes both hands and slip-steps, as top couple did on previous four count. (5,6,7,8)
Third couple takes both hands and slip-steps, as other couples did. (1,2,3,4)
All couples drop hands and turn over right shoulder, one revolution. (5,6,7,8)
Repeat all above, starting with third couple, this time slip to upstage.
Third couple will go first, then second, then top, all turn.

Step Three: Still facing each other, couples step left, right, left, touch right so that each dancer is looking at their partner over their right shoulder. (1,2,3,4)
Dancers should be side by side, ladies facing stage left, gentlemen stage right.
Step back right, left right, touch, back to places. (5,6,7,8)
Repeat Step Three to look over partner's left shoulder.
Step back right, left, right, touch, back to places.

Step Four: Couples still facing one another, top couple woman and third couple man change places, stomach to stomach. (1,2,3,4)
Top couple man and third couple woman change places, (5,6,7,8)
Second couple man and second couple woman change places, (1,2,3,4)
All turn over left shoulder. (5,6,7,8)

Step Five: Repeat, Step Four, starting with Top couple, then third, then middle. (16 counts)

Step Six: Couples face each other, all dancers take right forearms of partner with full turn to the right and back to places.
Other arm should curve upward in an arc behind dancer. (8 counts)
Couples facing, all dancers take left forearms of partner and turn to left.
Other arm should curve upward in an arc behind dancer. (8 counts)

Step Seven: Gentleman's hey; top man faces other two. (upstage)
Middle and last man face top man (downstage)

All weave in and out giving right hand then left to each other.
As each man reaches the end of the line, (last man's place) turn and give the hand that was last given. In other words, if the last hand given before the turn was the left hand, turn and give the left hand again. (16 counts) (Arbeau 167)
See the paragraph describing the "hey", or consult the glossary in the appendix.

Step Eight: Ladies hey; same process as the gentleman's hey.

Step Nine: Repeat all steps from the beginning, with the first couple separating, walking around other couples and becoming the last couple. The second couple will then be the first, and the third will become the middle. Reverence

Romeo and Juliet

Popular in high schools and at practically every theatre in the country, *Romeo and Juliet* is produced quite often. In fact, the lovers will be encountered by most directors at least once in their career. One directorial problem is the dance in which Romeo and Juliet meet and converse. In Act I, Scene IV, Lord Capulet announces,

> You are welcome, gentlemen! Come, musicians, play.
> A hall! A Hall! give room, and foot it girls.
> [Music plays, and they dance.]
> (Shakespeare I, iv, 29)

The dances used are often secondary to the script, and are choreographed to look "renaissance", yet have no historical background at all. The "Hole in the Wall" is an English dance which provides for much flirting and some conversing. It even offers an chance for Romeo to "steal in" to Paris' place in the dance. The "steal" can create many comedic and clever directing opportunities which would not be possible in a simple choreographed dance.

Care should be taken when dancing "Hole In The Wall" or any other stately court dance with body positioning. Caroso states that the women should keep their palms facing toward their skirts, or place their hands on a pendant or such. He also states that some ladies hold palms out, looking as though they are maimed or deformed in some way. (Caroso 149) Likewise, the gentleman should always keep his body upright, not slumping, and place his free hand on his hip or behind his back.

"Hole In The Wall" begins with a line of couples, divided into couple A and couple B. Partners should face each other, and couple A should be further down stage than couple B. Couple B should be directly behind couple A, then another

couple A should be behind that couple and so on as far as the space on stage will allow. There can be several lines of couples on stage doing the same dance. Ladies should begin on gentleman's right. The music should be in 6/8 time counted one, two, three, four, five, six. The music should be much like a waltz-time, but the movements should not be obviously waltz like. Counts for the dances are beat in two, so the feeling of the dance is in 2/4 time. This means that each measure is really in 6/8 time, but the dancers should feel the music in twos, counting a "one" on the one count, and a "two" on the fourth count. In other words, the beating will go; ONE and TWO, and, a-ONE.

"Hole In The Wall" can also be done progressively. Progressive means that couple B travels down the hall (down-stage) through couple A during step four's turn. Couple B eventually sits out one full set (all four steps), and returning as a couple A. Meanwhile, couple A travels up the hall (up-stage) eventually sitting out a set and returning
as couple B. The couple sitting out is considered "in the hole in the wall." This can be boring for the dancers, but can be a great time for dialogue between characters.

"Hole In The Wall"
Reverence

Step One: Couple A separates, walks around couple B (to the outside), then comes between couple B and back to places. (8 counts)
While couple A walks around, couple B should come together, facing and fingertips touching. (4 counts)
Couple B should then separate and step back into places as couple A comes between. (4 counts) The entire process should take only 8 counts. (1-and-a-2-and-a-3-and-a-4-and-a-5-and-a-6-and-a-7-and-a-8-and-a)

Step Two: Couple B separates, walks around couple A (to the outside), then comes between couple A and back to places. (8 counts)
While couple B walks around, couple A should come together, facing and fingertips touching. (4 counts)
Couple A should then separate and step back into places as couple B comes between. (4 counts)
The entire process should take only 8 full, slow counts.

Step Three: Woman from Couple A and man from couple B change places, stomach to stomach. (4 counts)
Man from Couple A and woman from couple B change places, stomach to stomach. (4 counts)

Step Four: All four take hands to form circle. (6 counts)
Circle half way around to return to original places (6 counts)

All turn over left shoulder slowly (2 counts)
Reverence (1-and-a-2-and-a)
Repeat the process until music has finished.

During Step One of "Hole In The Wall", 'stealing' can be done while either couple is passing outside of the other. A gentleman should simply place himself in position to partner the woman he wishes to dance with. For instance, if Paris and Juliet are couple A, couple A will separate, walk around couple B and pass between them, then return to their original places. Romeo has only to replace Paris by being in Paris' original spot when Juliet returns. Paris has no recourse but to retreat, and the conversation between Romeo and Juliet may ensue. Provided the interaction takes place in a clever manner, the audience can be treated to a wonderful moment in theatre through the dance.

A Midsummer Night's Dream

A Midsummer Night's Dream is a fun, fantastical Shakespearean comedy. The play requires singing and dancing, which is done by the 'fairies' in the story. The queen of the fairies, Titania, declares;

> First, rehearse your song by rote,
> To each word a warbling note
> Hand in hand with fairy grace
> We will sing and bless this place.
> [song and dance.]
> (Shakespeare V, iv, 27)

The "Sellenger's Round" is an English country dance from the *Playford Ball* that is performed by as many couples as the stage or playing space will accommodate. The round is perfect for the play, and any upbeat music in 4/4 time can be used. The dance begins with couples in a circle with all holding hands. Couples can be guy-girl, girl-girl according to the cast the director has. Source is the *Playford Ball,* fourth edition.

"Sellenger's Round"

Fast Reverence during introductory music.

Step One: All hold hands in a circle and gallop or slip step to the left for 8 counts

On the count of 8 jump together with both feet. (step left and immediately replace left foot with right with little hop, like a gallop.)

Step Two: Still Holding hands, gallop to right for 8 counts, jumping together on eight.

Chorus: Still holding hands, facing center of circle.
Step in with left foot, and bring right foot in to meet left (count 1 and 2). (this step is called a single)
Step in with right foot, and bring left foot in to meet right (count 3 and 4).
Step out with left foot then right, then left, jump, both feet together (count 5,6,7,8). (this step is called a double) (Dixon III/IV, 9)
Drop hands on eight.
Face partner, step left (1), bring right foot in (2), step right (3), and bring left foot in. (4) Turn to the left, (5,6,7,8) and face into circle.
Repeat all of chorus again.

Step Three: Not holding hands, step into center of circle, Left, right, left, together. (1,2,3,4)
Step out from center of circle, right, left, right, together. (5,6,7,8)
Repeat above going into circle and out of circle. (8 counts).
Chorus: Take hands again and repeat chorus exactly.

Step Four: After turning for the final 5,6,7,8 of chorus, face partner.
Step left, right, left, and feet together. (1,2,3,4) (double) (dancer should now be at sides of partner, looking at partner over their right shoulder)
Step right, left, right and feet together away from partner. (5,6,7,8)
Repeat to look over left shoulders, then 5,6,7,8 away from partner.
Chorus: Take hands again and repeat chorus exactly.

Step Five: After turning for the final 5,6,7,8 of chorus, face partner.
Offer right arm to partner and walk around each other for 7 steps and close.
Offer left arm to partner and walk around each other for 7 steps and close.
Arms should make contact, forearm to forearm, with other arm curved up and back.
Chorus: Repeat chorus exactly.

Step Six: Repeat Step three exactly.
Chorus: Repeat chorus exactly. Repeat from beginning until music ends, then reverence.

It should be noted that the "singles" (step, step together) and "doubles" (step, step, step, together) change to a different form during the mid to late 1600's. The steps change to a "balance". The "balance" is very much like a modern day "pony" step, consisting of a step right, step left, step right quickly, like a hop. The feeling is a three count, but the movement is done in two. (hop one and two, with a hop on the one, the "and", and the two). (Dixon V, 11) The "balance" step is often performed in the country dances, while the "single" and "double" is utilized more in the stately court dances. Director's discretion can

determine whether to use the "balance", or the "single", according to the play, audience and mood he or she is creating. The "balance" is energetic and fun, while the "single" and "double" can be very regal and is wonderful for showing courtly costumes.

Notes are often made, in the sources, concerning the deportment of Dancers. This includes how a gentleman and a lady should act while preparing to dance, as well as deportment during the dances themselves. These notes can be extremely specific, and describe details of actions for everything from controlling the train of a dress to how to greet royalty at the ball. These actions become less important in the theatrical world, but should be noted for accuracy in the manners and customs of the period. The director should choose which, if any, customs he or she wishes to keep in the world of traditional Shakespeare. Some references can be useful in simple logistics of costumes and swords. For instance, how the actor can control his mantle, or cape, while dancing. Careful instructions are give to throw the mantle over the left shoulder before the beginning of the dance. (Caroso 134) There are also notes concerning gloves, which should be always removed prior to dancing, and the sword, which should be worn at all times. Only a few customs are presented here, and a director should consult *Nobilita di Dame*, for a more exhaustive treatise on conduct and deportment. (Caroso 134-150)

In conclusion, dance and music are an important part of traditional Shakespeare. Traditional dances of the period can add excitement and authenticity to each production, and provide opportunities for character and plot development. The dances can also allow costume designers a "runway" for their work, as court dances were originally designed to show the court member's finery. Finally the dances can provide the needed local color to a theatrical production, combining music with movement in a period setting.

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Iago Dilated: Delivering Time in Othello

Dean DeFino

> How poor are they that have not patience!
> What wound did ever heal but by degrees?
> Thou know'st we work by wit, and not by witchcraft,
> And wit depends on dilatory time. (370-73)

Iago answers Roderigo's frustration and anger over the expense his suit toward Desdemona is taking with these loaded words of wisdom in II.iii. of *Othello*: loaded not merely because they are meant to weigh the scales of Roderigo's judgment in Iago's favor (or even to crush Roderigo, as under thumb, with the pressure of their weight), but also because they represent the way the scales of the play, itself, are weighted. Key issues in the play are the economics of temperament, the efficacies of wit and time: perception, control, revenge. Of particular interest is the relationship between wit and what Iago calls "dilatory time." Wit is a slick term, which I will discuss in due course. But to dilatory time some immediate remark need be made. I read it as having at least two meanings, delay and dilation, pending time and expanding time, patience and warp. These are consubstantial: as a drop of water expands before breaking into its free fall, so time in pausing expands of its own momentum. This is a play about dilatory time, about waiting (for revenge, for justice, for morning) and about what grows/gestates while it waits (plots, hatreds,

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misunderstandings). I want to argue that this term, dilatory time, and its relationship to what Iago calls wit, offers a reading of the text which places Iago at the ontological center, where he emerges not merely as a pernicious force or 'villain,' but as a character in dialogue with the play's own machinery.

Have we begun with an irremediable problem? What could a play whose many events (a marriage, an almost-battle, a series of deliberations on betrayal and revenge, a falling-out between general and lieutenant, a theft, a framing, a rumored love affair, a set of murders, a trial, a conviction, and preparation for torture and execution) happen in the course of a day and a half have to do with issues of delay, of patience? Of course this is a play, a form into which huge spans of time may be squeezed—through invention on the part of the author and willful suspension of disbelief on the part of the audience—into only a few hours. But Shakespeare does more than just pare down the episodes: one of his major innovations on Giraldi Cinthio's novella—the play's source—is to drastically, some would say impossibly, reduce the scope of time involved in the story. One critical current in *Othello* criticism is that Shakespeare wrote the play in 'double time': a short time, which is the span in which the events are supposed to have happened (a day and a half), and a long time, which is the span that would ultimately be necessary to have happen all the things which should, or might have.[1] The classic example of the conflict between short and long time is the proposed Cassio and Desdemona affair. Othello and Desdemona have only been married a handful of hours (none of which has she spent alone with Cassio) when Iago first implies that she has been unfaithful. Say the critics, an affair is mathematically impossible. But they say this to praise Shakespeare's cleverness, not to criticize: he has duped us by bending time in an extraordinary and poetical way. But what service does this trick do the play as a whole? And is it not, as Graham Bradshaw argues, a device that only the most pedantic critic would notice?[2] Bradshaw takes great pains to explore and explain away the objections of earlier critics concerning the so-called 'double-time' of the play. For example, to the question of Desdemona's infidelity, he argues that Othello means infidelity in general, not just after marriage. And since the audience is told by the Moor himself in III.iii. that Cassio knew of their relationship well before they were married, the audience and Othello both know a reasonable gap of time in which Cassio and Desdemona might have trysted. The reader believes that Othello is jealous, and that his reasoning, even if wrong, is so because he does not trust his wife enough, not because he can't count the hours. I agree that Shakespeare has an interest in time in Othello, but nothing so artificial as this 'double time' nonsense, grinning at the gaps between the teeth of time. If anything, he seems to be trying to close a gap, between what one plans to do and what one does, between deliberation and action. He shows us delay in action: dilation, ripening, gestation, the pregnancy of the pause. In a sense, the play waits on time's issue. Not long (a day and a half, squeezed into three hours of theater performance), but enough to make the point that time will bear.

I have already suggested one way to read "dilatory time": as the time of dilation in labor/birth, the time of expansion which allows birth to occur.[3] "There are many events in the womb of time which will be delivered," Iago tells Roderigo in I.iii. (369-70). Indeed: murders, betrayals, revelations real and imagined. Here time is corporeal, a woman. So we may read dilatory time as time's body dilated, ready to birth. Consistent with the nature of time, in this quotation from Iago time gives birth to events rather than bodies: time is motion, duration, not object. So when Iago says that wit depends upon dilatory time, we may understand him to mean that whatever the nebulous sense, wit, may be, it relies upon the events that time gestates, and the timely delivery of them. "This is the night/ That either makes me or fordoes me quite," he says at the very end of IV., referring to the gamble anyone takes on time's issue: in this case a duration called "night."

But Iago also says that he "engenders" time with his scheme to destroy Othello, Desdemona, and Cassio at the end of Act I: "It is engend'red. Hell and night/ Must bring this monstrous birth to the world's light" (403-4). Iago's reference is to his remark to Roderigo just a few lines above (and just prior to that on the "womb of time"): "If sanctimony and a frail vow betwixt an erring/ barbarian and a super-subtle Venetian be not too hard/ for my wits and all the tribe of hell, thou shalt enjoy/ her" (355-8). These three passages together describe Iago, bolstered by the tribes of hell (i.e.: his darker purpose) using his wit to impregnate the womb of time to bear the fruit of his wanting.

