

THE MARGINALIA OF  
EDWARD DE VERE'S  
GENEVA BIBLE:  
PROVIDENTIAL DISCOVERY,  
LITERARY REASONING,  
AND HISTORICAL CONSEQUENCE

A Dissertation Presented  
by  
ROGER A. STRITMATTER

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment  
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The Department of Comparative Literature



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**A Dissertation Presented by**

**Roger A. Stritmatter**

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This Project is gratefully dedicated to three scholars, each of whom has taught me very much

JOHN STUART MILL (1806-1873)

Who taught us the importance of studying the adversary's case

J. THOMAS LOONEY (1870-1944)

Who first discovered the man who was "Shakespeare"

CHARLTON OGURN, JR. (1911-1998)

Who inspired us with his passion for truth



I will tell thee a similitude, o Esdras, as when thou askest the earth, it shal say unto thee, that it giveth much earthlie matter to make pottes, but litle dust that golde cometh of, so is it with the work of this worlde.

--Esdras

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Paul Nelson was the first “Oxfordian” to notice in 1990 that the Folger library owned the de Vere Bible; he graciously and selflessly consented to allow me to undertake the research documented in his dissertation.

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Paul Streitz volunteered to help prepare the dissertation for publication, to supply copies for the growing number of “Oxfordian” enthusiasts who have followed this research over the years and wanted the original story of the de Vere Bible.

\*\*\*\*\*

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Leslie Beran-Tower also gave generously and, just as importantly, always wanted to know the latest developments.

\*\*\*\*\*

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Daniel Wright, Founder of the de Vere Studies Conference at Concordia University in Portland Oregon, agreed to serve as a visiting committee member, bringing to bear on the dissertation his extensive knowledge of Shakespeare and religion. Over the past four years since the founding of the Concordia Conference, Dr. Wright has emerged, without any doubt, as the most articulate and dedicated proponent of the Oxford case on the contemporary intellectual scene.

William Moebius, Chair of the Comparative Literature Department, without whom it is fair to say this dissertation would never have been completed, performed the Herculean task of editing and commenting

on every page of the dissertation. More than that, over many years Bill patiently supported my intellectual development by setting exacting standards of excellence, continuing to pose important questions, and challenging me in myriad fruitful ways, while consistently indicating his incredulity over the official view of Shakespeare.

Preparing a publication of this scope and detail is a humbling experience. This second printing, July 2001, includes numerous small corrections to the text, brought to my attention by several kind and attentive readers: Mouse, Michael Kositsky, Dr. Richard Smiley, Edward Sisson, James P. McGill, Carl Caruso, and Virginia Renner.

Any remaining errors of fact, form, or interpretation are, of course, my own.

#### Note to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Printing, January 2003

James McGill, the author of appendix of C, has acknowledged an error in the methodology of chi-square analysis which invalidates the conclusions of that particular analysis of the de Vere Bible data. Thanks are due to Terry Ross for pointing out this error. So far, no one has advanced a credible critique of McGill's Hypergeometric distribution analysis. Moreover, no critic has ventured to explain or refute in any credible terms the evidence presented in appendix E which demonstrates the uniquely close fit between the de Vere Bible data and "Shakespeare" – a fit which is orders of magnitude more impressive than that found in control samples from Bacon, Marlowe, and Edmund Spenser.

Several factual emendations also appear for the first time in this printing of the dissertation. In addition to several items added to the transcript which are noted on p. 350, two further changes are introduced here for the first time: based on data presented in Shaheen (1999), SD#27 (p. 227) has been updated to include a total of six items, two more than previously estimated. In chapter 27 (p. 223), two additional marked psalms are noted for the first time, bringing the total marked in the Sternhold and Hopkins psalms to 16. I thank David Kathman for pointing out these marked psalms.

Additional fine-tuning of the Shakespeare Diagnostics list, including some additions from items marked in the de Vere Bible, and some which are not marked, will appear in my forthcoming book, *Prospero's Bible*. For the time being, the list included here, although lacking some relevant cross-references, remains the most complete and accurate enumeration of the predominating Bible themes in Shakespeare extant in the literature on the subject.

Finally, Appendix D in this printing includes for the first time a number of additional items marked in the de Vere Bible which were inadvertently omitted in the original copy. These discrepancies were pointed out to me by Jim Brooks and are enumerated on page 350.



## ABSTRACT

### THE MARGINALIA OF EDWARD DE VERE'S GENEVA BIBLE: PROVIDENTIAL DISCOVERY, LITERARY REASONING, AND HISTORICAL CONSEQUENCE

FEBRUARY 2001

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This dissertation analyzes the findings of a ten year study of the 1568-70 Geneva Bible originally owned and annotated by Edward de Vere, 17<sup>th</sup> Earl of Oxford (1550-1604), and now owned by the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington D.C. (Folger shelf mark 1427). This is the first and – presently -- only dissertation in literary studies which pursues with open respect the heretical but probative thesis of John Thomas Looney (1920), B. M. Ward (1928), Charlton Ogburn Jr. (1984) and other “amateur” scholars, which postulates de Vere as the literary mind behind the popular *nom de plume* “William Shakespeare.” The dissertation reviews a selection of the many credible supports for this theory and then considers confirmatory evidence from the annotations of the de Vere Bible, demonstrating the coherence of life, literary precedent, and art, which is the inevitable consequence of the Oxford theory. Appendices offer detailed paleographical analysis, review the history of the authorship question, consider the chronology of the Shakespearean canon, and refute the claim of some critics that the alleged connections between the de Vere Bible and “Shakespeare” are “random.”



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Cover photo of de Vere Bible, courtesy of the Folger Shake-speare Library.



## INTRODUCTION: ON PROVIDENCE, HERMENEUTICS AND HISTORY

Shakespeare has always been a notoriously difficult writer for many readers. Consequently, the history of dissent regarding the authorship of his works implies an intriguing question which should not go unconsidered at this juncture in critical history: is it possible that the greatest obstacle to reading Shakespeare with appreciation is the obfuscatory veil imposed upon the text by the traditional view of the Stratford grain merchant as author, and the habitual silencing of rational questions of students with fundamentalist mantras like “incomprehensible genius?”

A history of Shakespearean scholarship reveals that Shakespeare’s “personality” has been out of focus since long before it became fashionable to dilate on this fact in critical jargon. No conscientious reader can fail to be impressed by the duration and the extent of the problem (please see appendix M for details). An effective rule of thumb is: the more the Shakespeare critic trades in biography, the less he teaches about the Shakespearean oeuvre as a literary experience. The great works of criticism – one thinks for example of Harold Goddard’s *The Meaning of Shakespeare* (1951) or the many illuminating essays of G. Wilson Knight or John Dover Wilson – dispense with biography as an impediment to literary understanding, and concentrate on analysis of the plays.

“Shakespeare” is consequently a text without a body – and the resulting absence of coherence is, naturally, disorienting. Active readers spontaneously employ the figure of the author as a strategy for making sense out of a text. As Hermann Melville writes in “Hawthorne and His Mosses” (1850), thinking of both Hawthorne and Shakespeare,

No man can read a fine author, and relish him to his very bones, while he reads, without subsequently fancying to himself some ideal image of the man and his mind. And if you rightly look for it, you will almost always find that the author himself has somewhere furnished you with his own picture. (249)

In recent decades a florescence of “theory” has substituted for open discussion of the authorship question invoked in Melville’s essay. Since publication of *The Mysterious William Shakespeare* (1984), Shakespearean studies has circumnavigated the issue of authorship, avoiding the actual historical problems raised in centuries of doubt about the *bona fides* of the official story of Shakespeare’s identity. Rather than admit the existence of the Shakespeare question, leading scholars have instead attempted to write the concept of authorship out of the lexicon of literary criticism, or they have waxed eloquent on the metaphysical omnipresence of the Bard, equating a pseudonym with a God. Such trends to substitute



The view of Shakespeare which emerges from the present dissertation, as well as from works such as *'Shakespeare' Identified* or *The Mysterious William Shakespeare*, is consequently not only focused but in remarkable ways even intimate in character. Adherents of the 'Oxfordian' school do not assume that genius, whatever it consists of, is "essentially incomprehensible"; on the contrary, they posit that the mind of the author can be indeed be known, through the close and careful comparative study of the primary documents which attest to his existence and beliefs: the works themselves.

A corollary to this methodological premise is that no exegesis of the text even approaches adequacy which does not bring to bear a thorough or at least systematic knowledge of the pre-existing characters – characters exterior to, surrounding, and giving life to, the text itself – which have informed the author's imagination and been harnessed to his artistic intentions. When King Lear declares that "nothing will come of nothing" he is on the verge of a descent into cleansing madness. His words – paradoxically-- are not his own. They mimic an ancient paradox of ontology – and are borrowed from the 1<sup>st</sup> century Roman satirist Persius Flaccus, one of the most gifted but abstruse writers of the "Western Canon." But Cordelia's willful undersong of budding "truth" supplies the counterpoint to Lear's antiquarian nihilism: another pretext for the scene is the de Vere heraldic motto, *Vero nihil verius*, "nothing truer than the truth."

The present critique of the severance of life and art invoked by the Shakespeare establishment as the precondition for knowledge of the Shakespearean text was anticipated by leading poets and creative minds of previous centuries who did not necessarily endorse the solution set forth in these pages. In one of the most prophetic statements in the history of Shakespeare criticism, John Keats declared that "Shakespeare lived a life of allegory" – adding that "his works are comments on it." This prophecy of Keats remains unfulfilled today only because it is impossible to reconcile with orthodox premises of authorship; in no way are the works of "Shakespeare" an allegory for the life of the Stratford bourgeois to whom they are traditionally attributed.

An impressive body of critical literature, both orthodox and heterodox in its premises, does however concur in seeing certain characters of the canon – Hamlet, Falstaff, Biron, Duke Vincenzo, Troilus, Touchstone and Prospero spring to mind -- as expressively "authorial" in character. The humanity of these characters impresses itself so vividly on the mind of a sensitive reader that it is difficult to avoid the implication that in them "Shakespeare" embodies more than a little of his own persona and circumstance by means of allegory.

The Shake-speare Sonnets, furthermore, attest in vivid and direct symbolic language to the author's experiences and convictions. By cross-referencing the Sonnets to the plays, a vivid and coherent image of the bard emerges. This image, however, unfortunately, is impossible to reconcile with the orthodox view of Shakespearean authorship. For this very reason the wholistic methodology employed in the present

study, which analyzes the Shakespearean literary corpus as a figurative allegorical manifestation of a real life, is rarely adopted by orthodox academicians, and never with significant success.

In concluding these preliminary remarks, it seems appropriate to say a word about the most difficult term in the title of the dissertation. When Hamlet declares that there is “providence in the fall of a sparrow” he means that every event portends a larger schema of reality which is not immediately obvious to the biological eye. In his Geneva Bible the Earl of Oxford has underlined several notes from the books of Samuel (Stritmatter 1999), which express this concept as it was experienced by the 16<sup>th</sup> century Calvinist theological mind. The author of the plays and poems, this dissertation argues, believed in a kind of mystical providence which provided him with the emotional sustenance needed to complete his work under conditions which would have crushed a more faint-hearted warrior. But “Shakespeare” was undoubtedly familiar with additional sources of insight into the essentially human problem of comprehending the structure of unfolding causality in the cosmos.

In places, in fact, Shakespeare sounds closer to Cicero’s *De Providentia* than to the obvious theological sources of doctrine on this subject. Cicero, who is of course not a Calvinist, declares that foreknowledge of the future does exist, but only as a result of human skill in reading signs which point towards a larger and more comprehensive process which is unfolding in time. For Cicero, in other words, there is nothing supernatural about providence. The roots of the science of weather forecasting can be discerned in the practice of observation of natural signs associated with their likely consequences. Eventually the primitive philosopher could summarize the results of his observation in an aphorism: “red sky at night, sailor’s delight; red sky in the morning, sailor take warning.” It literally became possible, within limits, to “read” the future.

Alert students of the authorship question such as Eva Turner Clarke, Charles Wisner Barrell, and Charlton Ogburn Jr. have long noted the 1569 Court of Wards record in which the de Vere Bible makes its entrance into literary history, since shortly after B. M. Ward first documented its existence in 1928. Observing that de Vere makes reference to Exodus 3.14 (“I am that I am”) in his infamous 1584 letter to Lord Burghley, these scholars commented on the existence of documentary evidence which demonstrated de Vere’s firsthand knowledge of the source of these words – which are also, incidentally, echoed by “Shakespeare” in Sonnet 121 (pp. 142-43 this document).

I mean the term “providential”, then, in this Ciceronian sense. It refers to the skill of the canny literary historian who is keen enough to sense the *potential* significance of some piece of evidence long before its *actual* significance becomes fully manifest. It is in this sense – and not with any necessarily theological implication – that the term appears in the title of the present document.

“Literary reasoning” is the process of the interpretation of literary texts to form conclusions about their meaning and significance. In literary reasoning, numerical symbols can play a role, but they are



never the whole story. They are also not things-in-themselves; they are subordinate to logic and literary inference, to which they contribute when statistically robust. No matter how impressive the *number* of marked verses which demonstrate an influence in “Shakespeare,” the inner story of these annotations is not told by numbers, but in the brief sequence of marked verses (Micah 7.9, Matthew 6.1-4 and Revelations 3.5: see chapter 26) which comment on the condition of a man whose name has been erased from history and which set forth the divine promise of his eventual redemption. This is a matter of hermeneutics, not calculus. No sentient being with an open heart and a critical mind, apprised of this evidence, can fail to be impressed by its profound implications for literary history.

Finally, it should not be supposed that the present document is the last word on the de Vere Bible or on the authorship question. It is instead a summary of nearly ten years of study and inner reflection on the possible meaning of a truly extraordinary literary document.

By “historical consequence” I mean the principle that, as I was once reminded by a University of Massachusetts graduate student in English, “truth is the daughter of time.” Eventually old conspiracies become addle-brained; they die, and something fresher and braver assumes their place in history.

## TECHNICAL CAVEATS

An complete list of the de Vere Bible annotations, with corresponding references to Shakespeare, is included in this document as appendix G.

For the sake of simplicity, I have followed the convention of printing quotations from Shakespeare in modern spelling but have retained the original spelling of other Renaissance documents. Line numbers of Shakespeare quotations refer to those used in the Riverside edition and Spivack’s Concordance.



## CHAPTER 1.

### THE OXFORDIAN SYNTHESIS

The present document, a University dissertation which argues for the relevance of an impressive if unconventional body of evidence, in support of an equally unconventional conclusion, has been completed in an atmosphere which might perhaps be best compared to a bitter trench warfare. On one side is a shrinking population of tenured professors in English and allied disciplines, which not only believes the official story of Shakespeare, retailed most recently in Park Honan's new biography (1999), and before that by a long list of distinguished but ultimately unconvincing scholars from James Orchard Halliwell-Phillips (1882) to Sir Sidney Lee (1898), E.K. Chambers (1930), Marchette Chute (1949), A.L. Rowse (1963, 1973), Samuel Schoenbaum (1975; 1991) or even Gary Taylor (1989) --- but resents any doubts about this premise as an affront to its integrity and professional mission. On the other side is a collection of eccentrics and free thinkers, mostly without PhDs or other paraphernalia attesting to their status as experts, who might best be compared to Falstaff's recruits in *II Henry IV*. These insist, against all official sanction, that an impressive body of evidence supports a contrary conclusion -- namely that "Shakespeare" was a pen name for Edward de Vere, the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford (1550-1604).

Whether the traditional and now moribund view of Shakespeare can be kept alive through new life-support technologies to survive the first decade of the new millennium remains an unanswered but significant question at this point in intellectual history. For what is not -- yet -- recognized is that there is a third force allied, sometimes without knowing it, to the Oxfordian heretics. A number of prominent academicians, adapting consciously or otherwise to the present threat to orthodox cognitive equilibrium, have adopted epistemic positions on the early modern cultural history of Europe which are inexorably undermining conventional views of Shakespeare. Cultural historians such as Leah Marcus in her 1993 study documenting the "iconoclastic" character of the 1623 Shakespeare Folio<sup>1</sup>, Annabelle Patterson in her theory of the way literary forms contrive to escape censorship by flying low under the radar of the censor (1984)<sup>2</sup>, or Marjorie Garber, whose *Ghostwriting Shakespeare* (1987) became the first work by a representative of Shakespearean orthodoxy to acknowledge the sanity of the heretics and ask what institutional forces were shaping orthodoxy's (sometimes fabulously constricted and deformed)

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<sup>1</sup> See Stritmatter (1999d) for an analysis of Marcus's contribution to the "Oxfordian synthesis."

<sup>2</sup> Stritmatter (1995) considers some of the implications of Patterson's "hermeneutics of censorship" for Shakespeare studies.

knowledge of its own subject, have each made significant, though underestimated, contributions to the current intellectual ferment. An "Oxfordian synthesis," integrating such current theoretical approaches with new discoveries such as the de Vere Bible, within the discourse already established in books such as J. Thomas Looney's *"Shakespeare" Identified* (1920), Charlton Ogburn Jr.'s *The Mysterious William Shakespeare* (1984), and William Plumer Fowler's *Shakespeare Revealed in Oxford's Letters* (1986), although not yet acknowledged by establishment Shakespeare institutions, is already percolating at events such as Concordia University's annual De Vere Studies Conference<sup>3</sup>. The present document contributes to the project of bringing the synthesis to fruition and implementing a corresponding pedagogy -- in which students are invited to look with fresh interpretative eyes on the ancient but fascinating literary texts of the Shakespearean canon.

A word is in order regarding the subject of literary research and the concept of "evidence" employed in the present document. In their recent study of Ben Jonson's marginal annotations in the *Fairie Queene* (1995), James A. Riddell and Stanley Stewart offer an articulate defense of the relevance of literary research to interpretation and make an articulate plea on behalf of "evidence" as a primary epistemic category. "When should the critic characterize evidence, before or after it has been examined?" ask Riddell and Stewart, who were dismayed to find that, in their own circles, it was standard practice to characterize evidence *before* it had been examined. In response they offered the following commentary:

The impulse to characterize evidence before it has been seen may be rooted in our instincts: fight or flight. Evidence threatens to complicate our impulse to explain the world in familiar terms. Jonson's annotations are of necessity "conventional" because the alternative might lead us to think that some marks are not "conventional," and possibly even original. Such a possibility involves an epistemological enormity. How can such annotations come into being unless they are "constructed"? And if they are "constructed," they must be "constructed" -- that is, "conventional" -- made up of material recognizably like themselves "by custom" and "according to precedent." In this way "conventionality" as a concept makes evidence barely predictable and boring, and so, irrelevant. The world of "conventionality" goes on as it did before evidence appeared -- that is, "conventionally" -- thus proving that evidence as a concept is bogus and retrograde in that it threatens theory based on "conventionality". (1995 133-34)

This dismal state of conventionality is something like a state religion in which the sacred texts are written in a foreign tongue, translations are outlawed, and the purpose of reading is to prepare the acolyte for a successful career handing down a fossilized repository of knowledge to passive conformists:

if the literary scholar knows anything about Shakespeare or Spenser or Donne or Jonson, it is only what everyone else has learned from centuries of accumulated scholarship which, now institutionalized, merely requires a quasi-ritualistic handing down of unchanging and unchangeable lore....."Discovery" is not likely because everything is already "known," everything worth saying has already been said, passed down from our knowledgeable predecessors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (1-2)

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<sup>3</sup> Established in 1997, the Conference is now entering its fourth season. In 1999 it drew one hundred and twenty participants, four times the number in 1997, many of them with PhDs or Masters Degrees. At the time of this writing the Board of Directors of the Shakespeare Oxford Society includes three tenured English professors, all of them well-published specialists in the English Renaissance and/or Shakespeare.

The present study of the marginal annotations of the de Vere Bible, although it differs in scope and intent from Riddell and Stewart's study of Jonson's Spenser annotations, has encountered many similar objections in its preliminary phases. Even before being articulated, the evidence has been "characterized," by dedicated partisans of the Shakespearean orthodoxy, as not only unlikely but, in fact, preposterous -- not a discovery but a "false alarm" (*Smithsonian* April 1995).

Reviewing the published responses to preliminary statements made by the present writer, at forums such as the University of Massachusetts English Department Colloquium (March 1993), the Huntington Library (January 1992), The Shakespeare Authorship Roundtable (January 1992) and the Shakespeare Oxford Society (October 1994, 1996 etc.), it is difficult to understand whether critics such as Alan Nelson, Bruce Smith or David Kathman really understand the argument they are attempting to refute. Alan Nelson's self-contradictory statements are particularly puzzling. Writing to the *Smithsonian* magazine in 1995, Nelson approved the annotator's handwriting as de Vere's<sup>4</sup> but, as for any possible connection between the Bible and Shakespeare, he stated that he did not "believe in it."<sup>5</sup> When asked the basis for this belief, Nelson did not answer; subsequently, however, in public statements to the *Chronicle of Higher Education* and other media sources, Nelson reversed his opinion on the issue of the handwriting. David Kathman, writing for his own on-line web page<sup>6</sup>, is convinced that the alleged correspondences between the Bible and Shakespeare are the illusory consequence of "random" operations<sup>7</sup> but apparently holds no opinion about the handwriting. Bruce Smith (1993), on the other hand, acknowledges a possible connection between the Bible and the Biblical references of "Shakespeare" but believes, for bizarre reasons<sup>8</sup>, that the de Vere Bible was annotated by someone other than de Vere. One begins to wonder just where the high priesthood of Shakespearean orthodoxy intends to draw its line in the sand.

From a historical perspective, such confused responses are perhaps understandable, however regrettable; they represent reflexive manifestations of the "flight or fight" instinct identified by Stewart and Riddell. No disinterested party surveying the history of the dispute briefly surveyed in appendix M of the present document can fail to realize that the Shakespeare heretics, starting at least with Delia Bacon's *Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded* (1857), have built a powerful, cumulative and persuasive case for the falsity of the official dogma of Shakespeare. Starting with J. Thomas Looney's path-breaking work of literary detection, a book which persuaded Sigmund Freud and Leslie Howard, among other prominent intellectuals and artistic figures, that negative case has been inexorably

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<sup>4</sup> "I am 99 and 44/100 certain that the annotating hand is de Vere's," declared Nelson in a May 3 1995 communiqué to the on-line Phaeton discussion group.

<sup>5</sup> Alan Nelson letter May 27, 1995.

<sup>6</sup> [bcpl.lib.md.us/~tross/ws/ox5.html](http://bcpl.lib.md.us/~tross/ws/ox5.html), pp. 1-3, 1/11/98 7:45 p.m.

<sup>7</sup> For details of these and other (reflexive) critiques of the present study, see chapter Nine and appendix B.

<sup>8</sup> For Smith's reasons, see Smith 1994, page 60. Smith's criticisms are refuted by Anderson and Stritmatter (1996).

transformed into a positive case supporting the attribution of the works to de Vere. This case, however, has been vigorously -- sometimes viciously -- suppressed within institutions of Higher Education. The result is that more than three generations of intellectuals, in America and in other English speaking dominions as well as England, have been educated to scorn an idea which deserves only their thoughtful respect and investigation. As Hope and Holston summarize this circumstance in their recent witty history of the authorship question:

The best trained and most highly respected professional students of Shakespeare in the colleges and universities of England and America contemplated the seemingly seamless argument presented in "*Shakespeare*" *Identified* and quickly discovered a flaw in it. The book was written by a man with a funny name. They found their arguments against Looney where they had found their arguments in favor of William Shakspeare -- on a title page. (1992 116)

It may safely be predicted that in such a contentiously anti-intellectual atmosphere any flaws in the present argument will be seized upon by eager would-be critics of the Oxford theory and cited *against that theory* rather than, as would be the practice in a rational debate in which there is room for doubt regarding the relation between premises and conclusions on both sides, merely attributing such failures to a particular writer. However, when it comes to the authorship question, general conclusions are "refuted" by recourse to the Tweedledum of trivial distractions and the Tweedledee of ideological character assassination.

Under such circumstances it may therefore be appropriate to stipulate that the present writer is what orthodox academicians are habituated to stigmatizing<sup>9</sup> as a "committed Oxfordian," viz. a student of intellectual history who read and appreciated the intellectual merits and -- if such they be -- flaws of authorship classics like "*Shakespeare*" *Identified* (1920) and *The Mysterious William Shakespeare* (1984) long before ever laying eyes upon the de Vere Bible. The authors of such works have fought a long and impressive uphill battle against entrenched dogma, and no cultural historian can fail to be impressed by the extent to which they have prevailed, from a purely intellectual point of view, in most of their engagements with orthodox academicians. In summarizing his criticisms of O.J. Campbell's 1940 *Harper's* critique of his work, Looney projected that

those who wish to believe that the Stratford man wrote the plays, and would be much upset if they thought there was strong evidence that Oxford was the dramatist will, no doubt, be able to draw some comfort from the Professor's pleasant and skillful skimming over the surface of things, but he is not likely to make much impression on serious students of the problem. (1)

Serious students of the case are increasingly impressed by the cumulative character of the positive evidence which writers such as Charles Wisner Barrell, Ruth Loyd Miller, Dorothy Ogburn, and Charlton Ogburn have assembled over the past seventy years since Looney's initial study. By 1989, when *PBS Frontline* aired their *Shakespeare Mystery*, this accumulation had already swayed many informed and

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<sup>9</sup> See Richmond Crinkley's 1985 exposé of the ethos of Shakespearean institutions such as the Folger Library (SQ 36:515-522).

independent students of Shakespeare – Leslie Howard, Orson Welles<sup>10</sup>, Sigmund Freud, Tyrone Guthrie, Louis J. Halle, and David McCullough to name only a few -- to endorse the Oxford heresy (SOS Web page<sup>11</sup>). This list of intellectuals and theatrical figures continues to swell in the present, and now includes Michael Hart, Kristine Linklater, Richard Kennedy, Dr. Felicia Hardison Londrè, Dr. David Richardson, Dr. Jack Shuttleworth, Dr. Ren Draya, Dr. Anne Pluto, Michael York, Sir Derek Jacobi, Sir John Gielgud, Clifton Fadiman, Charles Van Doren and Mortimer Adler, as well as Supreme Court Justices John Paul Stevens, Harry Blackmun and Anthony Kennedy.

Soon after viewing the *Shakespeare Mystery*, as a result of his own reading and consideration of Mr. Ogburn's book, the *Shakspeare Allusion Books* (Ingleby 1909), and the books of George Greenwood and Sidney Lee, the present writer joined the ranks of these distinguished skeptics of the Shakespeare myth. Indeed, in a 1991 letter to the editor of the *Shakespeare Oxford Society Newsletter*, written before ever laying eyes on the de Vere Bible, I proposed that the case for Oxford's authorship was already, in effect, a *fait accompli*. In support of this contention I quoted Dr. Warren Hope's 1978 statement to Richard Ohmann, the past editor of *College English* magazine, in response to the latter's sanctimonious declaration that the authorship controversy, pending "new evidence," would not be discussed within the hallowed precincts of that publication. There was, replied Hope, "no need for new [Oxfordian] evidence until 'the academy' deals with the evidence which has been gathered over the past sixty years" (SOSN 27:4 12). On grounds as much ethical as intellectual, I believed that Hope's words, written in 1978, were still true in 1991; today it is my conviction that they remain true, and would remain so even without the corroborative evidence documented here<sup>12</sup>.

The De Vere Bible is not a "smoking gun." It *does*, however, supply researchers with a revealing look into the devotional practices which sustained the annotator's creative life and bring to bear for the first time a cornucopia of hitherto unnoticed confirmatory evidence supporting the Oxfordian thesis.

The new evidence contained in this document should be evaluated in a comparative context, as one element in a larger circumstantial case, other pieces of which have been assembled through many decades of past research. Readers will do well to consider the principles adumbrated by J. Thomas Looney when he first considered the character of the case for de Vere's authorship in "*Shakespeare*" *Identified*:

The predominating element in what we call circumstantial evidence is that of coincidence. A few circumstances we may treat as simply interesting; a number of coincidences we regard as remarkable; a vast accumulation of extraordinary coincidences we accept as conclusive proof. (80)

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<sup>10</sup> "I think Oxford wrote Shakespeare. If you don't agree, there are some awful [sic] funny coincidences to explain away." Quoted in *Persona Grata* by Cecil Beaton & Kenneth Tynan. Putnam, New York (1954) 98

<sup>11</sup> WWW.Shakespeare-Oxford.com

<sup>12</sup> Nor could I feel that anyone who would represent my work on the de Vere Bible in another light than this had done anything other than *misrepresent* my beliefs and statements.

Although Looney went on to predict that “new” – confirmatory -- “data may be unearthed” (405), he also believed, correctly in my view, that his book *in itself* had permanently altered the terms of the authorship debate by sketching a powerful if not conclusive *prima facie* case for Oxford’s authorship. This case, however, because it depended upon the reticulation and coordination of independently concurring “extraordinary coincidences,” was vulnerable to caricature and misrepresentation by a powerful intellectual elite whose faith in the tautological slogan that “Shakespeare is Shakespeare” is frequently confused with an intellectual argument.

Rebuttal of a circumstantial case requires more than the mere chipping away at one or another element of the case, while leaving every other element unmentioned, out of sight, and therefore presumably out of the jury’s mind. Accordingly, Looney fortified his conclusion against anticipated counterattack by insisting that just as no single element of the case was *in itself* grounds for obtaining a reader’s agreement, no criticism of a single element, however valid it might seem in a microscopic context, could prevail so long as it refused to engage and acknowledge the substantive elements of the case which remained in place even should that element require rejection or modification. Of course, however, this has been precisely the strategy favored by orthodox critics of the “Looney” theory of Oxford’s identity as “Shakespeare.” Thus Looney in his 1940 response to O.J. Campbell’s belated recognition of “*Shakespeare*” *Identified*,<sup>13</sup> characterized the Professor’s method as

Just like that of counsel for the defense of a criminal faced with a mass of mutually corroborating evidence against his client, and making the best of what he feels to be a weak case. That is, he points to the inconclusiveness of this, that, or the other piece of evidence, viewed by itself, and seeks to divert attention away from the manner in which the different elements in the evidence all fit in with one another.  
(*Shakespeare Fellowship Newsletter* 2:1 (Dec. 1940) 1)

If, therefore, the present dissertation should be seen as contributing a number of individually interesting and collectively remarkable “coincidences,” the reader should not forget the significant fact that this structure of coincidences is embedded within a larger “structure of coincidence” – which some might be tempted to term a “paradigm” – which multiplies the force of the conclusions implied herein. Rather than imposing an unwarranted, ahistorical empiricism on this document, the writer accordingly hopes that his readers will consider it an exercise in applied hermeneutics in which “the jurist and theologian meet the student of the humanities,” to quote Gadamer’s apt formulation. Quantitative arguments play a role, but only one role, in the arguments which follow. Furthermore it must be emphasized that this dissertation is hardly the last word on the authorship question: it represents a moment in an evolving and dynamic historical inquiry into the authorship and character of the Shakespearean oeuvre.





## CHAPTER 2. MARK HIM WELL...

The man whose Bible forms the subject of this dissertation was born, we are told<sup>15</sup>, into the ancient noble house of Vere on April 12 1550, at the midpoint of the short and anarchic reign of Henry VIII's pious but ineffective Protestant son Edward VI, and only three years before the bloody counter-reformation effected by Edward's half-sister Mary Tudor. England had another eight years to wait for Elizabeth I to ascend the throne; she restored the nation to moderate Protestantism and civil peace, ushering in the "golden age" of Gloriana in a reign which lasted fifty years and cultivated the genius of "Shakespeare," Edmund Spenser, Christopher Marlowe and Ben Jonson.

The de Veres had held the earldom of Oxford since Edward's ancestor Aubrey de Vere (1040-1088) had "come in with the conqueror." By the reign of Elizabeth I they were the oldest intact patrilineal dynasty within the English nobility. After the death of his first wife Dorothy Neville, by whom he had one child, John de Vere, the sixteenth Earl of Oxford, remarried in 1548; his second wife was Marjorie Golding, the sister of the noted Calvinist theologian and translator Arthur Golding. The couple raised two children -- Edward and his sister Mary<sup>16</sup>. At the death of John in August 1562, young Edward, now the 17<sup>th</sup> Earl of Oxford, entered the Court of Wards and the care of William Cecil, the newly appointed master of this venerable institution. An account of the orphan boy's flamboyant escort into London from his ancestral estate at Castle Hedingham in Northern Essex, preserved in Machyn's diary for September 3, 1562, vividly pictures him passing through London, Chepe and Ludgate, and from there on to Temple Bar, escorted by seven score --140!-- mourning horsemen all in black (Ward 15). De Vere took up residence in Cecil house on the Strand, which remained his chief residence during the years of his minority; although appointed to the Earldom as early as 1568 when he turned eighteen, the former ward

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<sup>15</sup> Hatt. MSS Cal. (XIII.142). The document is Lord Burghley's memorandum (January 3, 1576), taken on the instruction of The Queen's own physician Richard Master (see Lansdowne MSS. 19.83, excerpted by Ward 114-115), who requested that "there may a note be taken from the day of her [Anne Cecil's] first day of quickening, for thereof somewhat may be known noteworthy". It is curious that in the midst of all this sound and fury about Anne's own pregnancy, while trying to remember and make note of every time during the past six months when his daughter and her husband were lodged in the same household, to see if he could pin a paternity button on the husband, the Master of the Court of Wards should pause to recalculate the husband's birthday. Note to the third (Feb 2003) printing: some critics seem to have misunderstood this footnote. They need to read more carefully. Hatt. XIII.142 is, aside from mention of Oxford's baptismal cup, an item of evidence which came to light subsequent to the writing of this dissertation, the only document known the writer which states or even implies the birth date of the 17<sup>th</sup> Earl of Oxford.

<sup>16</sup> I have not been able to discover Mary Vere's date of birth.

remained a debtor to the Court until after his 1591 second marriage to Elizabeth Trentham in his forty-first year.

Let us pause for a moment to take account of the one, and perhaps only point, on which the myriad narratives of Edward de Vere's life, both those written from sympathy and those written from envy, are agreed: both during his lifetime and after his death, up until the close of the present millennium, intense and often bitter controversy has always swirled about this extraordinary human figure. Reviled during his own lifetime, often, after his 1575-76 visit to Continental European states and extended stay in Tuscany, as the "diablo incarnato" of the Italianate Englishman, or sometimes as a wild English boar set loose in the orchards of public decency, de Vere is still actively despised, sometimes with a passion which seems to call in question professional responsibility to render objective judgements about the past, by a number of prominent modern historians. William Cecil's biographer Conyers Read reviles him as a "cad" and "unwhipped cub" (1960 135). To the great Shakespearean biographer and critic A. L. Rowse he was a "frightful intellectual lightweight" who "never wrote a play in his life" (PBS Frontline 1989). Elizabeth Jenkins characterizes him as one of those who, "like Hamlet, are so impressed with the importance of their own sufferings, that they are completely indifferent to the pain they themselves give to other people" (1958 13).

If there is therefore some doubt among orthodox scholars regarding Oxford's character, his education and intellectual accomplishments have always, at least up until recently, been regarded with consistent admiration. No honest cultural history of the Elizabethan court can fail to notice his accomplishments -- even under his own name -- as poet, scholar and patron. It was Oxford whose court allies during the 1570's and 80's defended the naturalism of the English language in opposing the misplaced faith in classical meters -- the "Hexameter Folly" as Alexander Grosart (1884, I: xlvii) terms it<sup>17</sup> -- espoused by Sir Philip Sidney's *Areopagus*, which had unfortunately fallen under the aesthetic sway of that great Nestor of the Elizabethan court, Oxford's former Cambridge classmate and classicist Gabriel Harvey. Oxford's lyrics, in his own day and among the discerning moderns of previous centuries, have been regarded as remarkable specimens of cultivated wit, manifestations of a superlative intellect, deeply imaginative and tuneful, yet always restrained by the sort of decorum exhibited by the character Euphues in the popular novels of that name by Oxford's quondam secretary John Lyly. Alexander Grosart in his *Miscellanies of The Fuller Worthies' Library* (1872-76), felt confident that his gathering of unpublished lyrics by Oxford would "prove a pleasant surprise...to most readers". The poems themselves are not, supposed this

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<sup>17</sup> "None but a 'fantastic pedant' could have insisted on experiment so nonsensical," writes Grosart (1884 I: xlviii). "And none but a man blinded by 'vanity' could so have boasted of being the Inventor of the Hexameter. The paper on 'Hobbinol' is deftly dumb on the whole absurdity." Other distinguished witnesses in the field of the history of metrical form concur with Grosart's opinion. Mayor (1901 263) writes that Harvey's verses "met with deserved ridicule from Green and Nashe." Spenser in his own letter to Harvey identifies the "only or chiefest hardness" of English hexameters as "the accent, which sometime gapeth and as it were yawneeth ill-favoredly....but it is to be won by custom, and rough words must be subdued with use. For why, a God's name, may not we, as well as the Greeks, have the kingdom of our own language, and measure our accents

imminent critic, "without touches of the true Singer, and there is an atmosphere of graciousness about them that is grateful" (IV, 11). His talent as a comic dramatist is praised as early as 1598 when Francis Meres declares him the "best for comedy". Even Conyers Read concedes that "there can be little doubt that Oxford was a diligent student (126)...[He] distinguished himself as a classical scholar, showed considerable talent as a poet, took a great interest in the drama" (440).<sup>18</sup> Stephen May, a leading contemporary authority on manuscript poetry collections, concurs, calling Oxford "a nobleman with extraordinary intellectual interests and commitments" whose biography exhibits a "lifelong devotion to learning" (8).

