Journal of Scientific Exploration
Anomalistics and Frontier Science

ESSAY

The Queen's Favorite Unknown Dramatist: Were There Other Royal Plays By Shakespeare? A Research Inquiry

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SUBMITTED January 30, 2022
ACCEPTED March 24, 2023
PUBLISHED June 30, 2023

https://doi.org/10.31275/20233113

HIGHLIGHTS

Shakespeare's plays might be misdated; research suggests that many were written for production in the court of Queen Elizabeth I, 20 or more years earlier than traditionally assumed and a time when the Stratford man was still a child.

ABSTRACT

Surviving records of Queen Elizabeth's revels briefly list performance dates, expenses, and sometimes titles of plays and masques that she had seen. Evidence suggests that, sometimes under titles different from the ones we know, the queen viewed at least 18 different Shakespeare plays – about half the canon – clearly proving him as her favorite dramatist. The most obvious example is royal performances of *The History of Error* in 1577 and 1583, and Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors*. King James, Elizabeth's successor, saw at least 17 Shakespeare plays. Yet no evidence exists that either monarch knew, met or corresponded with anyone named William Shakespeare. And no one in the court of either Elizabeth or James ever claimed to have known William Shakspere of Stratford-upon-Avon during his lifetime or had anything to say when he died. This blankness supports the notion that the name was a pseudonym for someone wishing to remain publicly anonymous. This essay – and its attached research inquiry – examines the plays and masques performed at Elizabeth's court and suggests that many of them were actually Shakespeare plays. If so, then they precede traditional Shakespeare play composition dates by a decade or more, which, in many cases, would invalidate the Stratford man's authorship, and favor the idea that the true author was writing anonymously.

KEYWORDS

Shakespeare, Shakespeare Authorship Question, Queen Elizabeth I and Shakespeare, Royal plays and masques, Shakespeare chronology.

INTRODUCTION

Shakespeare's plays were favorites of both Queen Elizabeth I and her successor, King James I, according to Ben Jonson in the First Folio (1623). James viewed at least 17 that we can identify,[1] but how many and which did Elizabeth see? Early printed editions vouch for her having viewed *Love's Labour's Lost* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and in 1601 she knew that a "tragedy" about Richard II allegorized her, i.e., *Richard II*, but surely Elizabeth saw more than three Shakespeare plays if James saw 17.

If Shakespeare's early biographer, Nicholas Rowe, was correct that "Queen Elizabeth had several of his Plays Acted before her," (Rowe, 1709, viii-ix) then some might have appeared under different titles. King James, for instance, saw "Caesar's Tragedy" (*Julius Caesar*), "The Moor of Venice" (*Othello*), and "The Hotspurr" (*Henry IV-Part 1*).

Various records of private entertainments made for the

queen and her court survive – listing performance dates, expenses and sometimes the entertainment's title. Several of these titles, dated 1562 to 1584, could be construed as a Shakespeare play. This short essay and its extended charts of reference (for those who want more forensic proofs) argue exactly this case.

The problem with trying to reclaim these royal plays as Shakespeare's under different titles is that their performance dates fall outside of the supposed writing career of William Shakspere of Stratford-upon-Avon, i.e., circa 1590 to circa 1613. No solid evidence, however, actually dates any Shakespeare play.

Moreover, two contemporaries implied that "Shakespeare" (whoever he was) was writing in the late 1570s and the 1580s. Edmund Spenser, in his poem, *Tears of the Muses* (*Complaints*, 1591), bemoaned the theater of his later years for its vulgarity, and its absence of "sweet delights of learning's treasure" (line 175), nostalgically recalling "pleasant Willy's" plays of "joy and jolly merriment" (lines 208-9) – all descriptive of Shakespeare. "Large streams of honey and sweet nectar" (line 218) flowed from Willy's hand, wrote Spenser, a metaphor that contemporaries frequently applied to Shakespeare. Spenser's "pleasant Willy" is "the man, whom Nature self had made /To mock herself, and Truth to imitate" (lines 205-6), a clear allusion to Hamlet's advice to the players:

> to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure. (*Hamlet*, 3.2)

Spenser resided in Ireland from August 1580 until 1589, thus dating "pleasant Willy's" plays to the 1570s when William Shakspere of Stratford-upon-Avon (b. 1564) was still a child. In addition, the l'envoy to Thomas Edwards's poem, *Narcissus* (1595), referred to *Venus and Adonis*'s author, i.e., Shakespeare, as "one whose power floweth far," (line 52) having a "bewitching pen" (line 55) and "golden art" (line 59). "He differs much from men / Tilting under Friaries" (lines 57-8). "Friaries" referred to London's Blackfriars Theater, which was open from 1576 to 1583, but closed 1584 to 1600. Tilting is spear-shaking (jousting), thus a pun on the author's surname. Even here, the Stratford man would have been in his teens and unlikely to have been living in London.

By revisiting the revels records *without* the constraining biography of the Stratford man, it appears that Queen Elizabeth viewed at least 18 Shakespeare plays, more than double John Lyly's seven court comedies that she saw. If the tradition recorded in 1709 was true that "Elizabeth was so well pleased" with the Falstaff character in both parts of *Henry IV* that she "commanded" a new play with Falstaff in love, (Rowe, 1709, I, viii-ix) resulting in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, then she saw 20 Shakespeare plays. If these early anonymous court plays were actually Shakespeare's, then the real author was writing much earlier than is traditionally assumed, and these earlier dates, if correct, would disqualify the Stratford man as their creator.

What follows is an inquiry, a survey of plays and masques performed before Queen Elizabeth, most considered lost, with titles clearly suggestive of plays by Shakespeare. As these entertainments (with perhaps one exception) precede the traditional dating of Shakespeare's plays, I offer supporting evidence of unusual word clusters and phrases in Shakespeare's plays found in earlier works by other authors; traditional scholars view Shakespeare as the borrower but it could have been the reverse. The three accepted Shakespeare plays viewed by Elizabeth are also included in the chart below, along with evidence of earlier dating.

Several of these works were first claimed as earlier Shakespeare by Eva Turner Clark in *Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays* (1931). For the record, traditional Shakespeare play dating (shown in brackets) is based on the work of E. K. Chambers, (1963, *I*, 270-1) along with Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor's *William Shakespeare: A textual companion* (1997, 109-34). All quotes use modern spelling, and underlines are added for emphasis.

A REASONABLE CONCLUSION

If the royal entertainments given in this paper were indeed Shakespeare's under different titles, then one must conclude that the great author composed them initially for the queen's entertainment and not for the public theater, as orthodoxy believes. Thirty non-public Shakespeare performances were cited in E. K. Chambers's *Elizabethan Stage* (1923), and only 12 public ones; and the five Shakespeare plays that featured a "play within a play" were made for royal or aristocratic characters (Whalen, 7-9).

Shakespeare himself inferred that *Henry V*'s audience was royal: "Can this Cock-pit hold / The vasty fields of France?" (1. prologue). The Cockpit, located on Whitehall Palace's grounds, was used as a private royal theater (Jiménez, 15-17).

Moreover, Shakespeare's sobriquet, "Sweet Swan of Avon," coined by Ben Jonson in the First Folio, could be interpreted as "The sweet poet of Hampton Court Palace," because Hampton Court, where royal entertainments occurred, was also known as Avon (Waugh, 100), and poets were often termed "swans." And history shows that Shakespeare had friends in high places. As one example,

the Archbishop of Canterbury (John Whitgift), the queen's close advisor, personally approved the printing of Shakespeare's long poem, *Venus and Adonis* (1593).

Furthermore, Shakespeare's history play, *Richard II*, which showed an English king's deposition, was publicly played for hire the day before the Earl of Essex's attempted *coup d'état* in 1601. Afterward, the acting company was questioned by authorities, but not the play's author. This strongly suggests the true author had royal protection. In addition, a small detail of the Wilton Diptych – a 14th century royal possession – was described in *Richard II* (Gilvary, 220), an object only accessible to those with the queen's favor.

Some Shakespeare plays were also performed at universities (*Hamlet* at Oxford and Cambridge), law societies (*The Comedy of Errors* at Gray's Inn, *Twelfth Night* at Middle Temple), and private homes (*Richard II* at Sir Robert Cecil's house in 1597, *Titus Andronicus* at John Harington's Rutland estate in 1596).[2] Thus, in addition to the Elizabethan court, wealthy and titled people, as well as the brightest students, saw some Shakespeare plays. But as far as is known, none of these people indicated that they had met or corresponded with this most popular author – an exceptional absence, since the queen and her courtiers knew other writers. For example, in 1577, poet/dramatist George Gascoigne presented his manuscript, *The Grief of Joy*, personally to Elizabeth, thanking her for her "undeserved favor" (Pigman, 2010); and Gascoigne's surviving letters show similar acquaintance with the Earl of Kent, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Grey of Wilton, and Viscount Montagu.

Personal letters to the queen and her minister, Lord Burghley, also survive from authors such as John Lyly, Edmund Spenser and George Peele, (Horne, 105) and the queen even granted Spenser a £50 annuity. Yet, the 3rd Earl of Southampton, to whom Shakespeare's two long poems were personally dedicated, apparently never met the Stratford man.

Clearly, some other author was writing anonymously, or under the name "William Shakespeare" (starting in 1593), long before the Stratford man arrived on the scene. If so, then all Shakespeare play dating needs reconsideration to incorporate the existence of so many Shakespeare-sounding productions that had apparently attracted royal attention in preceding decades.

THE INQUIRY EVIDENCE IN DETAIL

A Masque of Julius Caesar (1562) [Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, usually dated circa 1599-1600]

On the night of February 1, 1562, Henry Machyn recorded a spectacle in the London streets where a multitude of masquers, drummers, trumpet players, torch carriers, and Julius Caesar, were walking to Queen Elizabeth's court (Nichols, 276):

> The first day of February at night was the goodliest masket [masque] came out of London that ever was seen, of a C and D [150] gorgeously beseen, and a C. [100] chains of gold, and as for trumpets and drums, and as for torchlight a 200, and so to the court, and diverse goodly men of arms in gilt harness, and Julius Caesar played. [*Note:* "played" was added later by another hand].

As the solely identified character, Julius Caesar was presumably the royal masque's theme – his first English dramatic treatment. Coincidently, Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* opened with Caesar and his train walking through streets with crowds making "Holiday to see Caesar, and to rejoice in his Triumph."

Orthodoxy dates Shakespeare's play circa 1599-1600, yet tantalizing literary evidence could link it to the royal masque. In November 1562, Arthur Brooke's poem, *Romeus and Juliet*, was published. A friar tells a "weeping" Romeus that "manly reason is quite from off thy mind outchased"; the friar stood in doubt if Romeus "a man or woman wert, or else a brutish beast." (Rolfe, *Romeo and Juliet*, 190) In *Julius Caesar*, Mark Antony, with eyes "red as fire with weeping," chides men for not mourning Caesar's death, that they have "lost their reason" and that their "judgment" has "fled to brutish beasts" (3.2). George Gascoigne's 1566 play, *Supposes*, included the phrase, "is Greek to me" (1.1), which Shakespeare made famous in *Julius Caesar*; it also appeared in Robert Greene's circa 1590 play, *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* (4.2), (Dorsch, 22).

In 1582, *Caesar Murdered* ("Caesaris interfecti") was performed at Christ Church Hall at Oxford University (Elliott & Nelson, 180). The text is lost, but presumably, it dramatized Julius Caesar's murder, like Shakespeare's tragedy. Long assumed a Latin play, no direct evidence confirms it. Only an epilogue in Latin, written by Richard Eades, survives; in the translation below, Eades moralized on *Caesar Murdered*, mentioning Caesar, Brutus, Cassius, and Antony, all characters in Shakespeare's play.

> The Epilogue of *Caesar Murdered*, as the piece went on the stage when it was acted at Christ Church, Oxford, which epilogue was both written and spoken on the stage by Master Richard Eedes. Caesar triumphed forcibly over the Republic; Brutus over Caesar. The former could do no more, the latter wished for nothing more; neither of

> them was more at fault than the other. There is something for me to praise in both; there is something in both for me to regard as vicious. It was evil that Caesar seized the Republic; good that he seized it without slaughter or bloodshed. Brutus acted rightly when he restored its liberty; but wickedly when he thought to restore it by killing Caesar. The former's moderation in victory almost veiled the vileness of his crime; the ungrateful cruelty of the latter darkened the glory of his achievement. The former behaved admirably in the worst, the latter reprehensibly in the best, of causes.
>
> Men were not lacking who as if they had applied firebrands, inflamed these illustrious heroes, the one eager for power, the other for liberty. Antony placed his kindling fire under Caesar; Cassius did so to Brutus. Just as Antony longed for the royal diadem while offering it to Caesar, so Caesar refused it while longing for it. What he wanted, Brutus wanted intensely; Cassius excessively. Cassius was as much the better General as Brutus was the better Man; in one Force was greater, in the other Virtue. You would prefer to have Brutus as a friend, but you would fear more to have Cassius as an enemy. The former hated tyranny, the latter the tyrant. Caesar's fate seems just if he consider his tyranny, but unjust if we consider the man he was. But the Gods do not suffer tyrants, however excellent they be; and to Caesar it was given as if in reward for so much virtue that he might see, but not avoid, his ruin. (Bullough, V 194-5)

Eades was not necessarily the play's author, as his specific works are unknown. For most of the 1570s, Eades was a Christ Church student, and thereafter, a preacher. In 1583, he was elected a university proctor (Goodwin, 2004). Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (3.2) mentioned a university play in which Julius Caesar was murdered. Polonius says, "I did enact Julius Caesar: I was killed i' the Capitol; Brutus killed me." Shakespeare's historically inaccurate detail – Caesar was murdered in the Curia of Pompey, not in the Capitol – was repeated in his *Julius Caesar*.