Iago's conception of wit as something which engenders is consistent throughout the play. Wit is prowess, defined by or as sexual power. In the above exchange, for instance, Iago's wit and the tribes of hell will win Desdemona's sex for Roderigo. Here the relationship is a surrogate one: Iago's prowess/wit will help Roderigo have sex with Desdemona. We may say that a similar surrogacy is at work when Iago places his wit at Othello's service during the central (geographically and thematically) "temptation scene" in III.iii.: Iago promises to hold firm in service for his shaken master. Of course, the great irony in all of this is that Iago is already "his Moorship's ancient," his ensign, his standard-bearer. Iago degrades himself, and so resents the Moor, because he must bear the emblem of the other man's prowess, his phallus.

Wit as emblem of sexual prowess is not only restricted to men in the play. Iago regards the sexual power of women over men as their own best strength and, in his exchange with Desdemona in II.i., he calls this power wit: "If she be fair and wise, fairness and wit,/The one's for use, the other useth it. . ./If she be black, and therefore have wit,/ She'll find a white that shall her blackness hit" (129-33). The wise woman is the one who knows how to use the power of her sex. And even a foolish woman has power, if she is desirable: "She never yet was foolish that was fair,/For even her folly helped her to an heir" (136-7). Men and women are not equal in wit, however: men have the power to engender, and women only to be engendered. Iago sees this as a base state indeed: "There's

none so foul and foolish thereunto,/But does foul pranks which fair and wise ones do" (141-2). But, for all his gender-role distinctions, the association that Iago makes between wit and sex is extraordinarily significant in a play where Iago's main mode of disseminating intrigue is sexual innuendo.

The first of these is his report on the sexual acrobatics of Othello and Desdemona to her father in I. i.: they make "the beast with two backs" and other animal postures. Later he will whisper the same sort of profanity into Othello's ear about Desdemona and Cassio. Iago makes no mention whatsoever of Othello's and Desdemona's marriage when speaking to Brabantio in I.i. He is clearly trying to cast a different, more vulgar, light on the matter. But to see just how different we need to open the question of dilatory time again. Marriage, and what leads up to marriage, is implicated in several forms of dilatory time, delay and dilation. Engagement, for instance, is a time to deliberate on the potential of a marriage, and to let feelings ripen, or gestate. Chastity, or "waiting until you are married," sets vigil on some legal or holy consummation of bodies. Shakespeare plays with this idea by leaving the audience to wonder if the lovers ever actually consummate their marriage.[4] Marriage as a legal arrangement is also a form of dilation: a union is made and, in a world of impermanence, is called a permanent union. And this ideal of permanence is a double-edged sword against which so many of the characters are cut (first Brabantio, who must find some way to deal with the permanent arrangement his daughter and the Moor have made). But Iago avoids any mention of marriage, much less its dilations, when calling Brabantio to arms because he wants to rub the situation raw, not offer resolutions—be they only ideal ones—like marriage. So he confronts Brabantio, and Roderigo, not with marriage time, but with another that is measured in beats, pulse, rhythm: copulatory time. Iago thumps the beat of sex into their psyches with the same deliberate determination as a pornographer hooks for pubescent boys with slick cover photos: get them worked up until they nearly explode, and then they are yours.

Of course, there isn't any 'real' sex going on in the play. This lack is one of the many manifestations of dilation. Things wait to happen. Othello and Desdemona keep delaying their coital union, and each time seem more exasperated by the wait. Cassio never makes it to bed with his 'prostitute,' nor does he or Roderigo have any chance with the Moor's wife. In place of sex is overwhelming desire (the very name, Othello, means "I need"). The only one who doesn't seem overcome with it is Iago, himself. One might conclude from what I said above about Iago's using his wit (as sexual prowess) to help Roderigo bed Desdemona that Iago is actually revealing his own desire for Desdemona. But to do so would be to miss the point: that Iago is merely playing with Roderigo, that he has no intention of actually helping him to get his hands on her. One might then say that Iago's stratagem in ruining Desdemona's reputation to her husband is a form of sexual aggression against her: that his wit,

which engenders suspicion in the mind of Othello, stands in for Cassio's actual sexual prowess in the story which he creates about the affair. Iago would seem to be doing her from all sides, at least in these possible fantasy projections. And why shouldn't Iago want to have her? Rumor has it that Othello has had an affair with Iago's own wife. Tit for tat. But Iago says himself that the only reason he chooses to believe the rumors about Emilia and Othello is because it fuels his hate, because it stands in for other possible motives. It justifies his rage.

Then what is Iago's motivation? Is this a cuckold's rage, or ambition, as he states in I.iii.: "To get [Cassio's] place and to plume up my will"(397)? In the double entendre— "plume up my will"—Iago again implies a relationship between sexual prowess and power, but it is an abstract rather than specific one. His desire, for a more general empowerment rather than for a single sexual conquest or revenge on a single sexual infidelity, reveals his impotence. Iago is the only major character in the play married long enough to have fathered a child, yet unlike his prototype in Cinthio's story, Shakespeare's ensign is childless. Were his own sexual organs in working order, this childlessness would be blamed upon Emilia, and she made the object of his scorn. But instead he focuses it on the very subject of sexual power, indicating an inward gaze. Iago's obsession with sexuality as an abstract condition rather than a specific desire suggests a reproductive obsession, one which plays out in his role within the play: to engender plots, rather than women.

Impotence is not only Iago's motive—what fuels his resentment and spurs his revenge—but the key to the play's sense of dilated time. Impotence is the ultimate dilation: desire never fulfilled. Iago's rage is the result of the pent-up force of dilated time, which has no sexual release but which must somehow deliver. He does this by replacing specific manly prowess with an abstract form he refers to as wit, making empowerment out of disempowerment. He turns sexual desire against others, and so imposes his own impotence upon the play. He informs the play with the beating rhythm of sexual time, yet interrupts the consummation of that time. Characters begin to act out of the frustrated desperation this temporary impotence creates. And in a dilated time, Iago's potent wit engenders demons to undo them all.

This spatialization of time, as a womb that gives birth to demons and monsters which represent events, rather than mere duration, helps us to read one of the play's major manifestations of time's dilation, in both the sense of delay and expansion: mythic time. Myth depends upon the flux of time, the infinite web of moment to moment, the concurrent suspension and engagement with a linear idea of time: suspended because much of myth happens at points in time which are difficult to locate, and engaged because myth is narrative, story line. But myth is also a spatialization of time: a way of giving it a living dimension. Things and people happen in myth. Even if they are not real people, or from real times, they inhabit a place in our psyche. More to the point: the mind

images time and events rather than merely recording their duration.

In *Othello*, the character most involved in mythic time is the Moor himself, whose stories of heroic exploits and strange adventures win Desdemona's heart, as well as the Duke's and her father's consent for the marriage. She, having heard some of his tale, draws from Othello a promise: "That I would all my pilgrimage dilate" (I.iii. 153). By the same token, he answers paternal Brabantio's fury with "a round unvarnish'd tale . . ./ Of my whole course of love," braiding the story of his and Desdemona's love with references to his adventures. Nothing is directly told the audience of the specific chronology of the events. We hear of them only elliptically, and second-hand, as told to the Duke and Brabantio. More to the point: Shakespeare is mythologizing even Othello's myth-stories—removing them from real time and space—by only referring to them. We never see Othello in action. Even the Turk's attack in II.i. never materializes: the sea disables the enemy's fleet, sparing Othello the trouble. And the events portenting attack happen off-stage. The audience bears no witness. We only imagine him in action, because his mythic 'dilation'—the story he only refers to—images him according to the archetype of the hero, who has fought great battles, seen strange things, and returned to tell about them. So Othello takes his place with Ulysses and Jason. Many argue that what attracts Desdemona to Othello is his strangeness, his exotic appearance and lifestyle. I say, it is the strangeness of his tale, and that he is able to emerge from it recognizable as a hero in the tradition of heroes. Like Ulysses entertaining the royal house of Phaeacia, Othello wins a place in the family of Venice—rather than just its navy—by working the spatial and temporal dilations of mythic time.

What Othello does not try to do is what Iago does so well: engender time. Othello never steps outside of mythic time, which is only one of time's many dilations, and one of little sustenance. This sort of looking backward, when too focused, misses the pregnant opportunities of the present, the labors and dilations of the present time. Othello's image is a mythic form stuck in mythic actions: those of the warrior and soldier. He is unable to deal with any inconsistencies in his mythic images. Othello's conception of his love affair with Desdemona is one of these images. I said above that, when telling her father and the Duke the story of their courtship in I.iii., Othello braided the love story with the adventure stories, and so married them in the realm of mythic time. So when Iago first suggests that Desdemona is being unfaithful to the Moor, Othello cannot conceive the thought of it, much less the deed, and lashes out in rage. Even when Iago has thoroughly convinced him, with "ocular proof" (an image to overrule the one in his mind, of chaste Desdemona), Othello still defines himself in mythic terms, as "a fixed figure in a time of scorn" (IV.ii. 54). Even betrayed, he remains static. Not even Desdemona's murder can remove the shame which he imagines will image him. It is an act of passion and disgust, all emotion. But Iago, who himself feels betrayed (or

so he tells us) is quite willing to let time hatch his plan of revenge. This does not cover all contingencies (such as his meddling wife's testimony against him, which he can only snuff with a desperate act of murder), but such are the exigencies of time, which he well enough knows. One can only engender so much, and predict so much from time's warp and womb.

Other characters are not so attuned to the properties of time as Iago. Cassio, for instance, is impatient for the time when Othello will forgive him for his drunken misconduct in II.iii. He stays up all night waiting for an interview with Desdemona, and a promise of resolution. Similarly, he hesitates with Bianca, or plays for time with promises that he never intends to keep: presumably of fine gifts, maybe even marriage. He begs her pardon for being so distracted by the business of Othello's displeasure, and promises Bianca, "I shall in a more continuate time/ Strike off this score of absences" (III.iv. 178-9). The play between continuity and absence here keys us into Cassio's whole conception of time: he fantasizes about a unified time (presumably one where Cassio will always get what he wants, such as Othello's forgiveness), yet in real life sees only disjunctures and gaps. Waiting, for him, is standing in a void. He does not understand what Iago seems to: that delay is merely a dilation of time, not a fissure. Time can no more break than energy be destroyed. Change shape and course, yes, but it never ceases to be, even momentarily. Time is, after all, the very measure of the momentary.

Desdemona, too, seems a little confused about time's workings. The best example of this is her "timing" on the issue of Cassio's reinstatement. When Othello tries to lead her off the subject, saying, "Not now, sweet Desdemona, some other time," she says, "name the time, but let it not /Exceed three days" (III.iii. 55, 62-3). She makes the mistake here of demanding on time, and its issue. The exchange between Desdemona and Iago in II.i., while she waits impatiently for Othello's return from the thwarted battle, is a study in Desdemona's concept of time. Much like the tales that she demanded Othello 'dilate' of his heroic journeys, this praise comes as a diversion to her, a way of avoiding imminent reality, no matter what it might be. For Iago, too, it is a moment of revelation. "[M]y Muse labors," he tells her, "And thus she is delivered" (127-8). Where Desdemona seeks to escape the pressure building in the moment of time's dilation—the tension of not knowing, of not-happening—Iago sees it as a moment of pregnant inspiration.

Patricia Parker's 1993 discussion of "dilation" in *Othello* and *Hamlet* examines yet another spin on the word: accusation. In her essay, she places the two senses of dilation—as accusation and amplification/expansion—beside Othello (and Hamlet) and reads "the function of the delator [alternate form of 'dilator'] or informer as a secret accuser, associated both with spying and with bringing something 'hidden' before the eye; and, second, the language of uncovering, dilating and opening the 'privy' place of woman, in the quasi-pornographic discourse of anatomy and early gynecology which seeks to bring

a hidden or secret place to light."[5] We could certainly apply this position to Iago's 'praise' of Desdemona, and of women in general, in the above-mentioned passage: Iago (the informer, if there is one in this play) is, in a sense, accusing women who pretend to virtue (like Desdemona and Emilia) of using their own basest means (their sexuality) to empower themselves; and, in his dilation on the subject, he is exposing the hidden source of power (the female genitals). But Parker's way of reading the play has more specific concerns. She is interested in the various discourses of Shakespeare's England—anatomical, medical, theatrical, and judicial—and the way they visualize the world, and what part the language of the female body plays in that visualization. I would go still further, and investigate the economic discourse in the play, and its relationship to dilation and 'dilatory time.'

Iago's most poignant remarks on dilatory time are made in response to Roderigo's fixed concern with money. The play opens with Roderigo accusing Iago, "who hast had my purse/As if the strings were thine," of acting, or non-acting, in bad faith toward him. Iago insists that they are bound in cause against the Moor, and unfolds his own motives. Note how Iago uses the lexicon of economics in this response. Of his eligibility for the lieutenancy given Cassio instead of him, Iago insists, "I know my price, I am worth no worse a place" (I.i. 11). That he knows his own price is a point of pride to Iago. Unlike Cassio, the "great arithmetician" and "bookish theoric" and "counter-caster," Iago's is an applied system of values, an economy (19, 24, 31). Cassio may know how to divide, but he doesn't know the division of a battle: "Mere prattle, without practice" (25). And the cruel irony is that Iago, who presumably does know his way around a battle, is relegated the responsibility of ensign, standard-bearer, flag-carrier. He is the emblem of the emblem, in much the same way that Cassio's mathematical figures are emblems of some corresponding real value.

Iago then goes on to describe the economics of his relationship with Othello: "I follow him to serve my turn upon him", and "Were I the Moor, I would not be Iago./ In following him, I follow but myself," and "I am not what I am" (42, 58-9, 65). These statements, while on the surface seeming nonsense or contradiction, reveal the very depths of Iago's own economy, and its relation to wit and dilatory time. They are as the circular revolutions of a current caught in an eddy, still moving, but temporarily delayed from the straight course. And so, they swell until their own current breaks them free into the current again. But, for the dilatory time in that eddy, they turn in circles, away from their point of entry, and back again. Their waves reflect back out into the straight current, and they reflect themselves, over and over, until they break free. Iago understands dilatory time: it is duration swelling with its own momentum, and turning on itself, not stopped. It is time to ruminate on the self and its position to the straight current, and to step out of body, in some sense, and become what you reflect. Iago does this several times in the play. The best example is when he plays Brabantio against Othello, yet seeming to stand by both their sides (as

he likewise does with Roderigo and Cassio, Cassio and Othello, Othello and Desdemona). The circular current is also a place to discover yourself. While it is clear at the beginning of the play that Iago is already robbing Roderigo in a worthless suit for Desdemona, no plan is yet formed for his revenge on Othello. In fact, it doesn't start to form until the very end of Act I., as Iago ruminates further on motive. At first, the promotion is all there is to it. But now we discover a rumor that Othello has cuckolded Iago with Emilia. A strange moment, this, because it isn't at all clear whether Iago believes it, or even cares, so long as it represents a motive for his actions. "I, for mere suspicion in that kind./ Will do as if for surety," he says (I.iii. 389-90). In another man, we would call this over-weaned jealousy. But Iago is smarter than that. Only a few lines later he begins to unwind his plot "to abuse Othello's ear" with similar innuendo and lead the trusting Moor "as tenderly by the nose. . ./ As asses are" (395, 401-2). Iago will make an ass of the man who lets his suspicions run away with him. No, for himself it's only the appearance of motive that matters. The image of the cuckold and the image of the scorned man are useful tools, not only for making allies but for plugging up any holes in ones own resolve. What Iago knows, and what the others don't, is that the image must constantly be recast if it isn't to be annihilated by time's issue. The key to a stable economy is changing with the times.