From the documents of Oxford's early life and education emerge three prominent themes: his very early and intense fascination with history, his love and aptitude for foreign languages, and his versatile and precocious wit. By the age of twelve, the young Earl had earned the ultimate compliment of a tutor, when the Anglo-Saxon scholar Lawrence Nowell informed William Cecil that "I can clearly see that my work for the Earl of Oxford cannot be much longer required" (Ogburn 440-41). "It is not unknown to others, and I have had experience thereof myself," wrote his uncle Arthur Golding in his dedication to de Vere of his translation of *The History of Trogius Pompeius* (1564) "how earnest a desire your honour hath naturally graffed to you to read, peruse, and communicate with others as well the histories of ancient times, and things done long ago, as also the present estate of things in our days, and that not without *a certain pregnancy of wit and ripeness of understanding*" (Chiljan 4: emphasis added). John Brook, in his 1577 dedication of *The Staff of Christian Faith*, remembers him as one who "even from your tender years bestowed your time and travail towards the attaining of [learning]" (Chiljan 32). Even his implacable enemy Charles Arundel, speaking of the adult Oxford, admitted that his table talk "left nothing to reply, but everyone to wonder at his judgement." Oxford was, declared Arundel, "reputed for his eloquence another Cicero, and for his conduct a Caesar" (Ward 1928 124).

The Geneva Bible, considered in detail in the present dissertation, is just one of many books which have left a distinctive imprint in "Shakespeare," for which scholars can trace a direct connection to de Vere. Indeed, in reviewing Oxford's educational experience, one cannot fail to notice numerous tangible points of connection between de Vere's life and the established sources of Shakespeare's plays, as identified in works such as Geoffrey Bullough's *Sources of the Plays of Shakespeare*.

De Vere's former Cambridge tutor Bartholomew Clerke, under the patronage of his former student, translated into Latin Baldassar Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, a book which left a profound imprint on *Hamlet* and other Shakespearean works. *Il Cortegiano* records a discussion with participants of both genders at the court of the Duke of Urbino on the question of what constituted the perfect courtier. To this

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by the sound, reserving the quantity of the verse" (in Mayor 265). It seems that even Spenser was very early aware of the absurdity of the great poetaster's aesthetic principles.

<sup>18</sup> Read even admits that de Vere has been "put forward seriously as the author of Shakespeare's plays" (440).

seminal 1571 translation de Vere affixed a Latin prose preface, first translated by B.M. Ward in his 1928 biography of Oxford.

Castiglione endorsed a very different ideal of courtly life than that espoused by Machiavelli's "new science" in works like *Il Principe*; his ideal of the humanist Courtier, himself versatile in the arts of music, painting, poetry, and theatre, a scholar and an artist as well as a soldier, profoundly shaped the *imago* of the cultivated courtier depicted in such Shakespearean characters as Hamlet. Castiglione was the antiquated anti-type of Machiavelli, the founder of modern political science. Charlton Ogburn writes of the latter that by "developing techniques for managing affairs based on that appraisal which would be of advantage to the state, he bequeathed the science of politics to our century" (500). Between "Shakespeare" and the new breed of politicians nursed on Machiavelli's advice, however, it seems that there could be no quarter drawn. In Shakespeare the Florentine philosopher is assimilated to the Medieval character of *Vice*, a figure excavated and refurbished with contemporary allegorical signification out of the dustbin of the indigenous Saxon and Norman theatrical traditions to which de Vere was heir. Shakespeare's Machiavelli, as Ogburn says, is a "fount of evil" (500). In Shakespeare Machiavellian politicians such as Lord Polonius are exposed as busybody meddlers and corrupt apparatchiks. Richard of Gloucester, the scheming devil figure of the entire Shakespearean historical epic, can think of no paragon of evil beyond Machiavelli, and accordingly establishes his own pre-eminence by declaring that his example will "set the murderous Machiavel to school" (3 *Henry VI* 3.2.193).

Just as "Shakespeare" despises the values extolled in Machiavelli, he constantly illustrates the ideal of the cultured courtier found in *Il Cortegiano*, a book published under de Vere's patronage. In his introductory note to the Everyman edition of *The Courtier*, Drayton Henderson even offers the following curious wager:

I... venture to say, if a trifle hyperbolically, that without Castiglione we should not have Hamlet. The ideal of the courtier, scholar, soldier developed first in Italy, and perfected in the narrative of *Il Cortegiano*, was Castiglione's gift to the world.....Hamlet is the high exemplar of it in our literature.  
(Ogburn 1984 499)

Other prominent Shakespearean sources demonstrate similar connections to de Vere. Jerome Cardan's *De Consolatione*, Englished by Thomas Bedingfield and published as *Cardanus' Comforte*, by "the commandment" of Edward de Vere in 1573 has in fact left a much more explicit and detailed trail of testimony documenting its connection to *Hamlet* than has *Il Cortegiano*. Hardin Craig, summarizing and commenting upon this tradition in his 1934 *Huntington Bulletin* article, found that the connections between Hamlet and *De Consolatione* were

More numerous and of a more fundamental character than even Hunter seems to have realized. Indeed, it may be said, without great exaggeration and irrespective of whether or not Shakespeare presented his hero as reading in this particular book just before he spoke his soliloquy (2.2.160-223), that Cardan's *De Consolatione* is pre-eminently "Hamlet's book," since the philosophy of Hamlet agrees remarkably with that of Cardan.  
(18)

De Vere's prose and poetic prefaces to Cardan's treatise, known by several prominent Shakespeare scholars -- Francis Douce, Joseph Hunter, Lily Campbell and Hardin Craig -- as "Hamlet's Book," are the subject of a recent article of my own published in *The Oxfordian* (1998), updating a 1946 essay by Charles Wisner Barrell.

Arthur Golding's 1564 translation of the *Histories of Trogius Pompeius*, another book dedicated to de Vere, is also a prominent source text for Shakespeare, according to Charles Wisner Barrell.

Altogether, there are ten or more clear-cut allusions in the plays to the memorable characterizations and passages that appear in Golding's translation of *Trogius Pompeius*. In addition, Shakespeare appears to have drawn heavily from the book in naming many of his dramatic personages. Fully a dozen of the heroes of antiquity that Golding revitalized for the delectation of his brilliant nephew appear in name if not in exact characterization in the Shakespeare comedies and tragedies--exclusive of the Roman plays, modeled directly on Plutarch.  
(Barrell 1940 4)

Golding's 1565-67 translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* into lumbering "fourteeners" has also left a deep imprint on Shakespeare, one scarcely rivaled by any other single source<sup>19</sup>. As Leonard Barkan has recently underscored (Barkan 1986), of all the ancient influences on Shakespeare, Ovid is the most intimate and far-reaching, with the possible exception of the holy Bible. Although most critics concede the controversial point that Shakespeare was familiar with Ovidian texts such as the *Fasti* which were not translated into English until long after Shakespeare wrote (a concession which requires implicit acknowledgment of a bard with a sophisticated understanding of Latin language and literature), it is beyond dispute that the wording of Golding's English translation of the *Metamorphoses* is very often retained in Shakespeare's own text. "The phraseology of Golding's translation so frequently reappears in Shakespeare's page," asserts Sir Sidney Lee, "especially by way of subsidiary illustration, as almost to compel the conviction that *Shakespeare knew much of Golding's book by heart*" (1909 119: emphasis supplied).

In view of this profound and pervasive influence of Golding on Shakespeare, it may be relevant to mention that Golding served as Oxford's Latin tutor during the critical formative years of the 1560's, the same period during which this translation, which Shakespeare is said to have retained "by heart," was being prepared. This, at any rate, is the conclusion of Golding family historian Louis Thorne Golding in his 1937 biography of the classicist. Both as the son of a distinguished nobleman and as a precocious student with pronounced literary interests, de Vere would have expected and obtained the best possible tutor in the field of classics. By this criterion alone, Golding was the obvious choice. There was, however, another reason to suspect an intimate early association between Arthur Golding and Edward de

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<sup>19</sup> Unlike sources such as Plutarch, Halle or Holinshead, whose influence is limited to the specific plays for which they are germane, Ovid and the Bible manifest a ubiquitous presence in the canon and form a substratum of Shakespearean idea and image. A few other books, for example Palingenius's *Zodiacke of Life*, a popular neo-Platonic poem (available in both English and Latin in Elizabethan England), may manifest a similar ubiquity of influence. But there seems little ground to doubt that Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (and the *Fasti* and other lesser known works such as the *Amores*) and the Bible exhibit the most profound and pervasive influence in Shakespeare. For a comprehensive and illuminating survey of the influence of Palingenius in Shakespeare, see Hankins (1953). On Ovid's influence in Shakespeare see Barkan (1986) and Bate (1993).

Vere during the 1560s: Golding's sister Marjorie was Edward de Vere's mother, and Golding was appointed legal retainer of many of the de Vere estates in Essex after the death of the 16<sup>th</sup> Earl in 1562. Although "no definite record has been found indicating<sup>20</sup> such a connection....[Golding's role as Oxford's Latin tutor]....would appear reasonable in view of the factor of relationship as well as the fitness of the one and the youth of the other" (1937 29). Golding's 1564 dedication to the young de Vere, if it does not prove him to have been his tutor, at least shows how closely the translator assumed an interest in his nephew's educational development. Would this have been repaid, at the very least, by the boy's diligent comparative study of Golding's famous translation of *The Metamorphoses*, alongside the Latin original in one of the famous editions of Regius? If so, such early and intimate acquaintance with this Latin poet, psychologist, and humorist -- from whom, among other characteristics, Shakespeare has in part derived his profound comprehension of the psychology of gender and sexuality -- would account for much of de Vere's reputation as an irrepressible wit. He shared this character trait with the naughty mythographer Ovid. Like Shakespeare's precocious young Lucius in *Titus Andronicus*, the young de Vere could naturally have joked, of the most important book in the plot, "'tis Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; my mother gave it me"<sup>21</sup> (4.1.42: emphasis added).

To these examples of influence upon "Shakespeare" of sources or authors with whom de Vere was demonstrably familiar many more might be added; a complete list would require a volume as extensive as the present study of De Vere Bible annotations. Miller (1975 486) for instance, records the remarkable influence of Democritus on Shakespeare. The English Democritean Nicholas Hill (c. 1570-1610), father of the atomic theory in English science was -- according to Anthony á Wood (86) and the *Dictionary of National Biography* -- secretary to de Vere during the 1590's. Miller also discusses Oxford's patronage of the Irish composer John Farmer in view of Shakespeare's profound knowledge of music, music theory, and the pronounced "musicality" of his lyrical forms. To Farmer one must of course add William Byrd, to whose 1588 *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs of Sadnes* (STC 4254), Oxford contributed at least two lyrics, "My Mind to Me a Kingdom Is" (May 1975) and "If Women Could be Fair and Yet Not Fond" (Palgrave 1861; Chiljan 1998). Most recently, Robert Brazil (1999) has noted that *The New Iewell of Health* (1576), which Stephen Booth (1976: 389-399) identifies as a primary source for the dense and extensive alchemical imagery of the Sonnets, was authored by the de Vere family physician Dr. George Baker, and the book itself is even dedicated to Anne Cecil de Vere, Countess of Oxford with a full page depiction of the de Vere armorial devices.

Along with de Vere's fascination for history and his penchant for reading books which would in time become known among the most important sources of the Shakespearean dramas, one should not omit

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<sup>20</sup> The verb is very badly chosen. A great deal of evidence "indicates" the alleged relationship; none *yet* proves it.

<sup>21</sup> Note the potential if not actual joke: it was de Vere's *mother's brother* who "gave" the young scholar the *Metamorphoses* by engaging him in the process of translation.

notice of his scandalous “pregnant” wit. The “antic disposition” which earned him a distinguished reputation as the leading comic dramatist of the 1580s seems to have frequently boomeranged against de Vere when powerful individuals whom he offended, unable to defend themselves against his jests, expressed their displeasure at his foolery. Like Queen Gertrude responding to Hamlet’s assumed role as the court fool of Elsinore, his relations often found themselves in the awkward position of having “screened and stood between much heat and him” (3.4.4), long past the moment when shielding him seemed politically expedient. We catch one tantalizing glimpse of Oxford’s notoriety for inflicting damage with his tongue - or pen? -- in a letter to Burghley from his prospective mother-in-law Katherine Willoughby, the Duchess of Suffolk, whose son Peregrine Bertie married Edward’s half-sister Katherine de Vere, when she reports in dismay Mary Vere’s admission that she “could not *rule her brother’s tongue*, nor help the rest of his faults....” (cited in Ward 152: emphasis added). A first hand opportunity to overhear the kind of jests to which Katherine Willoughby must have been objecting, comes from the Arundel-Howard Interrogatories. Charles Arundel and Henry Howard answered Oxford’s December 1581 indictment that they were plotting regicide and counter-reformation by accusing him, among other crimes and misdemeanors, of

Railing at Francis Southwell for commending the Queen’s singing one night at Hampton Court, and protesting by the blood of god that she had the worst voice and did everything with the worst grace that ever woman did.  
(Transcription: Ward 213).

While the accusation was surely calculated to arouse Elizabeth’s ire against Howard’s accuser, Southwell himself has apparently written an exculpatory clause in the margins of the interrogatory: “audibi<sup>22</sup>, sed in poculis” – “I have heard it, but [he was] ‘in his cups’ at the time” (Ward 1928 213: translation mine). Oxford’s crack at the Queen’s singing voice, however, seems to have become almost legendary. Consider the cosmic humor in the line, delivered back at the author by Elizabeth/Portia in *Merchant of Venice*, on the subject of having a bad singing voice in 5.1. Lorenzo, entering to greet Portia and Nerissa, announces that he has recognized Portia from another room *by her voice* -- by which he means the familiar timbre and tones of her *speaking* voice. Responds Portia, in the one play in the entire Shakespearean canon which, from start to finish, is *about* music: “He knows me as the blind man knows the Cuckoo, by the bad voice!” (5.1.112). Portia, in a moment of mental confusion which seems uncharacteristic for Shakespeare’s mistress of Jurisprudence, mistakes the intent of Lorenzo’s line, taking it for a criticism of her singing talent. Apparently, Portia has heard the complaint before.

Other characters in Shakespeare often confuse the right to say what it is *they feel*, with what they *ought* to say. Often the clown figure, like Touchstone, Feste or LaVache in *All’s Well that Ends Well*, represents de Vere-the-court-fool, always making fun of things about which he should keep his mouth

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<sup>22</sup>Spelling Ward’s: “b” and “v” are allophonic in Hispanic Latin.



shut. In *All's Well* for instance, Helena's mother, echoing the real-life complaints of Oxford's unruly tongue, despairs that LaVache will forever remain a "foul mouth'd and calumnius knave"<sup>23</sup> (1.3.57).

Oxford's "pregnancy" of wit is affirmed not only in his reputation of being "the best for Comedy" -- as Francis Meres calls him in 1598 -- and his offenses against actual or potential in-laws--but, far more significantly, in Tom Nashe's glowing tribute to him in *Strange News* (1592), the previously mentioned anti-Harvey tract dedicated to Oxford under the sobriquets "Master Apis Lapis"<sup>24</sup> and "Gentle Master William" (see Barrell 1944). In that tract, Nashe warns Gabriel Harvey that he has "courtly incensed the Earl of Oxford against you," and instructs him to beware of further offense<sup>25</sup>, lest Oxford's wit turn him into a laughing stock on the public stage, as Nashe and the Queen's Men had recently done with Martin Marprelate:

Mark him well. He is but a little fellow, but he hath one of the best wits in England. Should he take thee in hand again (as he flieth from such inferior concertation) I prophesy as many readers will die of a merry mortality engendered by the eternal jests he would maul thee with, than there have done of this last infection...

(McKerrow I:300-301)<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> "Aye, madam," replies the irrepressible clown, "I speak the truth -- in the next way," an utterance in which "the next way" evidently functions in a prophetic and apocalyptic sense as meaning that time will unmask the significance of his riddling offenses and show them to be not calumnious but true.

<sup>24</sup> The "stoned bull" or "castrated ox."

<sup>25</sup> Harvey had previously been brought before the privy council for his lampoon of Oxford as an Italianate fop in *Speculum Tuscanismi* (1581) -- published strategically enough right at the moment of Oxford's greatest vulnerability during the Vavasour and Howard affairs. Nashe's detailed account of the affair, which reprints Harvey's own account in italics, is given in *Strange News* (G2 1-35).

<sup>26</sup> Ogburn (1984) and some others have questioned whether the "little fellow" with the rapier wit in this passage is really Oxford or -- as John Lyly's biographers seem to have assumed -- Lyly himself. Ward (1928 192), the first to argue that the passage referred to Oxford, adduces arguments in favor of identifying the "little fellow" with Oxford which seem to me to be decisive.

## CHAPTER 3. THE ALMS HE GAVE

A jest's prosperity lies in the ear of him that hears it,  
Never in the tongue of him that makes it.

--Benedick

When the first edition of William Tyndale's revolutionary translation of the New Testament, published in Cologne and Worms, was smuggled to the shores of England in 1526, its eager readers discovered an imposing enigma on the title page. In direct contravention of royal edict, the Bible was not identified as the work of any known translator. It was, in effect, translated by "nobody." With good reason, Tyndale feared that acknowledgement of his agency as the translator might cost him his life; Henry VIII was still known under his honorary title of "defender of the faith," and the English Bible was still effectively a contraband, outlawed publication. According to English law, no Bible could be published without an identified translator. Only a flesh and blood translator could be racked for misplaced word choices. English Bibles had been the curse of the nation at least since John Wycliffe's (1320-1384) abortive attempt to launch a reformation by means of his own translation during the late reign of Richard II.

Within a year of the publication of his English New Testament, however, Tyndale appears to have reconsidered the advisability of his continued anonymity. Apparently, his association with the satirical pamphleteer William Roye, whose 1525 *Brief Dialogue* portrayed ecclesiastical enemies of the reformation as Judas and Caiaphas plotting the crucifixion of Christ, had led to dangerous speculation that Roye was directly involved with Tyndale's translation; Tyndale apparently wished to disassociate himself from Roye's extremism and also to lay unambiguous claim to his own translation by affixing his name to it<sup>27</sup>. In his 1527 *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, long before Henry's impending break with Rome and endorsement of an English Bible could have been foreseen by most observers, Tyndale admits his "authorship" of the translation and explains his reticence for public claim on the basis of scriptural precedent:

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<sup>27</sup> The 1534 edition bore his name for the first time.

The cause why I set my name before this little treatise and have not done it in the New Testament is, that then I followed the counsel of Christ, which exhorteth men (Matt. vi) to do their good deeds secretly, and to be content with the conscience of well-doing and that God seeth us; and patiently to abide the reward of the last day which Christ hath purchased for us; and now would I fain have done likewise, but am compelled otherwise to do.  
(Westcott 1872, 1527)

Tyndale's text is a classic illustration of the principle of the function of the Renaissance figure of *alleguer* (c.f. chapter 10 below): Matt. 6.1-4 is the precedent which motivates and justifies Tyndale's anonymous action. He may have been violating royal decree by not signing his name to his New Testament translation, but Tyndale was loyal to the higher "law of God" inscribed in Matthew's gospel.

Not until after his divorce from Catherine of Aragon and marriage to Anne Boleyn in 1538 did Henry declare his nation's independence from Papal law and give formal authorization for the translation of a vernacular Bible. By then, Tyndale's worst fears had materialized. He who prophesied that, as a result of his intellectual labor, a plowboy would one day debate theology with the Pope, was punished for his hubris -- the boast was avenged without delay: on October 1536 he was tied to the stake and burned alive by royal proclamation. The plowboys had been warned.

In this case, however, history seems to have been on the side of the martyrs. Ironically, within less than two years, England was a Protestant country. The greatest of the surviving translators, Miles Coverdale and John Rogers, busied themselves ransacking the treasury of Tyndale's peerless prose to produce the first authorized English Bible, the Great Bible of 1539.

By the date of Edward de Vere's birth in 1550, England had survived three years of the anarchic reign of Edward VI. The nation had not yet been dragged screaming back into the dark ages under the reign of Mary Tudor (1553-58), known as "bloody Mary" because of the many Protestant martyrs required to effect her ambitious historical revanchism, but the era of peaceful imperialism under the strong-arm monarchy of Henry VIII was clearly over. Mary did her best to resurrect the "bare-ruined choirs" of the Catholic faith from the ashes of her own father's ransacking of the Monasteries, to let them sing again; but the cost in human lives left a terrible impression in the hearts of honest men and women everywhere who could not equate governance with butchery. Many leading Protestants, among them the learned William Whittingham, fled Mary's reign to welcoming Protestant enclaves such as those in Geneva. Whittingham would spend his years in Geneva as the leading light of the Protestant translation project which produced the so-called "Geneva Bible," of which the first edition was published in 1560. A copy of the second edition (1568-70) of this book forms the subject matter of this dissertation.

A gigantic transformation in mind and morals, in patterns of land-holding and swamp-draining, in beliefs about trans- and con-substantiation, and above all in the relation between the self and the state, was germinating in England. Literacy, and with it linguistic nationalism, were awakening as if from a long sleep. The authoritative structures which had cemented the Medieval mind and body to the social matrix toppled about the heads of amazed subjects. Gradually the outlines of nation-states coalesced

around new forms of production and communications. The full extent of the transformation would not be seen until after the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, after the Civil War, the rise of Puritanism as a political force under Cromwell, the restoration and Glorious Revolution of 1688 -- but the seeds were planted during the chaotic years during which Elizabeth's two half siblings, first the boy-king Edward and then her Spanish half-sister Mary, attempted to seize control of an English state still populated by such "wolfish Earls" as John Dudley, the Earl of Northumberland (1502-53). In the "long duree" the feudal mode of production so characteristic of England still during the 15<sup>th</sup> century was being swept away before what was to become triumphant modern capitalism, the industrial revolution, and the cotton gin.

By all indications, it was not a propitious beginning for a young boy who happened to inherit one of the largest, and most encumbered, estates in England. Hence it is not entirely surprising that fiscal improvidence, the great sin of many young aristocrats, is a standard character flaw conventionally attributed to de Vere. Born into one of the richest and most glorious of English noble families, with a patronym stretching back over seventeen generations to Aubrey de Vere's entitlement by William the Conqueror, he was undoubtedly among the most downwardly mobile of the class of medieval nobility. These, of course, were then entering the "crisis of the aristocracy" chronicled in Stone's classic scholarly treatise, and de Vere was no exception to the rule that those who did not become businessmen were doomed to become anachronisms. According to Stone, de Vere was one who had "run through his own patrimony with riotous living" (194); Sir Sidney Lee records that he "had squandered some part of his fortune upon men of letters whose bohemian mode of life attracted him" (227). It was almost a proverb in the land that disputants in real estate actions against the prodigal Earl could count on obtaining their "Robin Hood's Pennyworth." The crumbs kept trickling in from the remains of ancient estates being dumped onto the Market at ruinous rates to pay for the expense of maintaining a lifestyle of conspicuous patronage which even a court fool could see was anachronistic.

The downward spiral cannot be attributed to Oxford alone. As a rich court ward whose assets may well have been plundered by bureaucratic estate schemers in the historically<sup>28</sup> corrupt Court of Wards, Oxford seems always to have cast a jaundiced eye upon heaps of "strange amassed gold." His attitudes towards money -- which wavered between improvident generosity and imperious disdain -- were of a distinctively medieval hue, entirely inconsistent with the frugality and acquisitive habits of the emergent bourgeois class of "new men" -- of whom his legal guardian and *bête noire* Burghley was a quintessential representative. In his 1573 preface to Bartholomewe Clerke's *Cardanus' Comforte*, Oxford compares the literary labors of the translator to a mass of gold which Clerke threatens to have "murdered in the waste

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<sup>28</sup> Many historians credit William Cecil, appointed as Master of the Court in 1562, with effecting far-reaching reforms of the institution. Nevertheless the post of the Mastership remained, as Conyers Read attests (1955 192) "one of the most lucrative offices in the gift of the crown."

bottoms” of his chests. “What doth it avail a mass of gold to be continually imprisoned in your bags and never to be employed to your use?”

“His tendency to spend lavishly is unmistakable, and his playacting and literary associates would provide an almost unlimited field for the exercise of his generosity,” writes Looney (308), continuing:

His own absorption in these interests must, moreover, have tended to place his financial affairs at the mercy of agents, and throw them into confusion. To this must be added the almost royal state which he seems to have maintained in some respects. For at one point we get a glimpse of his travelling *en famille* with a retinue of twenty-eight servants...the need for ready cash must often have been pressing, and this need he seems to have satisfied by selling estates "at ruinously low rates." (308)

This anachronistic and improvident attitude towards financial matters occurs in many refracted variants in Shakespeare, as Looney observed:

Like the man with a “trick of melancholy” in *All’s Well*, he sold many “a goodly manor for a song,” and possibly at the same time developed that contempt for “land buyers” expressed by Hamlet in the grave digging scene. It is interesting to notice that when Iago, who we have supposed, represented Oxford’s receiver, urges upon one of his victims: “put money in thy purse;” he meets immediately with the response, “I will sell my lands.” (308)

It is not just that Iago urges economizing, and Jacques sells his lands to see those of other men, but that in Shakespeare “almost every reference to money and purses is of the loosest description and, by implication, teach[es] an improvidence that would soon involve any man’s financial affairs in complete chaos” (98).

Modern historians, particularly in the decades since the publication of *"Shakespeare" Identified*, have routinely presumed that the large expenditures of Oxford's household resulted from his own lavish and undisciplined taste for exotic luxuries, rarely even conceding Oxford’s penchant for subsidizing Bohemian “men of letters.” According to the testimony of Tom Nashe, however, in the document *Summer's Last Will and Testament* (1596), Oxford's patronage of the English theatre and other literary enterprises during the decades of the 1570's and 1580's was the chief cause of his impoverishment. In the play, Oxford is gently satirized in the figure of Ver – Spring -- as a downwardly mobile yet stoic Platonist, patron of children’s players and “men of letters.” The play, apparently written for performance before Archbishop Whitgift at Croydon in the fall of 1592 (McKerrow IV: 416-419), while the theatre was still suffering the consequences of a protracted series of restrictions imposed as retaliation for theatrical liberties taken against the Puritans, is Nashe's appeal for Whitgift to restore Anglican patronage and license to the theatrical wits. Demanded by Summer to make “an account and reckoning of his doings,” the prodigal Ver replies:

*What I had, I have spent*, on good fellows; in these sports you have seen, which are proper to the Spring<sup>29</sup>, and others of like sort (as giving wenches greene gownes, making garlands for fencers, and tricking up children gay) I have *bestowed all my flowery treasure* and flowre of my youth.  
(224-231: emphasis supplied)

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<sup>29</sup> That is, Ver.

The image of “Ver” – the prodigal and now bankrupt Maecenas, praised as “Master Apis Lapis” in the epistle dedicatory of Nashe’s *Strange News* the same year, one who had squandered more than “some portion” of his patrimony on Bohemian sports “proper to the spring” such as “tricking up children gay” -- seems an unmistakable portrait of Oxford in the year 1592. That he was a prominent theatrical patron of the Elizabethan court who, like “Ver,” spent his money patronizing the theatrical arts there can be absolutely no doubt. During the 1580’s he had patronized, at various times, as many as three troops of child actors – the Children of Pauls, the Children of the Chapel, and his own “Oxford’s Boys” -- not to mention his adult troop of “Oxford’s Men” (Chambers 1923 II: 8-23, 23-49, 99-102). The high point of Oxford’s land sales, according to figures compiled by Ruth Loyd Miller (I: 504), came in 1580, the same year<sup>30</sup> in which he apparently began subsidizing his adult troop.

B.M. Ward, Oxford’s modern biographer, agrees:

“What did Oxford spend his money on?” He was instrumental, by means of his brain, his servants, and his purse in providing the Court with dramatic entertainment. . . . Elizabeth, we may be sure, was fully alive to the importance of masques and similar entertainments in promoting the well-being of the Court. A well-organized recreation department was essential to herself and her courtiers as a plentifully supplied supper-table. There can be no doubt that a great part of the winter evening diversions during the early eighties had emanated from Lord Oxford and Lyly. . . . (1928 282)

Abundant additional testimony supports the plausibility of such an inference; certainly there can be no doubting Oxford’s contemporary reputation as a distinguished and generous Maecenas<sup>31</sup>. Many of the thirty-seven books dedicated to him refer to his reputation for immense generosity as an arts patron. In 1584 Robert Greene, perhaps thinking of Oxford’s new Fisher’s Folly residence (Ogburn 671-72; 710-11), which he seems to have acquired in that year as a London flophouse for his literary habitués<sup>32</sup>, wrote of him: “Wheresoever Maecenas Lodgeth, thither no doubt scholars will flock. And your honor being a worthy favorer and fosterer of learning, hath forced many through your excellent virtue to offer the first-fruits of their study at the shrine of your lordship’s courtesy” (Chiljan 71)<sup>33</sup>. During the previous decade, Oxford had maintained apartments at the Savoy, to which John Lyly and Gabriel Harvey, among others, apparently “flocked” for their lodgings. Now Fisher’s Folly, while preposterous from the perspective of a business investment<sup>34</sup>, was attracting the likes of Nashe, Robert Greene, and Thomas Watson, who dedicated his 1581-82 *Hecatompethia* to Oxford.

<sup>30</sup> The first year in which a troop performing in Oxford’s livery appears in the records; Ward (267) argues that the genesis of the troop was Oxford’s taking Warwick’s company in this year.

<sup>31</sup> Gaius Clinias Maecenas -- The patron of Horace, Varius and Virgil. According to the 11<sup>th</sup> *Britannica*, “his patronage was exercised, not from vanity or a mere dilettante love of letters, but with a view to the higher interest of the state. He recognized in the genius of the poets of the time, not only the truest ornament of the court, but a power of reconciling men’s minds to the new order of things, and of investing the actual state of affairs with an ideal glory and majesty” (XVII 297).

<sup>32</sup> Oxford kept Fisher’s Folly for only four years, selling it to William Cornwallis in December 1588. Perhaps the sprawling estate should have been renamed “Oxford’s folly.”

<sup>33</sup> From the prefatory epistle to Oxford in *Gwydonius, The Card of Fancy* (1584), by Robert Greene.

<sup>34</sup> The mansion was so named because the original owner/builder Jasper Fisher bankrupted himself trying to complete it.

Another protégé was Angel Day, whose 1586 work, *The English Secretary*, remembers Oxford in the same breath with “the *exceeding bounty* wherewith our Good Lord hath ever wanted to entertain the deserts of all men” (Chiljan 1994 73: emphasis added). John Farmer in his *English Plainsong* over a decade later offers “these madrigals only as remembrances of my service and witness of *your Lordship’s liberal hand*, by which I have so long lived, and from your honorable mind that so much have loved all liberal sciences....” (Chiljan 91: emphasis added). Tradition preserved by Isaac D’Israeli (1766-1848) in his chapter on the “Secret History of Edward Vere, The Earl of Oxford” in *Curiousities of Literature* (1833), again confirms Oxford’s generosity of spirit in the anecdote about his Secretary Nicholas Hill, the Democritean philosopher with whose work Shakespeare was intimately familiar (Miller 1975 II 486-490). It seems that during a continental sojourn with his Lord, Hill was accosted by a beggar, asking him for a sixpence, or a shilling, for an alms. “What dost thou say if I give thee ten pounds?” Oxford’s steward is reported to have said: “Ten pounds!” Replied the astonished man, “that would make a man of me!” Hill is then said to have made the following account in Oxford’s books: “Item, 10 pounds for making a man.” Comments D’Israeli in his conclusion to the story: “Which his Lordship inquiring about for the oddness of the expression, not only allowed, but was pleased with” (D’Israeli 1833 I: 202).

Although his 1591 marriage to Elizabeth Trentham may have started the process of rehabilitating his financial position, de Vere was still apparently insolvent. Within a year, in 1592, he was able to resolve his longstanding “debt” to the Court of Wards. In the same year, however, he lacked the financial resources, or perhaps the presence of mind, to continue footing the bill for his old friend, the elderly poet Thomas Churchyard<sup>35</sup>, when his landlady Mrs. Julia Penn evicted him from her London tenements. Like Falstaff he had become an ornament of London with a tavern bill in his pocket, to whom no Lord Chief Justice would lend a single penny.

Perhaps the most glowing dedication to Oxford’s munificence within this own lifetime, however, is that offered by Thomas Nashe in his dedication to *Strange News*, which praises Oxford under the sobriquets “Master Apis Lapis”<sup>36</sup> and “gentle master William”:

Yea, you are such an *infinite Maecenas to learned men*, that there is not that morsel of meat they can carve you, but you will eat for their sakes, and accept very thankfully...Verily, Verily<sup>37</sup>, all poor scholars acknowledge you as their patron, providitore and supporter, for there cannot a threadbare cloak sooner peep forth but you strait press it to be an outbrother of your bounty.

(Chiljan 83-86) emphasis added)

During the period after Oxford’s marriage to Elizabeth Trentham in 1591 and his death in 1604 his life is marked by deepening obscurity. He retired with his Countess to their estate in the London suburb of Hackney and took little role in public affairs. That he remained in financial difficulty is indicated by

<sup>35</sup> Although Churchyard never dedicated a book to Oxford, Stephen May notes (1981 9) that he twice declared his intent of doing so -- in *Churchyard’s Chance* (1580, STC 5250) and in the epistle to *Churchyard’s Charge* (1580, STC 5240).

<sup>36</sup> See Anderson 1999 for a recent discussion of this sobriquet.

<sup>37</sup> Note the potential or actual “Vere” pun.

the few documents pertaining to his activities during this final decade – most of which consist of the so-called “tin mining” memoranda, written for Queen Elizabeth and Lord Burghley, which analyze commercial and fiscal aspects of the Cornish Tin Industry and attempt to secure the writer’s monopoly on the commodity. He was never rewarded with the prize. In 1595 his daughter Elizabeth, having previously been betrothed to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Southampton (see chapter twenty-four), married William Stanley, the playwright, member of the blood royal and future 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Derby. As his biographer B.M. Ward concludes

the anti-climax presented by the last years of Lord Oxford’s life is inevitable. It is almost impossible to penetrate the obscurity surrounding his life at Hackney. There can be little doubt that literature, his main interest in life, occupied the greater part of his time. It is probable that he and his son-in-law Lord Derby amused themselves by writing comedies which were performed by their actors. Music, too, must have played an important part in the years of retirement. But his secret has been well kept. Indeed, so completely have the last fifteen years of his life been obscured, that one is tempted to wonder whether this is due to chance, or whether it may not have been deliberately designed.

(348)

Most strikingly, the testimonies to Oxford’s munificence as a patron of arts and learning do not, however, cease after his death. In Chapman’s *Bussy D’ambois*, not published until 1613 but written circa 1604, D’ambois remembers him as one

Of spirit passing great  
Valiant and learned and *liberal as the sun*... (emphasis added)<sup>38</sup>

*In Honour in his Perfection* – in 1624, just one year after Jaggard’s “Shakespeare” folio -- Gervase Markham includes a long eulogy to Oxford, praising his enduring legacy of generosity. It is difficult to believe that the powerful undercurrent of pathos in this passage can be unconnected to the publication.

The alms he gave (which at this day would not only feede the poore, but the great man’s family also) and the bountie which religion and Learning daily tooke from him, are Trumpets so loude, that all eares know them. (STC 17361 p. 17)

There is more to this passage than meets the eye at first glance. Markham’s coordinate construction, linking Oxford’s alms to the “bountie which religion and learning daily took from him,” reminds us of the close association in Renaissance thought between alms and other forms of good works, including contributions to religion and learning such as authoring erudite plays. Like Timon of Athens, Oxford’s reputation for prodigal expense was routinely associated with the bounteous “learning” which he bestowed as patron and – one might infer by reading “between the lines” – *author* of the published word.

Indeed, Markham’s phrase, “trumpets so loud that all ears know them,” invokes the scriptural precedent of Matt. 6.1-4. We began this chapter by remembering this pericope as the literary pretext for William Tyndale’s anonymous publication of the Bible. In it, Christ admonishes his disciples to observe the virtue of performing good works in secret: “when thou givest thine almes, thou shal not make a

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<sup>38</sup> Cited from *Elizabethan and Jacobean Tragedy: An Anthology*, Robert Ornstein and Hazelton Spencer eds. (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1964).



trumpet to be blown before thee, as the hypocrites do in the Synagogues and the streets” (Genevan 1570) -- the same verse Tyndale used to justify *the anonymous publication* of his New Testament in 1528.

Markham’s *alleguer* of Matt. 6.1-4 (see chapter ten) is paradoxical: the marked text speaks not of a trumpet being blown in public recognition of the giver’s alms, but of the need for discretion or secrecy in the bestowal of gifts. Have we here a classic instance of the citation of pretext to complicate the reader’s otherwise unproblematic reception of the author’s meaning? The 1624 date of Markham’s book – one year after the publication of the Shakespeare folio – should not be overlooked. Markham’s reference to Matt. 6.1-4 signals for an alert reader a momentous covert implication: although “all ears know” the sound of Oxford’s good works, they are nevertheless veiled works, done in secret; the name of the author has been concealed even from those who heed the trumpet’s voice. Not knowing the genesis of the allusion, or the history of the authorship of the works, “the world is still deceived by ornament” (*Merchant of Venice* 3.2.74).