Caesar Murdered was part of "a festival of plays" performed at Oxford's colleges of Christ Church, St. John's and Magdalen in February 1582 (Finnis & Martin, 391-4). Humphrey Laurence's 1582 Latin sermon in *De Fermento Vitando* recalled them:

> And I think you will have seen and noted this in the plays of yours I mentioned: there Love's fire was so manifest, so uncontrolled, as to seem not love but bitterness, not fervor but madness. Don't you remember Euclio like this about his pot [of gold] ... Antony like this about his Cleopatra, Alexander about his eunuch Bagoas, Philarchus about his Phaedra, Meleager about his Atalanta, Plautus's Menechmus about the harlot Erotes, and Oedipus even about his mother, Jocasta; and Julius Caesar so in love with power that for the sake of it he thought he could violate oaths and any other kind of right? (Finnis & Martin, 392)

Besides Julius Caesar, Laurence mentioned a festival play about Anthony's intense love for Cleopatra, which describes Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, supposedly written decades later. Two Shakespeare plays, therefore, may have already been written, and admired, by 1582.

Nicholas Breton's 1577 phrase, "the man ... Hath done her wrong, without just cause" (*A Flourish Upon Fancy*), parallels *Julius Caesar*'s "Know, Caesar doth not wrong, nor without cause" (3.1), (Dorsch, 65). In context of sleeping youths before a battle, "leaden mace" occurred in Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (I.4. 44) and in *Julius Caesar* (4.3), (Bayley, 288). The first three books of Spenser's epic were completed as early as 1582 (Hadfield, 2021). The image of blood dropping from heaven in Christopher Marlowe's circa 1587 play: *Tamburlaine the Great, Part 2* (4.1), also occurred in *Julius Caesar* (2.2), (Furness, 1913, p. 114). In Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris* (circa 1593), the Duke of Guise's response to a death threat is, "Yet Caesar shall go forth;" after his fatal attack, he says, "Thus Caesar did go forth" (3.2). In *Julius Caesar*, Caesar ignores his wife's ominous dream, saying, "Caesar shall forth" and "Yet Caesar shall go forth" (3.2); shortly thereafter, he is murdered (Bakeless, 85). Four public performances of *Caesar* were noted in Philip Henslowe's diary, December 1594 to March 1595 (Greg, 19 -22).

Palamon and Arcite (1566) [*The Two Noble Kinsman*, usually dated circa 1612-1614]

On September 2 and 4, 1566, Queen Elizabeth viewed a student performance of *Palamon and Arcite* at Oxford University. Palamon and Arcite are characters in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, attributed to William Shakespeare and John Fletcher in the 1634 edition. Orthodoxy's circa 1612-14 dating accommodates both the supposed Shakespeare and his younger co-author despite the prologue's reference to a single writer, and a text unlike Shakespeare's late plays.

Although the 1566 play was credited to Richard Edwards, who died shortly after the performance, it has a

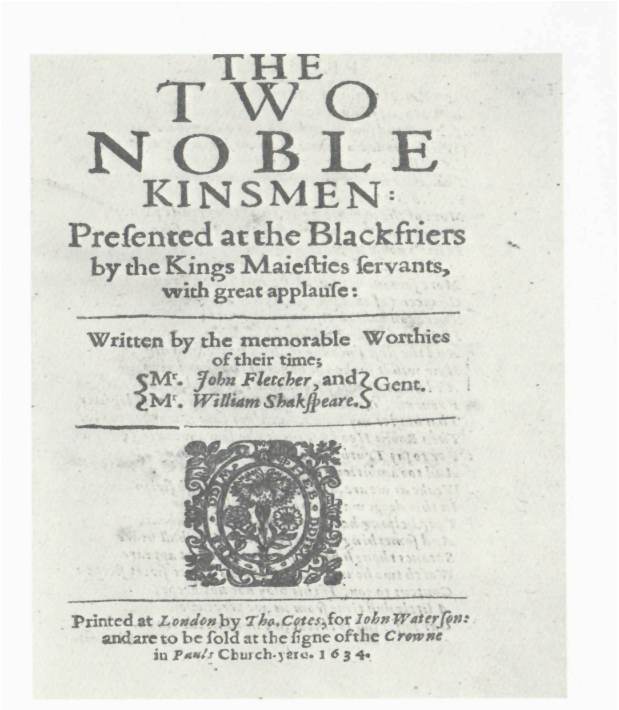
link with *The Two Noble Kinsmen*'s prologue:

> If this play do not keep,
> A little dull time from us, we perceive
> Our losses fall so thick, we must needs leave.

English professor, Paul Bertram, considered "Our losses" as an "allusion to some public misfortune that befell the acting company," (Bertram, 288) but no satisfactory explanation has been found. The 1566 play certainly experienced misfortune: shortly before the performance, a crowded staircase in Christ Church Hall had collapsed, killing three people and injuring five (Elliott, 1988, 226). It did not stop the show, so mention of it before the play commenced would have been expected.

The two plays are linked in another way. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (5.4), Palamon, after learning that he has been spared from execution, says: "Can that be, / When *Venus* I have said is false?" Nowhere in the play did he berate the goddess, but he did so in the 1566 play: eyewitness John Bereblock, fellow of Exeter College, wrote that Palamon prayed to Venus to win his duel with Arcite for Emilia's hand in marriage. After losing, Palamon "casts reproaches upon Venus, saying that he had served her from infancy and that now she had neither desire nor power to help him." (Durand, 1905, 511)

In addition, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* had "strong signs" of being written for an indoor theater, and required "a most expensive and lavish production ..." (Bertram, 292, 294) The 1566 play was indoors, and its rich appointments


THE
TWO
NOBLE
KINSMEN:
Presented at the Blackfriers
by the Kings Maiesties servants,
with great applause:
Written by the memorable Worthies
of their time;
Mr. John Fletcher, and Gent.
Mr. William Shakspeare.
Printed at London by Tho. Cotes, for John Waterson:
and are to be sold at the signe of the Crowne
in Pauls Church-yard. 1634.

were confirmed by Bereblock: "Nothing, now, more costly or magnificent could be imagined than its staging and arrangement." (Durand, 1905, 504)

The 1566 play's ending was met with "a tremendous shout and clapping of hands." (Durand, 361) Even during rehearsals, it pleased "certain courtiers" in attendance, saying "it far surpassed" Richard Edwards's previous play, *Damon and Pithias*, "then the which nothing could be better." (Bradner, 29) The queen herself favorably critiqued the play. She praised the boy actor who played Emilia for "singing sweetly," (Elliott, 1997, 72) and rewarded him with gold coins ("angels"). She also had allowed the late King Edward's garments to be used in the performance.

That *Palamon and Arcite*, the first play performed before royalty at Oxford University, (Elliott, 1988) never saw print is "strange," wrote Leicester Bradner, "especially when we remember that there were two Elizabethan editions of *Damon and Pithias*" (Bradner, 80). It was also the first dramatization of "The Knight's Tale" from Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*. *The Two Noble Kinsmen* suits the 1566 play, but the traditional Shakespeare, then two years old, nixes any connection for orthodoxy.

The Two Noble Kinsmen's lines are found in literature far earlier than orthodoxy's circa 1612-14 dating. Edmund Spenser's line in *The Faerie Queene* (1590), "O who does know the bent of women's fantasy?" (I. 4. 24), parallels *The Two Noble Kinsmen*'s (4.2), "Oh who can find the bent of woman's fancy?" (Potter, 273) Both excerpts concerned unseemly but attractive features in young men. In Christopher Marlowe's circa 1593 translation of *Hero and Leander*, Leander's neck "surpass'd /The white of Pelops' shoulder: I could tell ye, /How smooth his breast was" (Sestaid, 1, lines 64-6), (Potter, 272). In *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (4.2), Arcite's brow is "Smoother than *Pelops* Shoulder?"

In 1594, three public performances of "Palaman and Arsett," and one of "Palamon" (Greg, 19-20) appear in showman Philip Henslowe's diary – possibly the 1566 play revived. In 1597, a surviving fragment from the 1566 play, Emelia's song (British Museum Additional MS 26,737), was printed in *The Arbor of Amorous Devices* ("A Ladies complaint for the loss of her Love"). In 1606, Barnabe Barnes (*Four Books of Offices*) wrote:

> [war] putteth the titles of all right, and just honor in execution. It is the noble corrector of all prodigal states, a skillful bloodletter against all dangerous obstructions and pleurisies of peace ... [p. 161]

Arcite's prayer to Mars, the Roman war god, in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (5.1): (Bertram, 258)

O Great Corrector of enormous times,
Shaker of o'er-rank States, thou grand decider
Of dusty, and old titles, that heal'st with blood
The earth when it is sick, and cur'st the world
O' th' pleurisy of people;

The Two Noble Kinsmen's links to the innovative and popular 1566 play suggest the two were the same one by Shakespeare, initially in collaboration with Richard Edwards (Edwards's poem, "In Commendation of Music," was quoted in *Romeo and Juliet*). *The Two Noble Kinsmen* also shared characters with those in Shakespeare's early comedy, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: Theseus, Duke of Athens, and his Amazonian bride, Hippolyta, whose sister is *Kinsmen*'s heroine, Emilia. The 1566 play's full manuscript probably did not survive, and decades later, John Fletcher (born in 1579) filled in the gaps, thus his name on the 1634 title page, the only instance of Shakespeare sharing author credit (Fletcher also wrote a sequel to Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, i.e., *The Woman's Prize, or the Tamer Tamed*). *The Two Noble Kinsmen*'s "earliest direct notice" was made by Sir George Buc, Master of the Revels, on a reverse page of his manuscript, *The History of Richard the Third* (1619), (Chambers, 1925, 480). The play was known as "Palemon" as late as 1614, as mentioned in Ben Jonson's play, *Bartholomew Fair*.

Tragedy of the King of Scots (1567-1568) [*Tragedy of Macbeth*, usually dated circa 1605-1606]

Tragedy of the king of Scots was among several entertainments presented to Queen Elizabeth from July 14, 1567 to March 3, 1568. Properties included "the Palace of prosperity Scotland and a great Castle on th'other side …" (Steele, 34) The court play's theme was highly topical: in February 1567, the 21-year-old Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, consort of Mary, Queen of Scots – called King by many contemporaries – was assassinated. Mary's evident complicity with the alleged murderer, James Hepburn, 4th Earl of Bothwell (according to a Scottish Act of Parliament), forced her abdication on July 24, 1567. Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of Macbeth* is an historical fiction about the 11th century Scottish king, Macbeth, Thane of Cawdor, who murders King Duncan of Scotland to usurp the throne.

Lilian Winstanley's *Macbeth, King Lear and Contemporary History* (1922) notes parallels between the murders of king consort Darnley and *Macbeth*'s King Duncan. Two contemporary sources said that an ill Darnley went to Kirk of Field, where the murder took place, because it was "a place of good air" (Melville, 78) and "wholesome air" (*The Copy of a Letter*, 32). In *Macbeth* (1.6), King Duncan visits Macbeth's castle, where he would be murdered, saying "the air /Nimbly and sweetly recommends itself /Unto our gentle senses." Queen Mary and Bothwell conversed shortly before the murder, as do Macbeth and Lady Macbeth. King Duncan was murdered at night in bed, as were his two servants; consort Darnley and two servants were murdered at night. A sketch of Darnley's murder scene (National Archives, MPF 1/366) made for Queen Elizabeth's councilor, Sir William Cecil, showed Darnley and a servant dead in their night clothes in a field near his lodgings, evidently strangled and dragged there, with a dagger pointed toward the two dead bodies; in Macbeth's hallucination (3.4), a dagger leads him toward King Duncan. Bothwell was immediately accused of Darnley's murder and was put to trial, pressed by Darnley's father, the Earl of Lennox; in *Macbeth* (3.6), Lord Lennox airs his suspicions about Macbeth regarding King Duncan's murder. Both Bothwell and Macbeth get away with their crimes, temporarily.

In the "Answer of the Lords of Scotland to [English ambassador, Sir Nicholas] Throckmorton" (July 21, 1567), Bothwell was described as a "notorious tyrant" and a "bloody tyrant"; (Crosby, 291-2) Macbeth is called "tyrant" fifteen times in the play. The March 27, 1567 letter of Sir William Drury to Sir William Cecil noted that, since Darnley's death, Queen Mary "has been for the most part either melancholy or sickly," (Crosby, 198) and in Drury's May 20, 1567 letter to Cecil, that she had "falling sickness," i.e., epilepsy, "and has been of late troubled therewith"; (Crosby, 235) others noted she was suicidal. Similarly, in *Macbeth*, after King Duncan's murder, Lady Macbeth is sickly and melancholy, and Winstanley suggested her sleepwalking was an epileptic trance; after Lady Macbeth's death, the doctor implied she had taken her own life. None of these details about the historical Macbeth are found in Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1577), noted Winstanley, Shakespeare's supposed source for the play.