Knowing keeps its advantage by holding others in ignorance: so Othello with Iago. Othello, the mythic and static one, resists, or does not recognize, the need to turn in the current. When Iago says that he follows Othello, he means into the eddy. And when he says it is to serve his turn upon Othello, he means that he will come around in the arc of his revolution and knock the static Othello off his feet. Real wit moves in the current that dilatory time creates, and so changes constantly: "I am not what I am."

Roderido's response to all of these revelations of Iago's is, typically, to think on money: "What a [full] fortune does the thick-lips owe/ If he can carry't thus!" (I.i. 66-7). Roderigo's sense of economy is different from Iago's, just as Cassio's and Iago's ideas of 'division' are different. But Iago, who at least temporarily needs Roderigo as an ally, is willing to play along with Roderigo's sense, and to use it as a weapon against Roderigo's better judgment. Roderigo, who sees the objects of love as "duty, beauty, wit and fortunes," is easily duped into selling everything he has to buy valuable gifts for Desdemona (which, of course, Iago keeps for himself). "Put money in thy purse," Iago tells him again and again in I.iii.: turn property and reputation to cash with which to buy your love object. Iago is playing with Roderigo's perception of wealth: the money, itself, rather than what it buys and how it sustains life. Roderigo's purse is his banner, and Iago plays ensign to help him carry that banner.

But Iago is not satisfied to leave Roderigo's perceptions alone. He wants to force them into action. This is why Iago makes a fig of Roderigo's virtue in I.iii. The fig has a double meaning here: first as a trivial obstruction to action, and second as emblem of male sexuality or potency, scrotum. Roderigo

imagines virtue in much the same way he does love, which Iago tells him is only an abstraction of lust, sexual desire. Typical of Iago, he supplants the reproductive capacity of sex with the physical desire, as a way of confusing virtue and vice. Iago is using the ambiguity of sexual function to confuse Roderigo into forgoing his original sense of virtue. Look closely: Roderigo frets that his fondness for Desdemona is no virtue. His concern is apparently not over the nature of the fondness (Roderigo as a man of honor speaks of love, not lust), but the fact that she is married, and that he is coveting his neighbor's wife. Nonetheless, Iago is able to quickly deconstruct and reconstruct Roderigo's view, not only of virtue but of love, so that virtue serves the self, as does love. Before his very eyes, Iago turns Roderigo's love to lust, and again and again advises him, "fill thy purse," so that he might buy the object of his lust, Desdemona. Of all the sexual puns in this section ("usurp'd beard," locusts and coloquintida, "hang'd in compassing thy joy"), the purse—emblem of the female genitals—is not only the most prevalent but the most telling. Here lust (explicit pleasure, implicit reproduction) and money comingle: where sex is its own store of wealth, where it can be bought, and where woman is a depository for ones fortune (relating at once to the Renaissance idea that men are born with a wealth of sperm from which they draw until it is gone, and the humunculus theory of conception). And in so joining them, Iago creates a conduit between Roderigo's economic view of the whole situation (he's losing money in this relationship) and copulation. You will have her, Iago says: your pleasure and your fortune.

Iago cleverly introduces a balance of reason, a clear view of things: "If the beam of our lives had not one scale of reason to poise another of sensuality, the blood and baseness of our natures would conduct us to the most prepost'rous conclusions" (326-9). Reason "to cool our raging motions" (330). Iago uses the same reason to convince Roderigo that he must kill Cassio in IV.ii.: reason which leads him to a "most pregnant and unforc'd position," which is its own persuasion and needs no passion plea. Shakespeare underscores this idea of reason's foregone wisdom by walking the characters off-stage—out of the audience's eyes and ears—to discuss the 'reasons' Cassio must die. We are back to the connection between reason and patience, the wealth of the wise man: rash Roderigo be calmed, for only in calm, in patience, in the pregnancy of the delayed momentary, will wit birth its great progeny. Of course, Iago is messing with this equation somewhat to make Roderigo do what he wants. Wit and the "unforc'd" machinations of reason will make answer as surely as dilatory time will birth the plot engendered by the man of wit. That man of wit is Iago, and Roderigo is only another player in his plot. In Iago's own schema of self-virtue, Roderigo is just another commodity to be traded. But if he only teaches Roderigo this lesson in patience to serve himself, still the lesson is consistent with everything we know about Iago.

"Patience her injury a mockery makes," the robbed man who smiles steals something from the thief: the Duke says this to Brabantio in I.iii. to resolve the

matter of Desdemona's secret marriage, and the old senator replies that he will grin and bear it. Iago does neither of these. He smiles at thieves (Othello and Cassio), but only to distract them while he drives his knife through their backs. Patience for Iago is not a way of disarming 'karma', or letting steam off of the pressure of events: it is a way of bending time, of shifting its shape to give the victim the wrong impression, to distract him with a false security, a false sense of time.

All of this makes Iago's oath at the end of the play—to "never speak word" again—the more powerful, and ultimately terrifying. Iago, who throughout the play used language to birth phantasms and hellish plots from the womb of "dilatory time," now engages in the ultimate form of patience, and rumination, and dilation. This is a threat is refusal, non-submission. Iago will hold his tongue until the dilation of time bursts, and births its own demons, far worse than any he could ever engender. For, "what's he then that say I play the villain,/ When this advice is free I give, and honest...?" (II.iii. 336-7). Whatever Iago's base motives may be for destroying Othello and the others, he attempts to live within time's dilations as no other character in the play seems capable, leaves this play world mute, and all of its characters (or, those few who survive) to suffer their own collisions with time dilated, and what time births. He buries the secret with his buried voice: go figure it out for yourself.

NOTES

[1] The whole 'double-time' discussion began in a series of articles by John Wilson (alias Christopher North) for *Blackwood's Magazine* (Nov. 1849, Apr. and May 1850), and has held critical sway ever since. It has been elaborately endorsed by three major editions of Shakespeare over the past thirty years: New Arden 1965, New Cambridge 1984, Riverside 1996.

[2] Graham Bradshaw, "Obeying the Time in Othello: A Myth and the Mess It Made," *English Studies*, 73:3 (June 1992) 211-28.

[3] *The Oxford English Dictionary* lists 'dilatory' as an irregular usage, favoring 'dilatatory.' But two other times in the play the word 'dilate' appears and, as I will show later in this paper, both uses suggest a function similar to the one I am reading into 'dilatory.'

[4] The only consummation we have any evidence of is in death, which we may see either as eternal union or eternal delay. I am reminded of the lovers in Dante's Hell, who are frozen forever in postures of pre-ecstasy.

[5] Patricia Parker, "*Othello* and *Hamlet*: Dilation, Spying, and the 'Secret Place' of Woman," *Shakespeare Reread.* Ed. Russ McDonald (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1994) 106.

Henry Peacham and the First Folio of 1623

Peter W. Dickson

In the Shakespeare authorship debate, there is a general perception among both Stratfordians and Oxfordians that after Francis Meres' famous list of great poets and dramatists in *Palladis Tamia* (1598), the awareness of Edward de Vere as a literary figure largely disappeared until Alexander B. Grosart collected and published in 1872 some of the poems of the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford.

This perception is inaccurate because one can reconstruct a trail of interconnected historical references to him as a literary figure through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In a separate annex entitled "Oxford's Literary Reputation in the 17th and 18th Centuries", the reader can find a brief survey of references to him as a literary figure spanning the two centuries after his death. This reconstruction also permits some useful comparisons with the emergence in the early 1700s of the Bardolatry associated with William Shakespeare of Stratford, a topic which goes well beyond the scope of this essay, but which is a subject worthy in its own right of close analysis of students of the authorship question.

Of upmost importance among all these posthumous references to Oxford, however, is the one from Henry Peacham's list in *The Complete Gentleman* published in mid-1622 when the *First Folio* project was underway. For it is Peacham who lists Oxford among the greatest Elizabethan poets and *yet fails to mention Shakespeare at all.*

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This essay's primary objective, therefore, is to contextualize Henry Peacham and his list of great poets in *The Complete Gentleman* (1622) in order to show that Peacham knew Shakespeare and Oxford, and knew that there was no difference between the two. Peacham made this deliberate decision to exclude Shakespeare's name from his list of the greatest poets of the Elizabethan era based on a number of different factors, including the politics of the time in which he lived.

Peacham was well aware that the *First Folio* project was underway before he finished writing *The Complete Gentleman* and he certainly was aware of the ongoing political vendetta which King James and his homosexual lover (the Duke of Buckingham) were engaged in against the 3rd Earl of Southampton (Henry Wriosthesley) and the 18th Earl of Oxford (Henry de Vere), son of Edward de Vere, the alternative Bard to the Stratford man. Both these Earls were imprisoned in the Tower, Henry de Vere a second time for treasonous activity for twenty months during 1621-1623, because they had criticized or otherwise opposed the Crown's soft stand on Catholicism at home and its effort to arrange a dynastic union by marrying Prince Charles to a sister of the Spanish King.

Thus, Peacham was sensitive to the fact that Oxford's son, Henry de Vere, and Southampton were the main leaders of the Anti-Spanish, Protestant faction at Court during the fierce debate concerning the Spanish Marriage. Peacham also was well aware that these two popular Earls were willing to take risks in challenging Buckingham's effort to grab more and more unto himself and his extended family.

In such a delicate situation, Peacham's decision to exclude Shakespeare from his list of the greatest Elizabethan poets was his way of signalling truthfully but diplomatically--in the delicate political situation of the early 1620s--that the father of Henry de Vere, whom King James sent to the Tower via the Star Chamber process was, in fact Shakespeare.

In his calculations, Peacham had to weigh one other factor that complicated his effort to be truthful and at the same time avoid political backfire. Ironically, he wrote and dedicated his work to a young scion of the famous Howard family: in fact, to a direct descendent of the Catholic cousins of Edward de Vere, cousins whom Oxford exposed as untrustworthy and treasonous in the 1580s. Therefore, a decision even to include Oxford in any of great poets list, especially one in which Shakespeare's name is conspicuously absent, in *The Complete Gentlemen* was no trivial matter for Peacham, given the past.

Despite the firm nature of our conclusions, we should emphasize or caution the reader that this is a most difficult subject which requires close attention and careful evaluation. Nonetheless, the contextualization of Peacham's *The Complete Gentleman* and its relationship to the near simultaneous First Folio project provides, in this writer's estimation, the key which resolves the Shakespeare authorship dispute conclusively in Oxford's favor.

Possible Sources of Peacham's List

Henry Peacham devotes a separate chapter to poetry in *The Complete Gentleman* and concludes with a list of those whom he believes were the greatest poets of the Elizabethan era. Peacham begins his list with Oxford and Buckhurst, and then continues with Paget, Philip Sidney, Dyer, Spenser, and Daniel.

On the surface, it might appear that the focus in Peacham on Oxford and Buckhurst derives directly from the lists found in Francis Meres' *Palladis Tamia* (1598) which cites Oxford as best for comedy and Buckhurst as best for tragedy. However, as we shall demonstrate, this is not correct, at least not for Peacham who was directly utilizing and revising to his own satisfaction an earlier list from George Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589).[1] This fact is crucial to our close analysis of Peacham's thought process as he ranked the great Elizabethan poets, failing to list Shakespeare.

There is little sign that Mere's lists had any impact on Peacham. Meres, who graduated from Cambridge in 1587, eight years before Peacham, provides many different lists of poets, including those versed in Latin and other foreign languages, and offers sub-lists for eight categories or styles of poetry. However, his main list for the greatest poets in the English tongue is as follows: Sidney, Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare, Marlow, and Chapman. Oxford's name does not appear, though Meres, following Puttenham's evaluation, listed him among the best for Comedy, along with the name of Shakespeare.

Meres suggests in 1598 that Oxford and Shakespeare are two different men but there is some doubt what he really knew in a direct personal sense because he lists as best for tragedy, Buckhurst and "the author of the *Mirrour for Magistrates*" when Mere's contemporaries would have insisted that these are one and the same man. In any case, Meres was a cleric who departed from the London scene about 1602 and never returned. His familiarity with the literary scene never compared to that of Peacham who was living in the London suburb of Hotson when preparing his own list in 1622 while the *First Folio* was being printed.

Writing more than twenty years after Meres, Peacham (1578-1643?) explicitly excludes from his list those Elizabethan-era poets who were still alive in 1622, which would explain the exclusion of Chapman and Drayton, whom Meres' gave top billing. Nonetheless, it is puzzling why Peacham omits others such as Marlow and especially Shakespeare whose famous poems such as *Venus and Adonis, The Rape of Lucrece,* and *The Sonnets* — plus numerous popular quarto editions of his plays — had all been published (sometimes in several editions) during the three decades preceding the publication of *The Complete Gentlemen* in the Summer of 1622.

This glaring omission of Shakespeare's name from Peacham's list is astounding. As we will demonstrate, this omission was not an oversight but,

on the contrary, was a *deliberate exclusion* because Peacham knew that Oxford and Shakespeare were the same person.

Who Was Henry Peacham?

First, Henry Peacham (1578-1643?) unlike Meres was extremely well-connected in the world of art and literature in London as well as the royal court both as a artist and as writer for more than three decades.[2] Like a good courtier, he cultivated relationships across a broad terrain, both with Ben Jonson and also his great rival Inigo Jones who valued Peacham's artistic talent; and with Prince Henry prior to his death in 1612 and the antipode to this fanatically Protestant prince, namely, the Howard family, which was notorious for its pro-Catholic and pro-Spanish sentiments.

Peacham was also on good terms with Daniel and Drayton who, as members of the Herbert-Pembroke-Sidney literary circle, were drawn into the cult and worship of Prince Henry, as the perfect Protestant Prince whom this circle hoped would someday slay the Catholic dragon at home and abroad. For example, Peacham (unlike Shakespeare) joined John Selden, a famous, erudite lawyer, to write many poems upon the death of Prince Henry and then more poems a year later celebrating the marriage of his sister (Princess Elizabeth,) whom many Protestants hoped would succeed her father as the monarch rather than Prince Charles.[3]

The most important point to emphasize about Peacham is that he was extremely well-connected to the literary world for decades and that he had to know the identity of Shakespeare as did his close friends, Jonson, Drayton, and Daniel.

We can be certain of this conclusion for one other important reason. If Peacham is famous for anything among Shakespeare scholars, it is because he is the artist who drew and added his name (Henricus Peacham) and the year (1595) to a sketch of costumes designed for a performance or a rehearsal of *Titus Andronicus*.[4] At the time, Peacham was seventeen and had just graduated with his degree from Cambridge University. This sketch is one of the most cherished documents relating to Shakespeare because it is the only drawing relating to one of his plays known to survive. It remains in the library of the Marquis of Bath at Longleat House (Wiltshire). E. K. Chambers brought it to the public's attention only in 1925.

A few scholars have tried to question the authenticity of this sketch, but a motive for forgery of this kind of document makes little sense. Most recently, Jonathan Bate editor of *Titus Andronicus* for The Arden Shakespeare (1995) declared "the authenticity of the drawing and the transcription themselves are not in doubt".[5] Exactly twenty years earlier, Samuel Schoenbaum who reproduced the sketch in *William Shakespeare - A Documentary Life* (1975) stated at best skepticism was only justified concerning an inscription in the upper right margin by the notorious John Payne Collier, not Peacham's signature in the lower-left portion of the manuscript or the sketch itself. In his

words, this signature is "authentic enough".

This curious phraseology may convey Schoenbaum's sour grapes about a treasured document pertaining to Shakespeare which plays right into the hands of those who wish to advance the Oxfordian theory on the authorship question as we shall demonstrate below. Ironically, Oxfordians for seventy years have overlooked the significance of this document for their claim.