## CHAPTER 4. “SECRET INTENTS”

Perhaps in view of Oxford's reputation as a spoiled aristocrat addicted to lavish expense, who improvidently squandered his family fortune in *Timon*-like feasting and patronage, and frittered away his talents in practical joking and comic diversions beneath the dignity appropriate to his station, an excerpt from a little-noticed<sup>39</sup> 1587 letter written to Lord Burghley by Andrew Trollop will serve as a useful point of entry to the intrinsically complicated subject of identifying the “real” *Edward de Vere*. The letter is significant not just because it voices what might be considered a minority opinion – that is, a positive one -- regarding Oxford's character, but also because it so clearly acknowledges, as the very context of its production, the pre-existence of the controversy which still today swirls about the man. Unlike published book dedications, furthermore, the testimony is beyond criticism as mere flattery -- it is written privately to a third party, apparently in response to some request for testimony regarding Oxford's character. It points unmistakably to a legacy of controversy which did not end with Oxford's 1572 abortive attempts to rescue the imprisoned Thomas Howard by force, his 1576 marriage crisis, his September 1579 “falling out” at tennis with Phillip Sidney, his 1581 informing on Charles Arundel and Henry Howard for plotting against the Queen, his fathering of a bastard child – which Gloucester-like he “blushed to acknowledge” - on Anne Vavasour in 1581, or even his protracted feuding with Anne's uncle Thomas Knyvet or any of the other myriad incidents which are conventionally cited by orthodox literary historians as evidence of his disgraceful conduct and un-Christian character. The letter possesses an air of disclaimer, as if the writer has volunteered to serve as a character witness in response to accusations lodged against Oxford by powerful and implacable enemies:

From the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> year of Her Majesty (1568-1579), I was deputy to Thomas Gent, esquire, then steward of the manors of the Right Honourable the earl of Oxford, and during all that time *being privy not only of his public dealings, but also his private doings and secret intents*, found and knew him indued with special piety, perfect integrity, great care to discharge all trust imposed in him, and no less desire to do good in the commonwealth.

(cited in Slater 1931 199: emphasis supplied)

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<sup>39</sup> The document, dated October 6 1587, is not cited by Looney (1920), Ward (1928), Ogburn (1984), Hope and Holston (1993) or Sobran (1996). Only Ogburn and Ogburn (1952 770) and Slater (199), in his survey of anti-Stratfordian theories, seem to have noticed its potentially very great relevance in establishing the case for de Vere's authorship of “Shakespeare.”

This reference to Oxford's "private doings and secret intents"<sup>40</sup> is, of course, particularly intriguing. The aura of mystique communicated in this phrase hangs about Oxford in many contexts; he often earned the respect and discreet praise of the creative and intellectual figures with whom he came in intimate contact, and their admiration for his "secret intents," often echoed in the documentary record of the period, seems to have endured on some level at least until 1827, when the anonymous *roman à clef* entitled *De Vere, Or The Man of Independence* remembers the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford in a series of chapters each introduced with a quotation from Shakespeare. The novel, constructing an elaborate series of allegorical identifications between Oxford and his fictional descendent, the novel's protagonist Mortimer de Vere<sup>41</sup>, remembers him, somewhat curiously, as one who "in the days of Elizabeth, united in his single person, the character of *her greatest noble, knight and poet*" (Ward 1827 I: 88: emphasis added).<sup>42</sup>

Abundant contemporary testimony also corroborates Trollope's witness. In his earliest extant letter Oxford himself, aged thirteen, begs off from extensive correspondence with Burghley because "quant<sup>43</sup> à l'ordre de mon estude pour ce que il requiert un long discours à l'expliquer par le menu, et le temp est court à ceste heure" (Fowler 1986 1: emphasis added). A 1599 letter from his seventeen-year-old nephew Robert Bertie refers to the writer's previous inability to "trouve encores aucun subject (sic) assez digne de vous divertir de vos plus serieux affaires" (Ogburn 1984 749: emphasis added). Even Lord Burghley noted that "there is much more in him of understanding than any stranger to him would think" (cited in Jenkins 167). Finally, after his death Percival Golding reaffirms the mystique, the sense of things which cannot be spoken directly, which clings to Oxford's memory:

Edward de Veer, the only son of John....: Of whom I will only speak what all men's voices confirm; he was a man in mind and body absolutely accomplished with honourable endowments....  
(Ogburn 1984 765: emphasis added)

One possible approach to the question of Oxford's 'private doings and secret intents' – those things about which all men *would not speak* -- may lie in the study of his intellectual and creative life, both as attested through the unambiguous witness of the extant literary creation published under his own name or produced under his patronage, or even, as it has been hypothesized by the Oxfordians, under names other than his own. To gain the credibility it deserves in the reader's mind the latter proposition, however, must

<sup>40</sup> Although the grammatical antecedent could be either Thomas Gent or Oxford, the content unambiguously identifies the individual as Oxford, whose doings with respect to "the commonwealth" would of course concern Burghley.

<sup>41</sup> The character is apparently based on the historical personages of Robert (1661-1724) and Edward (1689-1741) Harley, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Earls of Oxford (2<sup>nd</sup> creation). According to the inscription attached to George Vertue's 1745 engraving made after Michael Dahl's 1728 portrait of him, the latter also bore the title Earl of Mortimer. Vertue's engraving is published in Arthur Collins' *Historical Collection of Noble Families* (1752). The DNB has Robert Harley assuming both titles in 1711. This father and son were the greatest English antiquarians of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Their bequest to the British Museum is known as the Harleian Collection. I am indebted to Andrew Hannas for drawing attention to the significance of the Harleys' investiture with the Mortimer title.

<sup>42</sup> It should be noted that this characterization of Oxford as the greatest poet of Elizabeth's reign, while it has abundant support from contemporary documentation, is apparently contradicted at another point in *De Vere: The Man Of Independence*, where we read that de Vere "was a poet, and not a very good one, but ranked with those of his time" (I: 22).

<sup>43</sup> Archaic *quand*.

be placed within the larger context of the theatrical history of Elizabeth's reign. Finally, then, we arrive at the published witness – scattered, oblique, sometimes frustratingly obscure witness – to Oxford's reputation as a leading literary figure of the day – a poet and dramatist who, among others in the court, “suffered his works to be published without his own name to it” (“Puttenham” 1589: for the context of this quote, see discussion *infra*).

The official account of Oxford's poetic and dramatic endeavors is of course well known to any student of the authorship question. Looney first drew attention to Sidney Lee's acknowledgement of the relevant circumstances in his *Dictionary of National Biography* entry on Oxford, and since that time few, even among the true believers in the Shakespeare orthodoxy, have attempted to deny them. William Webbe's 1586 declaration that “in the rare devices of poetry...the earl of Oxford may challenge to himself the title of most excellent among the rest” (Ogburn 687) is well known. That Francis Meres (1598) called him the “best for comedy” is -- perhaps --qualified by the fact that Meres also lists “Shakespeare” as “the most excellent in both [comedy and tragedy] for the stage” (Ogburn 3-4). De Vere's role as a leading Elizabethan lyric poet, musician and author of dramas (particularly comedy), one “from infancy dear to the muses” as Edmund Spenser apostrophized him in a dedicatory sonnet in *The Fairy Queene* (1590), is acknowledged by all but the most dedicated partisans of the official story of Shakespeare. His early fascination with history and foreign language studies was nourished by the greatest tutors of the day – among them the eminent Anglo-Saxon scholar and legal historian Lawrence Nowell and the Latinist and theologian, Oxford's uncle Arthur Golding. In music he was celebrated not only as John Farmer's Patron but also his musical peer; William Byrd set music to the lyrics of his poems in *Psalmes, Sonets & songs of sadness and pietie* (London 1588); in literature he patronized Munday, Lyly, Nashe, and Watson; his disciple Angel Day authored the outstanding Tudor text on epistolary composition, *The Englishe Secretary* (1586; 1599), and Thomas Bedingfield translated “Hamlet's book,” *Cardanus Comforte* (1573; 1576), under his patronage.

More controversial has been the discovery by Charles Wisner Barrell – evidence not known to Looney – of extant testimony from *The Arte of Englishe Poesie* (1589), which directly confirms the view that among Oxford's “secret intents” was the authorship and production of dramatic works which have survived, if they have survived at all, without his name attached to them. The pair of relevant quotations has recently been the subject of much controversy and is herewith reproduced for the reader's consideration:

I know very many notable gentlemen in the Court  
that have written commendably, And suppressed it  
again, or else suffered it to be published without  
their own names to it: as if it were a discredit for a  
gentleman to seem learned. (Arber 37)

And in her majesty's time that now is are sprong  
up another crew of courtly makers, Noblemen and  
Gentlemen of her Majesty's own servants, who  
have written commendably well as it would appear  
if their doings could be found out and made public  
with the rest, of which number is first that noble  
gentleman Edward Earl of Oxford.

(Arber 75)

The first quotation does not, of course, directly name Oxford as one who "published without their own names to it"; indeed it leaves the names of these gentlemen entirely unmentioned. Yet it seems a reasonable inference from the second quotation that Oxford is intended to be thought of as one of the unnamed group in the first quotation, contrary to the claims of Terry Ross and David Kathman<sup>44</sup>.

Have we not here the answering echo to Anthony Trollope's enigmatic 1587 reference to Oxford's honorable but "secret" intents, in the direct verification that his literary activities were foremost among those which could not be publicly disclosed?

Also significant is the testimony of Henry Peacham in *The Complete Gentleman*, which in 1622 places Oxford first in the author's list of prestigious poets

who have honored Poesy with their pens and practice: Edward Earl of Oxford, the Lord Buckhurst,  
Henry Lord Paget, the noble Sir Philip Sidney, M Edward Dyer, M Edmund Spenser, Master Samuel  
Daniel, with sundry others whom (together with those admirable wits yet living and so well known) not  
out of Envy, but to avoid tediousness, I overpass. (Peacham 106)

William Shakespeare of Stratford was of course no longer living in 1622; his omission from the list – unlike such names as George Chapman, Michael Drayton, or Ben Jonson -- must be credited to Peacham's own stated purpose to "avoid tediousness."

Gabriel Harvey's 1578 apostrophe to the Earl may certainly be suspected of hyperbole, not to mention anti-Spanish jingoism. That it should be neglected as mere "flattery" begs the question; and in any case the classical symbolism is not without intrinsic interest for those capable of comprehending the ludic potential of the name "Shakespeare" as it might have been heard by an Elizabethan readership schooled in the Renaissance topos of "arms and arts" and ever-fond of that lost cultural form, the rebus<sup>45</sup>:

Virtus fronte habitat: Mars occupat ora; Minerva  
In dextra latitat: Bellona in corpore regnat:  
Martius ardor inest: scintilla lumina: vultus  
Tela vibrat: quis non redivivum iuret Achillem? (STC III:3)

<sup>44</sup> The meaning and relevance of these passages from the anonymous *Arte of English Poesie* has recently become the object of dispute pursuant to accusation by Terry Ross and David Kathman, on their *Shakespeare Web Page* ([www.bcpl.lib.md.us/~tross/ws/ox.html](http://www.bcpl.lib.md.us/~tross/ws/ox.html)), that Oxfordian scholars have misrepresented the above quotations to subserve a nefarious agenda of misrepresentation; an accusation vigorously answered by Hannas (1996) and Stritmatter (1996) in the on-line *Ever Reader* (3) (Spring-Summer 1996), [www.everreader.com/everrea3.htm](http://www.everreader.com/everrea3.htm). As of September 1998, Mr. Ross persists in trumpeting his "victory" in discussion on the Usenet discussion group, as if neither Hannas nor Stritmatter had bothered to refute his silly claims in this matter.

<sup>45</sup> For a detailed contemporary discussion of this paramount cultural form, as adapted to England, see William Camden's *Remains Concerning Britain*, (1870 ed., 177-181), first published in 1605 as a supplement to the *Britannia*. The classic Renaissance discussion of the form, on which Camden and other English theorists primarily derived their own theoretical conceptions, is found in Henri Estienne's *Art of Making Devises*, first published in London in 1648 but known before then in the French original. See also Russell (n.d.).

Virtue occupies your helm; Mars stirs his steed in your mouth when you speak; wise-counseling Minerva lies concealed in your right hand and Bellona the war goddess assumes her royal seat in thy martial poise. The ardor of smoke and fierce battle blazes in your heart; the flint sparks: Your brow trembles in expectation of new-woven plots. Who would Dare to say that Achilles had not come to life again?  
(translation mine)

There is much which might be said about this famous encomium, immortalized in gentle satire by Edmund Spenser in the October Eclogue of the *Shepheard's Calendar* in Piers's speech beginning "Abandon then the base and viler clown" (37-54) and urging a rapprochement between Cuddie and "the white bear" chained to "the stake" (48) -- the Earl of Leicester -- an ambitious project of which Harvey and Spenser both dreamed. Let us focus only on the most immediately pertinent aspect of Harvey's oration. Are we reading the local origin of the sobriquet "Shakespeare," in the phrase "vultus tela vibrat" -- which B.M. Ward first translated as "[your] countenance shakes a spear" (1928 158) but which may with equal plausibility be translated as "[your] will shakes a speare"<sup>46</sup>? Evidence from the same passage of Harvey's encomium supplies further insight into Harvey's "insider" knowledge of de Vere's "secret intents." When Harvey declares that "Minerva in dextra latitat" -- "the Goddess (of statecraft and the arts) Minerva *lies concealed* in your right hand" (emphasis added) -- he places the patron saint of the "Shakespeare" gambit -- the spear shaking Pallas Athena<sup>47</sup> -- in de Vere's secret hand.

As B.M. Ward (1928 264-282) first formally asserted, significant evidence supports the view that by 1586 Oxford had been authorized under privy seal warrant to undertake the role of theatrical impresario and patron for the Queen's Men as well as for the nation as a whole. Only three days after the June 23, 1586 Star Chamber decree reorganizing printing -- the most important censorship act in Elizabeth's reign, specifically designed to consolidate the control of the Crown and Anglican authorities over the sphere of propaganda and symbolic action -- a 1000 pound per annum grant was issued to Oxford. As B.M. Ward discovered (Ward 1928 255-263), the grant was issued under a formula used for secret service payments, stipulating that neither Oxford nor his heirs should ever be called to make an accounting for the money's expenditure. Ward stresses that although the terms of the account indicate some service to the state,

<sup>46</sup> The pivotal phrase "vultus/Tela vibrat" was originally translated in English by Ward as "thy countenance shakes a spear" (1928: 158). More recently, Hannas (1993) has noted that the word "*tela*" does not seem to be the most natural choice for the Latin rendering of the English phrase "Shake speare". *Hasta* is alleged to be a much more standard Latin equivalent for "speare"; *telum* denotes a broader class of weapons thrown by the hand, although in practice it is often translated as "spear," sometimes by "weapon," and least often as arrow, javelin, or missile. Therefore its usage must be dictated by some other consideration, which Hannas suggests was Harvey's intent to form a double-punned phrase, in which *vultus* can mean either "will/intention" or "face/countenance" and *tela* can be the neuter plural for either "spears" (correctly translated into English as either plural or singular) or "web/enterprise." Since, as Hannas cleverly notes, *tela* is a neuter plural which can be either subject or object of the verb, and *vultus* is a fourth declension neuter which can also stand as either subject or object of the verb, the three words yield two perfectly coherent and probably fully intended translations into English: "thy will/countenance shakes a spear" or "thy web/enterprise shakes (ie, disturbs) the will/countenance [of others]." A third possibility, employed in my translation here, is to take *vultus* as the nominative subject of the verb but treat the *tela* as [de Vere's] plots: "your brow trembles in expectation of new-woven plots," a reading which to me seems most consistent with the motion of the entire passage. Harvey was a master, somewhat pedantic it is true, of such linguistic arcana.

<sup>47</sup> For a contemporary witness to Minerva/Pallas Athena's fame as "spear-shaker" see E.K.'s notes to the October Eclogue in Spenser's *Shepheard's Calendar*, glossing Cuddie's mention of "Quaint Bellona" as "Pallas...[who]...when Iupiter hir father was in traveile of her, he caused his sonne Vulcane with his axe to hew his head....Out of which leaped forth lustely a valiant damsell armed at all points....[who]....shaked her speare at him" (186-194).

Oxford fulfilled none of the usual roles one might expect for a man of his station and undoubted talents. The entire operation is shrouded in the secret authorization of the Privy Seal Warrant:

He certainly did none of the things we might have expected. He did not serve her as a Minister, but as a Privy Councillor, as an Ambassador, or as a Soldier. But in a less obvious respect he undoubtedly did serve her. He was instrumental, by means of his brain, his servants, and his purse in providing the Court with dramatic entertainment. (282)

The close temporal proximity of Oxford's annuity to the 1586 statute on censorship seems unlikely to be a coincidence; it strengthens the view that Oxford's "secret intents" involved matters of utmost political delicacy to which only the highest officers of the land were privy. Already in 1584 – a year after Elizabeth's Spymaster, Principal Secretary Francis Walsingham, convened the Queen's Men to replace the Company supervised by Oxford's elder friend, Lord Chamberlain of the Household Thomas Radcliffe (The 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Sussex), known as the Lord Chamberlain's Men -- Oxford tempestuously rebukes Burghley with the bold assertion that "I serve her majesty." However, his role as court impresario and "allowed fool," appears not to have been formalized, and then only covertly, until the 1586 Warrant. Such are the "secret intents" to which Trollop evidently refers in 1587; even before the earliest published use of the *nom de plume*, it appears that de Vere's artistic endeavor was subordinated to the political interests of the nation as defined by William Cecil, the Queen, and the Privy Council, with the result that *Minerva in dextra latitat*.

In weighing the plausibility of this scenario, one should not forget that, at the moment of Harvey's 1578 apostrophe, England was entering the most dangerous period of international instability in many decades. War with Spain seemed imminent to astute observers; in 1578 Elizabeth began to flirt openly with the de Medici brothers. In reaction, counter-reformationist plots swirled thickly about Mary Queen of Scots, Elizabeth I's Spanish cousin and Catholic heir to Henry VIII. As Elizabeth fretted over and deferred Mary's execution, Mary's other cousin, the Spanish King Phillip II, aided by powerful English nobles such as Oxford's antagonist Charles Arundel, prepared for military conquest and counter-reformation. On the other end of the religious spectrum, Puritan nonconformists, with the covert approval of Principal Secretary Francis Walsingham and Burghley himself -- both of whom profited handsomely from Ecclesiastical appropriations and consequently became the object of rather bitter satire as the Ape and the Fox in Spenser's suppressed 1591 complaint, *Mother Hubbard's Tale* -- were gaining strength in numbers. Phillip's Armada struck from without May 20 1588 -- sending 132 vessels and over 8000 armed men to conquer England, execute Elizabeth and restore Catholic rule. Under adverse weather conditions, the armada went down to a humiliating but unexpected defeat.

Historically-minded Elizabethans, rejoicing at the unexpected repulse of Phillip's armada, invoked the precedent of the sinking of Xerxes' fleet off the shores of Attica at the battle of Salamis in September 480 (B.C.E.); after less than a year's delay, however, Martin Marprelate and his nonconformist allies, the

Spanish threat momentarily deflected, struck from within at the heart of the Elizabethan settlement<sup>48</sup> with their propaganda campaign. Despite this respite from the immediate threat of conquest, Spanish power remained an ominous danger for England at least up until the signing of the 1604 peace treaty.

It is against this twin threat – of military conquest by Spain and Puritan revolution from within – that Tom Nashe explicitly pits the Anglican “policy of plays” in his *Pierce Penniless His Supplication to the Devil* (1592). This “policy of plays,” writes Nashe, “is very necessary, howsoever some shallow-brained censors (not the deepest searchers into the secrets of government) mightily opugne them” (McKerrow I 212). Allied with known Anglican propagandists such as Nashe himself, Oxford (Nashe’s “Master Apis Lapis”) appears to have played<sup>49</sup> a major if purposefully obscure role in furthering this “policy of plays.”

There is little doubt, in any case, that de Vere was among the most prominent and dedicated patrons of the 16<sup>th</sup> century English theatre. The first commercial playing house in England, James Burbage’s Shoreditch *Theatre*, opened for operations in 1576, the year de Vere returned from his 18-month continental sojourn to Tuscany, Germany and France. De Vere may not have been a workaday “man of the theatre,” but like Hamlet he was, undeniably, a patron and aficionado of the stage, as well as a prominent but apparently pseudonymous playwright. Like Hamlet’s own players, furthermore, Oxford’s theatrical associates seem to have frequently run afoul of official dicta. A June 21, 1580 memorandum from the Chancellor of Oxford University refuses Lord Burghley’s request that de Vere’s players be allowed to “show their cunning in certain plays already practised by them before the Queen’s majesty” (Ward 267-68), noting that “the commencement time at hand...requireth rather diligence in study than dissoluteness in plays” -- even if they had been practiced before the Queen! If Oxford was, as B.M. Ward (1928 264-282) argues, closely associated with the Queen’s Men during their heyday from 1583-1592, he may have been held responsible for the troop’s excessive zeal in parodying Puritans during the Marprelate scandal of 1589, an episode which precipitated the troop’s decline in royal favor and eventual dissolution. From a functional perspective, they were replaced by the Lord Chamberlain’s Men, who first began performing in royal livery before the Queen in 1594. A troop explicitly patronized by Oxford was not authorized to perform again in London until 1602, after a long hiatus, at their “customary” venue at the

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<sup>48</sup> The historical compromise effected by Elizabeth, with the assistance of Archbishops Matthew Parker (1504-1575) and John Whitgift (1530-1604; AC 1583-1604) Principal Secretary William Cecil, and the Privy Council and Court of High Commission, between Catholics and Separatist factions such as Presbyterians and Anabaptists. The two chief documents of the settlement were the 1559 statutes of Supremacy and of Uniformity. The first formalized the break with the Roman church and required all clerics to swear an oath of allegiance to the Queen as the “Supreme governor of this realm.” The act of Uniformity, much more controversially, re-instituted the second prayer book of Edward VII (with some modifications such as allowing more latitude with regard to vestments and ornaments, and adopting the more conservative “Latin” language of the first Edwardian prayer book). The foundation for the Elizabethan settlement was laid by Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury under Henry VIII and Edward VI, who was burned at the stake under the Marian counter-reformation in 1556. Cranmer’s ecclesiastical reforms (1547-1553), particularly the 39 articles of religion and editorship of the Book of Common Prayer, formed the framework for the subsequent innovation of the Elizabeth settlement.

<sup>49</sup> One does not doubt that this matter requires more elaboration, evidence, and argumentation than is possible, for reasons of economy, in the present place.



Boarshead tavern in Eastcheap – and then only through the intercession of the Queen acting through the Privy Council<sup>50</sup>.

Oxford's role as covert impresario of the Queen's Men seems to have been jeopardized as early as 1589, when the Queen's Men, along with Derby's, came into conflict with the London Council over their notorious lampoons of Martin Marprelate. The powerful Puritan Lord Cobham, among others, seems to have raised strenuous objection<sup>51</sup> to this politicization of the stage. The period 1589-1592 was a low water mark for the theatrical troops which had played such a prominent role in the public discourse of the 1580's and aroused the ire of the Puritans by lampooning Martin. In August 1589, Nashe's preface to Greene's *Menaphon*, a satire of the official account of contemporary English letters published just weeks before in *The Arte of English Poesie*, alludes to the suppression of the theatres in the same breath as it lampoons *The Arte's* reference to the "sundry gentlemen" who have "published works without their own name attached to it":

Sundrie other sweete Gentlemen I know, that have vaunted their pens in private devices, and trickt  
up a companie of taffata fooles with their feathers, whose beauty if our Poetes had not peecke<sup>52</sup>  
with the supply of their periwiges, they might have antickt it untill this time up and downe the  
countrey with the King of Fairies, and dinde everie daie at the pease porredge ordinarie with  
Delphrigus<sup>53</sup>. (Harrison 1927 17)<sup>54</sup>

Nashe is still complaining of the suppression in *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, his rhetorical appeal to Archbishop Whitgift at Croyden three years later in Autumn 1592 (McKerrow IV: 416-19). In that play, Nashe hopes to restore Anglican support for the theatrical arts which had been withdrawn in response to Puritan backlash during the Marprelate scandal. The prologue of the play announces that for "this twelvemonth," for fear of the "paynted serpent" of envy, the players have "ceased to tune any musike of mirth to your ears" (235).

On July 7 1594 -- within weeks of the first official notice of the Lord Chamberlain's Men<sup>55</sup> -- we find Oxford still objecting to Burghley that his previous complaints of being hindered "in mine office"

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<sup>50</sup> Oxford's Men were apparently amalgamated with, or perhaps more accurately in collaboration with, Worcester's Men at this turning point in the theatrical liberty of the aristocratic troops to play in London. Several of these had apparently been under interdiction since around 1589 when they were held responsible for the unacceptable lampooning of Martin Marprelate. For the documents pertaining to the Worcester-Oxford amalgamation, see Chambers (1923 II 99-102).

<sup>51</sup> The ill-feeling between Cobham and the literary set seems to have been profound. Ten years later, Cobham was still being hounded by Thomas Nashe in his topical satire, *The Praise of the Red Herring* (1599).

<sup>52</sup> Apparently an Anglicization of "piqueed."

<sup>53</sup> Bill Moebius has suggested that this *hapax legomenon* may be a (somewhat awkward) conflation of Δελφοσ (the oracle of Apollo) and χορηγος (the leader of the chorus). If so, the word in this context means something like "the Apollonian playwright and patron of players," i.e. Edward de Vere, 17<sup>th</sup> Earl of Oxford.

<sup>54</sup> When Nashe speaks of the "sundry gentlemen" who have "vaunted their pens in private devices" he is referring to, and satirizing, the practice of pseudonymous publication documented three years previously in *The Arte of English Poesie*. Nashe, furthermore, adds the intriguing wrinkle that one or more of these gentlemen is, or was, associated with the theatre. To "antic...up and down the country" evidently refers to going on theatrical tour. However, Nashe makes it clear that the gentlemen in question, because certain poets have been "peecke with the supply of their periwigs," are no longer "on tour." A periwig is a wig worn in the theatre.

<sup>55</sup> It appears that during a period of months or even years, as the Queen's Men suffered the political consequences of the "throwing about of the brains" engendered by the Marprelate episode, the players of Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange (1559-1594), brother to Oxford's future son-in-law, the playwright William Stanley, 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Derby, absorbed some of the leading players and functions of the Queen's Men; however this troop was apparently no less subject to straying from the path of authorized propaganda and was subsequently replaced in royal favor with Hunsdon's "Lord Chamberlain's" men, also known as "Shakespeare's company".

have not been answered, nor the abuses of which he complains corrected (Fowler 1986 484-495). At this date, the theatres had only recently reopened after a hiatus of more than eighteen months. From January 1593 until June 1594 they had been closed by authority, on the pretext of inhibiting the spread of the plague, which was associated with the disease vector created by the large numbers of persons who congregated in the enclosed public spaces of theatres such as the Swan or the Rose in Southwark. Grose and Oxley report that this inhibition "destroyed the organization of many companies" (27). Commented Ward on this 1594 reference to Oxford's "office:

He is evidently referring to some work he is doing for Her Majesty, no doubt in return for his 1,000 pounds a year. It is almost tantalizing that he tells us so much, and yet so little, for he gives no hint – no more than the Queen did in her original warrant—what this work is. (312)

That furtherance of this office eventually required Oxford to acquire the public vizard of a false name, within which to enclose any threat to "public manners" (Sonnet 111)<sup>56</sup>, might be gleaned from an exchange in *Comedy of Errors* in which the changeling Dromio of Syracuse bars his master Antipholus of Ephesus from entering his home while his counterpart abuses him for having "stolen both *mine office* and my name" (emphasis added):

Anti.	What art thou that keep'st mee out from the howse I ow <sup>&lt;n&gt;e</sup> <sup>57</sup> ?
S. Dro.	The Porter for this time, Sir, and my name is Dromio.
E. Dro.	O villaine, thou hast stolne <i>both mine office and my name</i> , The one hath got me credit, the other mickle blame: If thou hadst beene Dromio today in my place, Thou wouldst have chang'd thy face for a name, or thy name for an asse. (3.1.42-47: emphasis added)

A little later the same character sardonically relates this "office" both to the figure of "a thousand pounds" and also the rope which his master uses to beat him:

I buy a thousand pound *a year*: I buy a rope. (4.1.21: emphasis added)

We should not fail to notice that the reference is to *an annuity* of the same amount by which Oxford's "office" was subsidized. Each word reinforces the salience of the comical self-reference to the author's own conflicted circumstance: Oxford "bought" this annuity through the sale of his own encumbered estates to rising bourgeois such as Lord Burghley. That the annuity came with its own "rope" attached seems the most natural thing in the world: money has often been used as a leash for creative artists whose symbol-making powers threaten, or appear to threaten, a social order. In *Qu'est-ce que la littérature*, Sartre defines "le conflit originel qui définit sa [the artist's] condition" as one which makes him "un

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<sup>56</sup> The sonnet chides the "guiltie goddess" of "fortune"  
That did not better for my life provide,  
Then publick means which publick manner breeds.  
Thence comes it that my name receives a brand,  
And almost thence my nature is subdu'd  
To what it works in, like the Dyers hand.

<sup>57</sup> F. reads "owe," an archaic form of "own."

parasite de 'l'élite' ...." Enlightened elites, according to Sartre, go out of their way to pension (pensionnent) the artist "pour contrôler sa puissance destructrice." (105). In view of his manifest powers of satirical comment, "Shakespeare" was certainly an artist whom one can imagine an enlightened monarch such as Elizabeth I needing to regulate. The December 28 1594 performance of *Comedy of Errors* at Grey's Inn almost provoked a riot and was remembered as a "night of errors" (Wilson 1968 xxvi). Not surprisingly, the play was not published for another twenty-seven years until the first folio of 1623. Like Dromio of Ephesus, de Vere seems to have run as fast as he could to escape the consequences of his parody of his mistress, the fat Kitchen Wench "Nell" -- whose name, like that of Elizabeth, "spells an ell and three quarters"<sup>58</sup> -- but the rope, along with the annuity which he purchased out of the alienation of his own feudal inheritance, kept him running in place for several decades.

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<sup>58</sup> That is, "El" + three additional syllables, or "El-liz-a-beth."

## CHAPTER 5. OXFORD'S LIFE IN THE PLAYS

To the extent possible within the compass of a few pages, the three proceeding chapters have outlined the historical context of our present investigation and brought forward some of the so-called "external" evidence supporting the theory of De Vere's authorship of the Shakespeare Canon -- his superlative education in history, languages and literature, his patronage of such arts as music, literature, philosophy, physics and medicine (in each of which fields he had an uncanny knack for discovering and assisting what was best and most significant), his prominent role as a theatrical patron and writer of drama, and finally his formidable and unforgettable wise-ass wit.

The present chapter will briefly consider some elements of so-called "internal evidence" which support the theory. As is well known, the documented circumstances of de Vere's life are uncannily manifest in many figurative expressions in the plays and poems published under the name "Shakespeare" (Ogburn and Ogburn 1952; Ogburn 1984). As *Washington Post* columnist Don Oldenburg has noted, de Vere's life story reads like a rough draft of *Hamlet*. Let us consider a few of the most impressive examples of this phenomenal linkage between "internal" and "external" evidence<sup>59</sup>.

As Looney observed in 1920, the figure of the meddling counselor and "fishmonger" Polonius is a parody of de Vere's real life guardian and father-in-law, Ward's Master William Cecil. This identification was originally made by George Russell French in his *Shakespeareana Genealogica* and has been supported by J.D. Wilson (1948 155; 187) E. K. Chambers (1930 418), Joel Hurtsfield (1958 257) and Christopher Devlin (n.d. 43) among others. Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens, in his 1992 "Shakespeare Canon of Statutory Construction," concludes that

Polonius is unquestionably a caricature of Burghley. His position as advisor to the King, his physical appearance, his crafty use of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to try to ascertain the cause of Hamlet's antic disposition, and his employment of Reynaldo to spy on his own son, Laertes, while away at school, are all characteristic of Burghley. One who had lived in his house, as de Vere did, and therefore had firsthand knowledge of Burghley's use of a spy to report on the activities of his oldest son, could well be responsible for the scene including Reynaldo--a scene that seems to have no purpose except to illuminate Polonius's--or Burghley's--character. The suspicion that there is an autobiographical element in Hamlet increases when one recognizes the parallel between Hamlet's relationship with the fair Ophelia --the daughter of Polonius -- and the fact that at the age of twenty-one de Vere married Anne Cecil, the daughter of Lord Burghley. (1992 1371-72)

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<sup>59</sup> For a more thorough account of the historical context of the present document, the reader is invited to consult appendix M. Appendix N details some striking elements of the stylistic evidence linking Oxford to the "Shakespeare" canon.

Another tangible and surprising connection between de Vere's biography and the Shakespearean corpus which will disturb partisans of the official story of Shakespeare is the prominence of the "bed trick" -- the stratagem by which a woman entraps a reluctant male into having sexual relations with her by luring him to an assignation with another woman for whom the protagonist then substitutes herself-- in plays such as *All's Well that End's Well* and *Measure for Measure*<sup>60</sup>. Such a "bed trick" plays a prominent structural role in both Shakespearean comedies. Curiously, more than one historical tradition connects this Shakespearean "literary" motif to the real life of Edward de Vere. It appears that de Vere's unhappy marriage to his classificatory consanguine Anne Cecil, which would have been condemned as incestuous under canon law<sup>61</sup>, was consummated by means of the same "bed-trick" by which the lowly but lovely Helena snares her man Bertram in Shakespeare's play. Wright's *History of Essex* records that

the father of lady Anne by stratagem contrived that her husband should unknowingly sleep with her, believing her to be another woman, and she bore a son to him in consequence of this meeting  
(Vol. I: 517)

just as Helena entraps Bertram by luring him to her bed under the pretense of his assignation with Diana in *All's Well*. As Looney observes, it is irrelevant that this episode of the play is conventionally considered a mere reflex of the theme's occurrence in Boccaccio:

The point which matters is that this extraordinary story should be circulated in reference to the Earl of Oxford; making it quite clear that either Oxford was the actual prototype of Bertram, in which case false as well as true stories of the earl might be worked into the play, or he was supposed to be the prototype and was saddled with the story in consequence....With such possibilities of discovery lying in the play of "All's Well," it is not surprising that having first of all appeared under the title of "Love's Labour's Won," it should have disappeared for a full generation, and then, when the Earl of Oxford had been dead for nearly twenty years, reappeared under a new name.

(1920 234)

Although the full circumstances surrounding the 1576 birth of Elizabeth Vere, alleged by ancient sources to have been the result of a "bed trick" played on de Vere by his wife Anne (apparently with the active collusion of her father William Cecil), will probably never be known, Cecil's memoranda confirm that the birth was fraught with intrigue and conflict (Ward 1928 113-129; Ogburn 1984 555-580). Considering the implications of the birth, it is not difficult to see why. By 1576, de Vere had been married to Anne Cecil for five years without producing any children. The continuance of the marriage may well have depended upon Anne's pregnancy; without an heir, the marriage could be terminated under existing law at the husband's will. Hence it is not difficult to see grounds for Burghley's alleged role in the affair (Ogburn and Ogburn 1952; Ogburn 1984 574-75); the last thing this master of court intrigue wanted was a *former* ward and son-in-law, whose court amours included the kind of conquests of which Falstaff could boast, running free without a leash.

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<sup>60</sup>*Measure for Measure* views the trick not from the point of view of the tricked male, but from that of its mastermind, the Duke, who arranges to reconcile Mariana with her alienated fiancée Angelo by the ruse of appointing a rendezvous between Angelo and Isabella but sending Mariana in place of the nun.

This circumstance is directly and overtly paralleled in *All's Well*. Helena's entrapment of Bertram in the bed trick answers her husband's flagrant challenge: "when thou canst....show me a child begotten of thy body that I am father to, then call me husband" (3.2.57-60). Logically, of course, the phrase "that I am father to" is superfluous unless, just as with De Vere, the possibility of the bed trick is conjoined with the alternative means of a wife's conception. We may not therefore be surprised to learn that de Vere's own account of his daughter's conception, as reported by Her Majesty's physician Richard Masters in a memorandum of March 7 1575 (N.S.), was that "if [Anne] were with child it was not his" (Ward 114).

So compelling are the connections between Bertram and Oxford, from the wardship and forced marriage to a classificatory sibling, to the bed trick, that even Joel Hurstfield in his study of the Elizabethan court of wards concedes that Bertram may be, "as some critics believe, Shakespeare's version of Burghley's ward" -- namely Oxford (1973 129).

Looney himself, while drawing pointed attention to this surprising coincidence between life and art, admonishes the Shakespearean student to be suspicious of alleged parallelisms which occur in only one play. Looney's sense of wholism demanded a theory for which proof could be demonstrated from multiple, sometimes surprisingly juxtaposed quarters of knowledge; the literary precipitates of the artist's own life would be observable in every play he had written. This was the challenge which Looney bequeathed to students who would follow him, and to a surprising extent these have already made good on the case in such books as Dorothy and Charlton Ogburn Sr.'s *This Star of England* (1952) and Charlton Ogburn's *The Mysterious William Shakespeare* (1984). In every play in the Shakespeare canon, sometimes more and sometimes less plausibly, such scholars have documented an emerging canon of topical knowledge which lights up the interior stage in the Shakespearean drama.

Many readers would naturally want to focus on *Hamlet* as a test case, since that is "Shakespeare's" most famous and presumably, in a certain sense which is paradoxically difficult to define, "autobiographical" work. Can we turn to the mature tragedy *Hamlet* and discover in it the same sort of connection as we did with the early comedy, *All's Well that Ends Well*? If so we have spanned the entire Shakespearean oeuvre, from one pole of a comedy about comically propitious endings, to the other pole of a play in which purposes are inevitably "purposes mistook," and, "in the upshot fall'n on the inventor's heads" (5.2.395).

The essential plot elements of the play *Hamlet* are just as easily demonstrated in the life of Edward de Vere as they are in Shakespeare's alleged source, the Latin of Saxo Grammaticus. As we have seen, de Vere was a prominent patron of the arts, particularly the theatre, during the 1570s and 1580's; after a time, perhaps due to controversy over his handling of theatrical events, his influence in that department

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<sup>61</sup>See Smith, C.E. *Papal Enforcement*, who shows that under canon law "adoption has the same effect in precluding marriage as does kinship by marriage" (6).

seems to have been eclipsed. Eventually more reliable and predictable state servants such as the successive Lord Chamberlains of her majesty's household, Henry (1524-1596) and George (1547-1603) Hunsdon assumed centralized control over players performing in her majesty's livery. In 1602, however, apparently after some urging on his part and the intercession of the Queen, players in Oxford's livery are finally granted the right to resume their *customary venue* at the Boar's head tavern in Eastcheap (Chambers 1923 IV CXXX) -- the scene, incidentally, of Falstaff and the Prince's swaggering encounters with Mistress Quickly, Doll and Pistol in *II Henry IV* 2.1, 4.