Orthodoxy dates *Macbeth* circa 1605-06. A play about a Scottish king's murder at this time would hardly be welcoming to the then newly ascended Scottish king of England, James I, son of Mary, Queen of Scots; also, it was not among the known seventeen Shakespeare plays that he viewed. James would have undoubtedly found repugnant the correspondences between the real and the fictional murders. The play, therefore, was more likely written during Elizabeth's reign, and when it was topical. Several "too early" allusions support this idea.

Macbeth's lines, "The raven himself is hoarse /That croaks the fatal entrance of Duncan" (1.4) and "It was the owl that shrieked, the fatal bellman" (2.2), appeared in John Lyly's 1584 play, *Sapho and Phao*: "I mistrust her not:

for that the owl hath not shrieked at the window, or the night Raven croaked, both being fatal" (3.3), (Dent, 1981, 200). *Macbeth*'s phrase, "My mind she has mated [i.e., bewildered], and amazed my sight" (5.2), was echoed in *An Herbal for the Bible* (1587): "... the minds and consciences of the godly be therewith sometime marvelously mated and amazed" (p. 253). "Mated and amazed" also appeared in Christopher Marlowe's circa 1587 play, *Tamburlaine the Great, Part 1* (1.1), (Muir, 1977, p. 146). In Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1595), a character utters, "A sorry sight," upon discovery of a "headless lady" (V.1.14); in *Macbeth* (2.2), after committing murder, Macbeth looks at his bloody hands and says, "This is a sorry sight." (Malone et al, XI, 98) In the anonymous play, *A Warning for Fair Women* (1599), a character fears that "the very stones" of the street (3.4) will betray her as a murderer; likewise, in *Macbeth* (2.1), just before King Duncan's murder, Macbeth asks the earth not to hear his steps, "for fear /The very stones prate of my whereabout ..." (Malone et al, 1801 XI, 94)

Actor William Kemp's book, *Nine Days Wonder* (1600), mentions "a penny Poet" whose first work was a story stolen from *Macbeth*:

> ... a penny Poet whose first making was the miserable stolen story of Macdoel, or Macdobeth, or Macsomewhat: for I am sure a Mac it was, though I never had the maw [stomach] to see it. [sig. D3v]

Coming from an actor, "to see it" implies the "stolen story" was dramatic (Furness, *Macbeth,* 360). Kemp did not have the stomach ("maw") to see it, presumably due to its resemblance to Shakespeare's bloody play. *Macbeth* (1.3) mentions the master of the ship, *The Tiger*, "to Aleppo gone." Such a journey occurred in 1583, as noted in Richard Hakluyt's 1589 book, *Principal Navigations* (p. 231): *The Tiger* sailed from London to Tripolis, and then passengers caravanned to Aleppo (Furness, *Macbeth,* 32). *The Tiger* was also mentioned in Shakespeare's comedy, *Twelfth Night*.

The cumulative evidence suggests that *Tragedy of the king of Scots* was written by Shakespeare, inspired by the recent murder of Mary, Queen of Scots's consort, and was subsequently retitled, *The Tragedy of Macbeth*. The playwright evidently had access to State intelligence to be aware of otherwise unpublished details about Darnley's murder, and Queen Mary's mental state, so soon after the murder had occurred. Interestingly, in May 1567, "an interlude of boys" was performed at the royal castle in Stirling, Scotland about "the manner of the King's [Darnley's] death and the arraignment of the Earl [Bothwell]," according to Sir William Drury; (Crosby, 230-1) he added that Bothwell believed the interlude's "devisers" were Scottish nobles. Bothwell's character was hanged in the interlude, and the actor playing him barely survived his time in the noose. News of the interlude may have also inspired the court play.

Ajax and Ulysses (1572) *The History of Agamemnon and Ulysses* (1584) [*Troilus and Cressida*, usually dated circa 1601-1602]

Queen Elizabeth viewed *Ajax and Ulysses* on January 1, 1572, and *The History of Agamemnon and Ulysses* on December 27, 1584, (Steele, 40, 91) both plays presumed lost. Ajax, Ulysses, and Agamemnon, however, are all ancient Greek characters in Shakespeare's play, *Troilus and Cressida*. During a lull in their war with Troy, Ulysses indirectly baits war hero, Achilles, to accept Trojan prince Hector's challenge to a duel by encouraging the lesser warrior, Ajax. Agamemnon supports Ulysses's scheme, hoping to entice a withdrawn Achilles back into the war. This storyline has little intersection with the play's other major plot, the love story of the Trojans, Troilus and Cressida. Both plots have equal weight in the play, thus the "lost" revels play titles are just as fit as *Troilus and Cressida*. Moreover, none of these characters were singled out for mention in *Troilus and Cressida*'s prologue.

Orthodox dating for *Troilus and Cressida* is circa 1601-02. Two plays, however, hint that Shakespeare's play existed long before this date: (1) the December 30, 1582 court play, *A History of Love and Fortune*, (Steele, 1926) later published as *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*, featured a play-within-a-play called "the show of Troilus and Cressida." (Rollins, 1917, 389) Among the gods watching it, Mercury says:

> Behold, how Troilus and Cressida
> Cries out on Love, that framed their decay.

(2) *Histrio-mastix*, dated circa 1589-91, (Knutson, 96) parodies a scene from Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* in another play-within-a-play, with the Troilus actor punning on Shakespeare's name:

> Behold, behold thy garter blue
> Thy knight his valiant elbow wears,
> That when he shakes his furious Speare
> The foe, in shivering fearful sort
> May lay him down in death to snort ... [Act 2]

The Cressida actor gives a "skreene" (scarf) to Troilus, saying "Within thy helmet put the same"; Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida exchange a sleeve and glove. Also, a

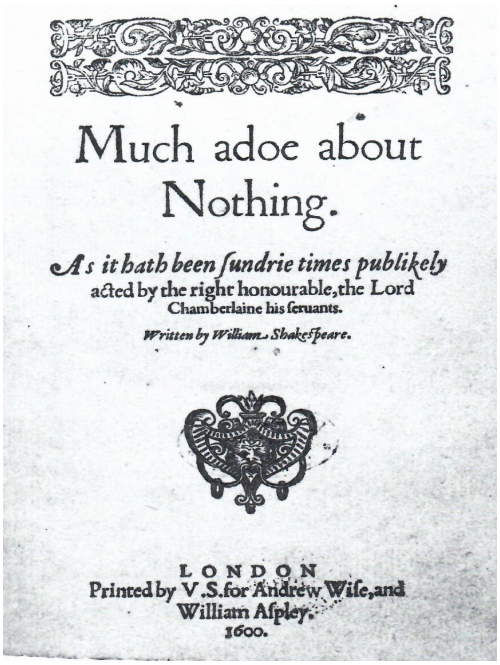
character named "Prologue" in *Histrio-mastix* introduces the play-within-a-play, like in Shakespeare's play ("hither am I come /A prologue arm'd").

Nine "too early" allusions to *Troilus and Cressida* follow:

1. John Lyly's *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (1578): "such idle heads should be scoffed with addle answers" (p. 73) and "to be an addle egg, as an idle bird" (Letter to the "Gentlemen Scholars of Oxford") compares with *Troilus and Cressida* (1.2), "If you love an addle egg as well as you love an idle head, you would eat chickens i' the shell." (Tilley, 134).
2. Edmund Spenser's *The Shepherd's Calendar* (1579), "To be Wise and eke to Love, /Is granted scarce to Gods above" (March) and *Troilus and Cressida* (3.2), "for to be wise and love /Exceeds man's might; that dwells with gods above." (Malone, 1794, 82).
3. Christopher Marlowe's play, *Tamburlaine the Great, Part 2* (circa 1587), "the axle-tree of heaven" (1.1),
4. John Davies's *Orchestra or a Poem of Dancing* (1594), "The Axle tree of Heav'n" (stanza 36),
5. George Chapman's *The Seven Books of the Iliads of Homer* (1598), "the Axle-tree, about which heaven hath his motion" (Epistle Dedicatory), all compare with *Troilus and Cressida*'s "strong as the axle-tree / On which heaven rides" (1.3), (Robertson 1913, 407-8).
6. In Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* (circa 1588), the "face" of Helen of Troy "launched a thousand ships," and in *Troilus and Cressida* (2.1), Helen of Troy's "price hath launch'd above a thousand ships." (Logan 15).
7. John Lyly's play, *Mother Bombie*, employs the phrase, "set all on hazard," like *Troilus and Cressida*'s "Sets all on hazard" (prologue), (Dent, 1981, 49).
8. "Spirits of sense" occurs three times in John Davies's poem, "Of the Soul of Man," in *Nosce Teipsum* (written 1592, pp. 46, 48), and "spirit of sense" occurs twice in *Troilus and Cressida* (1.1, 3.1), (Robertson, 1913, 189-90).
9. Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1595), "this wallet at your back" (VI, 8.23), and *Troilus and Cressida*'s, "this wallet at his back" (3.3), (Deighton, 1932, 117).

Troilus and Cressida's first edition (1609) had two issues with different title pages – one implying the play never saw public performance, and the other indicating a Globe Theater performance. The former would be true if the play were privately performed before the Globe's existence (1599). If both court plays were early versions of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, then it was Shakespeare's second dramatization of Chaucer (i.e., *Troilus and Criseyde*), the first being *Palamon and Arcite* (1566).

Panecia (1574)


Much adoe about Nothing.

As it hath been ſundrie times publikely acted by the right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his ſeruants.

Written by William Shakeſpeare.

LONDON
Printed by V.S. for Andrew Wiſe, and William Aſpley.
1600.

A History of Ariodante and Genevora (1583) [*Much Ado About Nothing*, usually dated circa 1598-1599]

A history of Ariodante and Genevora was presented to Queen Elizabeth on February 12, 1583 (Steele, 88). These names derived from Ludovico Ariosto's 1516 poem, *Orlando Furioso* (Canto 5), which was one of Shakespeare's plot sources for *Much Ado About Nothing*: Hero/Genevora is accused of infidelity by her lover Claudio/Ariodante, who is made to believe by false testimony that she was seen with another man at her bedroom window; Claudio/Ariodante then rejects her.

A similar plot occurs with the lovers, Timbreo and Fenicia, in Matteo Bandello's *La Prima Parte de le Novelle* (1554), also Shakespeare's source, especially for the "simulated death and revival of the wronged heroine," the setting in Messina, and character names, Leonato and Don Pedro (Ogburn & Ogburn, 480). An earlier royal play, *Panecia,* shown in December 1574, (Steele, 1926) was likely a misspelling of Fenicia, thus a play based on Bandello's story. *A history of Ariodante and Genevora* had props that were "new prepared and employed," (Feuillerat, 350) which suggests a revival of an older play, i.e., *Panecia* (Fenicia).

Orthodoxy dates *Much Ado About Nothing* circa 1598-99. A "too early" allusion occurs in George Pettie's *A Petite Palace of Pettie, his Pleasure* (1576), "he may think I love him deeply, though I hate him deadly" (p. 68), which is close to *Much Ado About Nothing*'s line: "if she /did not hate him deadly, she would love him dearly" (5.1), (Tilley, 333). Regarding good health, the phrase, "as sound as a bell," in Thomas Newton's 1576 translation, *The Touchstone of Complexions* (p. 109 verso), occurs in *Much Ado About*

Nothing (3.2), (Macrone, 206). "Much ado about nothing" occurred in John Whitgift's *The Defense of the answer to the Admonition against the reply of T.C.* (1574) and in John Stockwood's *A Sermon Preached at Paul's Cross on Barthelmew Day* (1578), (Dent 1981, 45).

In John Lyly's fiction, *Euphues and His England* (1580), a Sienese nobleman sizes up a gentlewoman's beauty and stature:

> I know not how I should commend your beauty, because it is somewhat too brown, nor your stature being somewhat too low, & of your wit I cannot judge. [p. 30]

In *Much Ado About Nothing* (1.1), a Paduan nobleman sizes up a gentlewoman's beauty and stature: (Rushton, 1871, 103-4)

> Why i' faith methinks she's too low for a high praise, too brown for a fair praise, and too little for a great praise ...

George Pettie's *The Civil Conversation of Mr. Steeven Guazzo* (1580) included the phrase, "when time and place served" (Book 1), echoed in *Much Ado About Nothing* (5.1):"and when time and place shall serve." (Dent, 1981, 194) In 1592, Thomas Nashe wrote about his own character in *Strange News*:

> For the order of my life, it is as civil as a civil orange ... [sig. L4]

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Beatrice comments on Claudio's character: (McKerrow & Wilson, 24)

> The count [Claudio] is neither sad, nor sick, nor merry, nor well; but civil, count, as civil as an orange ... [2.1]

"Civil" punned on the Spanish city, "Seville," presumably the source for oranges.

1575 Sketch of *Titus Andronicus* [*Titus Andronicus*, usually dated circa 1592-1594]

A 16th century manuscript features a sketch of a scene from Shakespeare's tragedy, *Titus Andronicus*, along with corresponding text excerpts. Latin abbreviations comprised the date, called a chronogram, interpreted as 1594 or 1595; this fits neatly with Shakespeare orthodoxy's circa 1592-94 for the play's composition, but ignores dramatist Ben Jonson's remark that the play was 25 to 30 years old in 1614 (*Bartholomew Fair*, induction), i.e., circa 1584-89. The manuscript is signed, "Henricus Peacham," assumed as Henry Peacham the Younger (1578-circa 1644), a teacher, author and illustrator. David Roper, however, discovered that the chronogram actually represented 1575, (Roper, 1) and that Peacham's father, the *elder* Henry Peacham (1547-1634), a scholar and author, was the document's maker.