Peacham's List: Other Factors

Given what we know about Peacham's close friendship with insiders on the literary scene for three decades and his sketch relating to *Titus Andronicus*, his omission of Shakespeare's name on the list of great poets in *The Complete Gentleman* could not possibly have been an oversight. One possible argument to explain Peacham's omission of Shakespeare — that Peacham wished to list those poets who wrote only *non-dramatic* poetry — makes no sense because Buckhurst, Daniel, and — evidently Oxford — wrote plays as well as poetry. Also, Shakespeare's *Sonnets* (1609), arguably the most celebrated, had been published more than a decade earlier, to say nothing about *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. Both these epic poems of the 1590s went through multiple printings, were quite popular, and were even referred to in other poems of the period. So there was certainly more than ample reason to include Shakespeare's name in a list of major poets during Queen Elizabeth's reign. Furthermore, there is other substantial evidence why the omission of the name "Shakespeare" was not an oversight, but a deliberate exclusion at a time when this famous name was impossible to ignore.

The first of these factors pertains to the physical circumstances pertaining to both the publication of *The Complete Gentleman* and the *First Folio*. Peacham's publisher, Francis Constable, owned the White Lion, a book store in the courtyard on the north side of St. Paul's Cathedral, the center of the book trade in London at that time. Sixty or seventy feet from the front door to The White Lion in the same block were The Black Bear and The Parrot, two other book stores owned, respectively, by Edward Blount and William Aspley.[6] Along with another man named John Smethwick, Blount and Aspley were the principal members of the Syndicate behind the *First Folio* project which was printed by the Jaggard firm. Smethwick's book store was only a few blocks away on Fleet Street to the west of the Cathedral. Given the proximity of the White Lion to these other book stores, the small circle of those in the book trade, and Peacham's extensive network of literary friends, it is highly improbable that he and Constable would not learn about the *First Folio* project before its completion.

Second, we know for certain that Shakespeare could not have escaped Peacham's attention in 1621-1622 given the timing of the Shakespeare folio project. In his landmark work, *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (1963), Charlton Hinman conclusively demonstrated that this syndicate and Jaggard began the actual printing of the folio in 1622

sometime between February and August of that year.[7] Obviously, the plans for the folio preceded the actual printing, though Hinman argued in his book that the decision to assemble a comprehensive folio had to have come after October 1621.[8] In his view, those behind the folio would have never registered*Othello* with the Stationer's Hall for its first ever publication as a quarto, if they had a comprehensive folio project underway at that time.

Whatever the truth, a folio project of this magnitude associated with arguably the greatest name in English literature could not be hidden from others in the book trade for long. And we know that Peacham dated the dedication to his own work on May 28, 1622 and was still making last minute alterations in the text to include material pleasing to his then patron Richard Sackville (grandson of the same Lord Buckhurst whose name follows Oxford's in Peacham's list of poets).[9] Peacham's publisher (Constable) finally registered *The Complete Gentleman* with the Stationers' Register on July 3, 1622 and we can assume that the work appeared in book stores not long after that date.

Another separate factor that had an important impact on Peacham's list of the greatest Elizabethan poets is that he had to be sensitive about whether to include Oxford's name at all in any list given the political situation. Like most persons, he was aware of the crisis over religion and foreign policy associated with the Spanish Marriage Crisis in 1621-22, and the increasing repression against the freedom of thought and expression under King James and his homosexual lover, the Duke of Buckingham. He also knew that the Earls of Southampton and Oxford (Henry de Vere), along with his good friend (John Selden, the famous lawyer), had been imprisoned for a time in the Spring of 1621 for challenging the King and the Duke over these issues.

Since *The Complete Gentleman* appeared well after these imprisonments and even after King James dissolved Parliament on January 9, 1622, Peacham and Constable were fully aware of how rapidly the political situation was deteriorating. There can be no doubt about this because Peacham wrote his dedication on May 28 a full month after the second imprisonment of Henry de Vere (an imprisonment which lasted twenty months). Thus, the decision to include the father of Henry de Vere (the 18th Earl) among the great poets was no light matter, whether he was Shakespeare or not. At a minimum, Oxford had to have been a substantial literary figure in Peacham's mind to justify his inclusion at all.

A final reason why Peacham's decision on whom to include in his list was a step taken with great deliberation relates to the *The Complete Gentleman* dedication. The work was dedicated to William Howard, the youngest son of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. Peacham had been a tutor some years earlier for the three older sons and became William's tutor sometime after August 1620, which strongly suggests that the bulk of this book dedicated to the young man had been drafted in 1621.[10]

The most important point concerning this dedication is that politically astute

persons knew that Edward de Vere was held in low regard by this particular branch of the Howard family, given that he had betrayed his Catholic cousins in the 1580s as traitors to Queen Elizabeth to save his own neck. The two individuals who suffered most from this betrayal directly or indirectly were William's grandfather (Philip) who died in prison in 1595 and especially his grandfather's uncle, Henry Howard, the First Earl of Northampton (second iteration). Northampton's bitter feud with Edward de Vere included counter-accusations that Oxford was a homosexual as well as a traitor in his own right.

Furthermore, the notorious Lady Somerset (Francis Howard)was first cousin to young William's father, Thomas. She and her own uncle (Northampton again) who was the leader of the court faction partial to Catholicism and Spain in foreign policy, were suspected of being responsible for the murder in the Tower of Thomas Overbury, a member of the Protestant faction at Court associated with the Herbert family and Southampton. Francis Howard and her husband (Somerset) spent nearly six years in the Tower for the crime and were released just three months prior to the second imprisonment of Henry de Vere (Oxford's son) for his opposition to King James' dissolution of parliament in January 1622 and the monarch's zeal to marry Prince Charles to a sister to the Spanish King.

Given the revolving door to the Tower involving the release of the Somersets and the second incarceration of Henry de Vere in April 1622, Peacham's dedication has a special political edge to it. He had revered Prince Henry and Peacham's politics were much closer to the Herberts, Southampton and Henry de Vere in their longstanding struggle to counter the influence of the pro-Catholic, pro-Spanish Howard family. Nevertheless, here in 1622 when Henry de Vere has been sent to the Tower a second time with a good chance of never coming out alive, Peacham is dedicating to a Howard family member a work that places Edward de Vere's name among the greatest English poets. The genealogical chart on page 75 helps illustrate the tricky political waters that Peacham was navigating in the explosive situation in the 1621-22 period.

Peacham, Puttenham, and Minerva Britanna

While the above evidence clearly indicates that Peacham knew quite well the significance of, and was self-conscious about, the exclusion from his list of "Shakespeare" and the inclusion of "Oxford", there are several more pieces of evidence to be considered. This crucial information, coupled with the historical context surrounding the publishing of *The Complete Gentleman*, further strengthens the case that in Peacham's mind--Oxford and Shakespeare--were one and the same individual.

The first piece of additional evidence is Peacham's prior identification of Oxford as an important literary figure who required concealment for some reason. In 1612, Peacham published *Minerva Britanna*, a compilation of literary emblems dedicated to Prince Henry. Minerva is the Roman equivalent

for Athena, the *hasti-vibrans* (spear-shaking) patron Goddess of Greek theater. The title page consists of a large emblem with a pen in a hand jutting out from beneath a curtain attached the procenium of a theater arch. That the image depicts the concealment of a person involved with the theater and/or literature should be obvious to any reader. The logical question then is: "Who is this mysterious individual?"

The hand in question has nearly completed writing on a scroll the words MENTE.VIDEBORI which immediately brings to mind the Latin phrase "mente videbor" which translates as "in the mind I shall be seen." In other words, only through this person's literary works will others come to know this writer but evidently never his true identity. The other Latin inscriptions attached to the wreath surrounding the theater proscenium and curtain are: VIVITUR IN GENIO and CAETERA MORTIS ERUNT. There are several possible renditions of the entire three-part inscription, but that offered by John Astley-Cock in 1975 is as follows:

> In the Mind I Shall be Seen
> Resurrected by the Talent,
> All Else by Death Concealed.[11]

The most important aspect of this emblem in Peacham's work is that the first line in Latin - "mente.videbori" - contains an anagram as first suggested Eva Clark Turner in her work, *The Man Who Would be Shakespeare* (1937). There are several obvious clues that Peacham has given us an anagram containing the true name of the mysterious writer. First, as Clark and Astley-Cock observe, "mente." is followed by a totally superfluous period in terms of Latin grammar and also flanked by the intriguing letters E and V. Second, if the writer was not writing an anagram, he would have either stopped at "mente videbor" which means "I shall be seen" or have continued on to write "mente videberis" which means "he shall be seen".

However, the writer did *not* choose either of these grammatically correct options and we know that Peacham knew his Latin. Instead, he stops abruptly after drawing one extra letter - in this case, the letter "i" which is obviously desired to complete an anagram. Furthermore, the writer evidently did not wish to have to replace the "o" in "videbor" with an "e" which would have been required in proper Latin if he had proceeded to complete "videberis" with the final "s". Thus, Peacham deemed an extra "i" and the retention of the letter "o" essential to convey something about the writer, in this case his true identity.

There can be no question that a deliberate calculation was made to fudge the Latin inscription to create an anagram. For otherwise, the writer would simply have stopped with "videbor" or gone on to write "videberis". Our analysis which refines that originally developed by Clark and Astley-Cock leads to a virtually unavoidable decipherment in this anagram concerning the writer's

true identity:

TIBI NOM. DE VERE, or Thy Name is De Vere.[12]

We do not believe that the crucial portion of this anagram, the residual six letters DEVERE, can be jumbled in any other way to yield the name of any other known or recognizable literary figure of the period who needed to avoid using his real name for whatever reason.

Therefore, barely a decade before publishing *The Complete Gentleman*, at the zenith of the cult of Prince Henry who revered Shakespeare's works, Peacham had already hinted on the title page of his work *Minerva Britanna* (1612) that an important English writer's identity was hidden or concealed for some mysterious reason and that this writer's name was Edward de Vere, the seventeenth Earl of Oxford.

The second additional piece of evidence which further illuminates Peacham's thought process as he sat down in 1622 to compose his list of the greatest Elizabethan poets pertains to the close parallel between his list and that which Puttenham gave thirty-three years earlier in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589).

The crucial point to understand at this juncture is that Peacham did not use any of Mere's lists from 1598, but instead revised that of Puttenham from 1589, and in so doing Peacham reveals clearly his deliberate, self-conscious exclusion of "Shakespeare". First, we provide the passage from Peacham who is very emphatic about the importance of what he is about to say concerning the greatest Elizabethan poets:

> In the time of our late Queen Elizabeth, which was truly a golden Age (for such a world of refined wits, excellent spirits it produced, whose like are hardly to be hoped for, in any succeeding age) above others, who honoured Poesie with their pennes and practice (to omit her Majestie who had a singular gift herein) were Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, the Lord Buckhurst, Henry Lord Paget, our Phoenix, the noble Sir Philip Sidney, M. Edward Dyer, M. Edmund Spenser, M. Samuel Daniel, with sundry others (together with those admirable wits, yet living, and so well known) not out of Ennuie but to avoid tediousness, I overpass. Thus much of poetrie.[13]

Now let us compare this passage on great poets from Peacham with that found in Puttenham's work:

> And in her Majesties time that now is are sprung up an other crew of Courtly makers Noble men and Gentlemen of her Majesties servauntes, who have written excellently well as it would appeare if their doings could be found out and made publicke with the rest, of which first is that noble Gentleman, Edward, Earl of Oxford, Lord of Buckhurst,

> when he was young, Henry Lord Paget, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Rawliegh, Master Edward Dyer, Master Fulke Grevell, Gascon Britton, Turberville and a great many other learned Gentlemen, whose names I do not omit for enuie, but to avoyde tediousnesse, and who have deserved no little commendation.

Now, it is quite obvious from the concluding parallel phraseology (ennuie/ tediousnesse) in both citations, as well as the sequence of the names of the poets, that Peacham did not start from scratch with a blank sheet of paper when he sat down to compose his list. He clearly is utilizing (plagiarizing?) Puttenham's list.[14]

His revisions give us an insight into his thought process. Even with the benefit of considerable hindsight (33 years!) concerning that "truly golden age" of literature, Peacham repeats the first four poets from Puttenham's list, then drops Raliegh, retains Dyer, and then drops the last four names. To round out his own list, Peacham then adds, Spenser and Daniel, but for some reason cannot bring himself to add "Shakespeare" despite the great fame attached to this name for non-dramatic and well as dramatic poetry.

Given that the facts about Peacham's life clearly show that he had to have known Shakespeare for nearly thirty years, and the fact that he and his publisher (Constable) had to know the *First Folio* project was underway in 1622, and that Peacham in *Minvera Britanna* (1612) had already fingered Edward de Vere as a literary figure who could not be identified openly with his works, we draw the obvious, logical, and inescapable conclusion that Peacham excluded "Shakespeare" because it was the penname of Oxford.

The only alternative to this conclusion would be for an anti-Stratfordian scholar of non-Oxfordian persuasion to argue that the redundancy that would have been created by adding the name "Shakespeare" to the list, pertained to one of the other six poets on Peacham's list. However, the mountain of evidence in favor of Oxford accumulated since the 1920s and the *Minerva Britanna* emblem from Peacham's own hand, make such alternative arguments unconvincing.

Further evidence that Peacham had no second thoughts about the exclusion of Shakespeare is the fact that *The Complete Gentleman* was a national best seller as the preeminent guide for those in the higher social strata or for those aspiring to such rank. It was as well known as the *First Folio* because there were three other editions in 1627, 1634, and 1661. Peacham, who lived until 1643, had ample opportunity to correct the obvious absence of Shakespeare's name from the list of the greatest Elizabethan poets, if there had been a oversight on his part or a technical error by the printer of the first edition in 1622, but he never did. These facts provide powerful reinforcement of our argument that the real Shakespeare was already on the list, no doubt, Edward de Vere.

Summary and Conclusion

Given that Peacham is quite emphatic in *The Complete Gentleman* about characterizing the Elizabethan era and its most famous poets as a glorious period in the nation's history probably never to be equalled in the future, the deliberate exclusion of Shakespeare's name makes no sense unless Oxford and Shakespeare were one and same man. All the evidence presented and analyzed in this essay supports this inescapable conclusion.

Peacham's personal dilemma was that he could not really ignore the question of Shakespeare because he knew the Bard going back to 1590s and both he and his own publisher had to be aware of the folio project, to say nothing about the numerous quarto editions of the Bard's plays, *Venus and Adonis, The Rape of Lucrece*, and the *Sonnets.*

If Shakespeare really was a different person from any of the other names on Peacham's list, it would have been logical and rational for Peacham to include the Bard because again we know that he had to have known - as did Jonson and Drayton - who the Bard was. This step to include the name would have avoided any possible confusion in the reader's mind and not raise any questions about Peacham's competence as a literary expert, a reputation which he valued highly.

Certainly, if Shakespeare really was a separate person and the nation's greatest poet, then the temptation for Peacham *to exclude Oxford's name* instead would have been overwhelming. There can be no doubt that to include the name of a notorious Earl ran some risk of upsetting some within the particular branch of the Howard family given the wounds from the past. So, it would have been quite easy and even convenient for Peacham to drop Oxford, especially if he was really more or less a minor court poet.

Logic and the evidence (Oxford's inclusion) clearly indicate that Peacham's thought process came from the opposite perspective, namely, that Oxford's name absolutely needed to be on the new list as it had been on the one prepared in 1589 by Puttenham. We should observe that Peacham in the final analysis did not permit political factors to dictate his literary evaluations. For example, he praised in *The Complete Gentleman* both Bacon and John Selden (Peacham's close friend) as worthy models for any would-be gentleman, even though these two great lawyers and intellectuals were of different political persuasions and had served time in the Tower in 1622. Ironically, it was Southampton who spear-headed the successful impeachment of Bacon for bribery and corruption in April 1622, and then Selden who joined Southampton and Henry de Vere in the Tower in June 1622.