Like Hamlet, de Vere was an aristocratic playwright with a political agenda to make use of the theatre for compensatory political purposes when his own ambitions were thwarted by powerful court antagonists -- Claudius or Polonius in the Court of Elsinore in the play, or the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burghley in the English court of the 1570's and 80's. Hamlet even enacts a simulacrum of the artist's own pseudonymous authorship when he engagingly asks if the Players from the Court of Gonzago can insert into their Italian script a speech of "a dozen or sixteen lines which I shall set down for you" (2.2.56). It is these lines, presumably, with which Hamlet expects to "catch the conscience of the king," but as witnesses to the drama we cannot even identify which lines they are! Evidently Hamlet has contrived to insert some of his own lines of verse into the drama, without allowing his authorship of them to be publicly acknowledged -- for if he were known to be the author, his own subtle forensics investigation might be spoiled by an unexpected visit by the King's royal guard, searching to discover the author of such trash. Of all of this Looney, although he chose a more prosaic and conservative idiom in which to express his knowledge, was fully aware. Indeed Looney notes that the "central fact of Hamlet's working out a secret purpose under a mask of eccentricity amounting almost to feigned madness" (398) forms an analogue to the real-life circumstances of Edward de Vere as the greatest of the "concealed poets"<sup>62</sup> in the Court of Elizabeth I:

All the quickness of the senses which marks alike the work of De Vere and Shakespeare manifests itself in the person of Hamlet. He misses nothing; and every thing he sees or hears opens some new avenue to the "inmost parts" of those about him. A man like this is almost foredoomed to a tragic loneliness; for even such love as he shows towards Ophelia and she towards him cannot blind him to her want of honesty in her dealings. He sees much of which he may not speak. In the play he can express himself in soliloquy or cunningly reveal to the audience what is hidden from the other personages in the drama; but in real life he would become a man of large mental reserves and an enforced secretiveness. (395)

Has any Shakespeare critic, ideology aside, written two hundred more eloquent words about the essential nature of the character Hamlet? I cannot name any.

The entire complex of relations between these two plays and the documented circumstances of de Vere's life forcefully underscores the cogency of Justice John Paul Stevens's "suspicion" of "an autobiographical element" in *Hamlet* (Stevens 1992 1379). How much greater must this "suspicion"

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<sup>62</sup> The phrase is from the letter of Francis Bacon, March 28 1603, to the poet John Davies (MSS 976 fo. 4 Lambeth Palace), which signs off "desiring you to be good to concealed poets..." (Hope 1993).

appear, in light of present discoveries, when we remember that grounds for the same suspicion are found also in *Alls' Well that Ends Well* when Helena traps her husband in the bed trick, just as the Countess of Oxford is said to have entrapped de Vere into becoming the father of her first child? Similar analogies between life and art disclose themselves at every corner when the canon is read, particularly in its entirety, from the so-called "Oxfordian" point of view.





## CHAPTER 6. SOME CURIOUS MARKS

Quid hic vides?

'Vestigia,' dixit porcellus. Vestigia ungularum. Vagitum brevem excitatumque emisit.

'O Pu! Credis vusillum significare?'

'Significare possunt' dixit Pu. 'Modo significant, modo autem minime. De vestigiis semper dubitandum est.'

--Winnie Ille Pu<sup>63</sup>

For reasons already noted, the void at the heart of the Shakespeare question vanishes when one considers the alternate proposition that Edward de Vere wrote the works ascribed to the book-less Mr. Shakspere<sup>64</sup>. According to the Oxfordian theory, "Shakespeare" translated his native brilliance and superlative education into a body of literary creation both personal in its elaborate evocation of the raw stuff of a specific lived experience --including reading -- and universal and enduring in its generic artistic reformulation of those experiences.

One vital new line of evidence supporting this proposition is the discovery of books from de Vere's library, which have begun to lend corroborative substance to the claims advanced by Looney, Ogburn, Fowler, Miller and others. The potential for future discovery of additional books once owned by de Vere is difficult to estimate. However, record of several such books is preserved in extant documents preserved for the Court of Wards -- an institution in which De Vere, as we have seen, was a prominent ward. Among these, for example, we may note the following:

To William Seres, stationer, for a Geneva Bible gilt, a Chaucer, Plutarch's Works in French, and other books and papers.....2 7 10<sup>65</sup>

While noting that the gilded Bible sold in this record is almost certainly the copy discussed in the present dissertation<sup>66</sup>, we should not overlook the significance of de Vere's purchase of books by Plutarch and Chaucer in the same order. Add Ovid, Holinshed and Boccaccio to this list and one has, arguably, Shakespeare's half-dozen most influential authors. In the third quarter of the same year as the Geneva Bible was purchased, the Court of Wards also approved expense for "two Italian books," for Tully

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<sup>63</sup> *Winnie Ille Pu* by A. A. Milne (Novi Eboraci: Sumptibus Duttonis, MCMLX). Latin Translation by Alexander Dutton.

<sup>64</sup> I follow the spelling as used by the *New Shakspeare Society* founded by Furnivall *et alia* to denote the Stratford Shakspere, whose name was typically, if not always, spelled without the "e" after "Shak."

<sup>65</sup> The document is S.P. Dom. Add., 19.38.

(Cicero), and for Plato -- “with other books, paper, and nibs” (Ward 1928 33)<sup>67</sup>. One cannot help but wonder how many of Burghley’s court wards were so busy writing that they had to make special orders for writing supplies such as pen nibs. And -- consider the books! Plutarch, Chaucer, Tully and Plato! At nineteen, de Vere was already imbibing the “Tully’s orator” which Cornelia used to instruct her sons in *Titus Andronicus*.

The de Vere Geneva Bible, a copy of the second quarto 1568-70 edition<sup>68</sup> of the translation prepared in Geneva during the 1550s by William Whittingham and other Protestant exiles from Mary Tudor's counter-reformation rule (1547-53) and first published in 1560, contains over a thousand marked and underlined Bible passages in the fine italic handwriting of Edward de Vere, the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford<sup>69</sup> (see appendices H-I for details). Despite reckless assertions to the contrary -- vide, e.g., Smith (1993 59-61) -- the case that the Bible's annotations were made by the hand of the original owner Edward de Vere is beyond reasonable dispute. Three convergent lines of evidence which support this conclusion, the minor premise of the present argument, may briefly be recapitulated here:

- As previously noted, records reprinted in Ward (1928), unmentioned by Smith (1994) and other critics of the minor premise, record that a Geneva Bible, answering to the description of the Folger copy of STC 2106, was purchased for Edward de Vere by John Hart, Chester Herald of the Court of Wards, in 1570, along with the following additional items:

To William Seres, stationer, for a Geneva Bible gilt<sup>70</sup>, a Chaucer, Plutarch's works in French, and other books and papers.....2      7      10.

- The Bible, bound in 16<sup>th</sup> century crimson velvet, is adorned with engraved silver center and corner-plates. Edward De Vere's heraldic devices -- the blue boar capped with a coronet and the quartered shield, gules and gold<sup>71</sup> with a sinistral molet (star) -- are engraved into the Bible's centerplates (see figure One). It is certain that these devices point to de Vere as the Bible's original owner: the engraved arms show no mark of difference which would be required by Tudor "law and heraldry" if prepared for a member of a cadet lineage of the de

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<sup>66</sup> Now Folger shelf mark 1472.

<sup>67</sup> Surprisingly, the STC lists no editions of Plato published in England before 1641; even Cicero, who was extensively printed after 1573, was not available in English imprint in 1570. Therefore these books, like Folger 1427, must have been imported for de Vere from Continental sources.

<sup>68</sup> STC 2106; Darlowe & Moule. The de Vere copy contains the dates 1568 for the Old Testament, 1570 for the New Testament, and 1569 in the attached Sternhold and Hopkins psalms (STC 2440a).

<sup>69</sup> These annotations have previously been discussed by the present writer in two research reports written with the assistance of the Shakespeare Oxford Society, the late William Hunt, James Hardigg and Rich and Tiana Eustis, among other generous benefactors whose assistance I would like to acknowledge. Conclusive photographic evidence for the identity of de Vere as the annotator is presented for the first time in appendix H of the present dissertation.

<sup>70</sup> The Folger de Vere Bible has a gilded fore-edge.

<sup>71</sup> The colors of which do not, however, show in the engraved devices.

Vere clan. The Bible was definitely bound for an Earl of Oxford, and given the temporal circumstances that person can only have been the 17<sup>th</sup> Earl.

- The simplest conclusion based on these two facts -- namely that de Vere was the annotator of his own Bible -- is verified beyond reasonable doubt by the paleographical evidence analyzed in Appendices H-I.

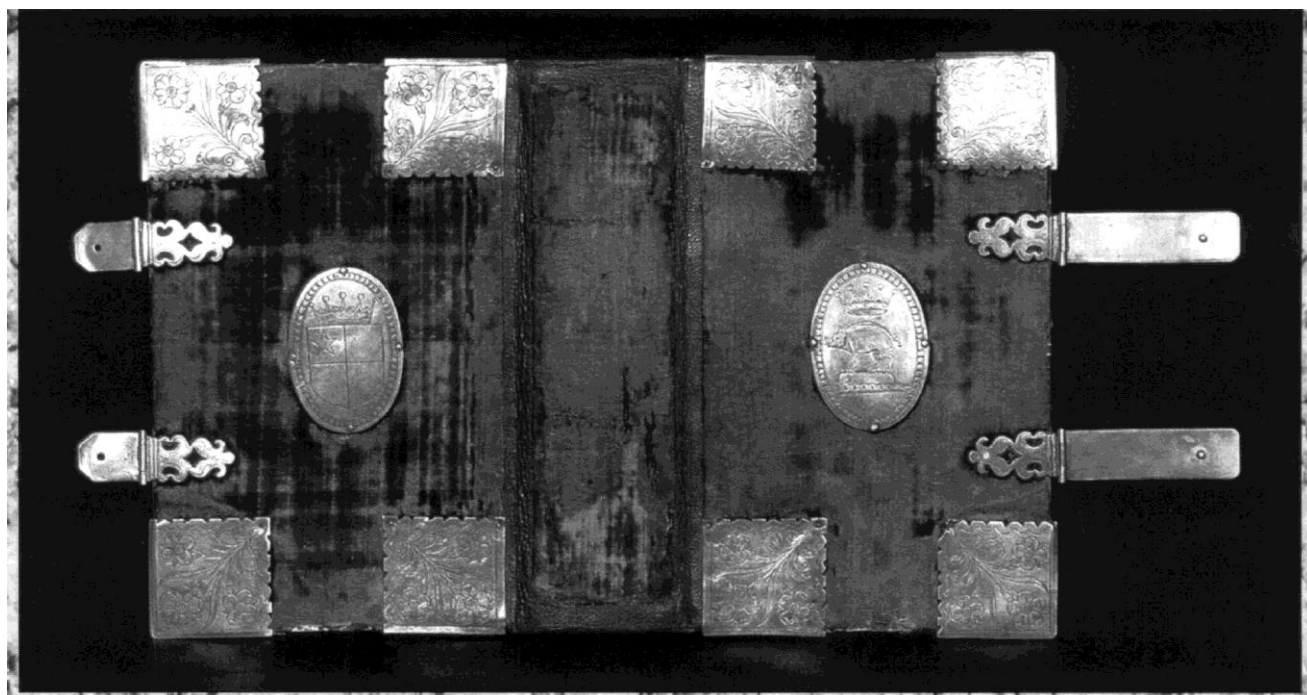


Figure One: Binding of de Vere STC 2106 showing heraldic emblems of the Earl of Oxford: the standing boar -- a canting symbol of the name "Vere," derived from the old French Verres, and the quartered shield with sinistral molet.



Figure Two: Obverse of de Vere Bible STC 2106 showing heraldic blue boar of the Oxford earldom.



Figure Three: Edward de Vere Gheeraedt's Portrait (circa 1586), showing heraldic boar symbol. After the original formerly in the possession of the Duke of St. Albans and now owned by the Minos Miller Trust Fund.

There is a further point, however, that must be mentioned. When the de Vere Bible was purchased in 1925 by Henry Clay Folger (1857-1930) it was purchased as an Elizabethan artifact once owned by Edward de Vere. This fact might not seem to require emphasis, except in the present atmosphere of orthodox revisionism *ad infinitum*, in which not only "Shakespeare," but the facts themselves, are retailored in a flash to fit contemporary needs. As previously discussed by Stritmatter and Anderson (1996), Bruce Smith has invented a hypothetical previous owner to account for the Bible's annotation; *Smithsonian* and the *Shakespeare Newsletter*, while apparently oblivious to the methodological absurdities of Smith's case, accordingly announced that the de Vere Bible is-- as *Smithsonian* so proudly trumpets in a textbook display of journalistic hubris - a "false alarm."

Folger's 1925 invoice from Leicestershire bookseller Bernard Halliday identifies the book as a Geneva Bible in a silver binding bearing the "arms of [the] Earl of Oxford" (figure four). The date of purchase, only five years after the publication of "*Shakespeare*" *Identified*, has naturally raised speculation about whether Mr. Folger had some particular interest in Oxford. For some time now it has

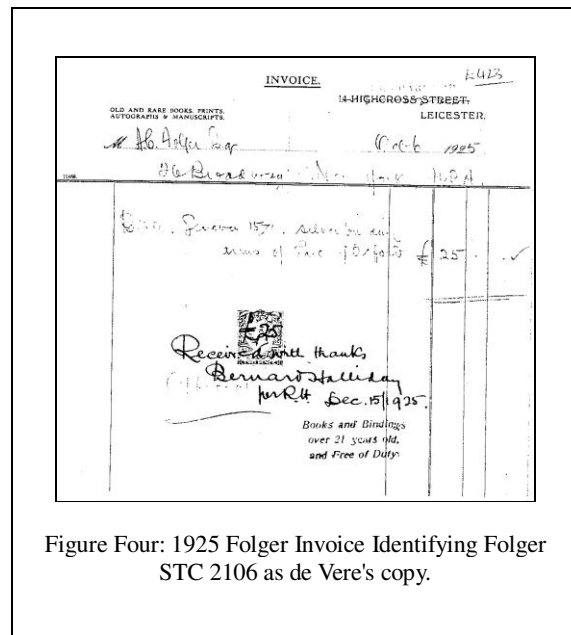


Figure Four: 1925 Folger Invoice Identifying Folger STC 2106 as de Vere's copy.

been rumored that Folger, like Freud or William Mcfee, who in his introduction to the second (1948) edition of *Shakespeare Identified* compared Looney's book to Darwin's *Origin of Species*, may have covertly entertained serious sympathy for the heresy. Convincing evidence to support this proposition has recently come to light.

In 1929, when the American novelist Esther Singleton published her literary tribute to de Vere in the form of a collection of stories titled *Shakespearian Fantasias: Adventures in the Fourth Dimension*, Folger took notice. According to Charles Wisner Barrell's account in a 1946 issue of *The Shakespeare Fellowship Newsletter*, Folger was so impressed by Ms. Singleton's book -- in which the madcap Berowne of *Love's Labour's Lost*, the melancholic Jacques of *As You Like It*, and the witty lover Benedick of *Much Ado About Nothing* make cameo appearances as projections of de Vere's literary *persona* -- that he purchased twenty copies as gifts for his friends (Barrell 1946 14) and negotiated to purchase the manuscript of Singleton's book (Barrell 1946 14). Folger researchers have recently verified that, after the deaths of Folger and Singleton, the library obtained Singleton's manuscript under the terms of Mr. Folger's bequest. Folger was apparently well aware, then, when he purchased the Bible in 1925, that it had originally been owned<sup>72</sup> by the man whom many Elizabethan scholars believed was "Shakespeare"; moreover Folger's awareness apparently extended to a serious sympathy for the "Oxfordian" position, one which has unfortunately been vigorously repressed within the institutional confines of the library which Mr. Folger's resources endowed (Crinkley 1985).

Based on these considerations there is absolutely no rational basis for speculation that Edward de Vere was not the annotator of this Bible. It is not even accurate, as Alan Nelson has recently claimed, that "the principal grounds for [the proposition of Oxford's hand as annotator] are paleographical" (Nelson in press 1995 1). On the contrary, the grounds for this conclusion are multiple and convergent: paleography serves primarily as a check against a too-casual positive identification of de Vere as the annotator and secondarily as a verification of the reasonable inference, based on circumstantial evidence, that he was.

Approximately one thousand and forty three verses or marginal notes and twenty psalms are underlined or marked in the de Vere Bible. With a single exception<sup>73</sup> excluded from the present study, all annotations are in the same hand. Four colors of ink are employed in the Bible: a scarlet, an orange, a brown-black and a grey. Fortunately, samples of written annotations exist in all four ink variants. Forensic analysis of these handwriting samples among themselves and with de Vere holograph (see

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<sup>72</sup> Tellingly, this manuscript was not included in the 1993 Folger exhibit, *Roasting the Swan of Avon*. To acknowledge its existence would have required that the library deal with its own history of repression and denial and to admit in public that its founder was a "fellow traveler" with the Oxfordians.

<sup>73</sup> See appendix G.

appendix H) permits the certain conclusion that all four ink sets are the work of a single individual, Edward de Vere<sup>74</sup>.

Two methods of underlining are employed by the annotator: most commonly --in orange or black-- he marks just a verse number; in some books, particularly I and II Samuel and II Esdras, he underlines -- in scarlet or rarely in black-- portions of the verse itself. I designate the former method Verse Number (VN) and the latter Continuous (C). In a few instances, for example Micah 7.9 (figure five), the annotator uses both marking techniques, perhaps indicating a repeated or sustained interest in the marked passage.

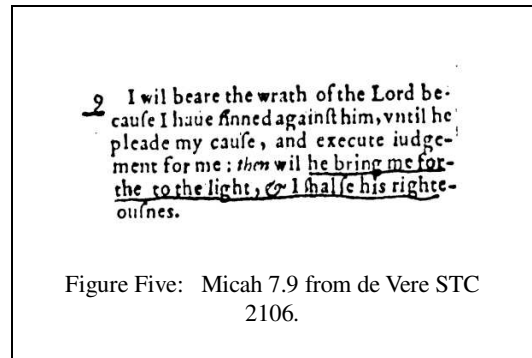


Figure Five: Micah 7.9 from de Vere STC 2106.

Some eighteen psalms are marked in the de Vere Bible by a marginal drawing of a small hand with a pointing finger, a style of annotation also found in Psalm 137 (figure six):

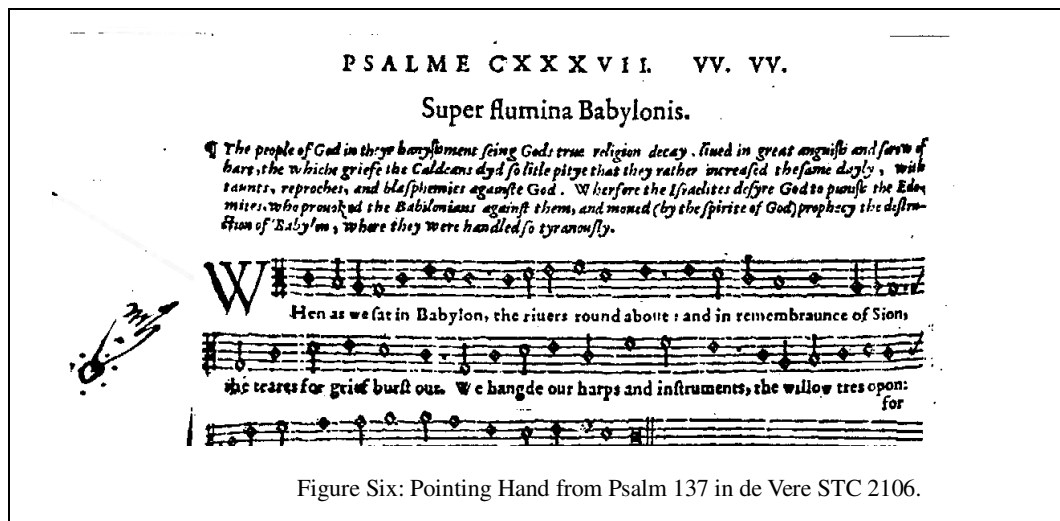


Figure Six: Pointing Hand from Psalm 137 in de Vere STC 2106.

<sup>74</sup> The orange and scarlet inks, unfortunately, have suffered considerable fading over time. The weak black and white reproduction of certain images such as those in figures 16, 31, 35 or 75, is a consequence of this problem. Fortunately these images show up much more clearly in color.

In a few cases, the annotator also marks certain verses with a fleur-de-lys icon (figure seven).

Both icons are part of the visual stock inherited by 16<sup>th</sup> century annotators from the medieval glossators and copyists. From the glossators they were carried over into early printed books such as the Great Bible (1539), which uses the pointing hand icon as one method for marking verses approved of by Protestant editors of Henry VIII's reign.

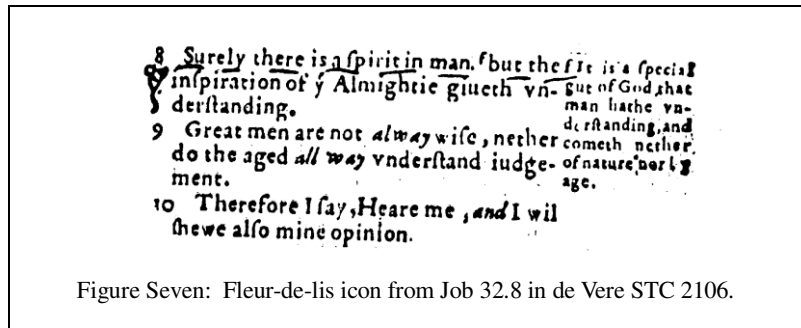


Figure Seven: Fleur-de-lis icon from Job 32.8 in de Vere STC 2106.

The de Vere Bible also contains as many as forty-one small marginal notes, many cropped during the restoration of the Bible, which took place at some time during the past two centuries. The notes appear in full below in the paleographical Appendix H. Almost all consist of a single word or short phrase, marking the thematic emphasis of the verse. With one exception the annotations are so abbreviated and generic that, in themselves, they supply little more than a confirmation of the reader's attention to the theme of the verse so marked. The exception to this rule is the cropped note, longer than most, which occurs adjacent to Wisdom 18.21-22, which states: "[the wea]pon of [the Go]dly is Praier" (figure eight).

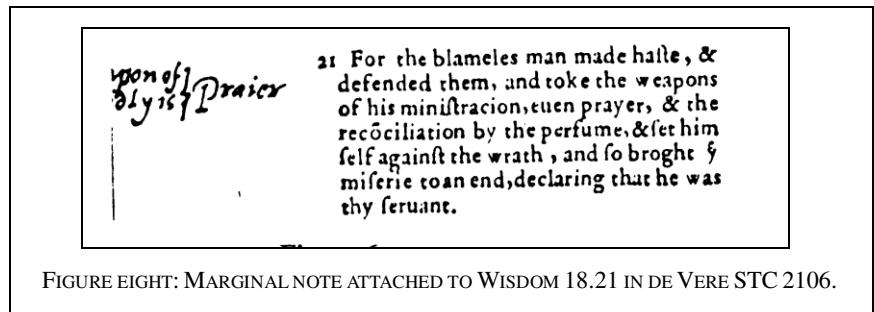


FIGURE EIGHT: MARGINAL NOTE ATTACHED TO WISDOM 18.21 IN DE VERE STC 2106.

The idea that the word – prayer -- is more powerful than the sword occurs frequently in Shakespeare, elaborating the annotator's aphorism from the book of *Wisdom*:

- When Queen Margaret says critically of her husband Henry VI:

....His champions are the prophets and the apostles,  
 His weapons holy saws of sacred writ, his study his tilt yard. (2 Henry VI 1.3.61)

- Or when Bolingbroke begs the prayers of his cousin Aumerle:

To reach at victory above my head;  
 Add proof unto mine armour with thy prayers,  
 And with thy blessings steel my lance's point,  
 That it may enter Mowbray's waxen coat. (Richard II 1.3.72-75)



In several cases the annotator leaves slight but impressive traces of his very close reading even of Bible passages in which he has marked no verses. Ecclesiasticus 14.13 is one of a small number of marked verses corrected, apparently, on the authority of the annotator's detailed knowledge of variant translations of the Bible (figure nine). In the Genevan translation of STC 2106, the verse exhorts giving alms to "thy friend." The annotator's change of the pronoun "him" to "unto the poore" qualifies as a correction to the Genevan edition; the change reflects the wording of the Vulgate Bible, which reads in this place "da pauperi" (Gramatica 1913)<sup>75</sup>.

The distinction is of course significant not merely for editorial reasons. There is a profound normative difference between charity offered to *one's friend* and that given to "the poor." Furthermore, the change demonstrates the annotator's knowledge of variant Bible translations, even of relatively obscure passages

13 \*Do good vnto thy friend before Chap. 14  
thou dye, & according to thine habi- 14b. 4, 7  
lities stretch out thine hand and giue  
him vnto the poore.

Figure Nine: Ecclesiasticus 14.13 showing annotator's correction of STC 2106 to the wording found in the Vulgate translation.

from the apocrypha such as Ecclus. 14.13. Such knowledge of variant translations of the Bible is further confirmed by a passage from Edward de Vere's Jan. 3 1576 letter from Sienna to Lord Burghley in which he remembers -- and alters<sup>76</sup> -- Acts 9.5 in Italian: "*I see it is but vain calcitrare contra li busi*" / "I see it is but vain to kick against the Oxen."

<sup>75</sup> Curiously, no 16<sup>th</sup> century Latin Bibles published in England which I have consulted show this reading; apparently the modern Vulgate text descends from a Latin exemplar which never made the passage into print in England. If so, this demonstrates de Vere's close familiarity with Continental traditions of Bible scholarship.

<sup>76</sup> I am indebted to Alan Nelson for first noting this significant discrepancy between the Biblical source text and de Vere's usage.

## CHAPTER 7. STRONG CIRCUMSTANCES

Of the approximately one thousand marked verses in the de Vere Bible, almost three hundred -- approaching one third -- demonstrate a tangible influence in the poems and plays of "Shakespeare." One hundred and forty-one of these verses have been designated as influential for Shakespeare -- either as source or parallel -- by prior scholars (Noble 1935; Shaheen 1987, 1989, 1993; Milward 1987). The remaining number exhibit various degrees or types of significance within the Shakespeare canon, from minor examples which exhibit only a probable or subtle influence, to those which display definite or even pervasive influences in the canon and are discussed for the first time in my 1992-93 Report A *Quintessence of Dust* or in the attached Appendices D and G.

Such numbers, however, do not do full justice to the quality of the de Vere Bible evidence. Although somewhat over one thousand verses are marked in the Bible, it is a mistake to regard these as representing atomic bits of independent data. Indeed, the Bible annotations exhibit at least three distinct kinds of internal structure which affect any attempt at numerical assessment of their evidentiary value. First, the annotator frequently marks several successive verses within a pericope or a chapter, as in the sequence from *Romans* 6.19-22 (figure ten).

Counting such marked clusters in place of individual verses we find only three hundred seventy-seven, of

which one hundred fifty-five -- 41%--exhibit a demonstrable influence in Shakespeare. Marked verses within these clusters, furthermore, as discussed in chapter ten, exhibit a reverberating influence in the Shakespeare canon; the two hundred marked verses or one hundred fifty-five marked clusters yield over

19 I speake after the maner of man, be-  
 20 cause of the infirmitie of your flesh: for  
 as ye haue giuen your membres ser-  
 uants to vncleanenes & to iniquitie, to  
 commit iniquitie, so now giue your mem-  
 bres seruants vnto righteousness in ho-  
 lines.  
 20 For when ye were the seruants of  
 sinne, ye were freed from righteous-  
 nes.  
 21 What frute had ye the in those things,  
 whereof ye are now ashamed? For the  
 end of those things is death.  
 22 But now being freed from sinne, and  
 made seruants vnto God, ye haue your  
 frute in holines, and the end, euerlasting  
 life.  
 23 For the wages of sinne is death: but y  
 gift of God is eternal life through Iesus  
 Christ our Lord.

Figure Ten: Romans 6.19-22 in de Vere STC  
2106.

six hundred references or allusions in Shakespeare texts, an average of almost three per marked verse or four per marked cluster.

Even these figures, however, do not do justice to the quality of the evidence contained in the Bible. The Bible data possesses a coherence relative to Shakespeare's biblical references in which *the whole is greater than the sum of its parts*. I propose to demonstrate this conclusion by discussing two different *genres of coherence* -- termed *first-order* and *second-order* connections -- which confirm the impression of a single annotator identified with de Vere and lead to the almost inevitable conclusion that this same person wrote the poems and plays of "Shakespeare."

Close examination reveals strong thematic regularities -- cutting across the ink variants -- within the set of annotated verses. For example, in I & II Samuel the annotator marks a series of non-contiguous but thematically related verses. Among them are side-note *a* at I Samuel 14.1 (victory comes not by armour but by the grace of god); I Samuel 16.7 (God looks not on outward stature but on the heart)<sup>77</sup>, I Samuel 26.12 (David's theft of Saul's spear), II Samuel 21.16 (spear of Ishi-benob), 21.19 (spear of Goliath), 21.20 (stature of Goliath). I term this series the "spiritual weapons" cluster. The previously discussed note at Wisdom 18.21-22, stating that "*the weapon of the godly is praier*"<sup>78</sup> (figure eleven) also belongs to, and asserts the rationale for, this group: prayer is more powerful than military hardware.

Such connections allow the investigator to identify thematic relations between the Bible annotations and De Vere's life as it has been documented by Looney (1920), Ward (1928), Miller (1975 *et. seq.*) or Ogburn (1984). For example, the pronounced emphasis on the Hebrew tradition of charity towards orphans, widows and "strangers" indicated by de Vere's repeated marking of this theme (Ex. 22.22; Deut. 10.17-19; Lev. 19.10, 23.22) might be related to the biographical circumstance of the early death of his father in 1562

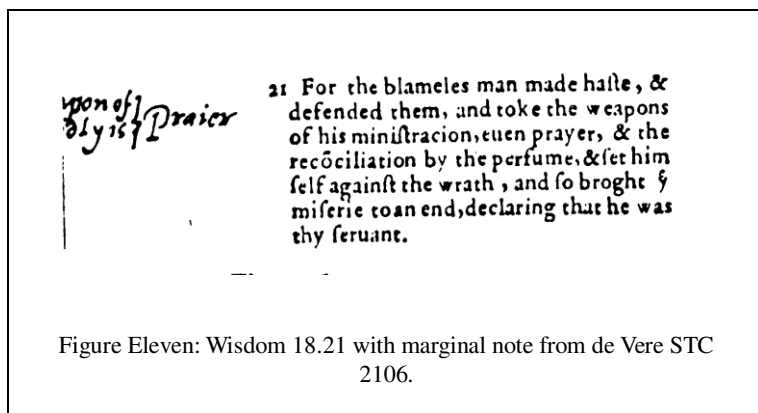


Figure Eleven: Wisdom 18.21 with marginal note from de Vere STC 2106.

and his subsequent status as a legal ward of the court under the administrative supervision of William Cecil<sup>79</sup>. A series of marked verses in the late prophet Micah (4.6-7) which lay stress on God's redeeming mercy towards the lame, reminds us of de Vere's laming c. 1582 in a series of quarrels with the

<sup>77</sup>This verse also belongs to the first order "neo-platonic" cluster.

<sup>78</sup>I.e. *not* military hardware like Goliath or Ishi-benob's gigantic spears.

<sup>79</sup>John de Vere, the sixteenth Earl of Oxford, died August 3, 1562 (Ward 1928, 14-15). By September 3 young Edward was on his way to Temple Bar in London and thence to Cecil house on the Strand, which remained his primary residence for the next eight and half years of his tutelage under Cecil. Burghley was raised to the peerage as Lord Burghley in 1571 to accommodate the impending marriage between de Vere and his daughter Anne (see Ward, 15-22). For the relevance of these circumstances in establishing the case for de Vere's authorship of "Shakespeare," see the remarks of Stevens (1992) and others below.

protectively aggressive uncle of his lover, Anne Vavasour<sup>80</sup>; another series in Jeremiah (33.8) and Ezekiel (36.25, 29, 33; 37.23) relates Yahweh's intent to reform the sins of his chosen people through oblations of "clean water" (36.29) which will "cleanse you from all your iniquities" (36.33). This latter sequence of images recalls de Vere's hereditary office as Lord Great Chamberlain of England and his associated responsibilities as Officer of the Ewery responsible for royal oblations -- including bearing water for the ritual cleansing of the monarch -- at the coronation of English royalty (See Miller 1975, 106-117).

By the far the most impressive *first-order connections* in the Bible, however, are those related to the financial themes which played such a prominent role in J.T. Looney's original formulation of the theory of De Vere's identity as Shakespeare, and which form such a well-documented aspect of de Vere's life (see chapter 3, "Mark Him Well"). The annotator underlines an extended series of verses concerning poverty and charity (Job 31.16-22; Ecclus. 13.3), prohibitions against usury (Exodus 22.25; Leviticus 25.36-37; Ezekiel 18.7-8, 17) the dangers of borrowing (Ecclus. 19.4), Jubilee debt remission (Deuteronomy 15.1-4, 7-14), the spiritual value of charity (Ecclesiasticus 7.10; Tobit 4.7-11, 16, 17; 12.8-9; Ecclus. 17.20; 29.9-14; 14.13), the gospel ethic of voluntary poverty (Mark 10.21; Matthew 5.3; 6.19-21; 19.21) and "secret charity" (Matt. 6.1-4). The profound relevance of these matters to the understanding of "Shakespeare" -- a matter of *second order* connections -- will be explored in some detail below. For now it is sufficient that these verse clusters bear an obvious relation to De Vere's legendary prodigality (see pp. 25-30).

*Second order* connections are those found between the annotations of the Bible and the Biblical references contained in the "Shakespeare" corpus. These are established in two basic forms. Many of the verses marked in the De Vere Bible -- approximately one hundred and forty -- are already noted in prior studies of Shakespeare's Biblical knowledge such as Carter (1905), Noble (1935), Shaheen (1987, 1989, 1999), and Milward (1973, 1987). The influence of other marked verses in the Shakespeare canon was discovered by the present investigator and was first presented in *A Quintessence of Dust* (1992, 1993), in a series of articles recently published in *Notes and Queries* (Stritmatter 1997; 1999a; 1999b; 2000a; 2000b), or in this dissertation.

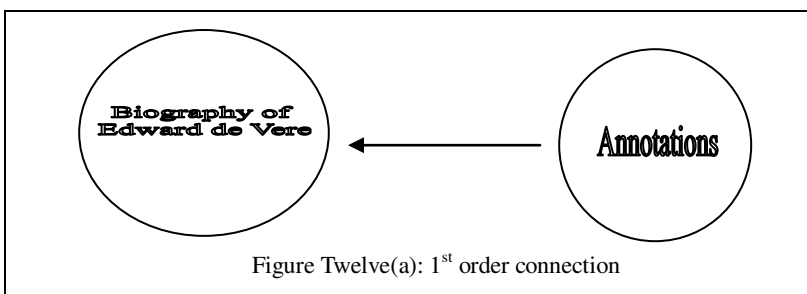
Such *second-order* connections exist in several intriguing variants. In addition to the almost three hundred cases in which a definite lexical, grammatical or thematic connection can be established between the marked verse and certain lines from Shakespeare, there are many variants of *second-order* patterning - for instance, cases in which the influence of two or more marked verses converges at a single site in the Shakespeare corpus, producing a composite allusion to both marked verses --which deserve independent

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<sup>80</sup>See Ward (1928, 227-232). The episode, not known to Looney, was first documented in detail by Barrell (1943 28-33). Ogburn (1984 660-64) gives a more current account. That the "hurt" which Oxford is reported to have sustained in 1582 (Ogburn 650) was indeed specifically a *laming* is demonstrated in unequivocal terms in de Vere's March 25 1595 letter to William Cecil, discovered by Alan Nelson in 1995, in which he writes "I will attend yowre Lordship *as well as a lame man may* at yowre house" (Cecil papers 31/45 italics added).

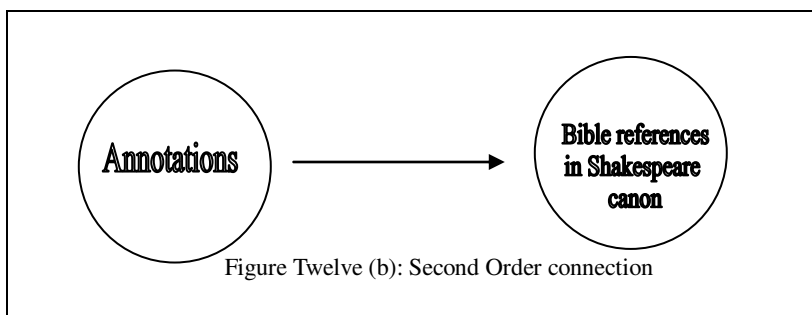
consideration in our analysis and strongly reinforce the principle that the whole is more than the sum of its parts. Furthermore, it is not difficult to see that many biblical references found in Shakespeare which are not marked in the de Vere Bible exhibit a specific thematic resonance in de Vere's life for which it would be difficult to account in orthodox biographical terms.

These two genres of pattern may also be considered as different *modes of reading* of the annotations. The annotations, in other words, may be read in both "directions" -- they may be read *backwards* into what is known or



suspected about the life of the annotator (Figure twelve (a)) and they can be read *forwards* into his hypothetical literary production as "Shakespeare" (Figure twelve (b)).