This dating coincides with Queen Elizabeth's June 1575 visit to Hatfield Palace, Herefordshire, a royal property; the elder Peacham was then a church curate located very near to it (North Mimms parish). *Titus Andronicus* may have been played during her visit there, or while she stayed at Lord Burghley's house, Theobalds (about 9 miles away), which preceded her Hatfield visit (May 24 to June 6). The Peacham manuscript derived from the papers of Sir Michael Hicks, one of Burghley's secretaries (now at Longleat House, Somerset). The manuscript's slight textual differences with the play's first printed edition (1594), (Chambers, 1944, 58-9) and the inclusion of an extra character in the depicted scene (Campbell and Quinn, 466-7) suggests subsequent revision of the play performed 19 years earlier.

George Peele was apparently familiar with *Titus Andronicus*; in his poem, *The Tale of Troy*, dated circa 1580, (Barbour, 2004) Ajax refers to Odysseus as "wise Laertes son" (p. 17), which echoes *Titus Andronicus*'s line, "wise Laertes's son /Did graciously plead for his [i.e., Ajax's] funerals" (1.1), (Sampley, 492). In the same work, Cressida was called "that changing piece" (p. 15), which Lavinia was called in *Titus Andronicus* (1.1), (Wilson, 107). *Titus Andronicus*'s phrase, "Laden with honor's spoils" (1.1) appeared in Peele's 1589 poem, *An Eclogue Gratulatory ... Earl of Essex* (Robertson, 1924, 185). In Peele's 1591 poem, *Descensus Astraea*, "gallop the zodiac" was used in his passage about Queen Elizabeth's ascension to the throne; (Baldwin, 7) *Titus Andronicus* (2.1) uses the same metaphor for the "new-made empress" of Rome, Tamora. In Peele's play, *The Battle of Alcazar*, dated circa 1588, (Edelman, 19) the Moor says, "The fatal poison of my swelling heart" (2.3); Aaron the Moor in *Titus Andronicus* says, "The venomous malice of my swelling heart" (5.3), (Robertson, 1924, 185). During April 1592 and January 1593, "Titus & Vespacia" saw ten public performances, as noted in Philip Henslowe's diary; it was probably Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, as Titus's son, Lucius, was called Vespasianus in the play's German version in 1620 (Halliday, 654).

The History of Error (1577) *A history of fferrar* (1583) [*The Comedy of Errors*, usually dated circa

1592-1594]

On January 1, 1577, the queen watched *The history of Error*, (Steele, 61) a title obviously suggestive of Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors*. Solid references to Shakespeare's play varied the title: "a Comedy of Errors" in 1594 (*Gesta Grayorum*, 1688), "his Errors" in 1598 (Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia*), and "the play of Errors" in 1604-05 (Campbell & Quinn, 683). An example of a slightly altered court play title is "A History of Love and Fortune" (1582), later printed as *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune* (1589), (Halliday, 529-30).

A history of fferrar appeared at court on January 6, 1583 (Steele, 87). Some interpret "fferrar" as poet George Ferrers, but revels records generally did not name authors. With no known character named "Ferrar," the scribe likely conflated "of Error." In addition, the 1583 play had "diverse new things," implying an older play's properties had been updated.

Orthodox dating for Shakespeare's comedy is circa 1592-94, but allusions to it appear in the 1580s. *The Comedy of Errors*'s line, "Far from her nest the lapwing cries away" (4.2), resembles John Lyly's line in *Euphues and His England* (1580), "the Lapwing, who fearing her young ones to be destroyed by passengers, flyeth with a false cry far from their nest" (dedication letter), (Foakes, lxviii) and Robert Greene's line in *Morando the Tritameron of Love* (1584), "and with the Lapwing to cry farthest of from her nest ..." George Pettie's phrase in *The Civil Conversation of Mr. Steeven Guazzo* (1580), "drunk of Circe's cup" (Book 2), is also found in *The Comedy of Errors* (5.1), (Sullivan, xlix). In Lyly's circa 1588 play, *Mother Bombie* (5.3), "catch cold on our feet" and "Dromio" are one line apart, and in Shakespeare's play, Dromio says, "lest he catch cold on 's feet" (3.1). *Mother Bombie* (5.2) and *The Comedy of Errors* contain the exact phrases, "There's a time for all things" (2.2) and "I thought to have asked you" (3.1). In *Arden of Feversham* (circa 1591), a "knave" is described as "lean faced," "hollow eyed," and "threadbare" – the exact words describing a "villain" in *The Comedy of Errors* (5.1), (Jacob, vi).

The History of the Solitary Knight (1577) *A pastoral or history of A Greek Maid* (1579) [*Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, usually dated circa 1607-1610]

On February 17, 1577, Queen Elizabeth saw *The History of the Solitary knight* (Steele, 63). Clark determined this was Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens*, whose title character came to hate mankind and turned hermit, but its properties of "certain Armor with a base and Targets" (Feuillerat, 275) were inapplicable to *Timon of Athens*' plot; also, Timon was a lord, and never called a knight in the play. *The History of the Solitary knight* is more descriptive of Shakespeare's play, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, in which Pericles, shipwrecked in a foreign land, competes in the king's tournament; he is called the "Sixth Knight," "stranger knight," and "knight of Tyre" ("knight" appears over forty times in the play). *Pericles* was based on a tale in John Gower's 14th century book, *Confessio Amantis*, in which "Apollonius, the prince of Tire" was described as "A young, a fresh, a lusty knight" (Book 8). Shakespeare's Pericles wins the tournament and marries the king's daughter. He became solitary when his wife died during childbirth; he then placed his infant daughter with friends in another land, and returned to Tyre. Fourteen years later, Pericles attempted to retrieve her, but was told she had died.

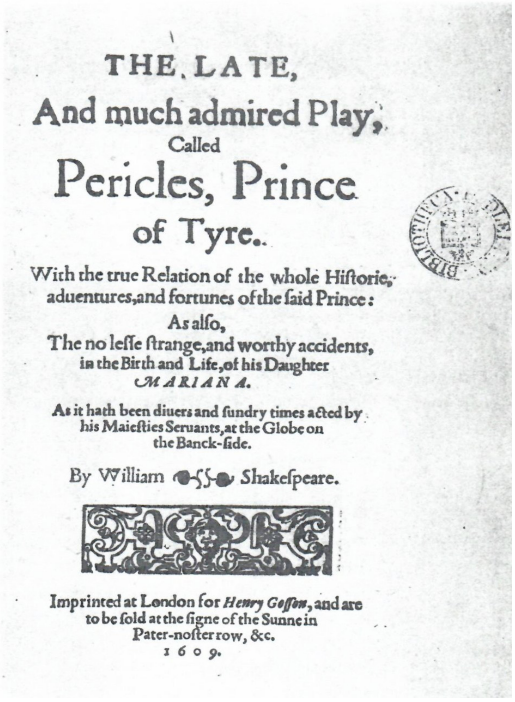
Orthodoxy dates *Pericles* circa 1607-10. Laurence Twine's *The Pattern of Painful Adventures*, registered in 1576, retold Gower's tale and contained a line parallel with Shakespeare's play not found in Gower:

> ... king *Antiochus*, which builded the goodly city of Antiochia in Syria, and called it after his own name, as the chiefest seat ... [Chapter 1]

Pericles (1. Prologue):

> ... This Antioch, then, Antiochus the Great Built up, this city, for his chiefest seat: The fairest in all Syria ...

Another court play, *A pastoral or history of A Greek maid*, was shown on January 4, 1579 (Steele, 72). Clark


THE LATE,
And much admired Play,
Called
Pericles, Prince of Tyre.
With the true Relation of the whole Hiſtorie, aduentures, and fortunes of the ſaid Prince:
As alſo,
The no leſſe ſtrange, and worthy accidents, in the Birth and Life, of his Daughter
MARIANA.
As it hath been diuers and ſundry times acted by his Maieſties Seruants, at the Globe on the Banck-ſide.
By William Shakeſpeare.
Imprinted at London for Henry Goſſon, and are to be ſold at the ſigne of the Sunne in Pater-noſter row, &c.
1609.

viewed this as Shakespeare's *Pericles* (Clark, 56) as Marina, Pericles's daughter, was kidnapped and sold to a brothel in the Greek city of Mytilene. She called herself "maid" three times in the play, and others called her "maid" and "maid of Mytilene" (5.1). Marina also merited special mention on *Pericles*'s 1609 title page: "The no less strange, and worthy accidents, in the Birth and Life, of his Daughter Mariana [i.e., Marina]." *A Greek maid* required three yards of gray cloth to make "A fisherman's coat"; (Feuillerat, 295) in *Pericles*, fishermen clothe and feed Pericles after a shipwreck.

In *Pericles* (2.2), knights displayed their shields' mottoes to Princess Thaisa; after the tournament, they danced with ladies in King Simonides's court. These same events occurred in *Masque of knights*, an entertainment performed before Elizabeth on January 11, 1579, which was one week after *A Greek Maid*:

> A masque of knights all likewise in Armour complete ... murrions [soldiers' hats] upon their heads ... with feathers in the tops ... large Baldrics [chains] about their necks of black gold tinsel ... truncheons in their hands gilt and gilded shields with a posey written on every of them ... the Knights had danced A while with Ladies before her Majesty ... (Feuillerat, 287)

Prince Pyrocles was a character in Sir Philip Sidney's circa 1582 novel, *Arcadia*, and like Shakespeare's Prince Pericles, was shipwrecked in a foreign country. Furthermore, both works used a metaphor about a woman sewing. Sidney's woman "wounds" and "beheads" the material (Book 3), and Shakespeare's Marina "wounds" and "hurts" it (4. prologue), (Hoeniger, 993). *Arcadia*'s line, "The senate house of the planets was at no time so set, for the decreeing of perfection in a man" (Book 2), mimics *Pericles*'s line: "The senate-house of planets all did sit, /To knit in her their best perfections" (1.1). *Arcadia*'s "asking advice of no other thought but of faithfulness and courage" (Book 3), mirrors *Pericles*'s "Nor ask advice of any other thought /But faithfulness and courage" (1.1), (Deighton, 1907, 11).

John Lyly's line in *Euphues and His England* (1580), "the Torch turned downward, is extinguished with the self-same wax which was the cause of his light" (p. 18), parallels *Pericles* (2.2), where a motto on a knight's shield is described as "A burning torch that's turned upside down; /The word, *Qui me alit, me extinguit*." (Hoeniger, 55). The same Latin motto, and a burning torch pictured below it, appeared in Geffrey Whitney's 1586 book, *A Choice of Emblems* (p. 183). Another page in Whitney's book shows a hand from a cloud testing a gold coin upon a touchstone, and above it, "*Sic spectanda fides*" (p. 139); (Hoeniger, 56) in *Pericles* (2.2), the fifth jouster's device is:

> an hand environed with clouds,
> Holding out gold that's by the touchstone tried;
> The motto thus, *Sic spectanda fides*.

Luke Hutton's *The Black Dog of Newgate* (1596) the has phrase, "A prize, a prize in a buckram bag! A prize! Half-part," which compares with Pirate 2's line in *Pericles* (4.1), "A prize! a prize!," and Pirate 3's line, "Half-part, mates, half-part!" (Hoeniger 107) Thomas Wright's 1601 book title, *The Passions of the Mind*, appeared as a phrase in *Pericles* (1.4), both concerning psychology. The unusual phrase, "th'ostent [show] of war" ("Genius Loci," lines 1-4), in Thomas Dekker's *The Magnificent Entertainment: Given to King James* (1604), also appears in *Pericles* (1.2), (Deighton, 1907, 20). John Day's play, *Law-Tricks, or Who would have thought it*, dated circa 1604 (Chambers, 1923, 285-6), features line parallels with *Pericles*: (Hoeniger, 173).

Law-Tricks (1.2):

> **Joculo:**
> ... but Madam, do you remember what a multitude of fishes we saw at Sea? and I do wonder how they can all live by one another.
>
> **Emilia:**
> Why fool, as men do on the Land; the great ones eat up the little ones ... [sig. B3]

Pericles (2.1):

> **Fisherman 3:**
> ... Master, I marvel how the fishes live in the sea.
>
> **Fisherman 1:**
> Why, as men do a-land; the great ones eat up the little ones;

Law-Tricks (Act 2):

> **Adam:**
> I knew one of that faculty [a lawyer] in one term eat up a whole Town, Church, Steeple and all.
>
> **Julio:**
> I wonder the Bells rung not all in his belly. [sig C3 verso]

Pericles (2.1):

> **Fisherman 1:**

> ... Such whales have I heard on o' the land, who never leave gaping till they've swallowed the whole parish, church, steeple, bells and all ...
>
> **Fisherman 3:**
> ... Because he should have swallowed me too; and when I had been in his belly, I would have kept such a jangling of the bells.

The History of Titus and Gisippus (1577)
A History of the Duke of Milan and the Marquis of Mantua (1579)
The History of Felix and Philiomena (1585)
[*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, usually dated circa 1590-1595]

Queen Elizabeth viewed *The history of Titus and Gisippus* on February 19, 1577 (Steele, 65). These character names appeared in a story in Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Book Named The Governour* (1534). Gisippus, upon learning that his best friend, Titus, is desperately in love with his fiancée, Sophronia, willingly hands her over to him. This parallels Shakespeare's plot in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, in which Valentine surrenders his beloved, Silvia, to his best friend, Proteus.