Despite this messy political landscape, Peacham did not allow this situation to cloud his judgment about contemporary literary figures and intellectuals. And this outlook informed his efforts to finesse the only real and tough question: namely, whether to add the name "Shakespeare" to his list of great poets, knowing the redundancy that such an inclusion would entail. Ultimately, he decided upon reflection to exclude the name "Shakespeare" which indicates

clearly that he knew and assumed others would know that Shakespeare was the penname for Oxford.

Thus, Peacham's final choice which represents *the least probable* among the four possibilities open to him, *if Oxford and Shakespeare were really different persons.* His choice to include Oxford and exclude Shakespeare confirms their identity and underscores Peacham's ability to finesse the awkward political situation in the early 1620s. Peacham could not risk stating "Oxford also known as Shakespeare" because this overkill ran the risk of upsetting the Howards, and also would have risked the anger of the King and Buckingham following their imprisonment of Southampton and Henry de Vere in June-July 1621 (which included Peacham's friend John Selden) and then the second imprisonment of Henry de Vere in mid-April 1622. Peacham's solution was to honor the true Bard by omitting the penname "Shakespeare" trusting that most educated or sophisticated readers would read Oxford's name and make the logical connection on their own, especially given that a large folio of his plays would be available within the next year or so.[15]

In contrast to Peacham, those in the Syndicate sponsoring *The First Folio* project faced a different dilemma. They were assembling the plays of the Bard already known by the Shakespeare penname, no doubt with the assistance of the Lord Chamberlain (Pembroke) and his brother (the Earl of Montgomery). These prominent Earls were brothers-in-law to Henry de Vere, and *The First Folio* was dedicated to them, i.e, "The Incomparable Paire". Placing Oxford's name on the title page was not a viable option for Pembroke and Montgomery (the son-in-law of Edward de Vere) because the pre-existing rationale for concealment (whatever it was) concerning the true author dating back three decades was still quite compelling and also because the political situation was most awkward given the King's imprisonments of Edward de Vere's son (Henry) and Southampton.

Thus, our conclusion that Oxford was Shakespeare rests on the inescapable correlation of crucial, solid pieces of evidence which include: Peacham's personal knowledge of and association with the real Shakespeare dating back to the 1590s, the emblem/anagram in *Minerva Britanna* (1612) signalling Oxford's need for concealment, Peacham's determination in 1622 to list the greatest Elizabethan poets, his simultaneous awareness and that of his own publisher (Francis Constable) concerning *The First Folio* project prior to the completion of *The Complete Gentleman*, Peacham's curious decision to list Oxford's name but not "Shakespeare", and lastly Peacham's acute awareness of the delicate situation involved in listing Oxford's name given the Howard family's sensitivities and the Court's ongoing vendetta in 1621-22 with Southampton and Henry De Vere, Oxford's son.

There is no longer any reason for anyone to have any doubt that Peacham knew that Edward de Vere and Shakespeare were one and the same man. What was true for Peacham in 1622 is also true today for us.

FOOTNOTES

1. It was actually Puttenham (not Meres) who ranked Oxford and Buckhurst as first respectively for Comedy and Tragedy. See George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, Cambridge University Press, 1936, pages 62-63.

2. Background information concerning the life and work of Henry Peacham was obtained from *The Dictionary of National Biography* (1895-96), Volume XV, pages 578-580; Robert Ralston Cawley, *Henry Peacham - His Contribution to English Poetry* (1971); and Alan R. Young, *Henry Peacham*, (1975).

3. The poems written by Peacham and John Selden were collected in *The Period of Mourning*, published in 1613.

4. Samuel Schoenbaum reproduced this drawing on pages 123-124 of his work, *William Shakespeare - A Documentary Life* (1975).

5 See Jonathan Bate, *Titus Andronicus*, The Arden Shakespeare, page 40. Bate makes a strong argument that while Peacham's signature is authentic, the date under his name has been mistakenly interpreted to be 1595, whereas 1605 is more probable.

6. See the map of Paul's Cross Churchyard on page 27 of Peter Blayney's *The First Folio of Shakespeare* (1991).

7. See Hinman, *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare*, 1963, pages 342-346.

8. Ibid., pages 28-29.

9. Cawley, op cite., page 10; Young, op cite., pages 27, 103, and footnote 56 on page 144.

10. Young, op cite., page 70. After settling in the Norwich area in 1615 as a schoolmaster, Peacham evidently was drawn toward the family of Thomas Howard, the Earl of Suffolk, because of this Lord's interest in fine art as well as literature.

11. See pages 311-314 for Astley-Cock's essay in "Oxfordian Vistas" the subtitle of a supplemental volume of essays attached to the 1975 reprint of Thomas Looney's *"Shakespeare" Identified*, originally published in 1920.

12. When Looney published his work in 1920 he did not have the benefit of

knowing about this anagram or the emblem in Peacham's *Minerva Britanna*, nor about the inclusion of Oxford in a list of great poets in *The Complete Gentleman*. Apparently, the first person who suspected the significance of this title page emblem in Peacham's work for the Shakespeare authorship debate was Eva Turner Clark sometime after 1930. She included it in her 1937 work as cited in this essay. In our refinement of the Clark/Astley-Cock analysis of Mente.Videbor(i), we had the benefit of comments from Roger Stritmatter of the University of Massachusetts (Amherst) and Professor William McCulloh of Kenyon College.

13. Peacham, *The Complete Gentleman*, 1622, pages 95-96.

14. Puttenham, op cit., page 61.

15. Peacham's predicament in 1621-1622 brings to mind that of Ben Jonson who felt compelled to make deletions/insertions in his famous folio for political reasons after the Overbury Murder scandal broke upon the country in late 1615. Although never really close to the pro-Catholic Howard faction, Jonson removed some material in their honor from the folio because the scandal badly damaged the Howard clique at Court and included poems in favor of the newly triumphant and staunchly Protestant faction associated with Herbert-Pembroke-Sidney family network.

APPENDIX:
Oxford's Literary Reputation in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Between Peacham's list in 1622 and Grosart's publication of some of Oxford's poems in 1872, there are six major commentators on him as a literary figure.

The first and only one (other than Peacham) known from the seventeenth century was Anthony Wood (1632-1690) who published the *Athenae Oxonienses* and *Fasti Oxonienses* in 1675. In these two compendia listing all the great writers educated at Oxford University, Wood reveals that his knowledge of Oxford as a famous court poet comes from his poems as they appeared in Richard Edward's *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* published in 1576, 1578, and eight more times thereafter. Wood describes Oxford as "an excellent poet and Comedian as several matters of his composition, which were made public, did shew, which I presume are now lost or worn out."[1] However, Wood closes with a list of the titles of several of Oxford's poems which appear in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576).

Wood in some fundamental sense was the creator of a surrogate literary reputation for Oxford to replace that which was hidden and which Peacham was not willing to divulge in 1622. His actions were in probability unintentional because there is no reason to believe, and no way at this point to know, that Wood ever knew the real truth about the name "Shakespeare". Wood was almost thirty years old when the fourth and final edition of Peacham's *The Complete Gentleman* appeared in 1661. And at this time, there was no written biographical material of any consequence or availability to the general public concerning the Stratford man.

At that moment, at the time of the Restoration and for few more decades, the name of "Shakespeare" was synonymous with the title page of the various editions of the folio of his plays. And there was little else for a reader to build up an image in his mind as to the real person behind the name, no matter who he was.

With regard to Oxford as the well-known Earl, two genealogists in the next century repeated almost verbatim Wood's observations about his literary talent, and that he was the first to introduce embroidered gloves and certain purfumes from Italy which impressed Queen Elizabeth. These genealogical experts on the British Peerage were Arthur Collins (1682?-1760) and Samuel Egerton Brydges (1763-1837). Collin's passages concerning Oxford can be found on page 265 of his *Historical Recollection of the Noble Families of Cavendish, Hollis, Vere, Harley and Ogle*, 1752.[2] A prominent publisher and expert on Elizabethan literature and poetry, Brydges in his *Memoirs of the Peers of England during the Reign of King James the First* (1802) makes four terse but emphatic references to "Edward de Vere, the Earl of Oxford, the poet."[3] In his prior work *Reflections on the late augmentation of the English Peerage* (1798), Brydges offers a detailed biographical sketch of Oxford which echoes Wood's description, stating that Oxford was "a celebrated poet, distinguished for his wit, adroitness in his exercises, and valour and zeal for his country".[4]

Brydges in his earlier work from 1798 revealed that in addition to Wood, he had two other sources of information about Oxford. The closest in time to Brydges was the classic three-volume work, *The History of English Poetry of Thomas Warton* (1726-1790). In volume one published in 1774, Warton makes passing references to the lists of famous poets, which included Oxford, that Meres' published in *Palladis Tamia* in 1598 and George Puttenham published in *The Arte of English Poesie* in 1589.[5] William Webbe's reference to Oxford in *A Discourse of Poetrie* (1586) is not given but Warton cites this book in other places.

Far more important than Warton is Brydges' reference to *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, With Lists of their Works* published in 1758 by Horace Walpole (1717-1797), the Fourth Earl of Oxford (second iteration). Son of the famous Prime Minister, Walpole was a high-regarded scholar who voiced only qualified praise of Shakespeare which upset others

who questioned this Earl's talent as a literary critic. Nonetheless, he was famous as the publisher who established the Strawberry Hill Press and was a major expert on English literature, like Warton with whom he had a great rivalry.

In a section devoted to Oxford in volume one of his work, Walpole cites *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* and initially repeats almost verbatim what could be found in Wood's prior work from 1675.[6] Along with Oxford's reputation as a poet, Walpole confirms that he was "reckoned as the Best writer of Comedy in his time" but adds that "the very names of all his plays are lost".

Nevertheless, Walpole offers his own unique perspective concerning Oxford a few pages later when he reveals his thought about the most important figures in English literature prior to 1600. He reveals his thinking in a section on another writer, Thomas Sackville (Lord of Buckhurst and the Earl of Dorset), the same author whose name follows Oxford's in Peacham's list in 1622. Walpole's comments are extraordinary because he refers to Shakespeare as well as Oxford and Buckhurst. The passage question is as follows:

> Tiptoft and Rivers set the example of bringing light from other countries, and patronized the art of printing, Caxton. The Earls of Oxford and Dorset struck out lights for Drama, without making the multitude laugh or weep at ridiculous representations of Scripture. To the former we owe Printing, to the two latter Taste — what do we not owe perhaps to the last of the four! Our historic plays are allowed to have been found on the heroic narratives in the *Mirrours for Magistrates*; to that plan, and to the boldness of Lord Buckhurst's new scenes perhaps we owe Shakespeare. Such debt to these four Lords, the probability of the last obligation, are sufficient to justify a *Catalogue of Noble Authors*.[7]

Walpole has clearly identified and highlighted two distinct pairs of aristocrats for their historical contribution to English drama and literature. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Tiptoft and Rivers were two Earls who introduced foreign literature and the art of printing into England in the second half of the fifteenth century. They were John Tiptoft, a Baron and also First Earl of Worcester; and Anthony Woodville, the Second Earl of Rivers.

Walpole then links Oxford and Sackville (Buckhurst-Dorset) as essentially as the fathers of English drama and he highlights the impact on Shakespeare of the latter's multivolume work *Mirrour for Magistrates* which first appeared in 1559. Walpole's selection and emphasis on Sackville was no doubt influenced by the fact that this Earl was famous as the co-author of the first English tragedy in blank verse, namely *Gorboduc* written in 1561.

Since Walpole, like Warton a decade or so later, refers to Shakespeare as a distinct person in this passage, we must conclude that he did *not* think that

Oxford and Shakespeare were the same man, even though the latter is never discussed with any specificity. The main reason for this omission of any detail about "Shakespeare" is that Walpole only wanted to write about authors of royal or noble blood.

Some Oxfordians might try to force an interpretation of the foregoing passage by arguing that since Burkhurst-Dorset preceded Oxford by a full decade or more, then Walpole is hinting that it is Oxford "as the real Shakespeare" who owed the great literary debt to Buckhurst. This interpretation is impossible to prove and in fact there is other evidence that Walpole assumed that the Stratford man was in fact Shakespeare.[8]

The final and an extraordinary detailed literary reference concerning Oxford (long overlooked) can be found *Bibliographica Poetica: A Catalogue of English Poets* (1802) by the literary critic, Joseph Ritson (1752-1803). The passage is worth quoting in full for the record:

> Vere Edward, earl of Oxford, the 14th (sic) of his surname and family, is the author of several poems printed in "The Paradise of Daintie Devices," 1576, etc. and in "Englands Helicon." One piece, by this nobleman, may be found in "The Phoenix nest," 1592, another is subjoin'd to "Astrophel & Stella," 1591, and another to "Brittons Bowre of Delights," 1597 (selected by mister Ellis). Some lines of his are, also, prefix'd to "Cardanuses Comforte," 1573. All or most of his compositions are distinguish'd by the signature E.O. He dye'd in 1604; and was bury'd at Hackney (not as Wood says, at Earls-Colne in Essex). Webbe and Puttenham applaud his attainments in poesy: Meres ranks him with the "best for comedy." Several specimens of Oxford's poetry occur in Englands Parnasus, 1600. In the posthumous edition of Lord Oxford's works, Vol. I. two poems, by the Earl of Oxford, are given from an ancient MS. miscellany: but the possessor is not pointed out. One of these is reprinted by mister Ellis.[9]

Ritson also reveals that Oxford's first wife (Ann Cecil) also wrote a few poems, a fact which he extracted from the last edition of Walpole's work cited above.[10] Walpole obtained his information concerning Lady Oxford from an article written by the famous Shakespeare expert and editor (George Steevens) in the *European Magazine*, issue dated June 1788.

In retrospect, it is clear that Anthony Wood (1675) largely provided the detail for the general perception of Oxford that carried down to Brydges and Ritson. The supposedly great commedies written by this Earl were lost to history, leaving us with a smattering of poems. Meanwhile, at least in the seventeenth-century, the Stratford man's identification as the real Shakespeare existed only in brief, scattered written accounts (Thomas Fuller in 1662, John

Aubrey in 1680, and Gerard Langbein in 1691). Prior to 1700, the name "Shakespeare" in the public mind was again almost exclusively associated with the works as found in the four folio editions of his plays.

The Bardolatry associated with the Stratford man is largely a phenomenon of the eigthteenth-century, though Irvin Matus in *Shakespeare In Fact* (1994) warns against Oxfordian attempts to push the emergence of this cult forward in time, specifically to David Garrick's sponsorship of the Jubilee in Stratford town in 1769. Matus points to the town's active interest in its famous son as early as 1746.[11] Matus is correct but unintentionally deflects attention from the Cult of Bardolatry promoted by the Drury Lane Theater under the leadership of Colley Cibber and his son, Theophilus, long before Garrick became an actor and co-manager of this theater in the 1740s.

It is intriguing to observe that in his *The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland* (1753) Theophilus Cibber (1703-1758) significantly expanded on the first serious biographical account of the Stratford man that Nicholas Rowe attached to his critical edition of the Bard's works in 1709.[12] At the same time, the younger Cibber who had been connected with the Drury Lane Theater, makes no mention of Oxford despite his prominence in the lists of well-known poets prepared by Webbe (1586), Puttenham (1589) Meres (1598) and Peacham (1623). Cibber explores the lives of more than 25 Elizabethan poets, but not Oxford. This exclusion may have been deliberate, though the similar absence of Dyer and Paget from the list may provide a rationale for Cibber because these poets' works, like those of Oxford, had been largely lost or never published. Nonetheless, Oxford becomes a non-person for those reading Cibber's work, whereas contemporaries such as Collins (1752), Walpole (1758), and Warton (1774) reiterate the high praise for the Earl found in the lists from a century or more earlier.