Both first and second order connections may be considered in themselves --the former to corroborate the circumstantial and paleographical evidence for identifying the annotator with de Vere, and the latter to see how the annotations serve to establish the presumption of a mental unity between the annotator and Shakespeare. The most impressive *first order connections*, however, become visible only when the reader entertains the proposition already put forth by Oxfordians that the annotator was the author of a major corpus of literary work which was forcefully alienated from him and published under the name "Shakespeare."



One such pattern concerns the theme of the loss of the faithful man's name -- the "blotting" or "putting out" of his name from the "book of life" -- a thematic pattern marked in verses such as *Ecclus* 41.11, *Micah* 7.9 and *Revelations* 3.5. The symbolic relevance of these markings in the de Vere Bible can hardly be overestimated. They represent traces of the devotional reading of a man who apparently suffered a great spiritual loss which constituted a kind of erasure of his name from the history books of the Elizabethan era, a loss which the Sonnet writer in turn laments, for example, in Sonnets 71-74 (see chapter 25).

The annotator's faith in the transcendent value of secret works (*Matthew* 6.1-4; *Wisdom* 1.11) which, despite the erasure of his name (*Ecclus* 41.11; Sonnets 25, 71-76, 81), will become a legacy to posterity effecting the eventual historical redemption of his name (*Micah* 7.9; Sonnets 72 and 76) complements and

completes the idea: I have named this class of marked verses the *secret works brought to light by providence* cluster. This name is derived from the narrative contained in these marked verses when they are read in relation to certain identifiable circumstances in the annotator's life for which, I propose, he discovered spiritual compensation in his reading. Such verses will be considered in further detail below in my conclusion.



## CHAPTER 8. FIVE TYPES OF EVIDENCE

Before examining some of the myriad details which support the proposition of a non-random association between the de Vere Bible annotations and "Shakespeare" we may wish to consider the logical types into which such evidence might be classified. Unlike truth, which is a moral absolute, evidence exists in several shades of grey, some of which are more convincing than others. In this instance, these levels are: Verification, Verification with Extension, Convergence, Prediction and Correction.

*Verification* is the first of five levels of evidence for the identity of the annotator and Shakespeare. The studies of Carter, Noble, Milward and Shaheen implicitly predict that if Shakespeare's Bible were discovered and was annotated, it should contain some subset of the Biblical verses favored by Shakespeare. As it turns out, approximately one hundred and forty-one of the verses marked in the De Vere Bible (about fourteen percent), plus ten marked psalms, have previously been identified, by Carter (1905), Noble (1935), Milward (1974, 1987) or Shaheen (1987, 1989, 1993) for their influence in the Shakespeare canon (see appendix D, table A for details). Another eighteen verses contain wording which is, for all practical purposes, indistinguishable from the wording of verses cited in these previous studies (Table B). One hundred and thirty-seven more marked verses exhibit an influence previously undocumented by scholars of Shakespeare's Bible knowledge (Table C).

One particularly impressive instance of *verification* is the marking (VN) of Numbers 20.7-8 in the de Vere Bible (figure thirteen). As Peter Milward (1973 93) and Nasseb Shaheen (1993 211-212) have each

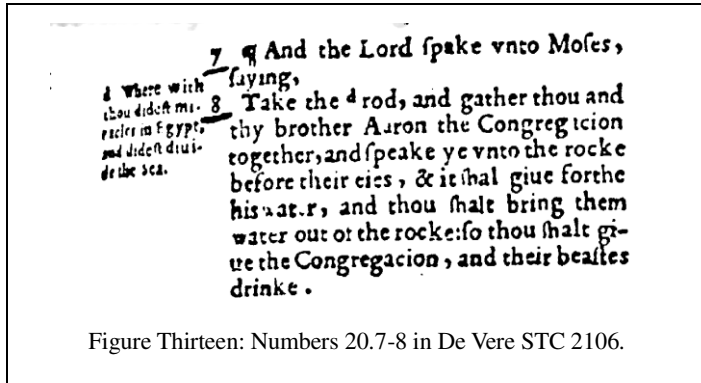


Figure Thirteen: Numbers 20.7-8 in De Vere STC 2106.



noted, these verses are the source<sup>81</sup> of a line in *All's Well that Ends Well*, in which Helena urges the King to accept her offer of healing mercy:

Great floods have flown  
From simple sources, and great seas have dried  
When miracles have by the greatest been denied. (2.1.139-141)

A second, illustrative, example of *verification* comes from the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus (figure fourteen). Here the annotator has marked a whole series of verses which assert the ethical importance of offering reciprocal forgiveness.

As with Numbers 20.7-8, the influence of these verses in Shakespeare has been a matter of scholarly record -- *res gestae*<sup>83</sup> -- for many decades. In this case, furthermore, the influence is multiple. Carter (1905) detected two citations of these verses:

For, as thou urgest justice, be assured  
Thou shalt have justice more than thou desirest  
(*Merchant* 4.3.316)

Bol. I pardon him, as God shall pardon me.

Dutch. O happy vantage of a kneeling knee!  
Yet I am sick with fear, speak it again,  
Twice saying 'pardon' doth not pardon twain  
But makes one pardon strong.

Figure Fourteen: Ecclesiasticus 28.1-4 in de Vere STC 2106.

(Richard II 5.3.131-136)

Two further citations were subsequently noted by both Noble (1935) and Shaheen (1989, 1993):

The mercy that was quick in us but late,  
By your own counsel is suppress'd and kill'd.  
You must not dare, for shame, to talk of mercy. (Henry V 2.2.79-83)

We do pray for mercy,  
And that same prayer doth teach us all to render  
The deeds of mercy. (Merchant 4.1.198-200)

These samples are illustrative. A complete listing of such instances of verification, including ninety-five items consisting of 1 to 4 marked verses, is given in Appendix D as Table A.

I shall maintain, even on the basis of this first level of *verification*, that the simplest explanation of these circumstances is that de Vere and Shakespeare were the same person. There are, however, further levels of evidence which must be considered by those who find this first one unpersuasive.

<sup>81</sup> Carter (1905 232) and Noble (1935 198) cited Numbers 20.11 from the same passage. Carter (190 232), Noble (1935 198), Milward (1973 93) and Shaheen (1993 211-212) all cite the alternate source Exodus 17.6.

<sup>81</sup> In law, a statement made without full awareness of its implications and hence becoming a critical element of the record (see Gifis, 1991 414).

The second level of evidence includes cases in which verses marked in the de Vere Bible show a degree of influence in the Shakespeare canon which is greater than had previously been supposed. I term this verification *with extension*. A close examination of the influence of certain diagnostic Bible verses through the "sea changes" of the Shakespeare canon reveals many marked verses which manifest previously undocumented influences. For example, the Pauline doctrine of the alien nature of the agency of sin found in Romans 7.15-20 recurs in numerous permutations in the Shakespeare canon, some of them undetected by prior students of Shakespeare's Bible reference. An example of such undocumented influence -- of Romans 7.15-20 on Sonnet 151 -- was published by the present writer in *Notes and Queries* (December 1997) and is discussed below in chapter twenty-one. As can be determined through a close study of the Shakespeare Diagnostics lists (appendices A and B), a large number of the verses marked in the de Vere Bible exhibit this probative characteristic of *verification with extension*.

There is, however, a third, more powerful level of evidence, which I term *prediction from new data*. To see how this level of evidence works, let us consider the probability that although researchers have identified a large number of the Biblical allusions in Shakespeare, there remain a number which have not been identified, but which might be discovered if researchers treated the de Vere Bible as an [imperfect but still probative] answer key to the quiz question: "to what Bible verses does Shakespeare refer in his plays?" What happens, in other words, if we use the De Vere Bible as a heuristic key, to discover new Bible verses in Shakespeare not cataloged by Carter, Noble, Shaheen, or Milward? The answer is that such a method leads to numerous discoveries of new Shakespeare Biblical references, overlooked by previous researchers unassisted by such a heuristic key. In fact, another one hundred and thirty-seven marked verses demonstrate some kind of previously undocumented connection to Shakespeare (appendix D, table C).

A large number of verses found in this latter category are mere parallels upon which too much emphasis should not be laid. For example, Falstaff's reference to the whore of Babylon (*Henry V* 2.3.38-39) corresponds to the marked verses Revelations 18.5-7, which refer to this lady. The preferred proximate source, however, as Shaheen (1989 181) notes, is Revelations 17.5, which is not marked. The phrase "laughed to scorn," apparently a Biblical idiom, which occurs at least three times in the Shakespeare canon, is found in the marked verse Ecclus. 6.4 but could be rejected as a common Elizabethan idiom without any necessary connection to the Bible. Such items are included in the present report for the purposes of comprehensively listing any and all conceivable connections between the de Vere Bible annotations and Shakespeare. They should not be regarded as representative of the quality of evidence adduced in the dissertation as a whole.

16 There are two sortes [ of men ] that  
abounde in sinne, and the third bring-  
eth wraith [ and destruction: ] a minde  
hote as fyre, that can not be quenched  
till it be consumed: an adulterous man  
that giueth his bodie no rest, till he ha-  
ue kindled a fyre.  
17 (All bread is swete to a whoremon-  
ger: he wil not leaue of till he perieth.)  
18 A man that breaketh wedlocke, and  
thinketh thus in his heart, \* Who seeth  
me? I am compassed about with darke-  
nes: the walles couer me: no bodie seeth  
me: wherefore I to wraie: the moste  
High wil not remember my sinnes.  
19 Suche a man onely feareth the eyes of  
men, & knoweth not that the eyes of  
the Lord are ten thousand times bri-  
ghter then the sunne, beholding all  
the waies of men, [ & the ground of the  
deepe, ] and considereth the moste  
secret partes.

FIGURE FIFTEEN: ECCLESIASTICUS 23.16-19 IN DE  
VERE STC 2106. AS MANY AS FIFTEEN PASSAGES  
IN SHAKESPEARE REFER TO THESE OBSCURE  
MARKED VERSES, WHOSE INFLUENCE HAS  
PREVIOUSLY NOT BEEN NOTED.

Other elements of the *prediction from new data* case (Appendix D table C) are however, it seems to me, much more persuasive in their own right and deserve to be acknowledged as significant Shakespearean Bible references which have hitherto passed unrecorded. The direct influence of the marked verse Wisdom 2.24 on *Measure for Measure* 3.2.19-33, for instance, seems to me to be beyond reasonable dispute (see p. 148). The influence of the doctrine of the moral autonomy of souls in *Ezekiel* 18.21-32, which forms the basis of Henry V's theological debate with Will and Bates (*Henry V* 4.1.127-284)<sup>84</sup>, but is not noted in Shaheen's study of the history plays (1989)<sup>85</sup> also seems unlikely to be challenged by any literate critic of the present study. This example is discussed in detail in chapter 20, and need not be belabored in the present context.

Two recently published short essays in *Notes and Queries*, however, do require some notice here because they illustrate the capacity of the de Vere Bible annotations to generate new knowledge about Shakespeare's Biblical sources. A note detailing the multiple influences of the marked verses Ecclesiasticus 23.16-19 (figure fifteen) -- particularly on four successive passages in *Rape of Lucrece* -- appeared in the June 1999 issue, concluding that "these passages from Shakespeare's poem show distinctive evidence 'from sign' for the formative influence of Ecclus. 23.18-19" (Stritmatter 1999 209).

A second essay, recently published in *Notes and Queries* (Stritmatter 2000b), establishes Shylock's subtle reference to the law of Jubilee, noticed in the marking of successive verses Deuteronomy 15.1-14 in de Vere's copy of STC 2106 (figure sixteen), in his speech rebuking the Christian practice of slavery. "This important Biblical reference in *Merchant of Venice*," the article comments, "has unfortunately not been noticed by prior students of Shakespeare's Bible knowledge and is documented for the first time in the present note" (72).

Numerous further examples of this phenomenon are also noted in the present dissertation. Sometimes they result from the incomplete systematization of previous scholarly treatments of the subject. In other cases, they occur in texts, such as the *Sonnets* (see, for example, *I Samuel* 16.7 in chapter eleven below) or *Rape of Lucrece* which have not been exhaustively studied with respect to their Biblical influences.

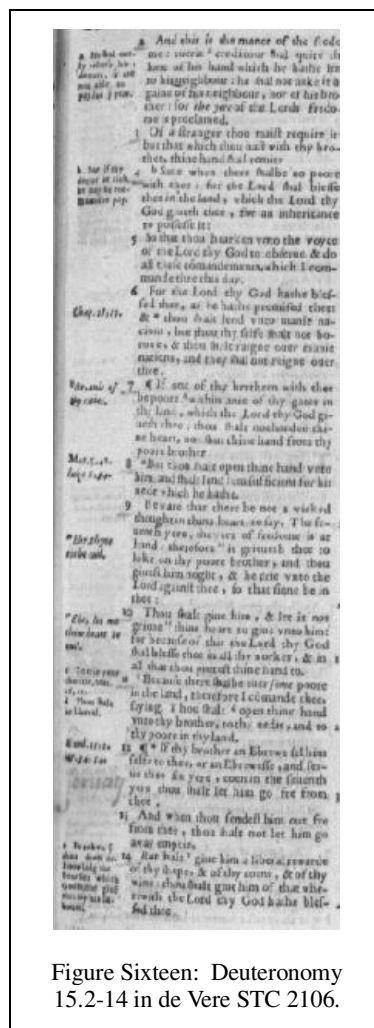


Figure Sixteen: Deuteronomy 15.2-14 in de Vere STC 2106.

<sup>84</sup> And also exerts an audible influence in the *Sonnets*.

<sup>85</sup> For details, see analysis of *Ezekiel* 18.20-32 below (pp. 151-54).

A fourth level of evidence occurs when the influence of two or more verses marked in the De Vere Bible has *converged* at a single site of composition or exegesis in the Shakespeare canon, as occurs when Macbeth conflates the Pauline doctrine of the body as the temple of the soul with the Old Testament ideology of the anointed king:

Most sacrilegious murder hath broke  
Ope' the Lord's anointed Temple and Stole thence  
The life o'th' building. (2.3.63)

Strikingly, both Bible verses on which Macbeth's sentiment is founded, *II Samuel 1.14*<sup>86</sup> and *I Corinthians 6.19*<sup>87</sup>, are marked in the de Vere Bible. Both Hankins and Milward (132<sup>88</sup>) discern here an assimilative convergence<sup>89</sup> of two Bible verses in the creative operation of the artist's mind. States Hankins: "this tissue of Biblical images is "a remarkable instance of Shakespeare's assimilative powers" (1953 130: emphasis added). In this case, the de Vere Bible annotations reveal a snapshot of the otherwise invisible mental process of Shakespeare's "assimilative powers" in action (figures seventeen and eighteen).

18 Flee fornication: euerie sinne that a  
man doeth, is without the bodie: but he  
that committeth fornication, sinneth a-  
gainst his owne bodie.  
19 Know ye not, that your bodie is the  
temple of the holi. Ghost, & which is in  
you, whome ye haue of God? and ye are  
not your owne.  
20 For ye are bought for a price: there-  
fore glorifie God in your bodie, and in  
your spirit: for they are Gods.

Figure Seventeen: I Corinthians 6.18-20  
in de Vere STC 2106.

14 And Dauid said vnto him, \*How waft  
y not afraied, to put forthe thine hand  
to destroy the Anointed of the Lord?

Figure Eighteen: II Samuel 1.14 in de Vere  
STC 2106.

Another striking example of convergence, this one also an instance of "prediction from new data," occurs in Sonnet 94, which filters the moral of *Wisdom 12.18*<sup>90</sup> -- that those who exercise power should do so with discretion and wisdom, through the formulaic structure of the beatitudes<sup>91</sup>:

They that have *the power to hurt*, and will do none,  
That do not do the thing they most do show,  
Who moving others are themselves a stone,  
Unmoved, cold, and to temptation slow,  
*They rightly do inherit heaven's graces*<sup>92</sup>,

<sup>86</sup> The "Lord's anointed King" motif. See comments below.

<sup>87</sup> The "body is the temple of the soul" motif. See comments below under *I Corin.* 6.19.

<sup>88</sup> Milward cites the unmarked parallel, I Cor. 3.16-17; Hankins cites both verses.

<sup>89</sup> The term, *convergence*, is my own.

<sup>89</sup> Marked VN: 18 But thou, ruling the power, iudgeest with equitie, & governest us with great favor: for thou maist shew thy power when thou wilt.

<sup>91</sup> Matt 5.3 is marked (VN): 3 Blessed are the poore for theirs is the kingdom of *heaven*.

And husband nature's riches from expense. (italics added)

This example is discussed in detail below in chapter sixteen, "Those That Have the Power to Hurt."

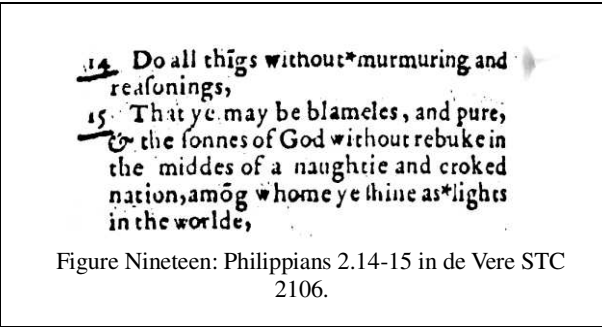
The fifth and most impressive level of evidence is *correction*. *Correction* occurs when the annotations in the De Vere Bible allow us to positively state that prior researchers have actually erroneously identified certain verses which are claimed to be the proximate source of Shakespeare's Biblical references. It is worth observing that the circumstances under which correction in this strict sense can occur are very limited. Only when parallelism in idea is accompanied by a distinctive variation in phraseology, allowing a student to firmly reject one proximate source and affirm another, can correction, even in theory, take place. In addition, however, it must be the case that one or more prior researchers have *incorrectly identified* the proximate source of the idea in question and finally that the preferred source is marked in the de Vere Bible, allowing the student to identify the correction. A striking instance of correction concerns Portia's stirring moral in *Merchant of Venice* about "the little candle" which shines to the greater glory of God in this "naughty world" of fallen appearances:

How far that little candle throws his beam!  
So shines a good deed in a *naughty world* (5.2.61-62: italics added)

As previously noted by the present researcher in his review of Naseeb Shaheen's *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Comedies* (Stritmatter 1995), the source of Portia's words was incorrectly identified by Richmond Noble (1935) as Matthew 5.16<sup>92</sup> -- "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good workes, and glorify your father which is in heaven."

The preferred proximate citation, as the lexical details of both passages indicate, is the marked verse in the De Vere Bible, *Philippians* 2.15 (figure nineteen).

This correction to Noble was first published in Naseeb Shaheen's 1993 book, *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Comedies*, following the present writer's communication of the correct solution to Shaheen in spring of 1992 and an exchange of letters on the matter starting with Shaheen's response on September 3 1992<sup>93</sup>.



14 Do all thiȝs without\**murmuring* and  
reasonings,  
15 That ye may be blameles, and pure,  
to the fonnes of God without rebuke in  
the middes of a naughty and croked  
nation, amōg whome ye shine as\*lights  
in the worlde,

Figure Nineteen: Philippians 2.14-15 in de Vere STC 2106.

<sup>92</sup> The relevant beatitudes are 5.3 (marked), from which the writer picks up the word "heaven," and 5.4 (unmarked), from which he picks up the verb "inherit": "Blessed are the meke for they shall *inherit* the earth" (italics added). The form of the Sonnet is governed by the generic imperative formula, "Blessed be those who [x]."

<sup>92</sup> Noble's mistake was also made by Carter (1905 198), who sources the passage to Matt. 5.16 or Luke 8.16.

<sup>93</sup> For personal reasons, the present writer wishes to lay special emphasis on the preservation of the fact of his discovery of this correction at such an early date, prior to this correspondence and Shaheen's 1993 book.

## CHAPTER 9. A ROSETTA STONE

An impressive preliminary fact about Shakespeare's Bible references is their range of distribution. According to Naseeb Shaheen's trilogy on the subject (1987, 1989, 1993), Shakespeare cites at least once from almost every book of the Bible<sup>94</sup>, including relatively obscure books such as Malachi, I & II Esdras, Judith, Tobit, I & II Maccabees, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, Titus, and Jude. This distribution in itself supplies very strong ground, confirmed by other reasons cited below, of the author's intimate familiarity with the Bible, a familiarity induced at least in part through regular study of the scriptures. "That Shakespeare was quite literate in Christian theology, and easily conversant in its categories, seems to me indisputably apparent" (10), states Roland Mushat Frye, a leading critic of Christian interpretations of the plays and poems, in his *Shakespeare and Christian Doctrine* (1963). The evidence for this familiarity, furthermore, seems to consist almost exclusively of his direct knowledge of the Bible and not any of the myriad works of theology produced by the age. After reading the complete works of every major 16<sup>th</sup> century theologian as well as the greatest of the medieval thinkers, Frye's verdict on the evidence for Shakespeare's knowledge of any of these writers is decisively negative:

I have found no demonstrable instances of Shakespeare's indebtedness, even to Augustine or Aquinas...(11)...I must report *my inability to establish* Shakespeare's theological affinities or to discover even a single unquestionable instance of indebtedness of the kind which can so frequently be found in the history plays, or of the kind which unequivocally demonstrates *Shakespeare's extensive use of the Geneva Bible...* (12: emphasis added)

It is therefore on the basis of this reading of the Geneva Bible that Frye's Shakespeare emerges as an "intelligent and maturely informed layman, whose citation of theological doctrines for purely dramatic purposes shows an easy and intimate familiarity with Christian theology" (13).

The annotations in the de Vere Bible are striking for their inclusion of relatively obscure Biblical books, for their attention to theological and editorial detail, and for their systematic approach to key points of doctrine such as sin, economics, and redemption. De Vere apparently read his Bible frequently and with sustained attention even to such obscure chapters -- in which he has marked verses or made corrections -- as the apocryphal books of Tobit, Judith, II Esdras, II Macabees, the later prophets Daniel, Hosea, Malachi, Joel, Amos, Esther, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zechariah, and Zephaniah and James in

the New Testament, as well as many more familiar books. Those books not marked in the De Vere Bible seem to be peripheral to Shakespeare's pattern of Biblical reference: Ruth, Song of Solomon, Lamentations, Obadiah, Jonah and Haggai in the Old Testament, Song of the Three Children, Susanna, and I Macabees in the Apocrypha, and Galatians, I Timothy, Philemon, James, II Peter and Jude in the New Testament<sup>95</sup>.

Questions might well be raised about the sparsity of marked verses in books such as Genesis (one), Job (eleven) or Proverbs (one) in the Old Testament, or Luke (2) and Acts (1) in the New Testament, all of which are significant books of the Bible for Shakespeare. It is at this extremely abstract level of analysis, making copious appeal to the *a priori* presumptions of readers, that David Kathman, in his Shakespeare Authorship Page (SAP) article criticizing my work, takes up the case for the alleged misfit between the de Vere Bible and the Shakespeare: "Shakespeare drew very heavily on all four Gospels, especially Matthew (arguably his most-used book), but the annotator has left the Gospels almost alone: 23 verses marked in Matthew<sup>96</sup>, 2 in Luke, 1 in Mark, and none in John...Shakespeare also drew heavily on Genesis, Proverbs and Acts, in each of which the annotator has marked only one verse."<sup>97</sup> In considering such questions of "negative evidence," I shall maintain that the relative sparsity of annotations in these books is far less significant than it might otherwise seem, for the following reasons.

First, we must consider the quality of evidence as well as its quantity. Many references to Genesis, for example, are as a class over-represented in a study such as Shaheen's, which systematically favors empirical and lexical indices over ideas or themes. Overt references to Adam (13X), Eve (7X) (Genesis 2-3) or Cain (7X) and Abel (2X) (Gen. 4) are all too easy to detect; their frequency of citation, however, says almost nothing about Shakespeare's own underlying theological principles -- i.e. those which distinguish his theology from that of any other Elizabethan mind. These often depend on Bible references of more subtle but ultimately of far greater significance, very many of which are marked in the de Vere Bible. Of like kind are references to Satan (8X) (1 Chron. 21.1; Job 1-2; Matt. 4.10, Prayer book reading for Lent) or Lucifer (6X) (Isaiah 14.12).

By contrast, many of the verses marked in the de Vere Bible, as appendix B reveals, are actually under-represented in the studies of Carter, Noble or Shaheen, *despite their profound philosophical and theological import for Shakespeare*. Examples include the verses of the Platonic cluster (I Sam. 16.7 *et*

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<sup>94</sup> The only exceptions are, I believe, Obadiah and Haggai in the late prophets of the Old Testament.

<sup>95</sup> In addition, the marks in Joshua, John and James are of such a nature or in such condition as to be, for all practical purposes, valueless as evidence.

<sup>96</sup> How Kathman arrives at the conclusion that the annotator has "left the Gospels almost alone" when, in fact, of almost two dozen verses marked in the book of Matthew, most show a correspondence to Shakespeare, is a question which may give rise to certain doubts about the lack of precision with which Kathman characteristically considers propositions with which he does not agree.

<sup>97</sup> <http://www.bcpl.lib.md.us/~tross/ws/ox5.html> 2 of 3, 1/11/98 7:45 p.m.



*alia*), Romans 7.20, or Revelations 3.5 and associated verses, all of which yielded opportunity for multiple discoveries of new references under the principle “verification with extension” discussed above.

A second consideration is that Shaheen's method of cross-referencing all his data to any possible Biblical source magnifies the importance of a few passages in Shakespeare well beyond their actual significance<sup>98</sup>. Picking an example from Genesis, a single passage (1.3.71-88) in *Merchant of Venice* referencing the narrative of Jacob's shrewd appropriation of Laban's sheep (*Gen.* 27-31) yields no fewer than **ten** references in Shaheen's tables<sup>100</sup>. Yet the passage might more plausibly be read as *one* continuous reference, since it is really a single extended disquisition on the Laban episode. Of Shaheen's six other "references"<sup>101</sup> to this chapter, *not one* is a *definite* reference to Genesis 27-31 (*all* of the instances from *Merchant of Venice* refer exclusively to these chapters of Gen.). Thus, of sixteen apparent references to Gen. 27-31 listed in Shaheen's tables, all but one are in fact statistical illusions. The absence of marked verses in these chapters of Genesis is a trivial and ultimately inconsequential instance of “negative evidence”. It has no significant implication for the present study. To treat such an objection seriously indicates a total misunderstanding of the nature of the relevant evidentiary problems. The frequency of Shakespeare's references to Job constitutes perhaps the most significant instance of “negative” evidence; unlike many Genesis references, these are distributed throughout the canon, often of fairly distinct origin in Job, and less likely to be derived or reinforced – as the proper names of Genesis might be -- by cultural experiences extraneous to reading. Indeed, Richmond Noble singles out Job, along with the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus, as one of Shakespeare's favorite books of the Bible:

Job and Ecclesiasticus especially seem to have attracted his attention...it is *almost impossible to conclude* that Job and Ecclesiasticus were not [his] favourite books.

(Noble 1935 43: emphasis added)

Noble, furthermore, specifies that the abundant evidence for Shakespeare's familiarity with these two chapters confirms a Biblical awareness derived specifically from *reading*:

...it is almost impossible to conclude that Job and Ecclesiasticus were not favourite books--it is an argument that he sometimes read the volume containing them. A man does not have special favorites in books he has not read but only heard.

(Noble 1935 43: emphasis added)

R.A.L. Burnet confirms the argument in a series of brief contributions to *Notes & Queries* (1979, 1980, 1981, 1982) concentrating on the slight but unmistakable influence on Shakespeare of the particular wording of various Geneva Bible notes, an influence prominent in the first seven chapters of *Job* (Burnet 1982). As with *Genesis*, we can confirm that the de Vere Bible Job text shows heavy patterns of wear (more so than many more heavily annotated chapters) which suggest frequent reading over an extensive

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<sup>98</sup> Among other glaring methodological deficiencies in David Kathman's treatment of the subject to date, he appears to completely misunderstand the numerical and statistical implications of this artifact of Naseeb Shaheen's data.

<sup>100</sup> And related passages in the same play, four more.

<sup>101</sup> *I Henry VI* 1.2.26; 2.5.8-9; 5.4.63; *II Henry VI* 1.3.188; *HVIII* 4.2.133; *Macbeth* 4.3.120-21

period of time --but unfortunately the chapter contains only one extended sequence of marked verses (31.16-22) and four single marked verses<sup>102</sup>. The sparse pattern of annotations in Job then constitutes, I believe, the most significant element of negative evidence in the De Vere Bible. But how significant is it, really? Does the absence of markings disprove the thesis of a close "mental tie" between Shakespeare and the annotator?

Such a conclusion is suspect on many grounds. We might begin by noting that Shakespeare held a pronounced interest in several of the books most heavily annotated in the De Vere Bible -- among them Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. Unlike his interest in Job, Proverbs, Luke or Acts, Shakespeare's frequent reference to these books is idiosyncratic in an Elizabethan context. Neither Spenser in the *Fairy Queen* (Shaheen 1976), nor Marlowe in any of his works (Cornelius 1984), makes any reference at all to Ecclesiasticus. Both Noble and Shaheen, by contrast, concur in supporting this book's singular importance for Shakespeare. Marlowe refers at most to only one verse sequence in *Wisdom* (7.8-9), Shakespeare to as many as ten (Noble 1935) or twelve (Shaheen 1987, 1989, 1993)<sup>103</sup>. Therefore the annotator's special emphasis on such books -- in Ecclesiasticus he marks one hundred and two verses and thirty-seven in Wisdom -- would seem to be of far more significance than the paucity of annotations in Genesis or Job.

For Renaissance readers in general, as judged by bibliographical evidence as well as by the frequent allusions to the book in numerous writers of the period, Job was on the contrary one of the most popular and influential books of the Old Testament. The text circulated in many independent editions, and was frequently quoted in Sermons. When Falstaff declares that he is as "poor as Job, my lord, but not so patient" (*II Henry IV*, I.ii.145-6) the reference is not to any specific passage of the book of Job but to the proverbial quality attached to the man<sup>104</sup>. Did de Vere own one or more copies of such an independent text of Job?

Certainly "Shakespeare's" familiarity with several sources of scripture has been demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt. The plays retain semantic traces of at least four different translations of the Bible -- The Genevan (1560, 1570 etc.), The Bishop's (1568), the Lyons Olivetan (1551) French Bible (Noble 87) and an imprint of the Latin Vulgate (Noble 87), as well as the Psalter version of the Psalms and possibly the Thomson New Testament which was attached to many Genevan texts after 1576 (Noble 64-69) and the Rheims New Testament. To what extent the author knew these through church attendance and aural

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<sup>102</sup> 15.34 (cropped marginal note reads "[bri]bes); 32.8; 33.27; 35.6).

<sup>102</sup> The only possible exception to this rule is Bacon. Cole lists 21 references to Wisdom in the collected works of Bacon and a whopping 59 to Ecclesiasticus. On closer inspection, however, it turns out that most of Cole's data with respect to these chapters is a mirage. Of Bacon's 970 direct, italicized Biblical citations, none --with two possible exceptions (Cole 27) -- are to these chapters. Thus almost all of Cole's references to these chapters fall under the category of general parallels which lack concrete substantiation. The case is entirely different with Shakespeare, whose definite affinity for these two books, particularly Ecclesiasticus, can be demonstrated with myriad compelling examples of direct and unequivocal allusion. Very few of these, moreover, are the same ones as favored by Shakespeare or marked in de Vere's Bible.

<sup>104</sup> See also *Merry Wives* V.v.167-69 which repeats the allusion.

memory, and not through reading of his own personal cop(ies) we cannot know, except by inference. Only readings from the Bishop's Bible are likely to have been impressed in his memory through the Anglican service. However, Naseeb Shaheen, in his consideration of this question, concludes, with Noble, Burnet, and the present writer (Stritmatter 1997), in favor of the compelling nature of the evidence for Shakespeare's firsthand reading knowledge of the Bible.

De Vere's Bible shows many indications of frequent and sustained reading. Many chapters have annotations in more than one ink color -- Black with Scarlet in II Chronicles and Esdras, Orange with Black-Brown in Job, and Black with Black in Ezekiel and in Daniel.

Also of interest, the annotator's pattern of repeated correction of typographical misprints, even in chapters which are not otherwise marked, is proof positive of *his exacting attention* even to many books which are not marked in more conventional ways. A further proof of this inference is the unusually worn character of the leaves in certain unmarked or sparsely marked chapters such as Genesis or Job.

A significant number of marginal notes, mostly in the historical books of Samuel, are marked in the de Vere Bible. Themes and language found in these marked and (in some cases) unmarked Geneva marginal notes appear frequently in Shakespeare. In a recent contribution to *Notes and Queries* regarding the influence of Romans 7.15-20 on Sonnet 151, I follow up on Burnet's evidence for Shakespeare's knowledge of Genevan marginal notes, demonstrating this Sonnet's special indebtedness to the Genevan marginal note (n) attached to Romans 7.19 in de Vere's copy of STC 2106. In another short *N & Q* article (Stritmatter 1998), I further demonstrate the influence of three Genevan notes on the divine will and the casting of lots (I Samuel 6.9 (f), I Samuel 14 (r) and (i)) which are either directly underlined, or attached to underlined scripture, in the de Vere Bible.

In at least one intriguing case -- that of Revelation 3.5 -- the annotator has marked verses cited by Shakespeare in which the preferred proximate source, based on minor but compelling lexical clues, is not the marked Geneva reading, but the alternate wording of the Bishops' or some other Tudor translation. Can such a marking legitimately be considered evidence to help establish de Vere's identify as "Shakespeare"? In assessing the answer, we might do well to recall Richmond Noble's methodological proviso that

some caution must be exercised in making any claims for any version. Because a passage in Shakespeare can be identified as corresponding with a passage in a particular version, it *does not of necessity follow that that has been Shakespeare's immediate source.*

(1935 62: italics added)

Undoubtedly Shakespeare was capable of mentally collating alternate wordings of favored verses. Could he recall the wording which suited his literary purposes even while marking a general preference for the verse in another form? In the case of *Rev. 3.5*, it can readily be seen that while *the idea* expressed in the verse is identical in both the Genevan and Bishop's variants -- and that *idea* has an obvious

application to the existential condition of "Shakespeare" as a pseudonymous writer -- the Bishop's wording "I will not *blot out* his name from the book of life" is a more compact, vivid and literary rendering which Shakespeare spontaneously preferred in most contexts.<sup>105</sup> In Sonnet 23, however, he recalls the Genevan variant from Exodus 32.32<sup>106</sup>:

The painefull warriour famosed for fight<sup>107</sup>  
After a thousand victories once foild,  
Is from the booke of honour razed quite

(25.9-11)

Such variants -- of which this is only one striking example, provide strong empirical evidence for Shakespeare's retention of variant wordings of the same or similar ideas found in different Biblical texts. What struck his imagination, at least in this case, was not the specific wording of the verse(s), but the idea of *a person's name being removed from God's book*. That the translation marked in the De Vere Bible reads "put out" for "blot" accordingly seems hardly to affect its value as evidence. In several cases, on the contrary, such as the specific Geneva wording of Ezekiel 16.49 quoted by Hamlet, or Portia's "naughty world" from Phillipians 2.15, the idiosyncratic Genevan wording of a marked verse is the one followed by Shakespeare.

Before leaving the subject of "negative evidence," we might wish to notice some implications of the Biblical references in De Vere's own juvenile poetry and in his correspondence. Of the eight Biblical references found in these writings three -- Psalm 61,<sup>108</sup> Titus 2.11<sup>108</sup> and Rev. 22.13<sup>109</sup> -- are marked in the De Vere Bible. The five other references -- Exodus 3.14<sup>110</sup>, II Esdras 8.33-38<sup>111</sup>, Matthew 7.3, Matthew 10.26<sup>112</sup>, and Acts 9.5<sup>113</sup> -- are not marked. Thus, the patterned relation between the marked verses in the de Vere Bible and the Biblical references in the extant "de Vere Canon" is the same as that between the de Vere Bible and Shakespeare. In neither case do we find anything approaching a 100% correspondence. On the contrary, both cases exhibit unmistakable reference to verses not marked in the de Vere Bible, as well as to marked ones. This would seem to provide certain verification of the impression given above on less definite grounds, such as the wear and correction patterns of the De Vere Bible, that the annotator

<sup>105</sup> A parallel case of Shakespeare's preference for "bear" (*Luke* 14.27) vrs. "take up" the cross (*Mark* 10.21, etc) is discussed below.

<sup>106</sup> "Therefore now if thou pardon their sinne, thy mercy shal appeare: but if thou wilt not, I pray thee, *rase me out of thy booke*, which thou hast written" (G:italics added).

<sup>107</sup> Q reads "worth." The emendation *fight*, which of course rhymes as it must with *quite*, is favored by Booth, among other editors.

<sup>108</sup> Psalm 61.3, "thou hast bene my *hope*, and a *strong towre* for me against theemie," is echoed both in Oxford's "I hover high and soar where *hope* doth *tower*" (May 34:12:23) and in *Richard II*, "strong as a *tower in hope*" (1.3.102).

<sup>109</sup> 106 The phrase "by the grace of God," used five times in Shakespeare (*R II* 1.3.22; *Merchant of Venice* 2.2.160; *II H IV* 1.2.72; *III H*. VI 4.7.71; *R III* 3.4.99) and twice in De Vere's correspondence (Fowler 514, 653). Because of its possibly generic nature this item has been omitted from the Diagnostics list.

<sup>109</sup> See Fowler 108. Fowler discovered -- perhaps "predicted" is a more apt term -- this concurrency in the absence of the material documentation of the De Vere Bible.

<sup>110</sup> See analysis below pp. 119-121.

<sup>112</sup> See Shakespeare Diagnostic #51. Thematically, this is certainly the most important Bible reference in De Vere's letters, although less obvious than his well known allusion to Exodus 3.14.

took mental notice of many Bible verses not marked in this particular copy of his Geneva Bible. Therefore the so-called argument from negative evidence in this case hardly constitutes an argument at all.