On December 26, 1579, the queen viewed *A history of the Duke of Milan and the Marquis of Mantua*, (Steele, 77) a title also descriptive of Shakespeare's *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, in which the Duke of Milan banishes Valentine after attempting elopement with his daughter. Valentine then encounters a group of outlaws who make him their leader; they "work" in Mantua's forest. As Mantua was a marquisate, Valentine could be described as the "outlaw" Marquis of Mantua at odds with the Duke of Milan.

Another royal play, *The history of felix and philiomena*, performed on January 3, 1585, (Steele, 91) was evidently based upon Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana Enamorada* (1542), in which Felismena, disguised as a boy, becomes page to her beloved, Don Felis (anglicized as Felix in Bartholomew Yong's 1598 translation), who employs "him" to woo Celia; a similar situation occurs in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* involving characters Julia, Proteus and Sylvia.

Orthodox dating for *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* is circa 1590-95; Arthur Brooke's 1562 poem, *The Tragical History of Romeus and Juliet*, echoes part of its plot. Forbidden married lovers, Romeus and Juliet, plan to meet one evening by Romeus climbing through Juliet's window with "a cords ladder" and "iron hooks" (f. 24). In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (2.4), Valentine plans to meet his secretly betrothed, Sylvia, in the evening by climbing through her window via a "ladder made of cords" and "anchoring hooks" (3.1), (Leech, 43, 60).

John Lyly's line about secret love in *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (1578), "the fire kept close burneth most furious," appears in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*: "Fire that's closest kept burns most of all" (1.2), (Tilley, 151). Lyly's play, *Endymion* (1578), has the line, "Love is a chameleon, which draweth nothing into the mouth but air, and nourisheth nothing in the body but lungs (3.4), (Dent, 1981, 160) which compares with *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*'s line, "Though the chameleon love can feed on the air, I am one that am nourished by my victuals" (2.1).

An History of the Cruelty of a Stepmother (1578)
[*Cymbeline*, usually dated circa 1610-1611]

On December 28, 1578, Queen Elizabeth saw *An history of the cruelty of A Stepmother* (Steele, 1926). Clark viewed this as Shakespeare's play, *Cymbeline*, because of the cruelty of Princess Imogen's step-mother, the queen. Unnamed, she was called "Step-mother" or "step-dame" three times in the play, and was "cruel to the world" and "Most cruel to herself" (5.5). She intended to murder Imogen with poison, as her elopement with Posthumous Leonatus ruined her son's chances of marrying her. The queen, however, offered to be the couple's "advocate" to "the offended" King Cymbeline – Imogen's father – who had just banished Posthumous Leonatus:

> Now be assured you shall not find me, daughter,
> After the slander of most stepmothers,
> Evil-eyed unto you ... [1.1]

After the queen exits, Imogen calls her "dissembling" and a "tyrant." Later learning of the queen's crime, King Cymbeline exclaims, "O most delicate fiend!" (5.1) Even the doctor she employs to make poison says,

> I do not like her ... I do know her spirit,
> And will not trust one of her malice with
> A drug of such damn'd nature. [1.5]

Imogen was the British king's only heir, having lost his two sons previously, "Some twenty years" (1.1). Elizabeth ascended the throne exactly twenty years before the court play's 1578 performance, after her two siblings' short reigns (Clark, 83). Four months before the court play (August 1578), Queen Elizabeth had received the French ambassador at Long Melford, near Cambridge, regarding her proposed marriage with the Duke of Alencon; in *Cymbeline*, exiled Posthumous Leonatus writes Imogen that he is "in Cambria, at Milford-Haven" (3.2). Imogen hopes to meet him there "in a day." As Milford-Haven in Cambria (Wales) is about 250 miles from London, and

Long Melford only 56 miles, Clark posited that the latter place was meant, alluding to a current event (Clark, 89-90). Interestingly, Alencon's mother, Catherine de'Medici, was proficient in knowledge of poison herbs.

Orthodoxy's circa 1610-11 dating for *Cymbeline* does not comport with numerous early literary allusions to it. George Pettie's 1580 book, *The Civil Conversation of Mr. Steeven Guazzo*, contained the uncommon line, "to tear him limb-meal" (Book 1), which appears in *Cymbeline* as "to tear her limb-meal" (2.4), (Sullivan, I). In John Lyly's 1584 play, *Campaspe*, a song is sung at the request of Sylvius: (Anders, 133)

> None but the Lark so shrill and clear.
> How at heaven's gates she claps her wings,
> The morn not waking 'til she sings.
> Hark, hark, with what a pretty throat ... [5.1]

In *Cymbeline*, a song is performed at the request of Cloten, beginning:

> Hark, hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings ... [2.3]

A phrase in Elizabeth's speech of November 12, 1586, "there were no more dependency upon us but," compares with *Cymbeline*'s "On whom there is no more dependency but" (2.3), (Maxwell & Wilson, 160-161). *Cymbeline*'s "How creeps acquaintance?" (1.4) was echoed by Robert Greene in 1592: "creep into acquaintance" (*A Quip For An Upstart Courtier*). Thomas Nashe's prologue to *Summer's Last Will* (1592), "As the Parthians fight, flying away," mimics *Cymbeline*'s "Or, like the Parthian, I shall flying fight" (1.6), (Dent, 1981, 189). Nashe's 1593 book, *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem*: "I have crack'd mine eye-strings" (F4 verso); *Cymbeline* (1.4): "I would have broke mine eye-strings, crack'd them, but /To look upon him..." (Maxwell & Wilson, 142) Thomas Heywood, *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1603): "I'll hale these balls until my eye-strings crack, / From being pull'd and drawn to look that way" (2.3). "Jove's palace crystalline" (line 27), in Thomas Edwards's poem, *Cephalus and Procris* (registered 1593), occurs in *Cymbeline* (5.4) when Jupiter [Jove] says, "Mount, eagle, to my palace crystalline." (Dowden, 1903, 176)

William Warner's *Albion's England* (1596) included the phrase, "a Justicer upright" (p. 244), like *Cymbeline*'s "Some upright justicer!" (4.5), (Malone et al., 1801 XIX, 222). George Chapman's phrase, "corruption furnaceth the universal sighs" (dedication, *The Seven Books of the Iliads of Homer*, 1598), compares with *Cymbeline*'s "he furnaces / The thick sighs from him" (1.6), (Malone et al, 180, XIX, 52). In John Marston's *The Metamorphosis of Pygmalion's Image* (1598), Pygmalion says of his female statue, "So sweet a breath that doth perfume the air" (verse 7); in *Cymbeline*, Iachimo spies on Imogen while sleeping: "'Tis her breathing that Perfumes the chamber thus" (2.2), (Dowden, 53).

A Moral of the Marriage of Mind and Measure (1579) [*The Taming of the Shrew*, usually dated circa 1590-1594]

A Moral of the marriage of Mind and Measure was seen by Queen Elizabeth on January 1, 1579 (Steele, 71). Clark determined this was Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*: Petruchio's "marriage" to shrewish Kate was to be achieved by taking "measures" to affect her willful "mind." Kate is "proud-minded" (2.1), and says, "your betters have endured me speak my mind" (4.1). Also, in the play's final scene, the reformed Kate reveals the comedy's "Moral" to newly married ladies, that her "mind hath been as big as one of yours," advising them to act humbly towards their husbands (Clark, 99-100).

Orthodoxy dates *Taming of the Shrew* circa 1590-94. A "too early" allusion is found in George Gascoigne's play, *Supposes* (1566), which featured a character named Petrucio, (Bullough, I, 61) and a father fearing his son was harmed by a servant:

> **Philogano:**
> ... he whom I sent hither with my son to be his servant, and to give attendance on him, hath either cut his throat, or by some evil means made him away ... [4.7]

The 1575 edition's margin note, "A shrewde suppose," was next to this line, presumably referencing Shakespeare's comedy, which also had a father fearing that his son's servant "hath murdered his master" (5.1), (Morris, 284). Robert Huyck, in his November 30, 1569 deposition, used the phrase, "play the good husband at home" (*La Neufme part des reports de Sr. Edw. Coke*, 1613, part 9), which is exactly found in *Taming of the Shrew* (5.1); (Rushton, 1867, 11) it also occurred in Edward Aggas's 1588 translation, *The politic and military discourses of the Lord de La Nouve* (p. 86). Richard Edwards's 1564 play, *Damon and Pithias*, features the phrase, "Happy man be his dole" as does *Taming of the Shrew* (1.1), (Dent, 1981, 164). In George Pettie's 1576 work, *A Petite Palace of Pettie, his Pleasure* (p. 140), a woman is compared to "gorged" hawks, trained birds of prey: (Dent, 1981, 131)

> For as gorged [sated] Hawks will stoop to no lure,
> so a woman vowed already to another man ...

In *Taming of the Shrew* (4.1), Kate is compared to a "gorged" falcon, a trained bird of prey:

> **Petruchio:**
> ... My Falcon now is sharp, and passing empty,
> And til she stoop, she must not be full gorged,
> For then she never looks upon her lure.

In John Lyly's 1578 novel, *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit*, Euphues names philosophers Aristippus and Diogenes, and then puns on Stoics: "Who so severe as the Stoics, which like stocks [posts] were moved with no melody?" In *Taming of the Shrew* (1.3), Tranio discusses "sweet philosophy" with Lucentio, mentions Aristotle, then puns on Stoics: "Let's be no Stoics, nor no stocks ..." (Rushton 1871, 2-3). Also, Euphues thinks men should not cover women's defects with nice language:

> be she never so comely call her counterfeit, be she never so straight think her crooked ... If she be well set, then call her a Boss [fat woman], if slender, a Hazel twig, if Nut-brown, as black as coal; if well colored, a painted wall; if she be pleasant, then is she a wanton; if sullen, a clown; if honest, then she is coy; [p. 43 v]

In *Taming of the Shrew* (2.1), Petruchio compliments the shrewish Kate: (Bond 1902, 254)

> I find you passing gentle:
> 'Twas told me you were rough and coy and sullen,
> And now I find report a very liar ...
> Why doth the world report that *Kate* doth limp?
> O sland'rous world: *Kate* like the hazel twig
> Is straight, and slender, and as brown in hue
> As hazel nuts, and sweeter than the kernels:

Sir Thomas North's translation of Plutarch's *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* (1579) has the unusual phrase, "milch kine [i.e., milking cows] to the pail" ("Pelopidas"), also found in *Taming of the Shrew* (2.1), (Bond 1905, 66-7). Petruchio sings the opening line of "Where is the life that late I led" (4.1), a song mentioned in *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (1578) (Morris, 246). A line in Anthony Munday's *Fidele and Fortunatus* (1585), "Woo her, wed her, bed her, and use her as you list (5.2, G1 verso), is like *Taming of the Shrew*'s "woo her, wed her, and bed her, and rid the house of her" (1.1), (Dent, 1981, 257). Also, "God send him good shipping" appears in the circa 1588 play, *The Tragedy of Soliman and Perseda* (4.2), and in *Taming of the Shrew* (5.1), (Morris, 281-2).

The History of the Rape of the Second Helene (1579) [*All's Well That Ends Well*, usually dated circa 1603-1605]

On January 6, 1579, *The history of the Rape of the Second Helene* was performed before Queen Elizabeth (Steele, 72). This was possibly an early title for Shakespeare's *All's Well That Ends Well*, as Helena – called Helen several times in the play – was specifically compared to the *first* Helen, the ancient Greek beauty, Helen of Troy (1.3), (Clark, 100). Helen of Troy was raped, in the sense of seduced, by the Trojan prince, Paris. Helena's rape in *All's Well That Ends Well* was seduction by her unknowing husband, Bertram, Count of Rousillon; he had married her against his will, and left her after the ceremony. He then turned to Diana, who was warned about him and his servant: "their promises, enticements, oaths, tokens, and all these engines of lust, are not the things they go under; many a maid hath been seduced by them" (3.5).

To reclaim her husband, Helena comes to know Diana's widowed mother, and asks if Bertram is "soliciting" Diana "in the unlawful purpose" (3.5). The Widow replies that he indeed wishes to "Corrupt the tender honor of a maid ..." Helena then colludes with Diana, who agrees to an assignation with Bertram; in darkness, Helena takes her place in bed, so Bertram unwittingly seduces his own wife.

Orthodox dating for *All's Well That Ends Well* is circa 1603-05. John Grange's line in *The Golden Aphroditis* (1577), "As Cuckolds come by destiny, so Cuckoos sing by kind" (sig. R2), echoes *All's Well That Ends Well*'s "Your marriage comes by destiny, /Your cuckoo sings by kind" (1.3), (Hunter 24). The anonymous *Arte of English Poesy* (1589) paired a tennis ball analogy with an adage (Hunter, 65-66):

> Antanaclasis. Ye have another figure which by his nature we may call the Rebound, alluding to the tennis ball which being smitten with the racket rebounds back again ... this playeth with one word written all alike but carrying diverse senses as thus:
> The maid that soon married is, soon marred is.

All's Well That Ends Well (2.3):

> **Parolles:**
> Why, these balls bound; there's noise in it. 'Tis hard:
> A young man married is a man that's marr'd.