Whatever Theophilus Cibber's motives, it is hard to avoid the impression that Bardolatry was stimulated by Rowe's biographical essay in 1709 and intensified with the reopening of the old Theater Royal (renamed The Drury Lane Theater) in 1710-11 under the leadership of Colley Cibber. Thus, when Garrick joined this theater in the 1740s, the Bardolatry was well underway. For their part, however, the people of Stratford town remained relatively passive even after the Jubilee in 1769 and did not build and dedicate a local theater to their favorite son until 1870. Meanwhile, Oxford's literary reputation never died out completely, and was saved for posterity when Grosart collected some of his poems in 1872.

Endnotes for Appendix

1. The passages in Wood can be found in *Athenae Oxonienses*, column 152 and in *Fasti Oxonienses*, page 99, column 1.

2. Collins's was the only eighteenth-century work which cited Oxford as a significant poet known to Thomas Looney (the originator of the Oxfordian theory in the 1920s).

3. The references can be found on pages 2, 148, 494, and also in footnote at the bottom of page 163.

4. The biographical sketch can be found on pages 50-51.

5. Warton, *The History of English Poetry*, pages 242-244.

6. The passage concerning Oxford in Walpole's work can be found on page 144. We should note that Walpole might have cribbed this passage directly from Collins's work which had been published only six years earlier in 1752.

7. Walpole, *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England* (1758), page 144.

8. See Schoenbaum, Samuel. *Shakespeare's Lives*, 1993 edition, pages 203 and 339 which cite Walpole's belief that the Chandos portrait was "the only original picture of Shakespeare" and the Earl's offer shortly after the Stratford Jubilee in 1769 of 300 guineas for Shakespeare's skull.

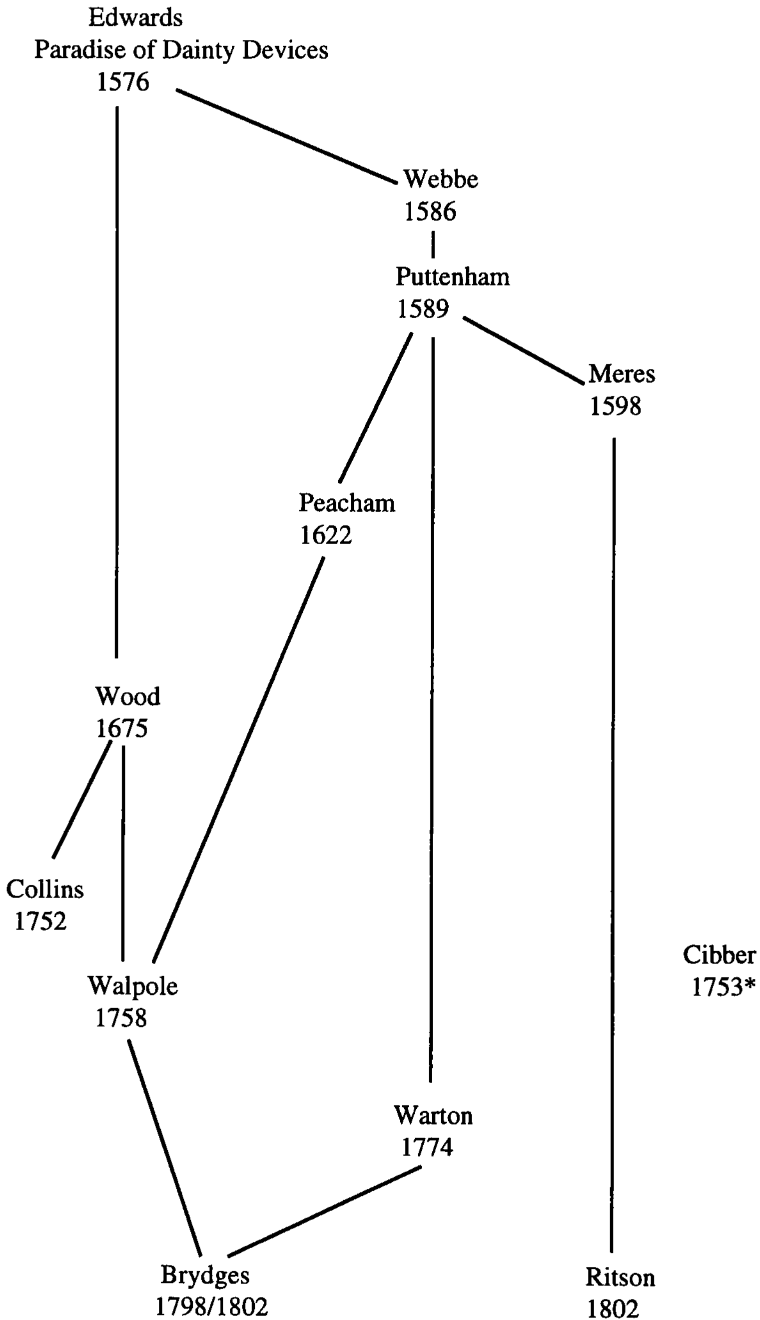
9. Ritson, *Bibliographica Poetica*, pages 381-382.

10. Ibid., page 380-381.

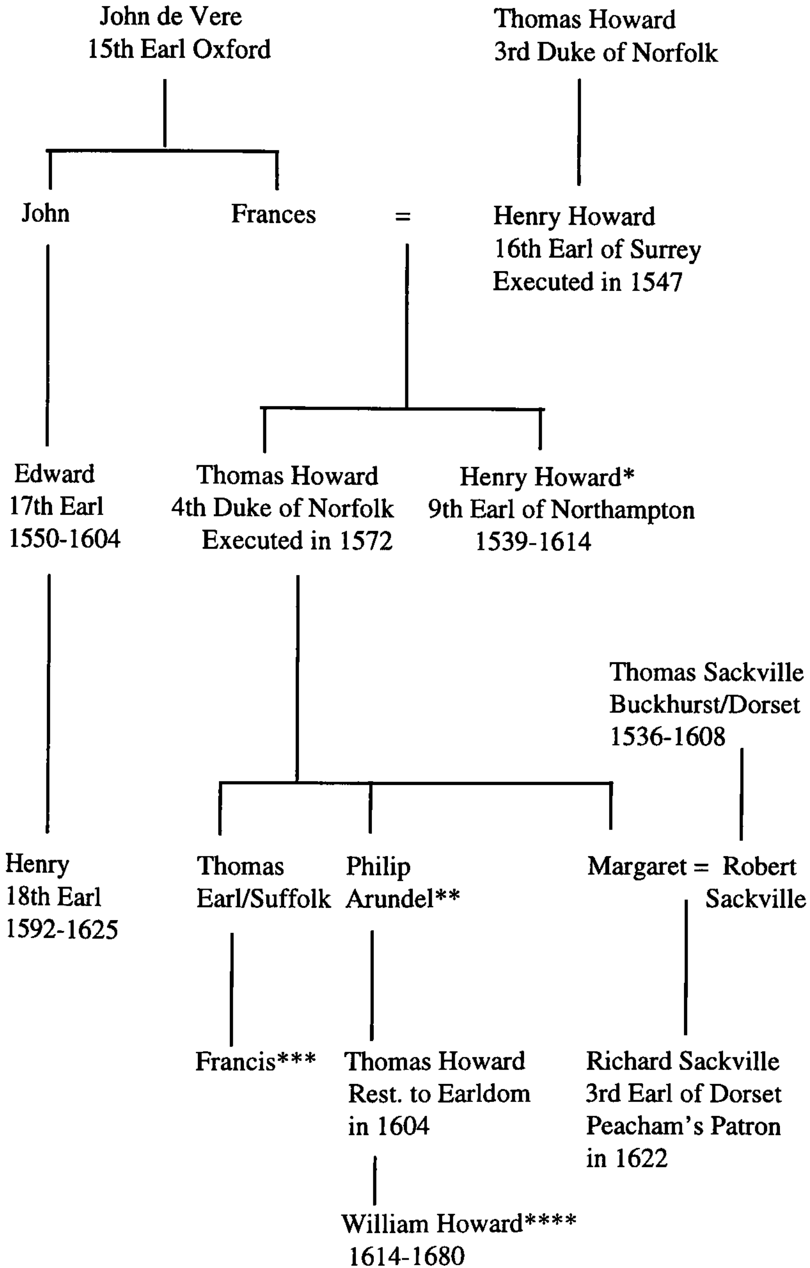
11. Matus, *Shakespeare In Fact*, 1994, page 201. Matus devotes his eighth chapter to the origins of Barolatry.

12. Rowe devotes forty pages to the Stratford man at the very beginning of the first volume of his seven volume critical edition of Shakespeare's works in 1709. Theophilus Cibber devotes more than 20 pages in his 1753 work.

History of Oxford's Literary Reputation



The Howard-Sackville-de Vere Connection



*	Bitter enemy of Edward de Vere and his family.
**	Died in Tower for his Catholicism in 1595.
***	Notorious for key role in Overbury Murder Scandal (1613-15).
****	Peacham dedicated The Complete Gentleman (1622) to him who later was executed for alleged role in Papist Plot (1678).

Notes

William Basse: Who Was He?

...thy grey muse grew up with older times,
And our deceased grandsires lisp'd the rhymes.
Ralph Bathurst on William Basse, 1651

Students of Shakespeare of all stripes are familiar with William Basse (or Bas) as the author of a poem in praise of Shakespeare. As Sidney Lee wrote in the *Dictionary of National Biography:*

> Basse is best known by his occasional verse, which has never been collected, and chiefly by his "Epitaph on Shakespeare." The poem is in the form of a sonnet, and was first attributed to to Donne, among whose poems it was printed in 1633. In the edition of Shakespeare's poems issued in 1640 it is subscribed "W.B.," and Ben Jonson makes a distinct reference to it in his poem on Shakespeare prefixed to the folio of 1623, which proves it to have been written before that date.

Lee is imprecise in his description of the poem as a sonnet. It in fact consists of sixteen lines of rhyming couplets:

Renowned Spenser lye a thought more nigh
To learned Chaucer and rare Beaumont lie
A little nearer Spenser to make room
For Shakespeare in your threefold, fourfold tomb.
To ledge all four in one bed make a shift
Until Domesday, for hardly will a fifth
Betwixt this day and that by fate be slain
For whom your curtain may be drawn again.
If your precedence in death doth bar
A fourth place in your sacred sepulchre,
Under this carved marble of thine own
Sleep, rare Tragedian Shakespeare, sleep alone:
Thy unmolested peace, unshared care
Possess as Lord, not Tenant, of thy grave

That unto us and others it may be
Honour hereafter to be laid by Thee.

Unlike most students of Shakespeare, Ruth Loyd Miller, in the second volume of her edition of J. Thomas Looney's *"Shakespeare" Identified,* looks into Basse's background. While his dates of birth and death remain unknown, Miller showed that Basse had been a servant, a retainer, of Francis, Lord Norris, later the Earl of Berkshire, and the husband of Bridget Vere, the second daughter of Edward de Vere, the seventeenth Earl of Oxford. Norris, a violent, troubled man and a likely model for Cornwall in Shakespeare's *King Lear,* died of self-inflicted wounds from a crossbow in 1623. Basse was later attached to the Wenman family of Oxforshire.

A manuscript collection of poems by Basse, *Polyhymnia,* bears the autograph of Francis, Lord Norris. The manscript is dedicated to by the author to Bridget. Scholars state this was the grand-daughter of Francis, the Countess of Lindsey; but as Miller shows, the dates render this identification of the dedicatee impossible. The collection was probably dedicated to Bridget Vere, the wife of Lord Norris and the daughter of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

There is at least one more slight connection between Basse and Shakespeare. Izaak Walton, in his *The Compleat Angler,* describes William Basse as the author of "choice songs," one of which is "Tom of Bedlam." There were many songs by various hands bearing this title, of course. But it is worth remarking that Basse is credited with a song associated with the character impersonated by Edgar in Shakespeare's *King Lear.* Basse first became active as a poet at about the time when *Lear* must have been written.

Basse's first verses date from 1602 and his "Urania," his last known work, is dated 1653. Nothing is known of his parentage or education. His poems are marked by simplicity and a love of the countryside. His "Angler's Song," quoted by Walton, begins with the plain but striking words: "As inward love breeds outward talk..." It seems likely that our knowledge of Shakespeare would expand if we could learn more about the mysterious man who wrote in praise of him as a "rare Tragedian," William Basse.

Warren Hope
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Book Reviews

Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars:
A New Gallery of Tudor and Early Stuart Rogue Literature

edited by Arthur F. Kinney; 18 illustrations by John Lawrence.
328 pp. $18.95, paper University of Massachusetts Press

Reviewed by John Mucci.
Mr. Mucci is Associate Editor of *The Elizabethan Review.*

On the endless road of popular culture, there has always been a genre of entertainment which supposedly reveals the mysteries of the underworld. Although whatever insight might be exposed, from the canting jargon to the details of a crime, accuracy seems to take a back seat to satisfying curiosity and a need for sensationalism.

Today, there are interesting things to be learned about ourselves by reading the peculiar genre of Elizabethan pamphleteering known as *rogue literature.* Popular with all levels of literate society, these slender books purported to set down the manner by which con artists of all types might abscond with decent peoples' money and goods. Ostensibly written as a public service, to warn and arm society against rogues of all types, in their fascinating variety, they are an Elizabethan version of mob stories, with curious and lurid detail. This interest with the underworld and the seamiest side of life is one which has obvious parallels in modern times, particularly with readers who are most threatened by and distanced from such criminals.

This so-called practical element of defending the populace against these all-too-prevalent creatures falls to second place against the pleasure of reading about others who have been hoodwinked by them (and better still, hearing the details about rogues who have been caught in the act and punished).

This book is a compilation of several rogue pamphlets published in England between 1552-1612, including some by the playwrights Robert Greene and Thomas Dekker. While specialists in Elizbethan literature are no doubt familiar with these works, they are generally little known, except by title or reputation (one might say the same thing about a book such as Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit,* which few have ever read full through). The plays of

Jonson, Dekker, and Greene certainly abound with characters such as appear exposed in these works; Shakespeare less often, although *A Winter's Tale*, *Henry IV*, and *King Lear* have overtones of roguery and vagabondage. [In the latest issue of The Elizabethan Review note the reference to one of these works, cited by Delia Bacon (ER, Spring 98)].

In the first pamphlet, *A Manifest Detection of Diceplay*, Gilbert Walker maintains that he is "disclosing the principal of practices of the cheaters' crafty faculty." These disclosures consist of anecdotes, which are among the most amusing in the book, even though written early (1552)— Viz. a bawd who was preparing a draught of ultra-astringent "sweet-water" to shrink the less-than-virginal cavity of an advertised "virgin," finds that her kitchen boy has mistakenly washed his face with it, and has become as puckered as a pickled prune, with barely any face visible.