Of these eight Bible references in de Vere's correspondence and poetry, furthermore, five show manifest influence in Shakespeare and two of these (Matt. 7.3 and Matt. 10.26) are counted among the eighty-one elements comprising the Shakespeare Diagnostics list. Perhaps the most telling example is Matt. 7.3<sup>114</sup>, which is not marked in the de Vere Bible but is employed by de Vere in his 1572 St. Bartholomew Day's massacre epistle, warning Lord Burghley of his fear that counter-reformationist fervor may spread to England. To drive home a point about the hypocrisy of the counter-reformation fury directed against the French Huguenots, de Vere moralizes as follows:

And think if the admiral in France was a<n> *eyesore or a beam* in the eyes of the Papists, that the Lord Treasurer of England is a block and a crossbar in their way; whose remove they will never stick to attempt, seeing they have prevailed so well in others.... (Fowler 1986 55: italics added)

Oxford's 1572 "eyesore or a beam in the eyes of the Papists" is an unmistakable allusion to Matthew 7.3; as many as four similar allusions may be discerned in Shakespeare, viz.:

- As noted by Shaheen (1993 80), in *Love's Labour's Lost*:

The King your *mote* did see, but I a *beam*  
Do find in each of three. (4.3.162)

- And by Shaheen (1989 132), in *King John*:

None, but to lose *your eyes*.  
Arthur. O heaven! That were but a *mote* in yours. 4.1.90-91)

- By Milward (1987 6), in *Hamlet*:

A mote it is to trouble the mind's eye. (1.1.112)

- And by Carter (1905 331), in *As You Like It*:

I chide no breather in the world but myself,  
against whom I know most faults. (3.2.280-81)

These considerations and examples go very far towards demonstrating the *ad hoc* and indeed dishonest character of the argument that "negative evidence" weighs against the evidentiary relevance of the de Vere Bible. However, we have yet to directly address the critical question regarding the "traces" documented in this chapter: do the marked de Vere Bible verses indeed constitute fresh and compelling evidence for identifying the annotator with "Shakespeare"? This was the question I set out to consider in January 1991 when I first visited the Folger library to examine the de Vere Bible. Although the answer of

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<sup>114</sup> Or Luke 6.42.

course depends on first affirming the identity of de Vere as the annotator (see appendices H and I), it also requires a realistic assessment of complex questions of method and epistemology which the ensuing years of study and writing have aimed to bring into focus in the present document. As Pooh Bear says, "De vestigiis semper dubitandum est."

To entertain a doubt, however, is not the same as uncritical endorsement of conventional dogma. By elevating the principle of doubt into an anti-intellectual idol, David Kathman and his Stratfordian colleagues do incalculable damage to the tradition of skeptical free inquiry which nourishes human progress and democracy. For example, when David Kathman declares of the de Vere Bible research, without citing any sources or offering any rational basis for his claims, that "Oxfordian propaganda has wildly exaggerated its value for their [sic] cause" and asserts that "there is no correlation between the annotations and the pattern of Biblical use in Shakespeare's work, and any overlap between marked verses and those used by Shakespeare appears to be random"<sup>117</sup>, we are in the presence of an ideologue, not a student of truth, or even a reputable scholar able to characterize evidence not before, but after, examining it<sup>118</sup>. In order for the claim that there "is no correlation between [the de Vere] annotations and the pattern of Biblical use in Shakespeare" to be meaningful, Kathman must provide an operational definition of what he means by "correlation." That he has never done so suggests that any discussion of "correlation" or its lack is, at best, premature. At worst it marks Kathman's discourse as belonging to the precinct of pseudo-statistics. Since, moreover, Kathman does not identify the sources of the alleged "Oxfordian propaganda" which he accuses of exaggerating the claims of significance of my work, any more than he identifies the sources of his own published facts, even when they have been silently appropriated without attribution from third parties, his accusations are *ipso facto* unanswerable.

Some elements of the correlation which does exist between these two bodies of *evidentia* are discussed in my two previous research reports on the Bible (Stritmatter 1993; Stritmatter 1996)<sup>119</sup>; how *significant* the correlation is remains to be investigated in the present dissertation. It is worth pausing, however, to notice the dubious ethics involved in David Kathman's attempt to secure the privileges of Shakespearean orthodoxy from critical or even self-critical scrutiny.

In my two previous reports on the de Vere Bible research (Stritmatter 1993, Stritmatter 1996), I considered the total number of marked Bible verses which demonstrate a definite or likely influence in

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<sup>117</sup> [www.bcpl.lib.md.us/~tross/ws/ox5.html](http://www.bcpl.lib.md.us/~tross/ws/ox5.html), accessed 1/11/98, 7:45 p.m.

<sup>118</sup> Kathman's claim that the alleged congruence between Shakespeare and the de Vere Bible annotations is "random" clearly marks his discourse as belonging to the "antiseptic precincts of Science" -- with a capital "S." To date Kathman has completely failed to produce any documented methodology to bolster this conventional, and boringly predictable, claim; nor does he even seem to understand that one cannot use words like "random" without providing some justification for their use. Kathman's conventional faith in conventionality instructs him that there *cannot* be anything but a random correlation between the De Vere annotations and the Shakespearean Bible allusions; therefore the correlation is, he assures us, random. His reasoning is merely another manifestation of the flight or fight response, not a credible contribution to scholarly discourse on significant historical or literary matters.

<sup>119</sup> From which, incidentally, Kathman borrowed, without attribution, critical elements of his characterization of the de Vere Bible evidence posted on his web page.

Shakespeare. For the sake of convenience, this data has been reduced here to tables A-D, appendix D. Table A lists the marked verses which are cited as definite or probable influences by prior students of Shakespeare and the Bible (Carter 1905; Noble 1935; Milward 1976; Milward 1987; Shaheen 1987; Shaheen 1989; Shaheen 1993). Table B lists direct and unambiguous cross-references to verses cited by these prior students marked in the Bible. Table C lists marked verses which, I am prepared to argue, demonstrate influence in Shakespeare identified for the first time by the present writer. Table D lists marked Psalms that are previously recorded as manifesting an influence in Shakespeare.

As these tables show, almost three hundred of the thousand marked verses in the de Vere Bible manifest an influence, documented or not, in Shakespeare. This number is far greater than has been reported in any "Oxfordian propaganda" of which this writer is aware. Furthermore, for at least two significant reasons, this number radically under-represents the tangible connections between the de Vere Bible annotations and "Shakespeare."

The first reason is that the annotations do not actually consist of individually marked verses, but of clusters of marked verses. Of the three hundred and seventy such marked sets, one hundred and fifty-five -- 41% -- exhibit a demonstrable influence in Shakespeare.

The second, and more important reason why the raw numbers understate the case for the mental affinity between de Vere and Shakespeare is that the field of Shakespearean Bible reference documented in the previously cited authorities is not flat for statistical purposes: it has a structure (figure twenty). A correspondence with some verses is more significant -- perhaps by several orders of magnitude -- than a correlation with others. To consider why let us estimate that Shakespeare makes reference to the Bible about 2000 times in his work. Of these 2000, only about 450 are discrete hits in which a single Bible verse (or group of verses) occurs only once in the Shakespeare corpus. At the other end of this spectrum we find a verse such as II Corinthians 11.14, to which prior scholars count as many as eighteen references in Shakespeare. Clearly, a verse such as II Corinthians 11.14, if marked, has much more profound implications statistically than a marked verse from the prior set. A schematic of the structured data, in ascending order of frequency of citation in Shakespeare, might appear as follows:

Category	Verses Hit	% Verses Hit	Total Hits	% Total Hits
1s	450	45	450	22.5
2s	310	31	620	31.0
3s	160	16	480	24.0
4s+	82	8	450	22.5

Figure Twenty: Ideal Schematic of Shakespeare's Bible References

8% of the verses account for the almost one quarter of Shakespearean Bible references.

The schematic divides the total data into four groups, each representing approximately a quarter of the total number of hits in Shakespeare. It shows, moreover, that a hit in the 4s Category must certainly be considered in a different light than a hit in the 1s Category. In the former category, only 8% of the total verses account for almost a quarter of the two thousand hits in Shakespeare. On average, each of the verses in this category accounts for more than six citations in Shakespeare.

While the numerical frame of reference presented is an ideal, the number of verses involved represents a fair approximation of the actual total and may therefore form a reasonably stable basis for extrapolating about the actually empirical data found in the 4s Category, and represented in detail in the Shakespeare Diagnostics list attached as Appendix B. My own compilation of work by the four scholars noted above supplies unambiguous empirical ground for assessing the size and structure of the 4s Category in relation to the (more hypothetical) prior categories.

That approximately eighty such verses, being cited four or more times in Shakespeare, do account for more than a quarter of the Bible references in Shakespeare's *oeuvre*, is beyond dispute. My list of "Shakespeare Diagnostics" contains seventy-seven Bible verses or verse sets, each alluded to four or more times in Shakespeare according to previous authorities on the subject (figure twenty-one). To this list I add—following the principle of "verification with extension" -- four additional verses to which Shakespeare also alludes, I argue, four or more times, although these verses are under-represented in previous studies.

Shakespeare Diagnostics	
Directly Marked:	30
In de Vere letters:	3
Indirectly Marked:	16
Unmarked:	32
Total "yes":	33
Total "no":	48
Total:	81
Figure Twenty-one: Shakespeare Diagnostics.	

Of these eighty-one "Shakespeare Diagnostics" thirty -- more than 40% -- are directly marked in the de Vere Bible. Three more appear in de Vere's extant correspondence. In a significant number of cases in which no direct link exists, furthermore, it is still possible to trace a less direct connection, thematic or topical, between the Shakespeare Diagnostic and marked verses in the de Vere Bible. An indirect topical connection is asserted in cases in which Shakespeare has marked a verse adjacent to, or falling within the same pericope as, a Shakespeare Diagnostic. An indirect thematic connection is asserted when a marked verse cross-references a Shakespeare diagnostic in a

1 **H**E that toucheth pitch, shall be defiled with it: and he that is familiar with the proud, shall be like unto him.

2 Burthen not thy self above thy power, whiles thou liuest, and companie not with one that is mightier, and richer then thy self: for how agre the kettel and the earthen pot together? for if the one be smitten against the other, it shall be broken.

3 The riche dealeth vnrighteously, and threatneth with all but y poore being oppressed must intreat: if the riche haue done wrong, he must yet be intreated: but if the poore haue done it, he shall straight waies be threatned.

4 If thou be for his profite, he vseth thee: but if thou haue nothing, he wil forsa- ke thee.

Figure Twenty-two: Ecclesiasticus 13.1-4 showing an "indirect" connection of the topical kind. Ecclus. 13.1 is a prominent "Shakespeare Diagnostic cited some eight or more times in Shakespeare.



Geneva marginal note or when researchers can identify a convincing thematic cross-reference: a striking example is de Vere's marking of Ecclesiasticus 13.3, just two verses away from the all-important Shakespeare Bible verse Ecclus. 13.1 (figure twenty-two). Sixteen such "indirect" references are documented in the present study; details substantiating these classifications are provided under the appropriate listings in appendix B. Only thirty-five of the eighty-one Shakespeare diagnostics show no link at all to marked verses in the de Vere Bible – and three of these occur in de Vere's extant correspondence.

The significance of these findings might be assessed by two methods. One is to submit the data to statistical analysis, to answer *in an ideal sense* the question: how likely are these results? Another is to run empirical trials to determine if similar results might be obtained with other Renaissance writers presumably influenced by the same religious zeitgeist. I have been greatly aided in considering the former problem by my colleague James P. McGill, who has conducted his own independent Chi Square statistical analysis on my data. Working with an earlier list of the sixty-two Shakespeare Diagnostics and omitting the #s 26, 38 and 41 which occur in the de Vere letters, McGill's statistical analysis strongly confirms the hypothesis that the de Vere Bible annotations, according to standard statistical methods, meaningfully correlates with Shakespeare. According to McGill, "Based on the stated assumptions of this paper, our analysis of the magnitude and commonalty of verses found in de Vere and Shakespeare would cause us to reject, at the 99% level and even beyond, the null hypothesis of random overlap....the results provided in this paper clearly demonstrate that the hypothesis of no more than a random connection between the de Vere and Shakespeare verse sets must be rejected" (McGill 1998 7).

McGill's findings, it should be noted, are based on relatively conservative estimates of the actual numbers of references comprising the Shakespeare Diagnostics (SDs). Four was the cutoff for inclusion in the Diagnostics List<sup>120</sup>. A conservative critic may quibble with the inclusion of SDs 15, 22, 33, 48 and 80, since prior published scholarship reveals fewer than four references to these verses. Items 22, 23, 33, 48 and 80 occur only three times in previous published data, 15 only twice. Applying the principle of *Verification with Extension* my analysis shows that these verses are actually more significant in Shakespeare than had previously been acknowledged; hence they are included in McGill's baseline. In one of these instances (48), my own recently published work in *Notes and Queries* (Stritmatter 1999a) has now demonstrated that there are actually six occurrences of the Diagnostic in Shakespeare<sup>121</sup>.

Aside from the inclusion of these four items in the diagnostics lists, however, McGill's assumptions were always the most conservative possible. First McGill eliminated the three Shakespeare diagnostics which appeared in de Vere's correspondence as inappropriate to his statistical purposes. In all other cases,

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<sup>120</sup> For further details please see appendices A and B.

<sup>121</sup> This item accordingly appears as a six in McGill's calculations.

the previously published numbers arrived at by other authorities were used for McGill's calculations. Thus, while my Diagnostics List shows that there are actually as many as twelve references in Shakespeare to Diagnostic 6, only eight were listed for the purposes of McGill's calculations; four were listed where seven might have been for Diagnostic 9, five where seven might have been for Diagnostic 10, and so on and so forth. A total of thirty-four occurrences of Diagnostics, twenty-nine of them to Diagnostics marked in the de Vere Bible, were conservatively omitted from McGill's Chi Square statistical calculations.

As for empirical tests, the primary reason for the delay in completion of the present piece of writing has been the writer's serious investigation of this question. Biblical references in Marlowe, Spenser, Rabelais, Montaigne are compiled in appendices E and F. The results are particularly striking with respect to the other English writers for whom published comparisons were available. For these writers I

Author	Marked Diagnostics	Percentage Marked
Shakespeare	33/81	42%
Bacon	2/101	2%
Marlowe	5/74	7%
Spenser	3/56	5%

Figure Twenty-three: Comparison of Diagnostics.

assembled a list of top Bible verses, corresponding to the Shakespeare Diagnostics List, and then evaluated the occurrence of these verses in the set marked in the de Vere Bible, in effect testing the proposition that the annotator "was" Bacon, Spenser, or Christopher Marlowe. The results (figure twenty-three) could hardly provide a more striking validation of McGill's conclusion that the coincidences are not the result of "random" processes. While the de Vere Bible annotations show a 42% correspondence (overlap) to Shakespeare's favored Bible verses, the correspondence to the other English writers in each case approaches zero and is never more than 7%. These findings are radically inconsistent with the *a priori* judgements rendered by David Kathman and other devoted partisans of the Stratfordian mythos.

For the Continental writers, since comparative data could not be found in published sources, a different method had to be employed. With the assistance of concordances, I attempted to identify every occurrence of any of the eighty-one Shakespeare Diagnostic verses in the works of these two writers. Partly for methodological reasons, the contrast between these writers and Shakespeare is not so striking as is the contrast between de Vere and the other writers in the first set of comparative trials, even though I relied upon data gleaned through my own investigation. Of eighty-one Shakespeare Diagnostics 16 are found in Montaigne and 23 in Rabelais. These results may be explained as likely the consequence of two

distinct factors. In the first place, since we sampled single occurrences of Bible references without regard to their frequency of occurrence, a much lower threshold of evidentiary relevance was imposed. This was a necessity of the limiting fact that no published lists of the Bible references of these two writers enabled collation of a list of "Montaigne Diagnostics" or "Rabelais Diagnostics." To the best of my knowledge, in fact, the items sampled in the corresponding tables on these two writers are in fact *singular occurrences* of Shakespeare Diagnostics (with the exception of SD #23, "cherubim," to which Rabelais makes five references).

Even admitting this circumstance, however, the large number of Shakespeare Diagnostics found in Rabelais, in particular, is striking. By all appearances, the Biblical references of Rabelais are closer to those of Shakespeare than any of the other four writers used for comparison in this study. This result is paradoxical from the Stratfordian point of view. Oxford, however, was a known enthusiast of continental culture and literature who may well have read and enjoyed Rabelais. In other words, these findings are probably the result of a shared cultural heritage -- that of the continental neo-Platonists and theological controversialists of 16<sup>th</sup> century European culture (including figures such as Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Erasmus and Calvin) which would have attracted the common attention of these two worldly comic artists.

In conclusion, I hope it is now clear that the most useful basis for proceeding to assess the historical significance of the de Vere annotations -- *de semper dubitandum est* -- is to view them in relation to the structured -- and, as we shall see, idiosyncratic -- field of Shakespeare's own Biblical references.

## **CHAPTER 10.**

### **RENAISSANCE READING: THE ART AND PRACTICE OF THE *LOCI COMMUNES***

Sixteenth century Europe gave birth to a profound and far-reaching transformation in the relationship between the individual and what Montaigne calls the "déjà dit" -- the treasury of cultural knowledge preserved in written or oral tradition. The art of printing left its origins in the incunabula and set forth to revolutionize thinking in a host of disciplines. It undermined the authority of Aristotle and assisted the recovery and ascendancy of Plato, Plotinus and Hermes Trismegistus, among other thinkers of the ancient world whose thought had been eclipsed for many centuries. The authority of the written word, inscribed in an alien Latin tongue to be read and interpreted by the priest, began to give way before the impulse for vernacular comprehension which placed the communicant's own knowledge and perspective at the center of an expanding universe of subjectivity. In England the century began with no Bibles in English and ended with at least five independent translations-- Tyndale's (1525, 1530) The Great Bible (1539), The Geneva (1560), The Bishop's (1568), and the Rheims Catholic New Testament (1582). On the continent, Martin Luther attacked Papal authority in a series of inflammatory but skillful tracts which forever shattered the unity of Christendom. Copernicus published his devastating exposé of the theocracy, *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (1543), which argued in compelling mathematical detail for a heliocentric model of the solar system; during the same century, Tycho Brahe began systematically assembling a collection of resources for the testing and correction of astronomical theories at his observatory Uraniborg -- the first such collection made since Alexandria (E. Britannica 1911 IV, 377).

But the creation of the modern subject was far from complete in Elizabethan England. As Marion Trousdale has shown in *Shakespeare and the Rhetoricians*, the Elizabethan mind still functioned in grooves which are alien to a modern reader. The typical English library, especially among the educated aristocracy, was still comprised largely of books written in Latin and, to a lesser but still surprising extent, Greek and Hebrew. The well-preserved collection of 2800 volumes from the library of de Vere's friend and cousin Lord John Lumley is probably typical for the Elizabethan period: 88% of the books are in Latin, Greek and Hebrew; only 12% are in any vernacular, and only 6% in English (Jayne & Johnson 11).

Latin was still the language in which the educated classes read, wrote, and to a surprising degree, thought. The aristocracy in particular "still regarded Latin as the language of culture and looked upon its own vernacular, even in 1600, as unworthy of the greatest minds" (Jayne & Johnson 12) -- as evidenced for example in de Vere's patronage of Bartholomew Clerke's 1571 translation of *Il Cortegiano* into Latin -- not English -- for the instruction of the English aristocracy.

At least as important as the continuing dominance of Latin, however, was the practice of topical logic recovered and analyzed in Trousdale's book. Originating in the Aristotelian theory of *topoi* set forth in the *Topica*, by the age of Shakespeare the theory of the *loci communes* had been promulgated in dozens of popular textbooks and instruction manuals such as Erasmus' *De Copia* or Agricola's *De Inventione Dialectica Libri Tres* (1515). Things, argued Aristotle, possess attributes other than being: among them substance, quantity, relation, quality, place, time, situation, state, action, and passion. Such qualities became, with additions and substitutions, the places by means of which the matter (*res*) of things could be discovered and analyzed -- and these became known as the "seats" of arguments. Such topical logic, argued Aristotle, was different, but by no means inferior to, the demonstrative logic of the syllogism. As Trousdale shows in her book, however, after the enlightenment influence of Descartes, topical logic ceased to be a conscious mode of rationality. Demonstrative logic, the utility of which was shown over and over again by a scientific method which sought to reduce all reality to mathematical symbols, went on to colonize the *epistémé* of the commonplaces.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, however, the *loci communes* were alive and well. Composition manuals made use of Aristotle's theory to instruct students on the generation of copiousness in their writing. By putting a thing through the paces of its qualities, the writer generated sufficient abundance of matter for a complete exposition of reality. This practice was both aesthetic and logical: "The amplification and embellishment of the material, through rhetorical and stylistic devices, added the *persuasion* and *delight* needed to heighten...didactic import" (Lechner 154: emphasis original). But the *loci communes* were not merely a convenient means of rhetorical embellishment; they were in fact also a method of investigation (*epistémé*) and development of rational argument (*logos*). Places, writes Thomas Wilson in his *The Rule of Reason* (1552), are the resting corners of an argument, "unto the whiche if wee conferre the matier which we intende to prove, there will appere diverse argumentes to confirme the cause" (cited in Trousdale 9-10).

In his paper, "La Fonction Du 'déjà dit' Dans Les *Essaies*," M. Claude Blum discusses the Renaissance practice of "alleging" reasons from pretexts. Although the modern practice of academic citation of sources may superficially seem to be the same thing as the Renaissance practice of *alleguer*, in fact the two are in critical respects opposed. To cite a source is to incorporate material from outside into one's own discourse; "to transform into one's own the writer or passage which one cites" (201). *To alleguer*

involves the opposite motion, from the interior of one's own discourse out into the objective exterior world of other texts and discourses. To allege -- a concept derived from law -- means to establish reasons or pretexts for contemporary arguments; these reasons or pretexts inevitably point towards a larger textual, cultural or historic context which, if the allegation is well-chosen, serves to establish the fitness of the pretext to the circumstance.

Critical discussions of Shakespeare's "sources" have often overlooked the formative role of the pretext -- the source of the *loci communes* adhering to any symbolic object -- in engendering meaning in such a cultural system. Virgil Whittaker, for example, in *Shakespeare's Learning*, states the quintessential romantic view of the pure esemplasm of text and image -- that "the effect of the idea or image is the same, no matter what its immediate source may have been" (1941). Hankins is more optimistic about the value of awareness of pretexts, believing that although "the detection of specific sources is not the most important part of scholarly criticism," it can nevertheless function as a steppingstone to "a greater understanding and appreciation of the works studied" (1953 5). Jonathan Clarke Smith, however, urges that "since any allusion brings with it another meaningful context, it could hardly remain purely decorative, even though this is an objection to Shakespeare's allusions which we frequently hear" (1974 16). Confirms Jonathan Bate (1993), the typical Renaissance "allusion" is no mere reference to "a source," but an invocation of a "living precedent," so that, in fact, awareness of it becomes a prerequisite to authentic knowledge of a given text.

Trousdale's investigation of the pre-eminence of topical thought in the Renaissance confirms Smith's point: reference to the "déjà dit" was not, for Renaissance thinkers, extrinsic to the argumentative logic of a piece of writing. Such reference was a way of anchoring critical elements of an argument in authoritative tradition as well as bringing to bear "another meaningful context" upon the primary text. No alert Renaissance reader, encountering the repeated analogy between Falstaff and Acteon in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, could have forgotten that the fabella of Acteon, devoured by his own dogs in punishment for spying on Diana and her bathing maidens, had become for the Renaissance "an emblem of the fate of those who peer into the secret cabinets of princes" (Bate 39). Similarly, when we encounter the comparison of Venus-in-love-with-Adonis to the Greek hero Tantalus in Shakespeare's narrative poem, the allusion brings with it the meaningful context(s) of the various mythological traditions of Tantalus. From these an adept reader might select the version of Euripides in the *Oresteia*: Tantalus was punished for divulging the secrets of the Gods. Such a context begins to unfold the significance of otherwise unnoticed elements of a poem lush with portents of secrecy, in which characters suffer divine punishment for their transgressions against nature -- the literary reference to Tantalus being only one vital element in this larger skein of literary signification.

Renaissance rhetoricians -- including poets -- were taught to compose new literature by means of verbal and semantic transformations of traditional models. Since such a method of composition is intrinsically comparative, the reading or decoding of it must also be comparative. Meaning inheres not so much in the composed text itself but in the relationship between text and model(s) -- in seeing how, and understanding why, the poet has altered or preserved specific elements of the received models on which his original is based.

By means of this kind of application of topical logic, by putting such figures as "Tantalus" through the questions and answers of the *loci communes*, one can reveal their local significance as elements in a larger literary argument. By such a method, a reader can discover "the actual 'intendement'" of a work, by "exercising the mind in determining the rational base from which the trope originated" (Trousdale 86). Such topical points of reference alter the frame of reference of the composition and, Trousdale argues, paraphrasing the 16<sup>th</sup> c. rhetorician John Rainholde, "by simply changing the frame of reference we alter the shape of an argument" (5).

Of course, not every allusion to a Bible passage or other pretext will carry with it the kind of cognitive implications invoked in comparisons such as that of Venus to Tantalus or the fat Falstaff to Acteon. However, Trousdale's recovery of the Renaissance modalities of topical logic, and her contrast between these structures of thought and the demonstrative logic which, since Descartes, we have taken for granted as the only modality of thought, casts grave doubt on the utility of assuming that such references are ever purely decorative. Allusion to another text always brought with it, at least potentially, "another meaningful context" which could inflect the significance of the primary text. In many cases, moreover, a reader can be reasonably certain that such *allusio* functions as an *allegeur* -- a conscious citation of tradition, in which the writer establishes a current motive by making reference to a past context.

Several succeeding chapters illustrate examples of Shakespearean pretexts which transcend the unconscious or decorative use of precedent. Instead they profoundly shape, by authorial design I would argue, a reader's awareness of what the Shakespearean text *intends* to communicate. Who could deny, for example, that an awareness of the Horatian and Ovidian precedents invoked in the Sonnet writer's lament "my name be buried where my body is," reinforces our perception of the singular nature of the poet's cry against the forces of anonymity which consign him to the purgatory of posthumous oblivion? Such references to the poet-victorious theme in Horace and Ovid bring with them, as Smith asserts they might, another meaningful context, one which places in the foreground of the reader's consciousness the contrary fate of the Sonnet writer.

The implication that literary reference brings with it another -- intended and meaningful -- context also seems difficult to avoid in Hamlet's theologically subversive reference to the Eucharist in his citation of Ezekiel 16.49, discussed in chapter eighteen. Here, it is argued, Shakespeare's own use of topical

innuendo for argumentative purposes could easily have been gleaned from, or perhaps merely reinforced by, the subversive practices of the Genevan Bible editors, who were notorious for inserting explosive allegorical commentary into their publication by means of apparently innocuous side-notes in Ezekiel and other chapters of the Genevan translation.

Chapters nineteen and twenty assess the cognitive implications of Shakespeare's adroit deployment of pretexts from Matthew and John as formative elements in the "arguments," respectively, of *Measure for Measure* and *Hamlet*. Orthodox critics will of course resist the inevitably "Oxfordian" conclusions of these two chapters by appealing to the insufficiently demonstrative nature of their logical methods. They rely, it will be maintained, on the "soft" logic of the *loci communes*, which in no way syllogistically ordains their conclusions. Such a criticism of course misses the entire purpose of exploring the "other meaningful contexts" invoked in these texts; as a creature of 16<sup>th</sup> century rhetorical practices, Shakespeare's method of developing an argument was by no means limited to the scope of Cartesian demonstrative logic.





## CHAPTER 11. THE 'PERFECT PATTERN OF A POET': OXFORD AND THE NEO-PLATONIC IDEAL

The Earl of Oxford read his Bible through the now anachronistic lens of Renaissance neo-Platonism-- the 16<sup>th</sup> century cultural movement originating in the table talk, translations and writings of the founders of the Florentine academy -- pre-eminently Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) and his famous disciple Pico Della Mirandola (1463-1494). These new philosophers sought to reconcile the newly rediscovered "wisdom of the ancients" -- Plato, Plotinus, and "Hermes Trismegistus" -- with the Judeo-Christian traditions of Book, Church and Temple. The philological and hermeneutic enterprise of collating, comparing and -- if possible -- reconciling texts as diverse as Plato's *Symposium*, the spuriously believed pre-Christian writings of the pseudonymous mystic (actually dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century c.e.) "Hermes Trismegistus," the Kaballah (Mirandola's special passion), Ovid, Pythagoras, Egyptian hieroglyphs and the Pentateuch, started in late 15<sup>th</sup> century Florence. Before it was finished, the movement was to become one of the most fertile stimulants of Renaissance high culture -- leaving an unmistakable and enduring imprint on projects as diverse as Whittingham's 1560 translation of the Geneva Bible, Andreas Alciat's *Livret de Emblemes* (1536) -- the inspirational fount of what was to become the most popular genre of pagan books in Europe for the next two hundred years -- and Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* or *Primavera*<sup>122</sup>.

Inevitably, the humanist endeavor to reconcile pagan and Judeo-Christian traditions depended upon positing a rupture between sign and meaning. In the Florentine doctrine, although visible symbols, including words, belonged to the world of external (fallen, deceptive) accident, they could still direct the subject towards a higher, invisible plane of universal spiritual *realia*. The task of the exegete was to penetrate the profane, fallen surfaces of things to apprehend a hidden spiritual essence.

For such humanists, to attribute barbarism to the ancients was to adopt an interpretative position which concealed a spiritual failure of the exegete. For a late English follower of the Florentines such as

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<sup>122</sup> By a curious footnote to intellectual history, Socrates, the son of the sculptor Sophronicus, is said by Pausanias to have sculpted a group of three graces which stood at the entrance to the Acropolis at Athens. Pliny, recounting the same tradition, says that these statues were "not inferior to the finest works of marble in existence." One may well believe that the mystique associated with *Primavera* from its earliest conception by Botticelli may have been in part inspired by this tradition.

the author of *Mythomystes* (1632)<sup>123</sup> -- an articulate and savage critic of the decadence of Stuart poetry -- the alien character of the Egyptian hieroglyph is a mark of the greatness and universality of the wisdom concealed within its barbarous husk. The Egyptian priesthood, like Moses and the Hebrews, understood that "high and Mystically matters should by riddles and enigmatically knots be kept inviolate from the prophane Multitude" (30). Indeed, a primary merit of the ancient poets, according to the anonymous author Henry Reynolds, was the

care they took to conceale [their knowledge] from the unworthy vulgar....[they] in all probability would not prostitute all they know to the rape and spoil of every illiterate reader, were they not conscious to themselves their treasure deserves not many locks to guard it under. (27)

Reynolds advances arguments in support of this esoteric doctrine from a huge array of comparative authorities: "Orpheus," Homer, Politianus, Plato, Gellius on Aristotle, Iamblichus, the Cabala, Pico, and II Esdras. He credits Pico with weaving these myriad pagan authorities into a single coherent theory of esoteric wisdom -- relying, he claims, upon the assistance of a pantheon of Rabbis including Rabbi Eleazar, Rabbi Simon Ben Lagis, Rabbi Ishahel, Rabbi Iodan, Rabbi Nachinan and others -- of how God transmitted to Moses an esoteric commandment:

Mosem non legem modo, quam quinque exaratum libris posteris reliquit, sed secretiorem quoque, & veram legis enarrationem in monte divinitus accepisse. Praeceptum autem ei a Deo, ut legem quidem populo publicaret, legis autem interpretationem nec traderet literis ne invulgaret. (40)<sup>124</sup>

To reveal the manner of the *legis interpretationem* to the populus, believed Pico on the authority of such witnesses, was to throw pearls before swine:

Misteria secretiora, & sub cortice legis rudique verborum praetextu latitantia altissimae divinitatis arcana plebi palam facere, quid erat aliud quam dare sanctum canibus, & inter porcos spargere margaritas. (41-42)<sup>125</sup>

Shakespeare's affiliation with the hermetic neo-Platonism of *Mythomystes* is perhaps most evident in a text such as *Venus and Adonis*, in which the artful integument of the poem's "overheated" rhetoric and parodic humor conceals an arcanum of the "ancient" type celebrated by Reynolds as the province of esoteric poetic knowledge. Indeed, as the present author has noted in another context (Stritmatter 1994), the poem's title page excerpt from the *Amores* invokes the juxtaposition of "vulgar" entertainment and sacred knowledge for which *Mythomystes* discovers such an astonishing variety of authoritative precedents.

A literary history of the Elizabethan period reveals that, from a very early period, the Earl of Oxford was closely associated in the minds of writers as diverse as Edmund Spenser and Thomas Nashe with the revolutionary neo-Platonic doctrines of esoteric knowledge which had swept the continent for nearly a

<sup>123</sup> STC 20939; credited by the STC to Henry Reynolds.

<sup>124</sup>Not only did Moses bequeath the common law (exaratum legem) in the five books, but also a more secret and true explanation (enarrationem) has been prophetically passed down [to him while] on the mountain. This precept, however, was given him by God -- that although he could publish the law [itself] for the people, the interpretation of the law he could neither hand over nor make public in writing.

century but were still mostly alien to Tudor culture at Oxford's birth in 1550. By 1571, when Edmund Elviden dedicated *The most excellent and Pleasant Metaphorical Historie of Peisistratus and Catanea* to de Vere, the writers of the day already associated him with such doctrines. "It was not withoute wise forcaste right honorable," begins Elviden, "that the polytike Poets & wise Phylosophers, have many times *uttered in pleasant Metaphors, hidden secrets and sundry notable instruction*, considering that as the minde is satisfied with profound misteries, so likewise the weaknes of nature is made wel disposed by pleasant conveyance" (A ii: italics added).

The association is reiterated with greater point in 1579 when Edmund Spenser salutes de Vere, under the sobriquet "Cuddy," as the "perfecte pattern of a poet."<sup>126</sup> Oxford had apparently already acquired a reputation as a leading native exponent of neo-Platonism by this time. In the "October Eclogue," discoursing on the nature of poetry, Cuddy introduces a lofty strain of neo-Platonism not previously found in Spenser. It is important to recall that such doctrines were not, in 1579, in any sense native to English soil. Well over a decade before the publication of the *Fairie Queene* (1591) or Chapman's *The Shadow of Night* (1594) they were in the fresh bloom as new imports from the high continental culture of Tuscany or France. Cuddy's "Bacchic" theory of poetic inspiration as a divine fury, although a continental commonplace under the influence of such neo-Platonists such as Minturno (1559), Landino, or the Pleiades, was introduced into English literature on the wings of Spenser's audacious little book. "Already in the October eclogue," writes Fletcher, "[Spenser] has defined poetic 'inspiration' after the lines of the Italian and French Platonic theorists" (Variorum VII 368; emphasis added). Concurr Herford: "*here, alone in the Calender*, is Spenser's high Platonic creed of love, as expressed in the contemporary *Hymnes* and the later *Colin Clouts*" (367-68; emphasis added). Variorum editors Greenlaw, Osgood, Padelford and Heffner concur: "Platonism *appears first* in Spenser's work in October, where its influence is apparent in discussion of two topics: poetic theory and love" (371; emphasis added).

The full implications of this admission that the primary infusion of neo-Platonism into Elizabethan letters is coincident with Cuddy's discourse on the nature of poetry and inspiration will, it is safe to predict, require some years before being acknowledged by contemporary literary critics. For Elizabethan writers, Cuddy was the link in the magnetized chain of raptured poets leading back across the English channel to the splendid humanism of Continental giants such as Ficino, Pico della Mirandella, Scaliger or Minturno, and back in time from them ultimately to Socrates himself in the *Ion* or the *Phaedrus*.

One could of course go further down this inviting path towards the distant land of pastoral. Numerous critics have praised the exalted tone of the October eclogue and regarded it as presaging the

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<sup>125</sup> To make public the more secret mysteries and the arcana of the most exalted divine things, which under the bark of the crude artifice of letters lie concealed, what would it have been other than to give a sacred thing to dogs or to sow pearls before swine?

<sup>126</sup> See my 1995 paper, *Spenser's "Perfecte Pattern of a Poet."*

excellence of the subsequent decades of Elizabethan literary culture. "To the student of Spenser's art," supposes De Selincourt,

*the most deeply interesting* of the Eclogues is October... ....whether the characters are meant to portray actual persons has been disputed; but it is clear enough that they prefigure two conflicting elements in the poet's own nature; the practical--eager for fame, and inclined to value poetry at its market price, as a means to further his worldly ambitions--and the ideal, expressed in a passion for art which, as he has learned from his master Plato, 'was a divine gift and heavenly instinct not to be gotten by labour and learning, but adorned with both.  
(Var. VII 369; emphasis added)

Grierson overhears that the October eclogue sounds a distinctive new note in the sequence, almost as if a child, conceived near the first of the year, is about to be born and must here be recognized and christened by public ceremony. Up until this tenth Eclogue, he notes, we have heard of no patron except for the Bishop of Rochester. Only one great person -- "she whom every poet must flatter" -- has been singled out for flattery. But in the October eclogue Spenser has discovered a new patron in the person of Cuddy<sup>127</sup> (370).

Craik, also, detects divine music in the passage: "The Tenth Eclogue....is *the loftiest strain of the twelve*....Both the elevation and glow of sentiment here, and the musical flow and sweep of the verse, are worthy of the *Fairy Queen*, of which this song may be considered as *the prelude and prognostication*" (366; emphasis added). Herford thinks that "this noble and pregnant piece is the very core of the *Shepheard's Calendar*" (367). Greg's erudite simile is even more astonishing to an alert student of literary history: "One might well question," writes the compiler of *English Literary Autographs* (1930), "whether there is not more of the true spirit of prophecy in this poem of Spenser's than ever went to the composition of Virgil's *Pollio*" (368-69) (is any emphasis necessary?). For Jones, October unites "both the critical and romantic vein of the two series of eclogues," earning "an important structural place in the organization of the *Shepheard's Calendar*; it is, as it were, the keystone of the arch" (370).