Thomas Nashe's *Pierce Penniless* (1592) described eight kinds of drunks, based on animals (Hunter, 115):

> the third is Swine drunk; heavy, lumpish, and sleepy ...[sig. G3v]

All's Well That Ends Well (4.3):

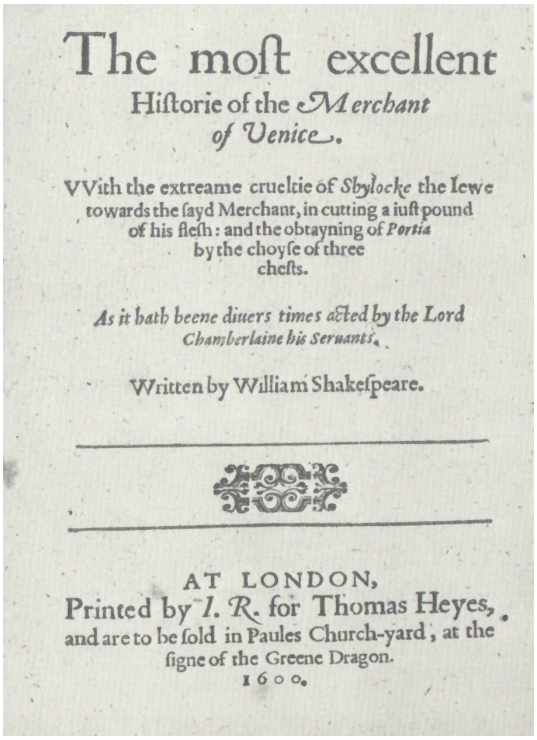
> **Parolles:**
> ... drunkenness
> is his best virtue, for he will be swine-drunk, and
> in his sleep he does little harm ...

On March 13, 1598, Philip Henslowe noted "Perowes suit" for actor, "Wm Sley," a likely allusion to character Parolles in *All's Well That Ends Well*; Sley was in Henslowe's employ from 1590-2, thus dating the play to this period (Gilvary, 164-65). *All's Well That Ends Well*'s unusual phrase, "monstrous desperate" (2.1), appears in John Weever's poem, "In Satyrum," in *The Whipping of the Satyre* (1601).

John Trussell's poem, *The First Rape of Fair Hellen* (1595), is suggestive of the 1579 court play's title. Trussell's work was much influenced by Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece* and *Venus and Adonis*, and its prefatory "Sonnet" is considered a tribute to Shakespeare.

The History of Portio and Demorantes (1580) [*History of The Merchant of Venice*, usually dated circa 1596-1597]

The February 2, 1580 royal play, *The history of Portio and demorantes*, (Steele, 80) was apparently mistranscribed. "Portio" was meant as Portia, *The Merchant of Venice*'s heroine, and "demorantes" meant as "the merchants," thus *The history of Portia and the merchants* (Ogburn, 1984). In Shakespeare's play, Portia, disguised as a male lawyer, defends in court the merchant, Antonio, against Venetian Jewish moneylender, Shylock.


The moſt excellent
Hiſtorie of the Merchant of Venice.
VVith the extreame crueltie of Shylocke the Iewe towards the ſayd Merchant, in cutting a iuſt pound of his fleſh: and the obtayning of Portia by the choyſe of three cheſts.
As it hath beene diuers times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants.
Written by William Shakeſpeare.
AT LONDON,
Printed by I. R. for Thomas Heyes, and are to be ſold in Paules Church-yard, at the ſigne of the Greene Dragon.
1600.

Orthodox dating for Shakespeare's play is circa 1596-97. In 1579, Stephen Gosson wrote of "The Jew," a play about "the greediness of worldly choosers, and bloody minds of Usurers" (*The School of Abuse*, p. 22 verso) – a theme so descriptive of *Merchant of Venice* that some scholars think it a "lost" Shakespeare source. *The Merchant of Venice*, however, was "otherwise called The Jew of Venice," when registered in July 1598 (Arber, 122). Also in 1579, Edmund Spenser's private letter to Gabriel Harvey (later published) seems to allude to it: "He that is fast bound unto thee in more obligations than any merchant in Italy to any Jew there." (Scott, 1884, 78) John Lyly's passage about love in *Euphues and His England* (1580), (Furness, *Merchant of Venice*, 141):

> For as by Basil the Scorpion is engendered, and by means of the same herb destroyed: so love, which by time and fancy is bred in an idle head, is by time and fancy banished from the heart: or as the Salamander which being a long space nourished in the fire ... [p. 38 verso]

resembles *The Merchant of Venice*'s passage on love:

> Tell me where is fancy bred, Or in the heart, or in the head: How begot, how nourished. Reply, reply. It is engender'd in the eyes, With gazing fed, and Fancy dies ... [3.2]

A story in Robert Wilson's play, *The Three Ladies of London* (1584), echoes *The Merchant of Venice*'s plot: an Italian merchant borrows 3000 ducats from a Jewish moneylender, then defaults; a trial scene ensues. (Kathman) Robert Greene's description of an Englishman's wardrobe in *Farewell to Folly* (registered in 1587),

> I have seen an English gentleman so diffused in his suits, his doublet being for the wear of Castile, his hose for Venice, his hat for France, his cloak for Germany ...

is like Portia's assessment of an English baron in *The Merchant of Venice* (1.1): (Quiller-Couch & Wilson, 127)

> ... How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany and his behavior everywhere.

Christopher Marlowe's play, *Dr. Faustus* (circa 1588), contained the line, "the Devil give thee good on't" (Scene 5) like in *The Merchant of Venice* (4.1): "Why then, the devil give him good of it." (Dent, 1984, 287) In Marlowe's circa 1589 play, *The Jew of Malta*, the daughter of the Jew, Barabas, recovers his hidden fortune by sneaking into their old house. While she drops moneybags down to Barabas, he exclaims: (Logan, 117-8)

> O my girl, My gold, my fortune, my felicity! ...
> O girl, O gold, O beauty, O my bliss! [2.1]

Barabas's daughter loved a Christian man. In *Merchant of Venice*, Shylock's daughter stole money and jewels from her father's house by dropping them through the window to her waiting Christian lover, and then they elope. Shylock's reaction to this news:

> My daughter! O my ducats! O my daughter!
> Fled with a Christian! O my Christian ducats!
> Justice! the law! my ducats, and my daughter!
> [2.8]

In *The Jew of Malta*, Barabas discusses bearing the insults of Christians: (Furness, *Merchant of Venice* 46)

> I learned in Florence how to kiss my hand,
> Heave up my shoulders when they call me dog ...
> [2.3]

In *Merchant of Venice*, Shylock speaks how he bears the insults of Christians:

> Still I have borne it with a patient shrug,
> (For sufferance is the badge of all our Tribe.)
> You call me misbeliever, cutthroat dog ... [1.3]

Barabas's name may have been inspired by Shylock's comment in *Merchant of Venice* (4.1): "Would any of the stock of Barabbas /Had been her husband rather than a Christian." In 1588, *The Voyage and Travail: of M. Caesar Frederick* [i.e., Federici], *Merchant of Venice*, was Thomas Hickock's English translation of the Italian; Federici's original title *did not* include "Merchant of Venice."

"The Venetian Comedy" was noted in Henslowe's diary on August 25, 1594 (Greg, 19). *The Merchant of Venice*'s first edition (1600) included the alternative title, "The comical History of the Merchant of Venice," and the First Folio classified it as a comedy.

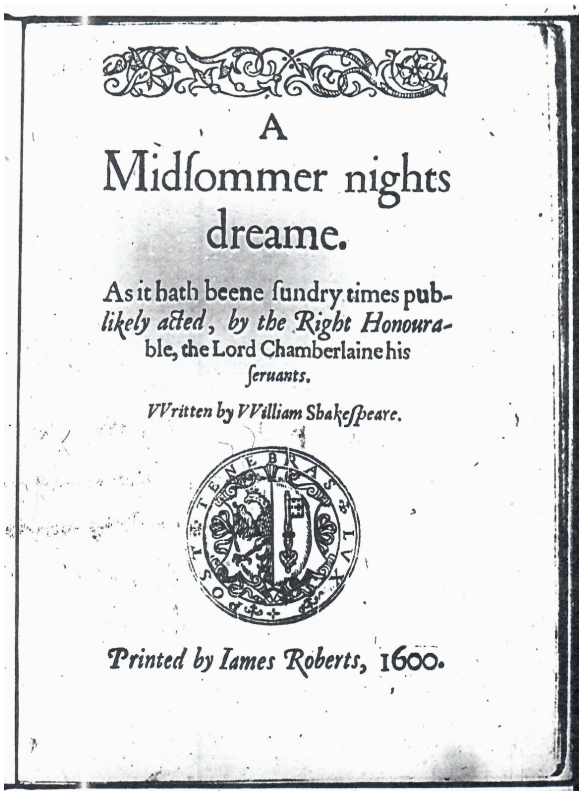
A Pastoral of Phillyda and Choryn (1584) [*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, usually dated circa 1595-1596]

A Pastoral of Phillyda and Choryn was presented before Queen Elizabeth on December 26, 1584. (Steele, 91) Phillida and Corin are associated with Oberon in Shakespeare's pastoral play, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (2.1):

> **Titania:** [*to Oberon*]
> Then I must be thy Lady; but I know
> When thou hast stolen away from Fairy land,
> And in the shape of *Corin*, sat all day,
> Playing on pipes of corn, and versing love,
> To amorous *Phillida*. [1600 edition, sig. B4]

Titania, Queen of Fairies, reminds Oberon, King of Fairies, that he had changed into a shepherd named Corin and wrote love verses to Phillida. An unsigned pastoral poem about Phillida and Corin appeared in *Songs and Sonnets* (1557), but *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is the only known play to mention the pair. Shakespeare's Corin was Oberon, the Fairy King, transformed. If Corin and Choryn were the same character, then *A pastoral of phillyda & Choryn* may have been an early version of Shakespeare's comedy, their storyline later dropped, but their memory retained in this passage.

Phillida and Coridon, and a fairy king and queen, were part of Elizabeth's 1591 entertainment at Elvetham, Hampshire (*The Honorable Entertainment*, 1591). Elizabeth heard a song about lovers Phillida and Coridon ("The


A
Midſommer nights
dreame.
As it hath beene ſundry times pub-
likely acted, by the Right Honoura-
ble, the Lord Chamberlaine his
ſeruants.
VVritten by VVilliam Shakeſpeare.
Printed by Iames Roberts, 1600.

Plowman's Song"), and she commanded an encore; on another day, a Fairy Queen presented Elizabeth with a "chaplet" (garland) "... Given me by *Auberon*, the Fairy King." This exactly parallels *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (2.1), in which Fairy Queen Titania speaks to Fairy King Oberon about "An odorous chaplet of sweet summer buds ..." (Furness, *Midsommer Night's Dream*, 2).

Orthodox dating for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is circa 1595-96, but earlier royal entertainments indicate the play was known before. Shakespeare's Oberon recalled an event where he heard a mermaid singing while "on a Dolphin's back"; her "dulcet" voice calmed the waters, and "stars shot madly from their spheres," i.e., fireworks:

Oberon:
... once I sat upon a promontory,
And heard a mermaid on a Dolphin's back
Uttering such a dulcet and harmonious breath
That the rude sea grew civil at her song
And certain stars shot madly from their spheres,
To hear the sea-maid's music. [2.1]

This passage was enacted during the queen's July 1575 visit at Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire, as recorded by R. L. (*A Letter*, 1578?). On one day, fireworks were "a-water and land"; on another day, the Greek sea god, Triton, appeared "upon a swimming mermaid." Arion, the musician, followed, "riding aloft upon his old friend the dolphin," and singing "a delectable ditty of a song ..." The song and "the presence of her Majesty & longing to listen had utterly damped all noise & din, the whole harmony conveyed in time, tune, & temper thus incomparably melodious ..." (pp. 42-43). George Gascoigne's "The pleasure at Kenelworth Castle" (*Whole Works*, 1587), corroborates R. L.'s account: "fireworks shewed upon the water" (p. 95), Triton addressed the queen "in likeness of a Mermaid" (p. 102), and "Protheus appeared, sitting on a Dolphin's back ... Within the which Dolphin a Consort of Music was secretly placed, the which sounded, and Proteus clearing his voice, sang ..." (p. 104).

In September 1575, at Woodstock Palace, Oxfordshire, Elizabeth watched "the Queen of the Fairy drawn with 6 children in a wagon of state"; the Fairy Queen praised Elizabeth in a speech, and presented her with a rich gown (*The Queen's Majesty's Entertainment at Woodstock*, 1585).

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (2.1), Oberon recalls Cupid shooting an arrow at "a fair vestal" but it missed her.

Oberon:
... Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
Cupid all arm'd: a certain aim he took
At a fair vestal throned by the west,
And loosed his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts;
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
Quench'd in the chaste beams of the watery moon,
And the imperial votaress passed on,
In maiden meditation, fancy-free.
Yet mark'd I where the bolt of Cupid fell:
It fell upon a little western flower ...

"A fair vestal throned by the west" and "imperial votaress" are accepted references to "virgin" Queen Elizabeth. In 1578, the queen encountered a similar scene, according to Thomas Churchyard's *A Discourse of the Queen's Majesty's entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk* (1578), (Rolfe, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, 161). In Tuesday's Device, Dame Chastity disarms Cupid and hands "Cupid's bow" to the queen,

> to learn to shoot at whom she pleased: since none could wound her highness' heart, it was meet (said Chastity) that she should do with Cupid's bow and arrows what she pleased.