From a philological standpoint, the vocabulary describing these types is varied and enormous. Many of the pamphlets collected in (a phrase apparently coined by Elizabeth, in a proclamation against them), detail nothing more than elaborate lists of what each brand of perpetrator is called, what their con-game is, and what lingo is peculiar to their kind. Some examples: Palliard, Whipjack, Kintchin-Cos, Hooker, Swigman, Jarkman, Tinkard, Curtal, Queerbird, Jacks of the Clock-House... it is heady stuff, musical and ironic, invented by desperate people who guarded their language to disarm their victims. A hooker, by the way, was someone who went about with a long staff, on the end of which was affixed an iron hook; he would pass by villages where laundry was airing or drying from upper stories, and remotely filch selected duds. It smacks of a quaintness which could only be Elizabethan, thought of as something so vile and wicked as to be punishable in the typically brutal manner of Elizabeth's time.

Some of the cant phrases and descriptors were invented by friars displaced from the monasteries closed by Henry VIII, and have a latinate flavor (Quaroms, Patrico, Autem-Mort); some were brought over from soldiers and sailors, who when their assignments were over, could find no other source of income than cozening to stay alive. But some of these terms are probably invented whole cloth by the pamphleteers, never to be used, or heard outside the pages of the book. After all, ever-changing slang and gutter jargon—then and now—refuses to be pinned down; words would be changed as soon as the jig were up. When John Awdley, in *The Fraternity of Vagabonds* (1561) lists such rogues as the Curry Favel—one who lies abed all day and curries his coverlets rather than his horse—the ring of truth seems subjugated to the need for a long list of colorfully-named perps, the burden of which seem dearly bought.

Thomas Harman's *A Caveat For Common Cursitors* (1566) not only has expanded definitions of these varied street-denizens (Swaddlers, Dummerers, Doxies, Demanders-for-Glimmer), but goes so far as to classify and name actual persons living in Middlesex County at the time. "*Upright Men: Harry*

Smith. He driveleth when he speaketh.Thomas Gray: His toes be gone." He completes this Baedeker of baseness with a glossary of terms and a sort of Berlitz dialogue: Rogue: "She hath a Cackling-cheat, a grunting-cheat, ruff-peck, cassan, and poplar of yarrum." [Meaning:] "She hath a hen, a pig, bacon, cheese & milk porridge."

Linguistically, Harman's introductory essay to the reader holds one of those odd mirrors to the times, which spring up now and then in unlikely places. Under the guise of proving his honesty in the pamphlet to follow, he writes:

> I thought it necessary, at this second impression, to acquaint thee with a great fault... calling these vagabonds *cursitors* in the entitling of my book, as runners or rangers... derived of this Latin word *curro*. Neither do I write it cooresetores with a double oo, or cowresetors, with a w, which hath another signification.

His fussiness over spelling (in 1566, mind) is apposite to those who insist that Elizabethan orthography was haphazard and devoid of rules. Looking at the title page (typographically reproduced in the notes), we see

A Caueat
FOR COMMEN CVR
SETORS VVLGARELY CALLED
Vagabones...

— what are we to make of that immediate contradiction? (It is further complicated by the Stationer's Register calling it a "Cavaiat for commen Torsetors" and our editor referring to it as "Common Curstors")—but Harman's text goes on further:

> Is there no diversity between a gardein and a garden, maynteynaunce and maintenance, streytes and stretes? Those that have understanding know there is a great difference.

Although one has the feeling Harman is talking about an ideal which could be seldom attained in his day, his protestations against mis-readings and sloppy spelling is worth reading in its entirety. At the end of his life (1591-2), Robert Greene published *A Notable Discovery of Cozenage* and *The Black Book's Messenger*, both of which pessimistically portray life in London to be frought with all sorts of characters out to swindle at every turn. It is a great comedy in the guise of cautionary tales, divided into "The Art of Cony Catching" and "The Art of Crosbiting," both of which are so minutely examined that the descriptions become more than the "how-to's" seen in the previous works, they have become playlets. The descriptions contain dialogue, action cues, characterizations, and complex motives, as thorough as in any of Greene's theater works.

As the genre hit its stride and began to decline, Thomas Dekker's work in *Lanthorne and Candle-Light* (1608) displays much the same attributes as other cony-catching pamphlets, yet Dekker seems more in control of his material. He too, has comprehensive descriptions of the same types we have read about before, but he drops them for more easily-readable terms, and organizes his material in a more popular manner. He calls the various predators and victims by more common names, making his enumerated encounters almost allegorical. Thus we hear of not only conies being caught, but the warrens in which they live, and ferrets who root them out. We hear of falconers and concomittant falconry images: casting lures and bait, Tercel-Gentles, anglers with jades, and such material so rich in metaphor, it nearly out-lingoes the rogues themselves.

Dekker also makes use of familiar plays to draw comparisons, everything from Doctor Doddypol to *Hamlet.* It is a novel approach, one which causes the material to be more accessible to a mass audience. In context with the rest of the collection, it is evident that the rogue genre has branched onto paths which intersect with the highways of the commonplace; where the anecdotes become diluted into everyday speech and literature.

The remaining selection, Samuel Rid's *The Art of Juggling*, seems pale in comparison, and is literally a handbook on magic tricks; no longer shocking, no longer challenging in its language, it is flat and derivative. The road fans out and disappears.

These reprints are carefully collated and selected by Arthur Kinney with an eye toward showing the progression in style with a minimum of intrusion in the body of the work. However, this is despite an introduction which is inexplicably heavy-handed, with notes glossing the obvious, giving an alarming impression of the editor. One sample of a dozen suffices in his giving an authentic Elizabethan quote:

> ..men that are abroade se[e]kinge the spoile and confusion of land are able, if they weare [were] reduced to good subjeccion [subjection] to give the greatest enimie [enemy] her Majestie hath a stronge battell [battle]; And as they ar[e] nowe they are so mych [much] strength...

Indeed, this is commenting on sand in the desert. However, in the bulk of the text Mr.Kinney updates the spelling (and why not do that in the introduction—spare the reader these overelucidations), and we are generally free from his fussy explications. One which persists, however, is his expansion of "I[n] th[e]" —an Elizabethan locution if there ever was one, typographically spoiled by pedanticism.

His footnotes are thorough, if bewildering. Tyburn, for example, is glossed no fewer than four times in the text, and not always in the same way. Later, the footnotes inexplicably jump from number 64 to 67. The two missing notes make their appearance later on, and we are treated also to 61a, 61b, and 81a.

Surely in a reprint, there is the opportunity to sort such tangles out. There is no need to strew such a scholarly path with brambles.

Appendix:
Full text of Harman's Epistle to the Reader

Although, good reader, I write in plain terms, and not so plainly as truly concerning the matter, meaning honestly to all men, and wish them as much good as to mine own heart, yet as there hath been, so there is now, and hereafter will be, curious heads to find faults. Wherefore I thought it necessary, now at this second impression, to acquaint thee with a great fault, as some taketh it, but none as I mean it, calling these vagabonds cursitors in the entitling of my book, as runners or rangers about the country, derived of this Latin word *curro*. Neither do I write it cooresetores, with a double oo, or cowresetors, with a w, which hath another signification. Is there no diversity between a gardein and a garden, maynteynaunce and maintenance, streytes and stretes? Those that have understanding know there is a great difference.

Who is so ignorant by these days as knoweth not the meaning of a vagabond? And if an idle loiterer should be called of any man, would not he think it both odious and reproachful? Will he not shun the name? Yea, and whereas he may dare, with bent brows will revenge that name of ignominy. Yet this plain name vagabond is derived, as other be, of Latin words, and now use makes it common to all men. But let us look back four hundred years sithence, and let us see whether this plain word vagabond was used or no. I believe not. And why? Because I read of no such name in the old statues of this realm, unless it be in the margin of the book, or in the Table, which in the collection and printing was set in. But these were then the common names of these lewd loiterers: faitours, Roberdsmen, draw-latches, and valiant beggars. If I should have used such words, or the same order of writing as this realm used in King Henry the Third or Edward the First's time, Oh, what a gross barbarous fellow have we here! His writing is both homely and dark, that we had need to have an interpreter. Yet then it was very well, and in short season a great change we see. Well, this delicate age shall have his time on the other side. Eloquence have I none; I never was acquainted with the Muses; I never tasted Helicon. But according to my plain order, I have set forth this work simply and truly, with such usual words anf terms as is among us well known and frequented. So that, as the proverb saith, "Although truth blamed, it shall never be shamed." Well, good reader, I mean not to be tedious unto thee, but have added five or six more tales, because some of them were done while my book was first in the press. And as I trust I have deserved no rebuke for my good will, even so I desire no praise for my pain, cost, and travail. But faithfully for the profit and benefit of my country I have done it, that the whole body of the realm may see and understand their

lewd life and pernicious practices, that all may speedily help to amend that is amiss. Amen, say all, with me.

Finis.

De Vere is Shakespeare: Evidence from the biography and wordplay. by Dennis Baron

Cambridge & New York: Oleander Press, 1997.

Reviewed by Peter Morton
School of English and Drama, Flinders University of South Australia

Say what you will about the supporters of the Earl of Oxford as the true Shakespeare, they are certainly industrious people who produce big, fat books. You wouldn't want to drop the Ogburns' *This Star of England* (1270 pp) or *The Mysterious William Shakespeare* (800+pp) on your toe. Sobran's recent *Alias Shakespeare* is a substantial tome too. Even a fictive autobiography of Oxford, The Lost Chronicle of Edward de Vere by Andrew Field, runs to 260pp in the Penguin edition. It is something of a relief, then, to open Dennis Baron's slim paperback, which takes a mere 130 pages to promote the cause of Edward de Vere, the 17th Earl. And what's more, it promotes him from an unorthodox and striking angle—though striking in not quite the way the author perhaps hoped for.

Despite the sub-title of his book, Baron actually wastes very little time on the biographical and chronological conundrums which have so exercised the Ogburns, Sobran and other defenders. Probably the most critical difficulty with the Oxford attribution, as with any of the Shakespeare claimants, is just why the secret should have been preserved inviolate into Jacobean and Stuart times, decades after the only people with any conceivable reason to keep it were in their graves. The sheer implausibility of this, among a pack of ex-courtiers and garrulous old theatrical folk who surely relished a tasty bit of literary gossip just as much as their counterparts do today, troubles Baron not a whit: the secret, he says airily, "gradually, with each succeeding generation" was simply forgotten.

Baron's case is simply that extensive wordplay in the texts reveals the name of their true author. We are not talking here about ciphers. Once popular among the Baconians, ciphers seem to have gone rather out of fashion since professional cryptographers, using the same codes, managed to extract the

names of unlikely authors, such as Donald Duck, from the Collected Works. No, Baron's case relies on a much simpler kind of wordplay. He argues that Oxford, forbidden by the Elizabethan Establishment from putting his name to the plays, built into the texts puns on the components of his name—chiefly the 'de Vere' part, but also his family motto "Vero Nihil Verius"—in order to assert his authorship to his own and future generations. "He used," says Baron, "every word that he could find that would tell his name". Not a difficult matter, one might think, to pun on a name of four letters, of which two are the most common vowel in English.

But wait; if we are talking about name puns, isn't it one of the very few relatively uncontested facts about the Sonnets that the author puns unambiguously on his first name? And that name isn't "Ned", is it?:

> Whoever hath her wish, thou hast thy will
> And will to boot, and will in overplus;

No problem here, says Baron. "Will" is actually a pun on the Latin 'aVERE', to desire. And if you are so hardened a skeptic that that doesn't convince you, then surely you will grant that "probably" Edward de Vere was known "among his literary and theatrical friends" by the nickname "Will". Of course: silly not to have thought of that.

Baron tells us that his quest began when he noticed that "Shakespeare uses the words 'true' and 'truth' very often"; indeed, "far more often than necessary" (whatever that may mean). Clearly the real author was punning each time on the Latin 'vere', 'verus' to assert his identity. But Baron isn't satisfied with that; he decides that the syllable 'vir' (L. 'man') can be pressed into service too, on the grounds that it is pronounced the same as 'Vere'. That captures dozens more words for punning service: 'virgin', 'virago' and 'orchard' (L. 'viridarium')--just think how many scenes are set in an orchard, says Baron confidently. And even that is not enough. Just 'via' will do, apparently; so every mention of 'street', 'road' or 'way' shouts out 'Vere' via 'via'. Then there's 'rain' ('pluvia'), 'inconstant' ('devia'), and dozens, perhaps hundreds, of others.

But why limit oneself to the pun(n)y possibilities of English and Latin alone? James Joyce went further, much further; and, anticipating him, Oxford, who spoke several languages (but do we actually know how many, and which ones?), took the same path—at least, according to Baron. Oxford's procedure was, we are told, was to take "foreign words that were puns on his name and, after translating them into English, [to use] them throughout the plays". Allowing multilingual puns from Spanish, Italian, French and Old English opens up an inexhaustible vein, especially if you take notice, as Baron does, only of the form of the word that contains the magic letters, ignoring the inflected form required by the sentence. There are hundreds of Latin verbs of the '≠ere' conjugation, and quite a few have an infinitive ending in '≠vere'.

Then there's 'blood' from 'vermeil' (O. Fr.), 'fire' from 'vire' (O.E). . . . The possibilities are almost endless as Baron, armed with a swag of foreign dictionaries, goes haring off down the echoing corridors of assonance.

How does all this work out in practice? Well, let's turn to Sonnet VI, where Oxford admonishes the Fair Youth:

> Be not self-willed, for thou art much too fair
> To be death's conquest and make worms [F. "ver"] thy heir

Since every self-respecting Oxfordian knows that the Fair Youth was Southampton, and Oxford's son by the Queen herself, clearly the fond father is encouraging his son to marry, lest 'vers' (clearly de Vere senior) turns out to be the sole 'heir' the son will leave behind him. What could be plainer? Well, actually, I made that one up. Because, inexplicably, Baron doesn't mention any wordplay on the very obvious French 'ver'. Perhaps he thought the 'Oxford as maggot' pun doesn't quite strike the note he wanted.

In fact, though, my imaginary example is just as good—indeed, it's a lot better— than some of the excruciating puns Baron does insist are present. Because what Baron is asking us to believe is this. Every time the Shakespeare texts mention 'glass' (F. 'verre'); or 'summer' (Sp. 'verano'); every time we hear a 'nothing', a 'nevertheless' or a 'yet' (all forms of L. 'nihil'); every 'shame' (L. 'verecundus'); every 'fast horse' (L. 'veredus'); and, not least of course, every 'never' and every 'every': all of these cunning words, for four hundred years, have been shrieking out the authorship of Oxford without anyone's noticing. Only now is the secret out at last.

But wait, there's more. Wherever any one of the -ver-, -vir- or even v-words is to be found with a nothing/nihil word nearby, Baron calls this conjunction a "motto pun". There are said to be between 26 and 40 of them in every one of the plays, a figure which Baron finds deeply impressive; in fact, it pretty well wraps the argument up, as far as he is concerned.

It doesn't seem to have occurred to Baron that, if his case is good, then to Oxford's already rather sullied reputation we must add the charge of his having been the most boringly egotistical writer who ever lived. For who were these puns intended for? Clearly not for the groundlings, who, simple souls, thought that when Mercutio says of his sexually fatigued friend Romeo that he has come "without his roe" they were only being offered a neat dirty joke. Clearly only an aristocratic audience, one which was already in the know, could be expected to spot the pun that Romeo without his "Ro" leaves "me-O" ["Me Oxford"]. Well, don't groan: it's ingenious, at least. But why should that same audience, or any future audience, need up to two thousand maddeningly repetitive puns on the author's name in a single play (Baron's own figure), and few of them clever and most of them horribly forced? Isn't that rather--how shall I put it?--over-egging the pudding? Baron's only explanation for this is that it was

"a kind of joke" between Oxford and the informed members of his audience. If so, then it was a joke that must have worn very thin after some 50,000 name puns contained in the whole dramatic works (again, Baron's own figure). In fact, Baron seems to be saying that the plays were actually written around the puns: "every scene in every play, every episode, every twist and turn of the plot was constructed from these hidden puns . . . in fact almost every single sentence was constructed from at least one of these hidden puns". So let's get this straight: these plays exist in the precisely the form they do--right down to the structure of their constituent sentences--only because their author was proud enough of them to want to immortalise his name over and over again in them? Isn't there a rather tight vicious circle in this logic?