Adequate exploration of such astonishing remarks -- astonishing particularly in light of the identification of Oxford (not Dyer, Leicester or similar minor figures in the development of Elizabethan poetics) as the man behind the mask of "Cuddy" (Slater 1931 313; Stritmatter 1995)<sup>128</sup> -- would require a book in its own right<sup>129</sup>. My purpose in reprising them in the present context instead of hiding them away in a footnote is to underscore the centrality of the present investigation to any accurate and comprehensive

<sup>127</sup> Who, it should be acknowledged, Grierson seems to equate, without much consideration and with no rational justification, to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

<sup>128</sup> The present writer independently formulated this theory in a talk delivered to the 1995 Annual Meetings of the Shakespeare Oxford Society in Greensboro North Carolina before discovering that Col. and Captain Ward, cited in Slater (1931 307-315), had previously reached the same conclusion. I am delighted to have been anticipated in such a consequential claim.

<sup>129</sup> That Cuddy's designation as the "perfect pattern of a poete" includes theatrical poetry could not be more obvious from his own words:

Thou kenst not Percie howe the ryme should rage.  
O if my temples were distaind with wine,  
And girt in garlands of wild Yvie twine,  
How I could reare the Muse on stately stage,  
And teache her tread aloft in buskin fine,  
With queint Bellona in her equipage.

For further discussion of this matter see Stritmatter 1995.

theory of the development of Elizabethan poetics. When Craik discovers here the "prelude and prognostication" of Spenser's own future masterpiece and W.W. Greg compares the October Eclogue to Virgil's *Pollio* -- of all possible choices for comparison! -- surely we are being instructed in no uncertain terms that Cuddy's neo-Platonism is no mere literary affectation.

Oxford's association in the minds of his contemporaries with the neo-Platonic secrets of love and poetry, and with the tradition of *consolatio* invoked in the neo-Platonic retreat from the surfaces of phenomenal reality into a more harmonious and perfectible universe of ideal forms, begins in the *Shephearde's Calendar* but it hardly ends there. Appended to Spenser's 1592 "translation" of the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Axiochus*, a dialogue between Socrates and the title character regarding the fear of death, was "a sweet speech or oration, spoken at the tryumphe at Whitehall before her Majestie, by the Page of the right noble Earl of Oxenford."<sup>130</sup> The pessimistic Axiochus, perhaps a figure for de Vere himself, in dialogue with the great philosopher confesses that "neither do those things greatly moove my minde, which only have *a colour and shadowed show of truth*, being set out with flaunting pride, and glory of words, but yet *truth have they none*" (34 italics added). The importance of Spenser's book appears to have been radically underestimated by previous students of the Oxford heresy, associating de Vere directly as it does with the figure of Socrates. Indeed, Spenser's dialogue has the air of an oracle. At the conclusion of his dialogue with Axiochus, Socrates agrees to meet his interlocutor at an appointed later time -- at a privileged time and place for conversation to which the reader is never made privy.

Socrates says: "I will doo as you say, and now I will return to my walk in my school Cynosargus from whence I was thither called" (38). It may be difficult for a modern to apprehend the force with which this conclusion would have struck an Elizabethan reader alert for a forbidden hermetic implication: Socrates has here been, as it were, conjured up from the dead to engage the upstart philosopher Axiochus in conversation. But the most critical part of the conversation between the two learned men is not recorded in print by the author Edmund Spenser.

In *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, published in 1595 after Spenser's return to London from Kilcommen, Cuddy is still a devotee of the powers of the God and pre-eminent spokesman for the rapture of poets-in-love: "some celestiall rage/of love (quoth Cuddy) is breath'd into thy brest/That powreth forth these oracles so sage,/of that high powre, wherewith thou art possest" (823-26) and goes on to praise Colin for the "deep insight" by which he "wot'st the mystery" (833) of Cupid's might.

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<sup>130</sup> The tournament in question took place January 22 1581. It remains surprisingly undocumented despite treatment by Charles Wisner Barrell in a 1947 article, "Queen Elizabeth's Master Showman Shakes a Spear in Her Defense" (SFQ VIII:1, 4-14). The "annexed" oration is not reprinted in the Variorum Spenser, and the tract in question (STC 19974.6) is not available on the Michigan microfilms series 1-1797. Nor is the related STC 13868.5, which consists of the challenge issued by Philip Howard, the Earl of Arundel, under the nom de plume Callophissus, available on microfilm. Howard's challenge, issued on Twelfth Night (Jan. 6), was entered for publication January 16 as "the challenge of the Justes." For some reason, however, the speech of Oxford's page was not published for another eleven years and even after that remains until this day an extremely scarce publication. Barrell's article refers to the extreme scarcity of the "sweet speech," of which only one copy was then known to exist, that owned by Carl H. Pforzheimer and reprinted for the first time in Barrell's article. The subject is considered further by Wright (1997).

Further confirmation of Oxford's association with neo-Platonism comes from Thomas Nashe's previously mentioned *Summer's Last Will and Testament* (1600) a parody of the medieval genre of Harvest festival drama which features the bankrupt, neo-Platonic "Ver" (spring<sup>131</sup>) as a leading character. Lamenting his own prodigality, Ver exonerates himself as a patron of spring theatrical festivities: "quae habui, perdidit; what I had, I have spent on good fellows<sup>132</sup>; in these sports you have seen, which are proper to the Spring, and others of like sort (as giving wenches greene gownes<sup>133</sup>, making garlands for fencers) have I bestowde all my flowry treasure and flowre of my youth" (226-231). His *consolatio* is distinctively neo-Platonic: "This world is transitory; it was made of nothing and it must <return> to nothing: wherefore, if wee will doe the will of our high Creatour (whose will it is, that nothing passe to nothing) we must helpe to consume it to nothing. Gold is more vile then men....It is

madness to dote upon mucke" (256-260, 315). Instead of doting on muck, Ver has devoted himself to "those sports you have seen, which are proper to the Spring" -- that is, his theatrical productions.

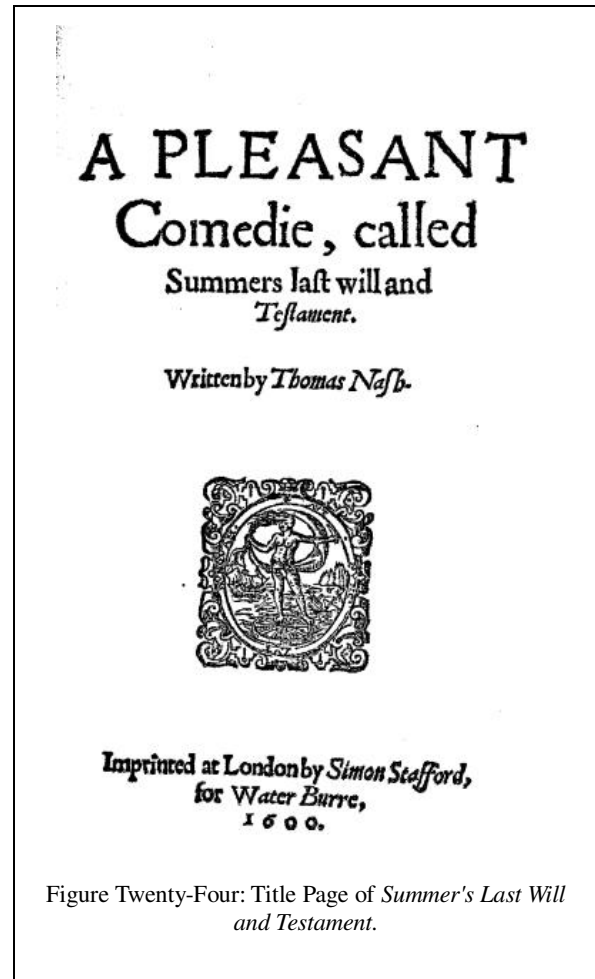


Figure Twenty-Four: Title Page of *Summer's Last Will and Testament*.

<sup>131</sup> The "Vere/Ver -ris" pun is well-established by 1578. The dialogue between the hospes and the aulicus prefixed to Gabriel Harvey's long encomium to Oxford in *Gratulationes Valdensis* of that year refers to both "Veri filia, vera Dea" (the true goddess, daughter to the spring (a neuter synonym for "youth")/of the (masculine) truth), and "Veris si nil est verius" (if there is nothing truer from the spring). In the second example, the form "veris" cannot refer to anything but the genitive of the word for spring. The phrase alters the de Vere motto "vero nihil verius" -- nothing truer than the truth -- by substituting *veris* (spring) for *vero* (truth).

<sup>132</sup> That is, on "*Robin Goodfellows*," which Brewer (923) records as "another name for Puck," a traditional fairy spirit of the Breton folk.

<sup>133</sup> A popular slang phrase for throwing a woman onto the grass (McKerrow III 423), with obvious sexual implication; apparently used here as a comic reference to de Vere's spring sports with Anne Vavasour in 1580-81. Vere gave Vavasour a "green gowne" -- that is, one with his name (viridis, -e) and season's color to cover her pregnancy by him. In June 1581 the brash young Queensmaid gave birth to a male son christened "Edward Vere," an event which not only cost the father in child support but also inspired the jealous rage of the court Goddess Venus, who jailed him in the tower for some weeks. The subject was obviously great sport for jesting by de Vere's close associates such as Tom Nashe, the prototype for "Moth" (an anagram of Thom) in *Love's Labour's Lost* (Quiller-Couch & Dover Wilson 1928 xix; cf Hart 1906 xiv-xv).

## CHAPTER 12.

### GOD LOOKS ON THE INWARD HEART: OXFORD'S NEO-PLATONISM AND HIS BIBLE

I am not as I seem to be  
For when I smile I am not glad  
A thrall although you count me free,  
When most in mirth, most pensive sad.

--Edward de Vere

Each of three prominent ideas of Renaissance neo-Platonism represented in Shakespeare are also marked in the text or notes of de Vere's Geneva Bible: belief in the ethical and aesthetic superiority of an inner invisible substance contrasted to the outward world of fallen appearances (I Samuel 16.7; I Corinthians 6.19-21; II Corinthians 4.16-18), belief in the ontological and aesthetic primacy of certain things or events which form the "pattern" or "precedent" for all other subsequent happenings which represent mere recapitulations of them (Arguments to I and II Samuel; note (c))

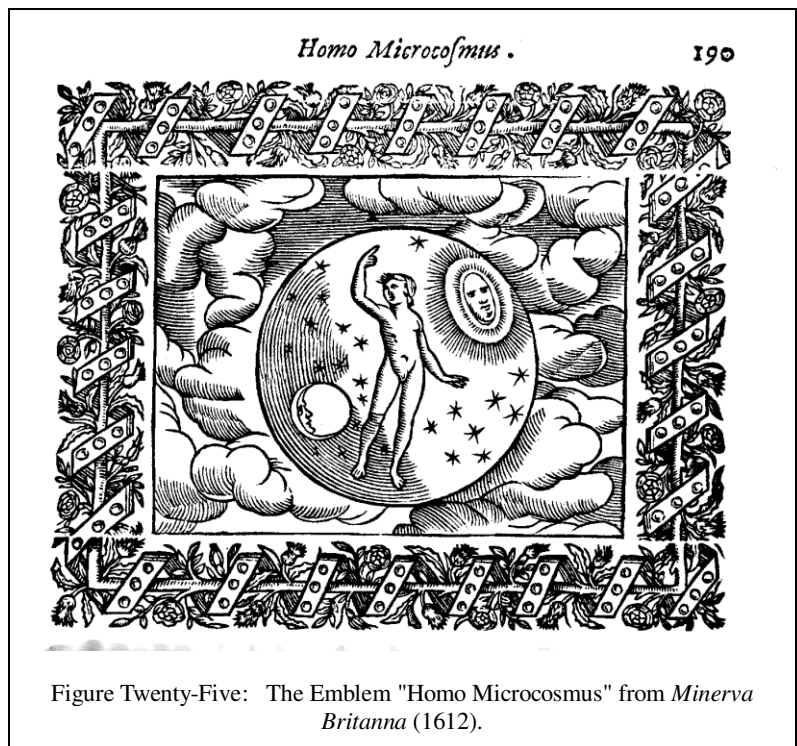


Figure Twenty-Five: The Emblem "Homo Microcosmus" from *Minerva Britanna* (1612).



at I Samuel 12.3)<sup>134</sup>, and belief that the essential components of the universe are mirrored in the smallest part of it, so that for example the body of man represented a *homo microcosmos*, "a little world" (figure twenty-five) containing all the essentials of the universe in microcosm (Wisdom 1.11). This chapter will discuss the first of these three propositions; the second will be discussed in chapter Thirteen, "King David, Orpheus and the Pattern of the Poet," and the third in chapter Eighteen, "Smallest Things in *Measure for Measure*."

Herbert J. Coursen, in his *Christian Ritual and the World of Shakespeare's Tragedies* (1976), has identified the discrepancy between appearance and reality as "Shakespeare's great theme" (150). In a recently published work, *Shakespeare and Ocular Proof* (1995), Alex Aronson not only agrees but examines in detail the centrality of the concept in Shakespeare. Aronson argues that the distinction between the merely visible and the actual is fundamental to Shakespeare's conception of the nature of good and evil. Shakespearean characters, enmeshed in webs of language of their own weaving, fall into error when they fail to distinguish the actual from the merely visible. Evil is the consequence of representation which does not correspond to the hidden laws of nature but only places an illusory gloss on phenomena. Shakespeare's tragic figures fall into believing that

what they see is a 'true' image of life, even when what they see is manifestly impossible. Accepting the most absurd ocular proof at its face value, they choose the illusory reality of a fool's paradise where 'nothing is but what is not' (3)...The contrast established between the two kinds of truth resulting either from studying books (through the mind) or from looking at beauty (through the eyes) is significant: for it introduces the archetype, the evil of blindness, into a universe where man's proudest attribute is his eyesight, a universe of eternal daylight where happiness is granted to those alone who 'keep their eyes open'.  
(4)

Peter Milward concurs, finding that "the prevailing tendency in the plays of Shakespeare, from first to last, is an insistence on truth behind the deceptiveness of ornament. This is his aim in every question -- whether of the political order, as in the histories, and tragedies, or of romantic love and honor, as in the comedies and Roman plays" (1973 242). This thematic preoccupation is very thoroughly reflected in Shakespeare's Bible references. Of the top eighty-one Shakespearean Bible verses identified in my SD list (see chapter appendices A-B for details), no fewer than five of them -- I Samuel 16.7, Matthew 7.15, I Corinthians 6.19, II Corinthians 4.16-18 and II Corinthians 11.14 -- are variations on this neo-Platonic theme of the apprehension of a hidden, higher spiritual reality which can only be approached through "insight" which goes beyond mere physical perception. These verses, including Shakespeare's single most frequently cited verse II, Corinthians 11.14, account for forty-four (almost ten percent) of the some five hundred direct hits in the Shakespeare Diagnostics list (see appendices A-B for details). Reference to

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<sup>134</sup> Sartre, writing about the 17<sup>th</sup> century, captures this state of mind as perceptively as any literary historian with whom I am familiar when he writes that the pre-modern writer "conçoit l'histoire comme une série d'accidents qui affectent l'homme éternel en surface sans le modifier profondément et s'il devait assigner un sens à la durée historique il y verrait à la fois une éternelle répétition, telle que les événements antérieurs puissent et doivent fournir des leçons à ses contemporains, et, à la fois, un processus de légère involution, puisque les événements capitaux de l'histoire sont passées depuis longtemps et puisque, la perfection dans les lettres ayant été atteinte dès l'Antiquité, ses modèles anciens lui paraissent inégales" (118).

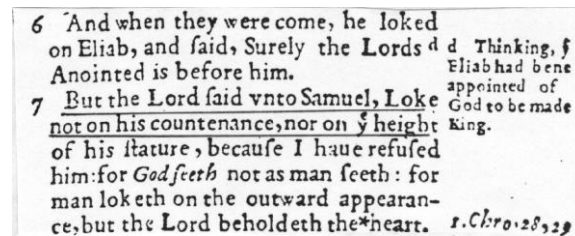
II Corinthians 11.14 alone occurs as many as eighteen times in Shakespeare, according to prior scholars<sup>135</sup>. Shakespeare even refers to this verse (Shaheen 1993 121) as grounds for skepticism of positions taken by Professors of Divinity, in Bassanio's speech prefiguring his correct solution to the casket guessing game:

The world is still deceived with ornament.  
 In law, what plea so tainted and corrupt  
 But, being season'd with a gracious voice,  
 Obscures the show of evil? In religion  
 What damned error, but some sober brow  
 Will bless it, and approve it with a text,  
 Hiding the grossness with fair ornament?  
 .....in a word,  
 The seeming truth, which cunning times put on  
 To entrap the wisest.

(*Merchant* 3.2.74-100)

Shakespeare's own skepticism of the "seeming truth" which "cunning times put on," and his conviction that God looks not on the outward man but "on the heart," are manifest in numerous similar passages. The frequent application of this verse substantiates the functional nature of the patterns of Biblical allusion in the oeuvre and illustrates how such allusion functions to reinforce thematic preoccupations such as the discrepancy between deceptive external circumstance and disguised truth. Bassanio's creator, like Bassanio himself, wrestled with an unshakable conviction that things were not "as they seemed to be."

By the testimony of his own annotated Geneva Bible, not to mention extant verses published under his own name, Edward de Vere wrestled with the same philosophical problem. Of the five related items in the Shakespeare Diagnostics list which pertain to the question of ocular truth, no fewer than three of them have been marked by the annotator of de Vere's Bible (figure twenty-six).



6 And when they were come, he looked  
 on Eliab, and said, Surely the Lords  
 Anointed is before him. Thinking, f  
 Eliab had bene  
 7 But the Lord said vnto Samuel, Loke appointed of  
 God to be made  
not on his countenance, nor on y height King.  
 of his itature, because I haue refused  
 him: for God seeth not as man seeth: for  
 man loketh on the outward appearan-  
 ce, but the Lord beholdeth the heart. 1. Chro. 28, 29

Figure Twenty-six: I Samuel 16.6-7 in De Vere STC 2106. Photo retouched to reflect original underlining.

The leitmotif, derived from the marked passage in I Samuel 16.7, contrasting the "outward form" with the "inward heart" threads through the Shakespeare canon, becoming a characteristic Shakespearean Bible reference. Shaheen (1989) cites three references in the histories:

➤ When Falstaff lectures Shallow on how to choose a fit recruit for battle:

Will you tell me, Master Shallow, how to choose a man?  
 Care I for the limb, the thews, the stature, bulk and big

<sup>135</sup> See SD #72. Milward considers it "one of Shakespeare's favorite texts from the Bible" (19).

➤ When Gloucester admonishes the Prince of Wales:

No more can you distinguish of a man,  
Than of *his outward show*, which, God he knows,  
Seldom or never jumpeth<sup>136</sup> with *the heart*.

(*Richard III* 3.1.9-11)

➤ And when Katherine of Aragon skeptically declares of her English affines<sup>137</sup>:

Ye have Angel's *faces*, but heaven knows your *hearts*.

(*Henry VIII* 3.1.145)

Carter (1905) had previously detected three additional references, Milward (1987) cites two others from the tragedies; the present study documents (see SD list #13) five more from the plays and at least three from the Sonnets -- in which the motif appears to be particularly prominent. These sixteen references to I Samuel 16.7 make it one of the most prominent of Shakespeare's Bible topics.

Two further "neo-platonic" verses of great significance in Shakespeare are also marked in the de Vere Bible (figures twenty-seven and twenty eight):

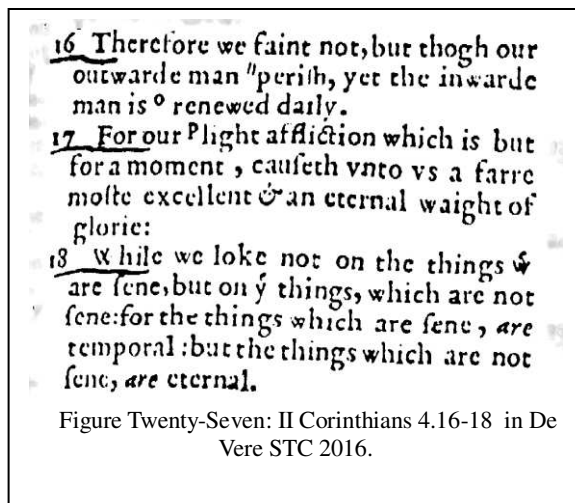


Figure Twenty-Seven: II Corinthians 4.16-18 in De Vere STC 2016.

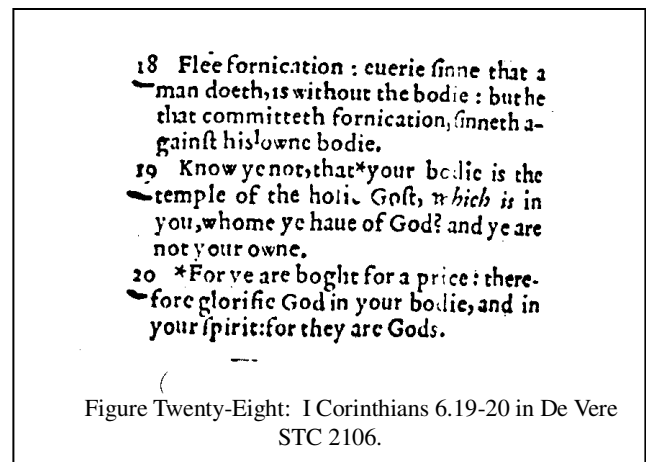


Figure Twenty-Eight: I Corinthians 6.19-20 in De Vere STC 2106.

Carter, for example, cites *II Corinthians 4.16-18* as the source of Simonides' comment on Pericles in his "dejected state":

Opinion's but a fool, that makes us scan  
The outward habit by the inward man.

(2.2.56)

<sup>136</sup> Agrees.

<sup>137</sup> The wording, in this context, curiously recalls Bede's account in *Historia Ecclesia* of Pope Gregory's response at the sight of a young English boy brought back to Rome. Gregory asked the boy's origins and was told that his people where called "Angles." "Bene," responded the Pope, "nam et angelicam habent faciem et tale angelorum in caelis decet esse cohaeredes [Good, for they have the faces of angels, and such angels ought to be the coheirs of the heavenly kingdom]."

Milward (1987) and Booth (1977) add three more references between them, and as many as four additional ones are cited in the attached SD lists (69 and 72). At least one of these additions, *Troilus and Cressida* 3.2.196, shows definite evidence "from sign" of its origin in II Corinthians 4.16-18. When Troilus thinks of his lover as one "*outliving beauty's outward,/ with a mind that doth renew swifter than blood decays*" the verb "renew" has been retained from the marked thought in II Corinthians, "yet the *inwarde man is renewed daily*" (emphasis added).

Likewise, the analogy of the body as the temple of the soul, found in the verses marked at I Corinthians 6.19, seems to have impressed itself deeply into Shakespeare's conception: two references are cited by Carter, and one more each by Milward (1987) and Shaheen (1987). Applying the same criteria implicitly employed by these students of the question, five additional references to the thought can without straining be added to the full list.

In other words, de Vere has marked three out of five neo-Platonic items on the Shakespeare Diagnostics List.

The importance of such findings cannot, of course, be adequately communicated by numerical symbolism. It is not difficult to see how this neo-Platonic skepticism towards outward appearances would have functioned as philosophical consolation for a writer suffering from the political deception of the imposition of a *nom de plume* as the condition of his authorship. How can even the most dedicated orthodox scholar, confronted with such a reality, fail to observe, like the befuddled Duke in *Comedy of Errors* considering the confusion of identities between the twinned servants and their masters: "One of these men is Genius to the other...." and hence to wonder: "Which is the natural man,/And which the spirit? Who deciphers them?" (5.1.333-34).

Critics are of course free to point out that Shakespeare's most prominent Bible verse (both in the neo-Platonism cluster and in the Bible itself) -- II Corinthians 11.14 -- is not marked in the de Vere Bible. But this would be to commit the very fallacy which the entire cluster of neo-Platonic verses warns against. The verses which *are* marked point unmistakably to the hidden reality of de Vere's affinity for the thought expressed in II Corinthians 11.14.

Neo-Platonic themes, furthermore, are prominent not only in the de Vere Bible annotations and in allusions to the annotator by writers such as Edmund Spenser and Tom Nashe, but in his extant correspondence as well. In his June 9 1595 tin-mining memoranda to Lord Burghley, Oxford complains about "truth smothered up rather by false appearance" (Chiljan 1998 106). His July 1581 letter, also written to Burghley just after his release from the Tower after Anne Vavasour had given birth to his illegitimate son Edward Vere, vividly illustrates this same characteristic neo-Platonic *mentalité*:

...the world is so cunning, as *of a shadow* they can make *a substance*, and of a likelihood a truth. And these fellows, if they be those which I suppose, I do not doubt but so to *decipher them* to the world, as easily your Lordship shall look into their lewdness and unfaithfulness.

(Fowler 284: emphasis added)

De Vere's antagonists are apparently Ann Vavasour's relatives, who accused him of being the father of her new child and hence from a mere "likelihood" invoked a "truth"<sup>138</sup>. De Vere perceives them as "Angels of light" who like the false prophets of I Corinthians 11.14 must be "deciphered" in their true colors. While the Duke in *Comedy of Errors*, confronted by identical twins each mistaken for the other, wondered who would "decipher" the natural man from the genius, in de Vere's letter it is quite clear who will be doing the "deciphering." It is almost as though we are reading some plot notes for *Much Ado About Nothing*.

Although the antithetical distinction between the "shadow" of accident and the "substance" of realia invoked in de Vere's letter does not correspond to any specific Bible verse, it does constitute a characteristic neo-Platonic phrasing of Shakespeare's, recurring more than seventeen times in the canon, according to Fowler's study of the de Vere letters. The shadow/substance antithesis "is a favorite of Shakespeare's, unfolded again and again, in the repeated portrayal of what Dr. Herbert R. Coursen, Jr., terms 'Shakespeare's great theme'" (285), viz.:

King Richard	O Ratcliff! I fear, I fear...	
Ratcliff.	Nay, good my lord, be not afraid of shadows.	
King Richard.	By the Apostle Paul, <i>shadows</i> tonight	
	Have struck more terror to the soul of Richard than	
	can <i>the substance</i> of ten thousand soldiers.	(5.3.214-18)

*Richard III*, in a history play with a pronounced Lancastrian, not to say "Oxfordian"<sup>139</sup> bias, fears the shadows of the ghosts of his victims. These have been, as it were, conjured up like spirits from underground, to haunt posterity with an image of Richard "deciphered." Thus we may perceive that de Vere's threat to decipher his own enemies -- not to mention the enemies of his ancestors in his historical dramas -- was no idle one.

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<sup>138</sup> Note the implicit pun on "Vere."

<sup>139</sup> On the pronounced "Oxfordian" character of the Shakespeare history plays, see Daniel Wright, "'Vere-Y Interesting': An Examination of the Author's Treatment of the Earls of Oxford in the History Plays," forthcoming in *The Oxfordian*.

## CHAPTER 13. GOLIATH'S SPEAR

Shakespeare's darkest and most disturbing play anatomizes the consequences of blind ambition sustained by faith in anarchic nature. "If chance will crown me," declares Macbeth, "chance will have me king" (1.3.143). Macbeth might have been reading Edward de Vere's Geneva text of the historical books of Samuel, in which the annotator has carefully noticed the dialectic between the force of chance and the idea of divine grace, underlining the Genevan note (f) attached to I Samuel 6.9 which testifies that "*The wicked attribute almost all things to fortune and chance, whereas in dede there is nothing done without God's providence and decree*" (emphasis added: Genevan 1570). That it was the author of *Macbeth*, and not the Scottish conspirator himself, who derived the moral from the marked verse, is indicated by a singular fact of no small importance: the aptness of the allusion depends entirely upon the reader's awareness that Macbeth is one of "the wicked" who "attribute all things" -- even the coronation of a King -- to "chance".

In an earlier chapter we encountered the idea, written by de Vere in the margins of his Geneva Bible at Wisdom 18.21, that "prayer is the weapon of the Godly." Like so many idioms and ideas extant in de Vere's own handwriting (see Fowler 1986), the idea is copiously iterated at the lexical level in the Shakespeare canon. When, for example, Queen Margaret declares that "his champions are the prophets and the apostles, / *His weapons holy saws of sacred writ, his study his tilt yard*" (*II Henry VI* 1.3.61), she has in mind the principle, written in the margins of de Vere's bible, that spiritual devotion can be a sublimation of the aggressive instinct and substitute for military confrontation.

This thought also forms a strong and sustaining thematic pattern in the de Vere Bible annotations. De Vere seems to have entertained a pious belief that victory comes not through armor, or even through chance as Macbeth believes, but through humble devotion to the divine will. We see the theme, for example, marked in the note (a) adjoining I Samuel 14.1, which contrasts the saving grace of God to the power of armor (figure twenty-nine). The moral throws an ironic light on the confrontation between Mowbray and Bolingbroke in the first act of *Richard II*, in which Warwick appeals to the "grace of God" while Bolingbroke

2. By this ex-  
ple God wold  
declare to Is-  
rael y the vido-  
rie did not con-  
sist in multitude  
or armour, but 2  
onely came of  
his grace.

Figure Twenty-Nine: I Samuel 14.1 note (l) in de Vere STC 2106.

enters the lists "in armour":

Warwick. ....  
And by the grace of God and this mine arm,  
To prove him, in defending of myself  
A traitor to my God, my king and me:  
And as I truly fight, defend me heaven!  
[The trumpets sound. Enter Henry Bolingbroke,  
appellant, *in armour*, with a herald.]

(1.3.22-27)

Also marked in the de Vere Bible is the note (f) attached to II Samuel 16.10 in which Zerviah curses David (figure thirty). The underlined phrase "humbleth himself to his rod" is reflected in two passages in Shakespeare<sup>140</sup>:

And presently all humbled kiss the rod

(*Two Gentlemen* 1.2.59)

Wilt thou....

Take correction mildly, kiss the rod,

And fawn on rage with base humility.

(*Richard II* 5.1.31-33)

If God had judged David by external qualities, he could not have become King of Israel. In subsequent chapters of the book of Samuel, on the other hand, David confronts a Philistine military machine of impressive dimensions but conquers it with a shepherd's weapon -- his slingshot. The narrative teaches that victory comes not by means of weaponry but by the grace of God. Surely the confrontation between puny David and the technocratic miracle of Goliath is among the most memorable passages in the annals of literary history. But how often do readers remember the carefully specified size of Goliath's gargantuan spear? In II Samuel 21, when David confronts the Philistines in battle, the narrator takes careful note of the --comically gigantic already in the second millenium b.c.e.?-- dimensions of the military hardware which the Philistines brought to wage war against the people of the book, including the size of Goliath's spear. The annotator underlines the measurement -- comparing the spear to "a weaver's beam"<sup>141</sup> -- in scarlet ink (figure thirty-one). At issue is the principle previously underlined in the marginal note at I Samuel 14 and in the text of I Samuel 16.7. God is not impressed by the size of Philistine

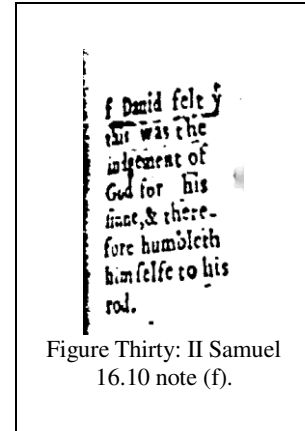


Figure Thirty: II Samuel 16.10 note (f).

16 Then Ithi-benob which was of the sonnes of Haraphah (the head of whose speare wayed thre hundredth .m. shekels of brasse)eue he being girded with a newe sworde, thought to haue slaine David.  
17 But Abishai the sonne of Zeruiah succoured him, and smote the Philistim, and killed him. The Dauids men swa-  
re vnto him, saying, Thou shalt go no more out w vs to battel, lest thou quen-  
che the light of Israel.  
18 ¶ And after this also there was a bat-  
tel with the Philistims at Gob, then  
Sibbechai the Hushathite slewe Saph,  
which was one of the sonnes of Hara-  
phah.  
19 ¶ And there was yet another battel in  
Gob with the Philistims, where Elhanan  
the sonne of Iaare-oregim, a Berlehe-  
mite slewe Goliath the Gittite: the  
statte of whose speare was like a wea-  
uers beame.

Figure Thirty-One: II Samuel 21.16-20 in de Vere STC 2106, showing sequence of marked verses on Philistine military power. Photo retouched to reflect original underlining.

<sup>140</sup> The marked note is far closer to these Shakespearean passages than the alternatives proposed by Shaheen (1989 117) of Proverbs 22.15 and 23.13<sup>140</sup>.

<sup>141</sup> The phrase also occurs at I Samuel 17.7 and I Chronicles 11.23 and 20.5.

armaments. He judges his subjects by intrinsic piety and awards victory to the meritorious.

Falstaff, recounting his amorous adventures in Ford's household to Master Brook, remembers the underlined comparison of Goliath's spear to a weaver's beam:

I will tell you: he beat me grievously, in the shape of a woman; for in the shape of a man, Master Brook, I fear not *Golias*<sup>142</sup> with a weaver's beam, because I know life also is a shuttle.

(*Merry Wives* 5.21-24)<sup>143</sup>

This peculiar coincidence was among the first preliminary indications supporting the theory detailed in the present document to receive wide public currency by being covered in the September 1993 GTE teleconference on the authorship controversy. It is also the only factual question conceded by orthodox critics of the present study. Responding to the GTE teleconference in a 1993 Folger library pamphlet, *Roasting the Swan of Avon*, Bruce Smith admits that "this obscure reference to an equally obscure passage in II Samuel 21:19-20 turns out to be underlined (albeit faintly<sup>144</sup>) in the Earl of Oxford's Bible" (60).

As Kirsten Poole has more recently observed (1995), Falstaff's allusion to I Samuel 21.19 is not an isolated literary coincidence but part of a larger pattern of Biblical allusion and wit. Falstaff is in fact an enthusiastic quoter of scripture who happily ridicules his own non-conformist inclinations. He cites from Genesis, Exodus, 2 Samuel, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Matthew, Mark, Luke, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, and I Thessalonians, among other books. He mocks, while illustrating, leading precepts of Puritan theology. Of the fifty-four biblical references identified by Shaheen in *I Henry IV*, almost half -- twenty-six in all -- issue from Falstaff's mouth (Shaheen 1989 137).

In the "weaver's beam" passage from *Merry Wives*, Falstaff actually amalgamates two distinct Bible verses<sup>145</sup> -- I Samuel 21.19 and Job 7.6<sup>146</sup>. In an illuminating instance of Falstaff's self-reflexive parody of Puritan religiosity, the fat knight apparently associates these two verses by virtue of their common reference to the Puritan vocation of weaving. As one who himself wishes he "were a weaver" so that he could "sing psalms" (*I Henry IV* 2.4.130), Falstaff pursues this popular Puritan trade. His likening of Goliath's spear to a "weaver's beam" therefore represents a transference of scriptural image perfectly suited to his persona as a self-parodying follower of late Lollardism.

Falstaff is no David the shepherd-warrior; indeed he was associated in the popular imagination with the cowardly Sir John Fastolfe, whose unmanly retreat from battle and abandonment of Talbot is parodied in *I Henry VI* (3.2; 4.1). Could we imagine a more apt example of those "immortal jests" with which Tom Nashe assured Gabriel Harvey Oxford would maul him, if he should resume his theatrical writing?

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<sup>142</sup> F's peculiar spelling, according to Shaheen (1989 30), is not found in any extant 16<sup>th</sup> century Bible, but only in Chaucer's *Man of Laws Tale* and *Have With You To Saffron Waldron* (1596) by Thomas Nashe.

<sup>143</sup> I follow the Riverside text, which is primarily based on F. The so-called "bad quarto" of *Merry Wives* omits the reference, along with most of the Bible references listed by Shaheen (1993 132-146). Of thirty-four Bible references in the play listed by Shaheen, only eight occur in Q.

<sup>144</sup> What Smith means by "albeit faintly" remains a mystery. Evidently, according to orthodox Shakespeareans, 400 hundred year old ink is not supposed to fade.

<sup>145</sup> An instance, in other words, of the principle of convergence discussed above in the chapter "Five Levels of Evidence," except that in this case only one of the two relevant verses is marked in the de Vere Bible.



Surprising as it might seem, Harvey seems to have viewed Falstaff as a parody of himself and his own Puritan sympathies. The son of a Saffron Walden rope maker, Harvey and his brother Richard<sup>147</sup>, were both known sympathizers of the radical Puritan pamphleteer Martin Marprelate. Marprelate's rambunctious, polyvocal, libellous 1588-89 diatribes against the Anglican Bishops are identified by Poole, among other critics, as the local staging ground for Falstaff's wit: "The Henriad...reenacts issues of discursive and political control presented by the Marprelate controversy. Within the plays themselves, Falstaff assumes a voice and a role similar to that of Martin Marprelate, becoming a swelling carnival force that threatens to consume Hal's 'princely privilege'" (74).