In addition, Friday's Device included a dance of fairies, concluding with "The queen of Phayries" speech addressed to Queen Elizabeth.

The 13th century French poem, *Huon of Bordeaux*, featured Auberon, King of Fairies, but no Fairy Queen. Evidently, Shakespeare invented her for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, later reflected in royal entertainments of 1575, 1578 and 1591. Edmund Spenser's lengthy epic, *The Faerie Queene* (1590), came late in that sense; the title is "a misnomer," wrote Floris Delattre, as "it bears the name of a heroine who is now and then alluded to, but never actually depicted." (Delattre, 80) In his work's letter to Sir Walter Ralegh, Spenser acknowledged Queen Elizabeth as the "Faery Queene"; in 1600, Thomas Dekker addressed her as the "Dread Queen of Fairies" (prologue, *Old Fortunatus*), (Riely, 96). Interestingly, Queen Cleopatra was called "this great fairy" in *Antony and Cleopatra* (4.8).

The 1578 anthology, *Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (registered 1577) contained the poem, "The History of *Pyramus* and *Thisbie* truly translated."

... Behold (alas) this wicked cruel wall,
Whose cursed site, denyeth us perfect sight
[sig. O3 verso]

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (5.1), amateur players rehearse a play about Pyramus and Thisbe: (Brooks, 1979, 114)

> ... O wicked wall, through whom I see no bliss,
> Curs'd be thy stones for thus deceiving me!

The lyric, "Though Amaryllis dance in green /Like Fairy Queen," by court composer William Byrd, was featured in his *Psalms, Sonnets & Songs of Sadness and Piety* (1588), (Delattre, 69). *A Midsummer Night's Dream*'s phrase, "tear a Cat" (1.2), and *Histrio-mastix*'s (circa 1589-91) "tear the Cat" (5.1) both refer to actors on stage.

John Lyly's phrase in *Mother Bombie* (circa 1588), "he is as goodly a youth as one shall see in a summer's day" (1.3), parallels *A Midsummer Night's Dream*'s "Pyramus is a sweet-faced man; a proper man as one shall see in a summer's day" (1.2), (Brooks, 2007, 24). The phrase, "the fatal sword imbrue his breast" (4.3, Chorus), in Thomas Hughes's play, *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1588), seems to imitate "Come, trusty sword; / Come, blade, my breast imbrue" in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (5.1), (Corrigan, 31). Christopher Marlowe's translation, *Hero and Leander,* written by 1593, includes the line, "Thence flew Love's [Cupid's] arrow with the golden head" (1.161), like *A Midsummer Night's Dream*'s (1.1) "I swear to thee by Cupid's strongest bow, /By his best arrow with the golden head." (Brooks, 2007, 15) *The Arbor of Amorous Devices*, registered in 1594, featured a verse about birds: (Rollins, 1936, xvi)

> The Lark, the Thrush and Nightingale,
> The Linnets sweet, and eke the Turtles true,
> The chattering Pie, the Jay, and eke the Quail,
> The Throstle-Cock that was so black of hue. [Poem 3, lines 25-28]

Bottom sings a song about birds in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (3.1):

> The ouzel-cock, so black of hue,
> With orange-tawny bill,
> The throstle with his note so true,
> The wren with little quill ...
> The finch, the sparrow, and the lark ...

Love's Labour's Lost (1598) [*Love's Labour's Lost*, usually dated circa 1594-1595]

Shakespeare's comedy, *Love's Labour's Lost*, was "presented before her Highness this last Christmas," according to the 1598 edition's title page. Orthodox dating is circa 1594-95, yet allusions to the title start in 1578, with Sir Philip Sidney's masque, *The Lady of May*, presented to Queen Elizabeth in Wanstead, Essex: written within three lines are "loving labours folly" and "long lost labour." (Brooks, 1943, 510) In context of books and authors, John Florio, in *Florio His First Fruits* (1578), wrote: (Yates, 35)

> We need not speak so much of love, all books are full of love, with so many authors, that it were labour lost to speak of Love. [p. 71]

First Fruits also mentioned Holofernes, Pompey, Hercules, and Alexander, all cited in *Love's Labour's Lost*. *First Fruits*'s title page says it contains "familiar speech, merry Proverbs, witty Sentences, and golden sayings," pointing to possible Shakespeare borrowings. Florio likely saw a performance before his book's August 1578 registration. That same year, "Thrasonical" [i.e., bragging] and "discourse" appeared in one line in actor Richard Tarlton's book, *Tarleton's Tragical Treatises*, just like in *Love's Labour's Lost* (5.1), (Scott, 1896, 471).

In *Love's Labour's Lost* (5.1), character Armado was likened to Queen Elizabeth's jester, Monarcho. As Monarcho was dead by 1580, (Andersson, 2021) the reference would be untopical for circa 1594-1595. In *Alba* (1598), Robert Tofte wrote that he "once" saw *Love's Labour's Lost*, implying long ago. (Campbell & Quinn, 470) Gabriel Harvey wrote, "He often telleth me, he loveth me as himself, but out liar out, thou liest abominably in thy throat" (*Three Proper, and Witty, Familiar Letters*, 1580, p. 30), which compares with *Love's Labour's Lost* (4.3): "Well, I do nothing in the world but lie, / and lie in my throat. By heaven, I do love ..." (David, 93). And Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, completed circa 1582, has a similar phrase: "heaven, nor hell, shall keep his heart from being torn by these hands. Thou liest in thy throat" (Book 3), (David, 93). Another line parallel appears in John Lyly's 1587 play, *Endymion* (5.3): "I will not command love, for it cannot be enforced: let me entreat it." *Love's Labour's Lost* (4.1): "Shall I command thy love? I may. Shall I enforce thy love? I could. Shall I entreat thy love? I will." (Hart, 1913, 64).

A song in John Lyly's play, *Mother Bombie* (circa 1588), contains the line, "To whit to whoo, the Owl does cry" (3.4), which is like *Love's Labour's Lost*'s closing song: "Then nightly sings the staring Owl /'Tu-whit to-who.'" (Furness, *Love's Labour's Lost*, 318).

In *Love's Labour's Lost* (4.1), Armado's love letter to Jaquenetta gets wrongly delivered to the Princess, but it is read anyway. A soldier's love letter was misdelivered to Queen Elizabeth in her September 1592 entertainment at Rycot House, Oxfordshire, and was read anyway. (Hart, 1913, 61).

> ... a French page came with three other letters: the one written to the Lady Squemish, which being mistaken by a wrong superscription, was

> read before her Majesty. [*Speeches delivered to her majesty... at Ricorte*, 1592].

Both letters' style were pretentious and verbose. In 1592, Thomas Nashe wrote, "take their flesh down a button hole lower" (*Pierce Penniless*), which compares with "Master, let me take you a buttonhole lower" (5.2) in *Love's Labour's Lost*. (Dent, 1981, 190) Nashe also used the phrase, "more sacks to the Mill" (*The First Part of Pasquil's Apology*, sig. C2 verso), also found in *Love's Labour's Lost* (4.3), (Dent, 1981, 190). Samuel Daniel's lines 120-1 in *The Complaint of Rosamond* (1592):

> Ah beauty Siren, fair enchanting good,
> Sweet silent Rhetoric of persuading eyes:

compare with those in *Love's Labour's Lost* (4.3): (Law 46)

> Did not the heavenly rhetoric of thine eye
> 'Gainst whom the world cannot hold argument,
> Persuade my heart to this false perjury?

Gabriel Harvey's *Pierce's Supererogation* (1593) alludes to Nashe's *Pierce Penniless*: "entitled Pierce, the hogshead of wit" (p. 45), which was possibly influenced by *Love's Labour's Lost*'s "Piercing a hogshead!" (4.2), (Taylor, 95, 108).

Musical Comedy on Twelfth Night (1601) [*Twelfth Night*, usually dated circa 1599-1601]

Queen Elizabeth's entertainment on Twelfth Night (i.e., January 5 or 6) 1601 was very likely Shakespeare's comedy, *Twelfth Night*. Then present was Virginio Orsini, the Italian Duke of Bracciano, whose name resembles *Twelfth Night*'s character, Orsino, Duke of Illyria. Moreover, Shakespeare's play made no reference to Twelfth Night, nor had any relevance to it, which implies that the title derived from the performance date (the play's subtitle, *What You Will*, was possibly the original title); many royal performances occurred on Twelfth Night. In addition, a manuscript found in the Duke of Northumberland's library details the Lord Chamberlain's requirements that the entertainment be a "play that shall be best furnished with rich apparel, have great variety and change of music and dances, and of a subject that may be most pleasing to her Majesty ..." (Hotson, 142) *Twelfth Night* features five songs and is set in the households of a duke and a gentlewoman. Bracciano later described the entertainment as "a mingled comedy with pieces of music and dances." (Hotson, 202) The English court had less than two weeks' notice of Bracciano's visit, so the comedy he saw was not new. Although the description of this royal musical comedy fits *Twelfth Night*, as well as orthodoxy's dating (circa 1599-1601), it gets little notice in scholarship.

John Lyly apparently knew a line from *Twelfth Night*. In his 1580 novel, *Euphues and His England*, a gentleman says to a lady:

> of your wit I cannot judge." "No," quoth she, "I believe you, for none can judge of wit, but they that have it." "Why then," quoth he, "dost thou think me a fool?" "Thought is free, my Lord," quoth she, "I will not take you at your word." [p. 30]

A similar gentleman-lady repartee occurs in *Twelfth Night*: (Scott, 1884, 471)

> **Sir Andrew Aguecheek:**
> Fair Lady, do you think you have fools in hand?
>
> **Maria:**
> Sir, I have not you by th' hand.
>
> **Sir Andrew Aguecheek:**
> Marry but you shall have, and here's my hand.
>
> **Maria:**
> Now, sir, thought is free. [1.3]

This bit also occurred in the anonymous comedy, *Common Conditions*, registered in 1576. A "Fair Lady" tells a gentleman, "Do think not you have a fool in hand" (F1 verso, undated), echoing Sir Andrew's line, "Fair lady, do you think you have fools in hand?" (Dent, 1981, 113).

George Pettie's 1580 book, *The Civil Conversation of Mr. Steeven Guazzo*: "To play the fool well, it behooveth a man first to be wise" (p. 74), echoes *Twelfth Night*'s "This fellow is wise enough to play the fool, /And to do that well craves a kind of wit" (3.1), (Luce, 95). A story in Barnabe Riche's *Riche His Farewell to Military Profession* (1581) closely corresponds *Twelfth Night*'s plot: a Duke uses his "male" page (Silla, a woman disguised) to plead his love to the noblewoman, Julina. Julina says she "charily preserved mine honor"; her counterpart, Olivia, in *Twelfth Night*, says, "And laid mine honor too unchary out" (3.4), (Lothian & Craik, xlv).

In *Twelfth Night*, Olivia's steward, Malvolio, is tricked into believing that Olivia loves him, after reading a letter signed, "The Fortunate-Unhappy" – an English translation of Sir Christopher Hatton's poetical signature, "Fortunatus infelix." Hatton held various offices for Queen Elizabeth, and was her "perpetual suitor." (MacCaffrey). So Hatton's lampooning would have been funny and relevant during the 1570s, but not so circa 1600, about a decade after his

death.

In Samuel Daniel's *Delia* (1592), the author's rejection by Delia puts him in "a hart's despair" and "My thoughts (like hounds) pursue me to my death" (Sonnet 5); in *Twelfth Night*, Duke Orsino, upon first seeing Olivia, said he "turn'd into a hart /And my desires, like fell and cruel hounds, / E'er since pursue me" (1.1), (Anders, 88). Thomas Nashe's pamphlet, *Strange News* (1592): If thou bestow'st any courtesy on me, and I do not requite it, then call me cut; *Twelfth Night*: if thou hast her not i' the end, call me cut" (2.3), (Luce, 65). "Call me cut" also occurs in George Gascoigne's 1566 play, *Supposes* (5.5).

Twelfth Night's expression, "fear no colors" (1.4), occurred in Henry Roberts's 1595 book, *The Trumpet of Fame* (p. 5), (Rolfe, *Twelfth Night*, 155) and in Thomas Nashe's *Have With You to Saffron Walden* (1596), (Furness *Twelfe Night*, 60). Henry Porter's play, *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon* (4.3), written by 1598: (Furness, 1902, *Twelfe Night*, 60):

> **Nicholas:**
> Yes, indeed, I fear no colors: change sides, Richard.
>
> **Coomes:**
> Change the gallows! I'll see thee hanged first.

The underlined phrases also occur near each other in *Twelfth Night* (1.5):

> **Maria:** (*to Clown*)
> ... my lady will hang thee for thy absence.
>
> **Clown:**
> Let her hang me: he that is well hanged in this world needs to fear no colors.