Nor does Baron stop there. He is not content to secure only the Shakespeare canon for his man. It would give most pun-hunters pause when they discovered that plays by Marlowe, Lyly and Kyd all contain surprising numbers of Vere-style motto puns. There are said to be thirty in *Doctor Faustus* alone. But not Baron. Do those authors' plays too have a surprising number of 'trues' and 'verilys' in them? Well, then, the conclusion is obvious: Oxford in the 1580s was an even busier man than we had thought.

Actually, his pen was busy much earlier than that. For there is incontrovertible evidence, says our author, that Oxford wrote not only *Romeo and Juliet,* but the source poem as well, which ingenuous critics, foolishly beguiled by the abbreviated "Ar. Br." on the title page, have given to Arthur Brooke. The fact that Brooke's *Tragicall Historye* appeared when the Earl was twelve years old merely proves he was the most precocious of authors. I'll spare you the series of tormented puns centred on 'brook', 'oxen' and 'ford' which leads to this inescapable conclusion. . . .

Enough! As Dr Johnson said about the plot of another work from the pen of the Stratford boor, *Cymbeline*, it is useless to criticise "unresisting imbecility". This little book, tissue of absurdities though it is, raises an interesting question. It's hard to imagine how any serious, sincere Oxfordian wouldn't want to put aside *De Vere is Shakespeare* with raised eyebrows and an embarrassed shrug. And yet it comes with an approving introduction from Christopher Dams of the British De Vere Society. Can the Oxford claimants really be quite so desperate as that for new allies?

Music Reviews

The Food of Love:
Words & Music for Shakespeare's Theatre

The Gesualdo Consort
Cantoris CD (CRCD6017) £ 13.

Cantoris Records, Exchequer Gate, Lincoln LN2 1PZ, UK
cantoris@compuserve.com

It is difficult to find good recordings of Elizabethan music pertaining to the stage, one problem being that there simply are so few authentic numbers which can be ascribed to such a specific genre, that all recordings available cover the same ground. According to several scholars, "there are only three authentic songs written and published in Shakespeare's day using Shakespeare's lyrics." Those boundaries can be expanded in several directions depending how one defines them.

The premise of this collection by the Gesualdo Consort from Britain is music "for Shakespeare's Theatre," and contains the usual passel of songs found in previous collections--numbers by Morley ("O Mistress Mine," "It was a Lover [and His Lass]") and Robert Johnson ("Where the Bee Sucks," "Full Fathom Five"), which are rendered competently by singers in a mixed quintet, arranged by Alison Place, the mezzo of the group. The rest of this 75 minute CD is taken with dramatic readings of lyrics for which no contemporaneous setting exists, and music tangentially related to the Shakespeare plays--the title of a song is mentioned in passing by a character, for example.

The musical numbers range from two versions of "Fortune my Foe" (mentioned in *Merry Wives of Windsor*) sung by a quartet and played on the lute, to "Since Robin Hood," sung by a trio, and several solo numbers, including "Sweet Robin," and "Take O Take Those Lips," making the singing portion a most eclectic offering. Furthermore, the solid dramatic readings by British actor John Collins are sometimes underscored by lutenist Dorothy Linell, who is the accompanist in some songs, and in other tracks plays solo. Additional actors and instrumentalists are heard, but are uncredited in the notes. The selections are well sung, with a preponderance of female voices, which is just

as well, as they are the better singers in the small consort, providing a certain ethereal lightness to what amounts to a thick antiphonal sound the part-songs.

It is unfortunate that the tempos in the performances seem consistently to plod, with so many sprightly numbers, taken cautiously, without much contrast or verve. Even an unquestionably uptempo dance as "Kemp's Jig" is given a leaden aspect, and might better be called "Kemp's Pavane." The addition of percussion of any sort would have been welcome. In this version of "La Volta," a dance dear to the feet of Elizabeth herself (known to leap wildly as the title suggests), the Queen would have found this arrangement strictly earth-bound. The most uplifting number of the set is Morley's "It was a Lover," sung by Nicola Kent, which adverts the quality of which the consort is capable, sweetly in tune, sung with great enthusiasm.

An enormous surprise is the first cut, "Were I a King," sung by the full quintet *a capella*, from the poem "by the poet and courtier, Edward de Vere." Since the music is by John Mundy, who was mainly a composer of religious works, it is an unusual, one might say almost unknown piece until now, and would have merited a fuller discussion in the notes. The performance of it, as mentioned above, is stately to the point of being lugubrious, but it is a piece the provenance of which remains most mysterious. One's curiosity is whetted with such an offering as "Were I a King," which Mr. Place says is "de Vere ... providing another substantial part song" when we know there has to be so much more to it than that.

The music is pretty enough on this CD, and will satisfy anyone who wishes to hear lovely, if not exciting, Elizabethan music; the only real fault seems to lie in the liner notes which are maddeningly insubstantial. The song-titles are often brief and truncated simply because not enough space was set aside for them in the disappointing notes enclosed with the CD. The two CD-size pages of notes by Gerald Place (tenor of the group) are concise, yet imprecise. We are told this is music "written in Shakespeare's lifetime," yet those boundaries are difficult to assess and easily breached ("Greensleeves," "The Willow Song"), since many musicologists are not in agreement as to when certain numbers were written, just as scholars have not indisputably dated Shakespeare's plays. The question comes down to, 'just what are we listening to?' Obviously Gesualdo Consort have researched the period and decided to include or exclude certain items, but from a scholarly standpoint, the line between what is 'authentic' and convenient is blurred.

Indeed, the tie-in to Shakespeare is so delicate at times, one wishes they had dropped the premise entirely; after all, to have a four-part song of "Weep you no More" as supposed to be sung by Lucius in *Julius Cæsar* is stretching one's credulity to near maximum. Nonetheless, we can hope that in the future the consort will regale us with much more of the same, perhaps improved with more variety and documentation.

Postscript to the Tudor Rose Theory

To begin, we regret the omission of the names of Dr. Paul Nelson and Mrs. Isabel Holden who discovered the De Vere Geneva Bible. They should have received honor in each and every discussion but it has seldom been done. John Michel will include them in any future editions of *Who Wrote Shakespeare*?

The failure of the Tudor Rose theorists addressed in my recent monograph (ER, 6:1) to challenge one single point of fact speaks for itself. They knew long before the annual conferenece of the Shakespeare Oxford Society that it was to be shortly published in this journal.

However, having found a factual error and several typos (the author's responsibility), I would also like to expand on some useful research that was of necessity cut from the original copy:

P. 10, par. 1, line 16, for "known textual sources" read "existing printed sources."

P. 14, par. 1, lines 10-11, read "by many senior Stratfordians, perhaps most importantly J.W. Mackail in *Approach to Shakespeare* (1930, p. 114)." Every reader of this journal should consult the extensive documentation from the *Hackney Spectator* (London), September 5 and 12, 1924. Summaries appeared for the first and only time since in the Miller edition of *"Shakespeare" Identified* (1975), pp. 218-223 with much more. Hall, who tried to cultivate Oxford's patronage as early as 1579, had a ready guide to any manuscripts left at King's Place in the person of his cousin and vicious fellow spy, Oxford's former secretary, Anthony Munday.

In the best interests of accurate Elizabethan scholarship, the entire run of inaccessible Shakespeare Fellowship proceedings (*Hackney Spectator*, 1922-1928, *Shakespeare Pictorial*, Stratford-on-Avon, 1929-1937) should be assembled in one volume as quickly as possible. If the Ogburns had had them in the early days we would all have been spared the embarassment of the Tudor Rose theory.

P. 25, par. 1, lines 18-19, read "Looney's lengthy endorsement of Barrell (April 1944) preceeded Mrs. Ogburn's appearance on the scene by a mere eight months. It is incredible that the Ogburns never knew of it."

P. 30, par. 3, line 28, "Oxford's *preference* for the Greek Orthodox Rite." This information and much else comes from the interogation of Oxford's former page Angelo by the Italian Inquisition. The predominantly neo-Oxfordian Internet bulletin board, Phaethon, distributes a comprehensive trnnslation; but monitor Nina Green struck a blow against

sound scholarship with her astonishing claim that this, at latest, seventh century rite was "much closer to the Protestant in the sixteenth century."

P. 33, par. 1, line 8, read Dr. Eric *Dingwall.*

P. 34, par. 1, line 8, Anthony Bacon's highly evidential passport is now catalogued in the British Library and has recently been moved to King's Cross.

P. 36, par. 1, line 18-22, Strike any quotation marks from A. E. Waite's magic words. This almost quote is an in-joke for two or three genuine Tarot specialists in the event they should happen on them here or there.

P. 41, par. 1, line 13, The gracious and exuberant Sophie Jacobs held literary court on *Golder's* Green. She also had some important things (via the Dowdens) to say about Shakespearean Sonnet 121 which Percy Allen missed, but I am very far from my references.

Some additional thoughts: the strictures against the neo-Oxfordians were directed only against those who knew or, unless blinded by passion, should have known that they were dealing in historical claptrap. If, say, better evidence exists in Dorothy Ogburn's manuscript at Emory University or in the missing Allen pamphlet, to go no further, they must be dealt with fairly in their turn; but I informed several prominent neo-Oxfordians of the existence of those papers in 1993. Charlton Ogburn Jr. told me that he held a poor carbon of his of his mother's manuscript. The fact that no one adduced it indicates that it did not clarify the confusions of the first book.

Any theoretician who attempts to yet again bring back the Tudor Rose on a more satisfactory basis must first admit that a) the entire structure, metaphors included, was lifted in total from previous neo-Baconian texts, b) that in lifting that structure the originally viable historical correlations were completely destroyed , c) that any attempt to find a satisfactory alternative birth date for an illogically postulated Oxford-Elizabeth heir will widen the age gap with the Southampton heir. All told, neo-Oxfordians would be better served by becoming neo-Baconians, if the now affable and long socially acclimated neo-Baconians have any use for such wild men.

P. 24-26 and notes 47-51. We finally obtained the Ward-Allen *An Enquiry*: 1) The title page may be undated but the noted on page 5 clearly gives the publication as Spring-Summer 1936; yet despite this, the Ogburns, who never read the pamphlet accurately, and their supporters, who never read it at all, continued for fifty years to portray their founder, Captain Ward, *fils*, as a late convert to his own theory.

2) It likewise develops that while the Ogburns took over Ward's now impossible chronology, they worsened the situation by turning Ward-Allen's conception date into the delivery date.

3) By 1936, Ward and Allen had so far declined as historians that they

believe Anne Vavsour was named Frances. So much for their pioneering work of 1931 (pp 14-15).

4) It is Allen's teenaged son John who discovered the plausible correlations between *Wilobie His Avisa* and Chapman's *An Humorous Day's Mirth,* which are ignored by the Ogburns. Regrettably, the name Avisa is not mentioned in the Chapman text, as an oral report led me to believe.

The only way to save the Ogburns' integrity as critics in the light of these further examples of historical misusage—and there can be no question of the integrity—is to move the date of their "discovery" of the Tudor Rose theory from 1945-46 to late 1949-50 and their discovery that they had been preceded by Ward and Allen, actually eighteen years earlier, to 1950-51 very late into their third and final draft. They quickly forgot or never bothered to assimilate the three 1944-46 texts that should have informed them of their situation. It was only at the end that they got around to briefly borrowing the 1936 pamphlet and perhaps spending an hour transcribing the misleading documentation it contained. The quotes from the second, still-missing Allen pamphlet of 1943 are second-hand from a correspondent (probably Allen himself) and *Talks With Elizabethans* was assimiliated at some unknown period between 1952 and 1967 when Dorothy quoted it with buoyancy.

Most of the faults of *This Star of England* are simply examples too much, too soon; in the case of the Tudor Rose theory, it was too little, too late.

P. 34, note 5, Peter Moore preceeded us on Adon in an almost unobtainable issue of the *SOS Newsletter* from the late 1980s, which reference we currently lack. He proceeds from Mrs. Stopes (MLR, 1921) and the basic text and, on this basis, remains uncertain as to the original identification. He is apparently unaware of Barrell (as I was unware of Moore), does not discuss the original Dowden article, and, of course, does not know of the Schine-Hester Dowden exchange, or Mrs. Stopes radical shift of position (*Third Earl of Southampton,* p. 61) where she identifies Southampton as Adon, followed and tellingly elaborated by Alden Brooks (*Will Shakspere and the Dyer's Hand,* pp. 109-110). On the basis of the additional information, I have no hesitation in positively identifying Oxford as, in Edwards opinion, the author of *Venus and Adonis,* and Southampton as Narcissus but certainly not the author. As Mr. Moore is one of the most able of anti-Stratfordians, his criticism will be welcome. This, to our knowledge, is a complete list of Adon commentaries to date.

The ultimate source for the Queen making love to the Earl of Oxford, who would not fall in, is Christopher Marlowe's fellow counterfeiter, John Poole, the younger, of whom a good account is given in Charles Nichols' *A Cup of News* (1984, pp. 194-96). Poole was hardly in a position to know, but this lately

revived (1587) scandal of the early 1570's would further identify Oxford as Adon to contemporary readers.

P. 35, note 9, lines 7-8, Attorney and historian Patrick Devinney writes me from New York that Dr. Orville Owen did receive a carte blanche charter from the Occultist and still influential French Lodge of Memphis and Mizraim. This is the same lodge to which I previously referred. Was Dr. Prescott, Owen's financial sponsor, ignorant of the ultimate source of both his and Owen's inspiration? In this case, we would have a parallel to the Dodd situation; Prescott would have been very impressed with two sources thousands of miles apart (but readily identical) coming up with similar cryptological techniques.

P. 43, note 58, Another expert Mason, Roderick Eagle, exposed the non-existent Kay cipher as described in my article. He also identified the source of the chaos as one Clifton (a close colleague of Dr. Wescott) who has, probably, even more for which to answer than the Woodward brothers.

Appendix II - Ms. Hughes, whom we criticized somewhat stringently, has withdrawn her claim that Robert Greene never existed as did her mentor, Parker Woodward, in *Baconiana*, Spring 1916. Mr. Woodward, however, went on to prove the non-existence of Parliament member John Lyly and Thomas Watson, since so well documented by Mark Eccles. In all fairness, Ms. Hughes now openly rejects the Tudor Rose theory.

Her answer to our query, "Is Edmund Spenser and the impersonations of Edward de Vere to follow shortly?" is a resounding yes. We appreciate such prompt responses from our readers. The source, this time, is E.G. Harmon (1914 and 1924), a genuine intellectual and isolated maverick. Unless 75 years of additional scholarship are brought into play, *caveat emptor*.

P. 30. The Du Bartas-De Vere connection is rendered highly dubious by Derran Charlton and Andrew Hannas's independent discoveries that the *Dictionary of National Biography* attributes the disputed poem to Edward Lapworth, a well known academic of Oxford. Be that as it may, Charlton's communication, dated March 15, 1998, was neither printed nor acknowedged by the SOS editors. If Andrew Hannas, who made translations from the Latin for the original article, had not intervened, the SOS readership would never have learned of the alternative and, as of now, official point of view. Similar, but by no means unique, examples are cited on pp. 10 and 37. Under these ever declining standards, is it any wonder that the current President recently announced that six members are leaving for every five novices entering the Society.

Roger Nyle Parisious