(*Two Angry Women* also has "Call me cut," 3.2.) Emanuel Forde's 1598 novel, *Parismus, the Renowned Prince of Bohemia*, features characters Olivia and Violetta, the latter a woman disguised as a male page; *Twelfth Night* features characters Olivia and Viola, the latter a woman disguised as a male page. (Lothian & Craik, xlvii)

Upon Queen Elizabeth's death in March 1603, diarist John Manningham noted a story about her and Dr. George Boleyn, who had died two months earlier:

> Mr. Francis Curle told me how one Dr. Bullein, the Queen's kinsman, had a dog which he doted on, so much that the Queen understanding of it requested he would grant her one desire, and he should have whatsoever he would ask. She demanded his dog; he gave it, and "Now, Madame," quoth he, "you promised to give me my desire." "I will," quoth she." "Then I pray you give me my dog again." (Bruce, pp. 148-149)

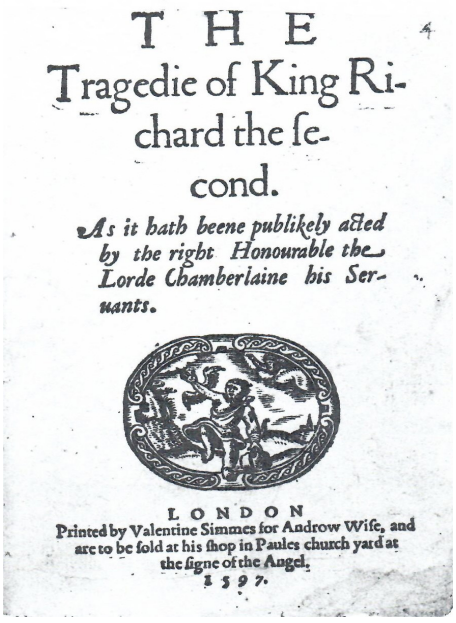
This incident was evidently recalled in *Twelfth Night* (5.1): (Rolfe, *Twelfth Night*, 209):

> **Fabian:**
> Now, as thou lovest me, let me see his letter.
>
> **Clown:**
> Good Master Fabian, grant me another request.
>
> **Fabian:**
> Anything.
>
> **Clown:**
> Do not desire to see this letter.
>
> **Fabian:**
> This is, to give a dog, and in recompense desire my dog again.

Undated, the incident could have occurred as early as 1576, when Boleyn earned his theology doctorate (Cambridge University).

A "Tragedy" of King Richard II (1601) [*The Tragedy of King Richard II*, usually dated circa 1595-1596]

In August 1601, William Lambarde, the Tower of London's keeper of records, conversed with Queen Elizabeth. He recorded her remark that a "tragedy" allegorized her as Richard II (Chambers, 1963, II, 326):


THE
Tragedie of King Richard the second.
As it hath beene publikely acted by the right Honourable the Lorde Chamberlaine his Seruants.
LONDON
Printed by Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules church yard at the signe of the Angel.
1597.

> so her Majesty fell upon the reign of King Richard II, saying, "I am Richard II. Know ye not that? ... this tragedy was played 40 times in open streets and houses."

The "tragedy" was Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of King Richard the Second* (title of first printed edition, 1597); it was publicly performed the night before the failed Essex rebellion in February 1601. Elizabeth knew *Richard II* well enough to make a pun from the play. An undated anecdote has the queen speaking out during John Blower's sermon at White Waltham's church, near Windsor Castle: (Ure, 173):

> 'Tis said that he [Blower] never preach'd but one Sermon in his Life, which was before Queen Elizabeth; and that as he was going about to caress [endear] the Queen, he first said "My royal Queen," and a little after "My noble Queen." Upon which says the Queen "What am I ten groats worse than I was?" At which Words being balked (for he was a Man of Modesty) he could not be prevail'd with to preach any more, but he said he would always read the Homilies for the future; which accordingly he did. (Hearne, 153)

A "royal" (or rial) was a 10 shilling coin; a "noble" was worth 6 shillings 8d – a ten-groat difference. In *Richard II* (5.5), the deposed King Richard speaks to a groom:

> **Groom:**
> Hail, royal prince!
>
> **Richard II:**
> Thanks, noble peer;
> The cheapest of us is ten groats too dear.

If Blower's only sermon was the one in the queen's presence, then it likely occurred in 1577, when he became the church's vicar. The story's source is antiquary, Thomas Hearne (1678-1735); he was born in White Waltham, where his father was a parish clerk.

The play was also alluded to at the earls of Essex and Southampton's treason trial. Sir Edward Coke accused them of trying to capture the queen; when Southampton asked Coke why they would, he replied, "... how long lived King Richard the Second after he was surprised in the same manner?" (Stopes 210) Shakespeare was also quoted during Essex's sentencing: "I owe God a death"; in *Henry IV-Part 1*, before a battle, the prince tells Falstaff, "Thou owest God a death" (5.1), (Green, 214).

Conventional dating for *Richard II* is circa 1595-96. Christopher Marlowe evidently knew the play. His circa 1587 play, *Tamburlaine the Great, Part 1* (4.1), described "prancing steeds, disdainfully /With wanton paces trampling on the ground"; (Robertson, 1923, 103) this echoes *Richard II*'s line about how a horse behaved with Bolingbroke aboard: "So proudly as if he disdain'd the ground" (5.5). In Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* (circa 1588), Dr. Faustus looks at Helen of Troy and says: (Logan, 27):

> Was this the face that launched a thousand ships ... [5.1]

The title character in *Richard II* looks in a mirror and repeats the phrase, "Was this the face" (4.1):

> Was this face, the face
> That every day, under his household roof,
> Did keep ten thousand men? Was this the face,
> That like the sun, did make beholders wink?
> Is this the face, which fac'd so many follies,
> That was at last outfac'd by Bolingbroke?

In addition, Marlowe's line in *The Massacre at Paris* (circa 1593), "For his oaths are seldom spent in vain (line 779), parallels *Richard II*'s "Where words are scarce, they are seldom spent in vain" (2.1), (Robertson 1923, 60). George Peele's play, *Edward I* (circa 1590): "To spoil the weed that chokes fair Cambria [Wales]!" (scene 17); *Richard II* (3.4): England "Is full of weeds, her fairest flowers chok'd up ..." (Sampley, 492)

The Merry Wives of Windsor (1602) [*The Merry Wives of Windsor*, usually dated circa 1597-1601]

The Merry Wives of Windsor was acted "before her Majesty," according to its 1602 title page. Orthodox dating is circa 1597-1601. Three earlier, supposedly lost, publicly performed plays could be Shakespeare's comedy under different titles, all noted in theater producer Phillip Henslowe's diary. (a) *The Jealous Comedy* played on January 5, 1593 (Greg, 15). *The Merry Wives of Windsor*'s subplot centers around Master Ford's jealousy of his wife; "jealous" appears 21 times in the play. (b) *The French Doctor* had fourteen performances from October 1594 to November 1596. (Greg, 19-22, 24-25, 42, 49) In *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Dr. Caius, who appears in seven scenes, is called "the French doctor" twice, and the "renowned French physician" once. Shakespeare's play "immortalized" Dr. John Caius (1510-73), a court physician. (Nutton). (c) *The French Comedy*, likely an alternative title of *The French Doctor*, saw seventeen total performances in 1595 and 1597. (Greg, 22,

24, 53-54) Henslowe's son-in-law, Edward Alleyn, sold *The French Doctor* to the Lord Admiral's Men acting company on January 18, 1602 – *the very the same day* that *Merry Wives of Windsor* was registered for publication, strongly suggesting they were the same play. (McNair, 319).

Merry Wives of Windsor contains a solid topical allusion. In August 1592, German Count Frederick of Mompelgard (1557-1608) visited the English towns of Maidenhead, Windsor, and Reading, where he was Queen Elizabeth's honored guest. (Hart, 1904, xli) Mompelgard, also spelled Mumpelgart, was heir to the Dukedom of Wurtemberg, and would succeed the following year. In the 1602 edition of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (4.5), a German Duke and his retinue are blamed for "cozenage" – the loss of horses at the Garter Inn.

Bardolf:
Sir here be three Gentlemen come from the Duke the Stranger sir,
Would have your horse.

Host: [*of the Garter Inn*]
The Duke, what Duke? let me speak with the Gentlemen, do they speak English? ... They have had my house a week at command, I have turned away my other guests, they shall have my horses *Bardolf*, they must come off, I'll sauce them....

Bardolf:
O Lord sir cousinage, plain cousinage.

Host:
Why man, where be my horses? Where be the Germans?

Bardolf:
Rid away with your horses:
After I came beyond Maidenhead,
They flung me in a slough of mire, & away they ran.

Doctor Caius:
Where be my Host de garter? ... Dear [there] be a Garmaine Duke come to de Court,
Has cozened all de host of Branford, And Redding ...

Sir Hugh Evans:
Where is mine Host of the garter?
Now my Host, I would desire you look you now,
To have a care of your entertainments,
For there is three sorts of cosen garmombles,
Is cosen all the Host of Maidenhead & Readings ...

[sigs. F2 verso, F4 verso]

"Garmombles" reverses two syllables in Mompelgard; Queen Elizabeth addressed Mompelgard as "my cousin" in letters, (Rye, lxii) thus "cosen garmombles." Cozen – "To deceive, dupe, beguile, impose upon" (*OED*, 2a) – punned on cousin. The phrase changed to "Cozen-Germans" in the First Folio. Horses had acute relevance to Mompelgard during his trip. On August 25, he was delayed at Oxford due to his inability of replacing post-horses, even after offering extra money. On September 2, Lord Charles Howard issued a document to Justices of the Peace, Mayors and Bailiffs, to see Mompelgard:

> furnished With post horses in his travel to the seaside ... he pay nothing for the same, for which 'tis shallbe your sufficient warrant so see that you fail not thereof at your perils. (Rye, 47)

Evidently, people were unaware that Mompelgard had free access to post horses.

The First Folio's version of this scene contained additional text. The Garter Inn's host says, "They shall have my horses, but I'll make them pay," reflecting the order that Mompelgard was not to be charged for use of horses; apparently, he had abused this privilege, outraging inn owners in several towns. Regarding the horse thieves, Bardolf says: "for so soon as I came beyond Eton, they threw me off ... like three German-devils; three *Doctor Faustuses*." Momplegard did visit Eton College, and "*Doctor Faustuses*" alluded to Christopher Marlowe's circa 1588 play, *Doctor Faustus*. The Host of the Garter Inn's whereabouts was questioned twice in the scene. Garter had special relevance for Mompelgard, who, during his trip, urged the queen to appoint him a Knight of the Garter. Shakespeare evidently knew this inside court knowledge.

John Lyly's line in *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (1578), "The Sun shineth upon the dunghill, and is not corrupted" (p. 6, verso), parallels *Merry Wives of Windsor*'s "Then did the sun on dunghill shine" (1.3), (Rushton 1871, 10). The line also appeared in Robert Southwell's *St. Peter's Complaint* (circa 1591): "As spotless sun doth on the dunghill shine" (stanza 56), (*Gentleman's Magazine* 42). In Lyly's play, *Endimion*, first performed on February 2, 1588, fairies sing about pinching the "mortal" Corsites: (Herford, 343)

> Pinch him, pinch him, black and blue,
> Saucy mortals must not view
> What the Queen of Stars is doing,
> Nor pry into our Fairy wooing. [4.3]

In *Merry Wives of Windsor* (5.5), fairies sing about pinching the "mortal" Falstaff:

> Pinch him, fairies, mutually
> Pinch him for his villainy
> Pinch him, and burn him, and turn him about,
> Till candles and starlight and moonshine be out.

Queen Elizabeth's 1582 poem, "On Monsieur's Departure": (Rolfe, *Merry Wives*, 174):

> I love and yet am forced to seem to hate ...
> My care is like my shadow in the sun,
> Follows me flying, flies when I pursue it ... [lines 2, 7-8]

Merry Wives of Windsor (2.2):

> **Ford:**
> Love like a shadow flies when substance love pursues;
> Pursuing that that flies, and flying what pursues.

Sir Philip Sidney's line in *Astrophil and Stella* (circa 1582), "Have I caught my heav'nly jewel ...?" (Song 2), mirrors *Merry Wives of Windsor* (3.3): "Have I caught thee, my heavenly jewel?" (Muir, 1963, 200)

BIOGRAPHY

Katherine Chiljan (BA History, UCLA) is an independent scholar who has studied the Shakespeare Authorship Question for over three decades. Author of *Shakespeare Suppressed: The Uncensored Truth About Shakespeare and his Works* (2011/2016, Faire Editions) described by her as a book of "evidence and explanation," Chiljan has debated the topic with English professors at the Smithsonian Institution and at the Mechanics' Institute in San Francisco. She has written numerous articles on the topic and has been interviewed about it on various radio podcasts. Based in the San Francisco area, she is a member of the Board of Directors of the Shakespeare Authorship Coalition.

ENDNOTES

1. According to the Revels account books, from 1604-05 to 1612-13 (National Archives, AO 3/908/13 and Bodleian Library Rawlinson MS A239), King James and his court viewed: *Othello*, *Measure for Measure*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Henry V*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Tempest*, *Julius Caesar*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *Henry IV, parts 1 and 2*. James saw *King Lear,* according to the Stationers' Register entry of November 26, 1607 (Arber, 366). *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* had a royal performance on May 20, 1619; (Campbell & Quinn, 1966) the court's 1619 Christmas season included *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Hamlet*. (Campbell & Quinn, 1966).
2. *Hamlet*, 1603 title page; "a Comedy of Errors (like to Plautus his Menechmus) was played by the Players" at Gray's Inn, December 27 or 28, 1594 (*Gesta Grayorum,* 1688); "Twelfth Night, or What you Will," played at Middle Temple on February 2, 1602; (Bruce, 1868) Sir Walter Ralegh's July 6, 1597 letter to Sir Robert Cecil, that Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, was "wonderful merry at your conceit of 'Richard the Second'"; (Edwards, 169) Jacques Petit's 1596 letter to Anthony Bacon. (Ungerer, 1961).

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