With this in mind, it is indeed startling to find Harvey in 1593 echoing Falstaff's line in his anti-Nashe tract, *Pierce's Supererogation*, a riposte to Nashe's *Strange News* (1592) of the previous year. This pamphlet, as we have seen, was published with a dedication to Oxford; *Pierce Penilesse His Supplication to the Divell* (1592), a *prosopopeia* based on the conceit of Oxford as "Pierce Penniless" appealing to the Devil to restore his bankrupted finances<sup>148</sup> appeared in the same year. Unlike Falstaff, Harvey *does* fear Goliath with a weaver's beam, and he seems to equate this Goliath with a stage-writing associate of Nashe's whom Elizabeth Appleton (1985) has identified as Harvey's old friend from his days at Cambridge College, Edward de Vere. Harvey, it will be recalled (Ward 1928 156-160; Ogburn 1984 43-44), had in the 1570's been a close associate of Oxford's. He had vied with John Lyly for the coveted post of personal secretary to Oxford and in his 1578 encomium at Audley End coined the phrase "vultus tela vibrat" to denote the congruence of the Earl's literary and martial aspirations. By 1593, however, Harvey is loudly complaining about the indignities to which he has been exposed in stage lampoons by Lyly, Nashe and Oxford:

I am threatened with a Bable, and Martin menaced with a Comedie: a fit motion for a Iester, and a Plaier, to try what may be done by employment of his facultie: Bables & Comedies are parlous fellows *to decipher, and discourage men*, (that is the Point) with their wittie flowtes, and learned Ierkes; enough to lash any man out-of countenance. Na, if you shake the painted scabbard at me, I have done: and all you, that tender the preservation of your good names, were best to please Pap-hatchet<sup>149</sup>, and fee Euphues<sup>150</sup> betimes, for feare lesse he be mooved, or some One of his Apes hired, to make a Playe of you; and then is your credit quite un-done for ever, and ever: such is the publique reputation of their Playes. He must needes *be discouraged*, whome they *decipher*. Better, anger an hundred other, then two such; that have the Stage at commaundement, and can furnish-out Vices, and Divels at their pleasure. Gentlemen, beware of a *chafing-penne, that sweateth-out whole realmes of Paper*, and whole Theatres of Iests.  
(Grosart II 213: italics original)

<sup>146</sup> My dayes are swifter than a weaver's shittle, and they are spent without hope" (G). Not marked in the de Vere Bible.

<sup>147</sup> Richard authored almanacs and attempted to intervene in the Marprelate pamphlet wars in his piously neutral tract, *The Theological Discourse of the Lamb of God* (1590) and, anonymously, *Plain Perceval*.

<sup>148</sup> Oxford's close association with Nashe during this period is acknowledged by McKerrow, who writes that "the quarrel between Nashe and the Harveys seems in its origin to be an offshoot of the well-known one between Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Sir Philip Sidney in 1579" (73). One can hardly agree, however, that the conflict between Oxford and Sidney, which Ward has shown was short-lived and not, in itself, particularly consequential, was the cause of the 1589 dispute. That there was a real split within the aristocracy, in which Sidney was allied with the Puritan sympathizing Aeropagites who surrounded his uncle the Earl of Leicester, is undeniable. At issue in 1589, actually, was Oxford's authorship of several Anglican broadsides against the Puritans, published under the *nom de plume* "Pasquill Cavaliero of England" (see Appleton 1985).

<sup>149</sup> I.e., Lyly.

<sup>150</sup> I.e., Oxford (see, on this matter, Ogburn 1984 673-75).

Martin Marprelate had finally driven a sharp wedge between Oxford and his old Cambridge college friend Gabriel Harvey. As Elizabeth Appleton argued as long ago as 1984 (Appleton 1984), impressive circumstantial evidence implicates Oxford as the mysterious Anglican propagandist who not only took up the cudgels against Martin under the *nom de plume* Pasquill Cavaliero of England but also organized and supervised Anglican propagandists such as Lyly and Nashe. Harvey's sympathies, on the other hand, lay with Martin and the Puritans. Indeed, Harvey's attitude towards Oxford during this period can only be characterized as flawed by deep and perhaps unconscious ambivalence. While he clearly scorns Nashe and Pap-Hatchet (Lyly) for their anti-Martinist activities, he lives in respectful fear of Oxford -- the mastermind of the stage by whom Lyly and Nashe were apparently still employed in early 1593 and who in this passage goes by his allegorical identification of "Euphues." It is Oxford -- aka Euphues<sup>151</sup> -- who must be placated, "lest he be mooved, " either to write himself or to hire "one of his apes...to make a Playe of you." The distinction between Oxford and "his apes" is vital to apprehending the significance of a passage in which Harvey evidently quotes from an early staged version of *Merry Wives of Windsor* while addressing Nashe:

Never silly mans expectation so deluded with contrary events upon the Stage, (yet Fortune sometime is a quaint Comedian, far beyond the Supposes of Ariosto) as these Strange News<sup>152</sup> have cooney-caught my coniecture; more deceived, then my Prognostication of the last yeare, which hapned to be a true Prophet of some dismall Contingents. Though I never phansied Tautologies, yet I cannot repeat it enough: I looked for a treaty of pacification: or imagined thou wouldest arme thy quill, like a stowt champion, with the compleat harnessse of Witt, and Art: na, I feared the brasen shield, and the brasen bootes of *Goliath*, and that same hideous speare, like a weavers beame: but now it is onely thy [Nashe's] fell stomacke, that blustereth like a Northern winde: alas, thy witt is as tame, as a duck; thy art as fresh as sower ale in summer; thy brasen shield in thy forehead; thy brasen bootes in thy hart; *thy weavers beame* in thy tongue; a more terrible lance, then *the hideous speare*, were the most of thy Power equivalent to the least of thy Spite. (282-83: italics added)

Here Nashe is seen as a Pygmy marching alongside the "Goliath" Oxford. Just as Harvey had earlier invoked the name "Shakespeare" in his phrase "vultus tela vibrat" he here pictures Oxford as Goliath with his "hideous spear" -- i.e. his intimidating pen.

It is not my purpose here to dwell at length on the chronological implications of this evidence for the early existence of a version of *Merry Wives* containing Falstaff's allusion to the "weaver's beam," a subject deserving its own monograph. Here it may suffice to indicate that the quoted passage supplies *prima facie* evidence "from sign" for the prior existence of such a text, for the following reasons:

1. Harvey is explicitly registering a complaint about being satirized on the public stage;
2. Falstaff has repeatedly and with good reason been identified by modern critics as a character in part inspired by the Marprelate scandal of 1589;

<sup>151</sup> For a discussion of the theory that Lyly's Euphues was based on Oxford, see Ogburn (1984), pp. 673-75. Abundant additional evidence from the Harvey-Nashe pamphlets supports Ogburn's inference.

<sup>152</sup> One of several direct references to Nashe's 1592 anti-Harvey pamphlet.

3. A stemma of the known texts exhibits the following progression, indicating that some variant of *Merry Wives*<sup>153</sup> must intervene between I Sam. 21.19 (or alternative Biblical sources) and Harvey's text:

Goliath...the staffe of whose speare was like a weaver's beam (Genevan Bible 1569-70)

*I fear not Goliath*<sup>154</sup> with a weaver's beam

(*Merry Wives of Windsor*, F 5.1.21, composition date unknown; italics added)<sup>155</sup>

*I feared*...the brasen bootes of Goliah<sup>156</sup>  
And that same hideous speare, like a  
Weaver's beame

(Harvey's *Pierce's Supererogation*, 1593 283)

In other words, the concept of *fearing* the weaver's beam found in *Merry Wives of Windsor* (F) but not in the Ur-text of I Sam. 21.19 (or any known Biblical variant) is copied in Harvey's 1593 tract. Barring the discovery of a common antecedent source in which Goliath's weaver's beam is "feared," the simplest explanation for the known evidence is that Harvey read, or more likely observed a performance of, an early version of *Merry Wives of Windsor*. Imagining himself to be lampooned in the character of Falstaff -- just as descendants of Sir John Oldcastle thought that *he* was the original of Falstaff -- Harvey rushed into print to distinguish himself as one who *did* fear "Goliath" -- i.e. "Shakespeare" -- with his weaver's beam.

Falstaff's reference to the weaver's beam parodies the Biblical ideal, to which reformation propagandists often appealed, of pious prayer as a weapon. The idea occurs often enough in Shakespeare to be included in our list of Shakespeare Diagnostics as item #75, although the proximate source is often in doubt. It occurs in several places in Paul's letters to the Ephesians and Thessalonians, one of which -- I Thessalonians 5.7-8 -- is marked in the de Vere Bible (figure thirty-two). Most frequently commentators have listed parallels to the marked verses from Ephesians 6.14-17: "Stand therefore, and your loines girde about with veritie, and having on ye *breast plate*

5 Ye are all the childre of light, and the  
children of the day : we are not of the  
night nether of darkenes.  
6 Therefore let vs not slepe as do o-  
ther, but let vs watch and be sober.  
7 For they that slepe, slepe in the night,  
& they that be drunken, are drunken in  
the night.  
8 But let vs which are of the day, be so-  
ber, putting on the brest plate of faith  
& loue, & of the hope of saluation for  
an helmet.

Figure Thirty-two: Thessalonians 5.5-8 in de Vere  
STC 2106.

<sup>153</sup> Or, conceivably, an unknown text on the same stemma.

<sup>154</sup> For a discussion of this spelling, see Shaheen 1989 30.

<sup>155</sup> The line does not occur in Q1 (1602).

<sup>156</sup> Because the most likely route of transmission is an oral one, and because in any case the reader of F is not witnessing the original spelling of any text Harvey might hypothetically have read, Harvey's variant spelling "Goliah" may safely be ignored as an irrelevant anomaly.

of righteousness...take the shield of faith....And take the *helmet of salvation*, & the *sworde of the Spirit*, which is the word of God” (G. 1570: emphasis added). The pre-text for both New Testament passages, also marked in the de Vere Bible, has been overlooked by these critics (figure thirty-three).

Carter cites three references<sup>157</sup>:

- His champions are the prophets and the apostles,  
His weapons, holy saws of sacred writ.  
(II H6 1.3.57-58)
- We will our youth lead on to higher fields  
And draw no swords but what are sanctified.  
(II H4 4.4.3-4)
- What, the sword and word-  
Do you study them both, master Parson?  
(Merry Wives of Windsor 3.1.44-45)

16 Therefore shal they receiue a glorious kingdome, and a beautiful crowne of the Lords hand: for with his right hand shal he couer them, and with his arme shal he defende them;  
17 He shal take his ielousie for armour, & shal arme the creatures to be reuenged of the enemies.  
18 He shal put on righteousnes for a brestplate, and take true iudgement in stead of an helmet.  
19 He wil take holines for an inuincible shield.  
20 He wil sharpen his fierce wrath for a sworde, and the worlde shal fight with him against the vnwife.

Figure Thirty-three: Wisdom 5.16-20 in de Vere STC 2106.

Noble adds a fourth reference:

What stronger breastplate than a heart untainted  
Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just  
And he but naked, though locked up in steel,  
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted.  
(II H6 3.2.232)

Shaheen has a fifth:

Turning the word to sword and life to death...  
(II H4 4.2.10)

The juxtaposition of *realia* to mere *accidence*, discussed in chapter Eleven (and later, in further detail, in chapter Twenty), is mirrored also in the historical books of Samuel in the annotator's marking of a Genevan note which states that victory is not won by military armor (*accidence*) but conferred by the grace of God, whose divine will is substantive (*realia*). Many annotations in these chapters of the Bible reflect the annotator's interest in this same moral and suggest a religious conviction which contrasts markedly with the moral nihilism of Macbeth's deification of chance. Furthermore the annotator associates the doctrine of spiritual victory with two potent symbols he discovered while reading the historical books of Samuel. In I Samuel 26 David and Abishai come upon Saul asleep in his encampment in the dead of night. Once again, Saul is at David's mercy and David refuses to take advantage of the

<sup>157</sup> For details consult Diagnostic #75 in appendix B.

situation by killing his enemy. Instead -- in a passage carefully marked by the annotator (figure thirty-four)-- he steals the pot of water and the spear lying at Saul's head. In this narrative, David silently translates the impulse to regicide into a symbolic game. Instead of killing Saul he "counts coup" against him, scoring a moral victory which appeals to the piety of his political constituency. Just as Hamlet spares the life of the praying Claudius or "Shakespeare" slanders William Cecil (as Polonius) instead of literally killing him,

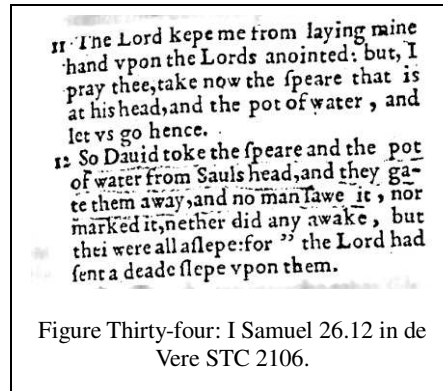


Figure Thirty-four: I Samuel 26.12 in de Vere STC 2106.

David refuses the opportunity for "an eye for an eye" revenge and instead appropriates the symbols of Saul's royal power. He makes a silent symbolic gesture -- just as Shakespeare substitutes art for regicide. This marked passage in the de Vere Bible is mercilessly parodied in *The Tempest* (II.1) when Antonio and Sebastian attempt to murder the sleeping King Alonso to make themselves king over Caliban's island.

Anti-Stratfordians have usually derived the name "Shakespeare" from the classical tradition of Minerva as the "spear-shaker" (see pp. 34-35). Here, in his Geneva Bible, Edward de Vere underlines the corresponding derivation in sacred history. The water stands for life in the desert, the spear for the spiritual vocation of the ascetic warrior -- for whom "prayer" -- and perhaps sometimes literature -- "is the weapon of the godly."

An explicit conclusion is in order. In this chapter we have seen that Edward de Vere marks in his Geneva Bible two out of three prominent scriptural sources for the Protestant ideal of weapons of faith, an idea reflected in a number of passages in the Shakespeare canon. He also annotates a verse, Wisdom 18.21, with the concept written in his own hand that "prayer is the weapon of the Godly." Because of the wide distribution of this idea in Renaissance theology it would be a mistake to draw any definitive conclusions from such coincidences *in vacuo*. More significantly, however, we have discovered de Vere's marking of the scriptural precedent for Falstaff's parody of the same concept, which comically draws upon an underlined passage in II Samuel which refers to the giant size of Goliath's spear. It is difficult to believe that any open-minded reader can remain un-impressed by this extraordinary -- almost comical -- coincidence between Shakespeare's Bible references and the documentary record of the de Vere Geneva Bible.

## CHAPTER 14.

### DAVID, ORPHEUS AND THE PATTERN OF THE POET

King David of Israel exercised an influence over Renaissance theological thinkers which is almost impossible for a modern, secular, literary critic to imagine. He stood at the imaginative nexus between sacred history and the new Machiavellian science of political theory. He was a king -- but he was also, according to scripture, an ancestor of Jesus Christ. He was an awful sinner who wrote the Psalms<sup>158</sup> -- probably the most widely copied, published, read, recited and sung book on the European continent, among other parts of the world<sup>159</sup> -- to repent for his sins. As William Whittingham thought of him in the Argument to I Samuel in the Geneva Bible, David was "the true figure of Messiah placed in [Saul's] steade, whose pacience, modestie, constancie, persecution by open enemies, fained friends, and dissembling flatterers are left to the Church to every member of the same, as *a paterne and example to beholde their state and vocation*" (f3r). Whittingham may have been taking his cue from Calvin, the patriarch of Genevan theology whose sister he married. Writing in the introduction to his edition of the Psalms, as translated by Arthur Golding with a dedication to Edward de Vere in 1571, Calvin saw in David a mirror for his own condition and inspiration for the proper endurance of his own spiritual struggles: "whatsoever that most excellent king and Prophet endured, was sette forth too mee for my instruction" (\*vii verso).

The story is an ancient paradigm of upward mobility, from the periphery to the center of political power. David grew up a shepherd boy, slight in stature, the youngest of a large family of brothers, but he became one of the most powerful and authoritative kings in the history of the planet. As a boy he seemed so unpromising that when Samuel visited his family to pick a monarch for Israel, his father did not even think it necessary to include him -- he was out tending sheep. David's brothers were much more impressive specimens of humanity, but Samuel rejected them for the Kingship: "The Lord said unto

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<sup>158</sup> Whatever modern higher criticism thinks of the authorship of the Psalms, Renaissance readers followed the tradition of internal attribution by which seventy-three of the psalms are said to be the work of David. As the Abingdon Bible Commentary summarizes this tradition, "when the historical notes to the 'of David' psalms were added, a process still going on about 200 B.C., the phrase was interpreted as denoting authorship....we know that David was a musician (I Sam. 16.14f), and that he wrote secular poetry (2 Sam. 1.19f, 3.33f). He may therefore have written religious poetry." The modern view, however, is that "the fact of Davidic authorship of any of the psalms cannot be maintained with absolute confidence" (Eiselen 1929 512). It is interesting to observe that what distinguishes modern from Renaissance views on the subject seems primarily to consist in the modern need to establish "the fact" of authorship "with absolute certainty." What matters for the present investigation, however, is that Renaissance readers felt no compulsion to disbelieve the tradition that David was the author of at least quite a number of the psalms.

Samuel, Loke not on his countenance, nor on ye height of his stature, because I have refused him: for God seeth not as man seeth: for man loketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord beholdeth the heart” (II Samuel 16.7). But as soon as Samuel laid eyes on the boy he perceived the virtue of his heart and sanctified him with a horn of oil to signify that he would become the next King of Israel.

David's rise and reign were beset with scandal, conspiracy, warfare, and political danger. Even before becoming King, he safeguarded his political future by marrying Michal, daughter of mentally unstable King Saul. Saul, however, is terribly jealous of David's popularity. His daughter, the people, and even his own son Jonathan, on whom he wished to confer the throne, all treat David as the heir apparent. Several times Saul attempts to have David murdered, but his plots -- as when his henchman arriving at the bedchamber of David and Michal are fooled by decoys into thinking the two are asleep on the bed when actually they have climbed down a rope ladder to escape (I Samuel XIX) -- inevitably fail. As distress grows in the land, David gathers to himself a sizable outlaw force which is capable of posing a military threat to Saul's supremacy. In a reversal of Saul's attempts to kill him, David thrice holds Saul in his power and refuses to kill him because, so the story goes, David said that Saul "was the Lord's anointed" (I Samuel 10.1, 16.13, 24.11, II Samuel 1.14) -- that is, the lawful king (no matter how bad) of Israel.

It is easy to see how this narrative could become the central legitimating myth for the European states of Medieval and Renaissance Europe. David, warts and all, fulfilled all the most natural expectations of a heroic tradition. He was the youngest son in a family of shepherds who rose to become a powerful monarch. At every step in his ascent he behaved with the most impeccable respect towards his superiors, including his arch-enemy and father-in-law, King Saul. He alone of the Israelites dared to go into single combat with the great Goliath. He was "strong, valiant, & a man of warre & wise in matters, & a comely persone” (I Samuel 16.18: G). Yet, after he came to power he was also one who could seduce Bathsheba and send her husband to a premeditated death in the wars. A hero with a fatal flaw.

But there is one more fact of utmost importance which is necessary to bear in mind in order to apprehend the Elizabethan view of David. Elizabethans sincerely believed that David was the author of many of the 150 Hebrew Psalms. As a musical poet-king, sacred history's Orpheus, the most ancient of the holy singers, the anxiety of his influence was immense. He could be compared only to Moses, Socrates or Jesus. Hence it is not surprising that David, like Orpheus, exerts a continuous subliminal presence in the Shakespeare text -- not manifest, but latent, singing "between the lines."

It is important not to forget that internal evidence of a persuasive nature could be cited in support of the tradition of David as the author of the psalms. In the same chapter of I Samuel in which the prophet anoints David as the future monarch of Israel, Saul the existing king, suffering from what seems to have

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<sup>159</sup> Such as the Ethiopian Kingdom of Prester John, a historical figure well-known to the Renaissance cosmographers of France or England.

been some kind of epileptic fit, sends for his advisors to find a musician who can exorcise his evil spirit. The advisors seize on David, a shepherd famous for his musical talent:

And David came to Saul, and stode before him: and he loved him very wel, and he was his armour bearer.  
And Saul sent to Ishai, saying, Let David now remaine with me: for he hathe founde favour in my sight.  
And so when the evil spirit of God came upon Saul, David toke an harpe and plaied with his hand, &  
Saul was refreshed, & was eased: for the evil spirit departed from him.

(I Samuel XVI 21-23)

This is, if nothing else, an astonishing piece of historical narrative. All mention of David's powers as a musician is delayed to the ultimate verse of the chapter. David is already Saul's armor bearer before we learn of his "conning" with the harp. Yet the word went out, in verse 16, for Saul's servants to "seke a man, that is a conning player upon the harpe: that when the evil spirit of God commeth upon thee, he may playe with his hand, & thou maiest be eased" (XVI.15). The narrator apparently places special but understated emphasis

on David's status as a musician capable of healing Saul's madness by means of his musical powers. The annotator takes special note of this characteristic in I Samuel 16.23 (figure thirty-five).

Because the Hebrew Psalms are written to be set to music and are fundamentally musical in their character, Samuel's narrative provides a powerful supplemental argument for the tradition preserved in the book of Psalms which attributes many of them to David. It also reminds us of the intrinsic identity of poetry and music in the arts of the ancient world and, to a lesser extent, the Renaissance. To consider David a musician is tantamount to seeing him as a poet. Both, in the living tradition of the Renaissance mind, were prophets or "singers"; in such a world, the word and the note were *ontologically* inseparable.

The close association between music and poetry is particularly evident, in myriad manifestations, in the Shakespeare canon. One of J.T. Looney's original criteria for identifying the real Shakespeare was that he should be a man of pronounced musical affinity (1920 117). Indeed, Shakespeare is said to employ over one hundred musical terms; Campbell and Quinn state that "Shakespeare's familiarity with the music of his time is indicated by more than 500 passages in his works" (574). The writer's technical knowledge of both musical theory and practice is manifested in such references as "broken music" (*Henry V* 5.2.262-64) -- a term used to indicate the employment of instruments of different choirs; to "gamut" (*Shrew* 3.1.71, 73, 79)-- the whole range of notes from base to treble; and to the diabolical progression (*Lear* 1.2.49) -- the discordant sequence *fa sol la ti*, an interval extremely discordant to the Elizabethan ear<sup>160</sup>. Such allusions to musical terminology, moreover, are merely the most obvious indices of Shakespeare's knowledge of the musical arts. More fundamentally, his verse patterns are markedly

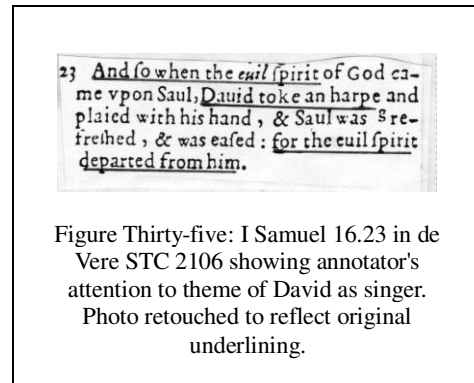


Figure Thirty-five: I Samuel 16.23 in de Vere STC 2106 showing annotator's attention to theme of David as singer. Photo retouched to reflect original underlining.



lyrical, viz. musical -- exploiting the musical properties of spoken language to their highest potential through devices such as rhyme, assonance, consonance, complex patterns of rhythm, and implied variations in pitch -- imitating the melodic and harmonic intervals of music. Frequently his characters, unable to restrain themselves from the expression of emotional tenor in music, break into open song.

Consider the classic illustration, almost a cliché, from *Merchant of Venice*. When Bassanio enters to try his hand at the casket game, Portia calls the musicians: "let music sound while he doth make his choice;/then if he lose he makes a swan-like end,/Fading into music" (43-44). Music is indeed a predominating motif of this play, more so than any other Shakespeare play with the possible exception of *The Tempest*. Just as when David heals Saul by means of his harp in I Samuel 16.23, in *Merchant* we learn from Lorenzo that music has power to heal even all creation. Jessica announces the theme in her confession: "I am never merry when I hear sweet music" (5.1.69). "The reason is," replies Lorenzo

Your spirits are attentive;  
 For do but note a wild and wanton herd  
 Or race of youthful and unhandled colts,  
 Fetching mad bounds, bellowing and neighing loud,  
 Which is the hot condition of their blood,  
 If they but hear perchance a trumpet sound,  
 Or any air of music touch their ears,  
 You shall perceive them make a mutual stand,  
 Their savage eyes turn'd to a modest gaze,  
 By the sweet power of music; therefore the poet  
 Did feign that Orpheus drew trees, stones, and floods;  
 Since naught so stockish, hard, and full of rage,  
 But music for the time doth change his nature  
 The man that hath no music in himself,  
 Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,  
 Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils;  
 The motions of his spirit are dull as night,  
 And his affections dark as [Erebus]:  
 Let no such man be trusted. Mark the music. (5.1.70-88)

The refrain of the marked verse appears iterated under any number of lexical decorations in the "Shakespeare" canon. In addition to these lines from *Merchant of Venice*, Carter (1905) lists three further allusions to the underlined verse from I Samuel, e.g. when Lucentio (disguised as Cambio) berates the fiddler Hortensio (disguised as Litio) in *The Taming of the Shrew*:

Preposterous ass, that never read so far  
 To know the cause why music was ordain'd!  
 Was it not to refresh the mind of man  
 After his studies or his usual pain? (3.1.9-12: italics added)

In his commentary on links "from sign" for the origin of the *Shrew* passage from I Samuel 16.23, Carter (1905 237) observes that the verb "refresh" is carried over from the verb "refreshed" found in the

<sup>160</sup> For some introductory texts on the fascinating topic of Shakespeare and music, see Elson (1901), F.W. Sternfeld (1963), and Seng (1967).

verse<sup>161</sup>. Carter also finds two additional echoes (283; 477) of the thought, which he classifies without hesitation as being inspired by I Samuel 16.23:

Let there be no noise made, my gentle friends,  
Unless some dull and favourable hand  
Will whisper music to my weary spirit. (II Henry IV 4.5.1-3)

A solemn air, and the best comforter  
To an unsettled fancy, cure thy brains... (Tempest 5.1.58-59)

Noble (1935) and Milward (1987) concur in finding a fifth reference to I Samuel 16.23, this one in *Richard II* when the deposed king forbids further music:

This music mads me; let it sound no more.  
For though it have holp madmen to their wits  
In me it seems it will make wise men mad. (5.5.60-62)

Shakespeare's fascination for the thought found in this passage of I Samuel 16.23 is, however, much more important than these references might convey. A sixth reference to the verse, unrecorded in previous scholarship on the subject, occurs in *Measure for Measure*: "Duke. 'Tis good; though music oft hath such a charm/To make bad good, and good provoke to harm" (4.1.14-15). More importantly, however, this marked reference in the book of Samuel, about David's powers of therapeutic musical prophecy, becomes a potent metaphor for de Vere's own persona as the Hebrew "Orpheus" of the late Tudor court. He must have seen himself, as the author of Samuel sees David, as an inspired Bard at the court of a weary monarch. His "music" -- his plays -- were tuned to a key designed especially for her ears. Sometimes -- as in the "Will" Sonnets-- the music was harsh and jarring, designed to speak truth to power and arouse the conscience of his listener to observe the principles of justice and mercy. Sometimes, as in the song which introduces the moral quoted above from *Measure for Measure*, it possessed a riverine melliflence which makes it endure as one of the greatest love lyrics ever written:

Take, O take those lips away,  
That so sweetly were forsworn,  
And those eyes, the break of day,  
Lights that do mislead the morn;  
But thy kisses bring again, bring again,  
Seals of love, but seal'd in vain, seal'd  
In vain.

In *Measure for Measure*, this song is the cue for the entrance of the Duke disguised as a Friar. A boy has been singing the song to Mariana, and when she hears the Duke she instructs the boy:

Break off thy song, and haste thee quick away.  
Here comes a man of comfort, whose advice  
Hath often still'd my brawling discontent. [exit boy]

Then Mariana says, to the Duke:  
I cry you mercy, sir, and well could wish  
You had not found me here so musical.

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<sup>161</sup> The verb appears to have become standard since Tyndale's translation; it is used in the Bishop's (1568) translation, and retained in the Authorized KJ version of 1611.

Let me excuse me, and believe me so,  
My mirth it much displeas'd, but pleas'd my woe.

(*Measure* 4.1.1-15)

Such a passage, followed by the Duke's own moralizing commentary that "music oft hath such a charm to make bad good....", indicates the profundity of the author's fascination with the nature of music, and his particular study of its effects upon the melancholic or disordered disposition -- precisely the subject underlined by Edward de Vere at I Samuel 16.23<sup>162</sup>. Mariana is caught by the paradox that music sometimes inspires baser instincts which a woman of her modesty should not admit enjoying; at the same time, in the tradition underscored by our annotator, it is a necessary tonic for her melancholy. Hence she endorses the understated comic paradox, "my mirth it much displeas'd, but pleas'd my woe"; the Duke echoes in counterpoint by noting that "music hath such a charm" to provoke both good *and* evil.

The life of ancient musicians was apparently fraught with danger. David survived the plots of Saul to become King of Israel. But Orpheus, the primal patriarch of the musical arts in the Greco-Roman tradition, to whom Lorenzo refers in his speech to Jessica about music, was torn to pieces by Thracian women in a Bacchic festival (Anthon 939-942).

Shakespeare refers to Orpheus by name, curiously enough, only in *Merchant of Venice*, a play about a Jew; in the Roman play *Julius Caesar*, he refers to him covertly. The *Merchant* reference apotheosizes the pagan poet as a secular David, who cures birds and beasts of their melancholy by strumming on his harp; the *Caesar* reference, in a startling parable of the authorship question, comments upon the dismemberment of the poet by the mob. The occasion for violence is the mob's confusion between "Cinna the poet" and "Cinna the conspirator." They mistake the former, who writes innocuous verses about nothing in particular, for the latter -- a known sympathizer with the Republican conspiracy to murder Caesar.

Behind the scene of the poet dismembered by the mob, as Jonathan Bate discerns in *Shakespeare and Ovid* (1993), lurks the figure of Orpheus. "The archetype for Cinna," writes Bate, "the artist torn apart by the mob who have been intoxicated by art, is Orpheus ripped to pieces to Dionysiac bacchants. Orpheus is always a figure of the poet..." (1993 110). As usual, Bate's awareness of the deep Ovidian undercurrents in Shakespeare leads him directly to the mythic wellspring even of passages which bear no obvious relation to their antecedents. But Bate overlooks one further similarity: Cinna is indeed (like Orpheus) ripped apart by a mob "intoxicated by art"; moreover it is a mob which confuses a name for an identity and a poet for a conspirator. Bate misses the scintillating interplay between precedent and

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<sup>162</sup> Shakespeare also alludes to another pretext which makes the same observation about the salutary effects of music, namely the poem "In commendation of Musick," number 62 in *The Paradyse of Daynty Devises*, edited by Richard Edwards and first published in 1576. I cite from the second 1578 edition (STC 12507): "Where griping grief ye hart would ..., & doleful dumptes ye mind oppresse/There Musick with her silver sound, is wont wt spede to give redress: Of troubled mynds for every sore, sweete Musick hath a salve in store" (h.ii verso). The citation, long recognized, is from *Romeo & Juliet*: "Music with her silver sound" -- why 'silver sound'? Why 'music with her silver sound'?" (4.5.133).

circumstance which makes this passage from the comic under-plot of *Caesar* such an astonishing artistic parable of the author "Shakespeare."

As a talented musician whose actors, like Hamlet's own, ran afoul of political powers apparently offended by jokes like the one in which Lord Burghley is compared by Hamlet to Jephtha, Edward de Vere appears to have had a "David complex." For him as for other Renaissance thinkers, the figure of David exerted a magnetic influence. Just as he had done for Calvin, David set a moral precedent for de Vere, whose disciplined leadership and devotion to art earned the approval of God-the-father. De Vere's underlining of verses recording David's attempts to soothe Saul's troubled spirit by musical magic, and those in which he "danced before the Lord" (II Samuel 6.14), indicate his perception of David as the figure of Christ-Orpheus, the holy songwriter and fool who became King of Christ's nation.

From his reading of Calvin's preface to the Psalms -- of which Arthur Golding's 1571 English translation was dedicated to him (Chiljan 1994 13)-- de Vere would have taken to heart the ideal of David as his model for the true Christian vocation of the imitation of the savior. In David's story he could "beholde as it were in a Glasse, bothe the beginnings of my vocation, and also the continuall race of my ministerie....whatsoever that most excellent king and Prophet endured, was sette foorth to mee for my instruction" (\*vii verso). Like Calvin, he was one for whom "David shewed...the way by his own footsteps" and he "found not small comforte thereby" (\*\*i recto).

Numerous parallels, noted in de Vere's annotations of the books of Samuel, would have reinforced this identification in his mind. Like David, de Vere was married to the daughter of a powerful political antagonist. Like David, he was a contender for political power who was also compelled by a higher sense of morality, which frequently brought him into dramatic conflict with his compeers in the court. Like David -- and like so many of the central figures of the Shakespeare canon, from Hamlet to Jacques or Feste -- he was a musician and an artist, a court jester who applied his artistic talents to "through and through cleanse the foul infected body of the world" (AYLI 2.7.60). And, like David's pagan counterpart who is -- as Dr. Bate kindly reminds us -- "always the figure of the poet," he lived in fear and trembling that he too would be torn to bits by a rampaging mob which confused him with a mere conspirator. Hence he acquiesced to a bitter necessity: before his jokes could be published he, like Jacques, must be "invested in motley" and his name transformed into a cipher. This may have made him a "conspirator" -- but at least it protected him, ironically, from the fate of Orpheus.



## CHAPTER 15. THE ANOINTED KING

Although David was, according to the books of Samuel, the "Lord's anointed," chosen by Samuel to rule over Israel, his father-in-law Saul repeatedly attempted to murder him. In response, David demonstrated his piety by consistently observing the principle of disciplined "non-resistance" to Saul's provocation. Instead of taking up the spear to kill his enemy, he took up his harp to play divine sweet music, which soothed his monarch's weary mind. Although a fierce warrior in battle against the Philistines, among his own people David set the highest standards of respect for authority even when authority erred in the most outrageous ways. He was a poet whom God had ordained to be a king -- if only he avoided the temptation to seek immediate gratification by obtaining revenge against his crazed father-in-law and monarch.

If the argument of this dissertation is correct, it is easy to see why "Shakespeare" would have been caught in the grip of a "David complex"; David symbolized not only the paradigm of model behavior for *homo politans* in difficult political circumstances, but also the *raison d'être* of de Vere's calling as artist and prophet.

Accordingly, it should hardly come as a surprise that one of Shakespeare's favorite narrative elements of the Bible is the account of David's ascension to the kingship of Israel found in the books of I Samuel and 1 Kings. Of the eighty-one Shakespeare Diagnostics included in this dissertation, seven are from these historical books of the Old Testament. These account for more than fifty of Shakespeare's total Bible references, making these chapters among the most important sources of imagery, wording and dramatic situation in the canon.

David's humility, eloquence and leadership had of course become a primary source of ideological justification for the Medieval monarchies of Europe over many previous centuries. By the 16<sup>th</sup> century world of emerging conflict between the old Catholic order and the new Protestant nations such as the Tudor monarchy, he had assumed even greater importance as a role model. Tudor doctrine interpreted the narrative of his ascension as justification for national kingship elected by divine right, not by the authority of Rome. David's repeated forbearance of revenge against Saul and recognition of Saul's divine election as the "Lord's anointed," on the other hand, became -- especially in England -- a typological precedent

which could be used to restrain and warn against the dangers of rebellion or regicide. As early as Cranmer's 1547 *Homily on Obedience*, the English theory of non-resistance is modeled on David "who was many tymes most cruelly and wrongfully persecuted of kyng Saul & his people yet he never resisted" (Riiii). Episodes from I Samuel 24 and 26 in which David refrains from violence against Saul are cited as prescriptive models which "geveth a general rule and lesson, to all subiects in the world, not to resist their leige lord & king, not to take a sward by their private authoritie, against their king, gods anointed" (Si). The English monarch, being like Saul, "the Lord's anointed," deserves the same absolute respect, even in trying circumstances, which David owed to Saul.

Such a doctrine assumed even greater importance during the final decades of the Tudor monarchy. The Papacy regarded Elizabeth I, whose father had executed Catharine of Aragon in order to marry her Protestant mother, as a new "whore of Babylon." In 1570, Elizabeth's twelfth year on the throne, Pope Pius V issued a Papal Bull offering dispensation to any Catholic daring enough to make attempt against her life. A series of regicidal plots followed. Only after the 1587 execution of the Scots Queen, Elizabeth's own cousin Mary Stuart, was her reign secured, and even then the price of security was high. When MacDuff, in the "Scottish play," laments that "most sacrilegious murder hath broke ope' the Lord's anointed Temple and stolen thence the life of the building" (2.3.67-68), he voices the sentiment of moral outrage felt by many Catholics over the judicial execution of the mother of the future King of England. That Catholic plots regularly involved a plan to murder Elizabeth and restore the Catholic monarchy under Mary's auspices might not have justified the execution, but it does show how morally treacherous and perplexing the political realities of the era were.

The central role played by the narrative of conflict between David and Saul in the Tudor ideology of theocratic rule and non-resistance is underscored in the anonymous 1570 *Homilie Against Disobedience and Wylful Rebellion* (STC 13679.2), issued in response to the threat of rebellion by the Northern Lords. It was in such a context, perhaps shortly after joining his beloved elder friend Thomas Radcliffe, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Sussex<sup>163</sup>, in the 1570 expedition to put down the Scots rebellion (Ward 35-48), that Oxford read and marked the books of I and II Samuel in his 1569-70 Geneva Bible. The question of David's non-resistance to Saul was apparently foremost in his mind. In the Argument to I Samuel he underlines Whittingham's notice of David as the typological "true figure of Messiah placed in [Saul's] steade, whose pacience, modestie, constancie, persecution by open enemies, fained friends, and dissembling flatterers are left to the Church & to every member of the same, as a paterne and example to beholde their state and vocation" (s3v).

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<sup>163</sup> Ward describes Oxford as being "for the next thirteen years...the staunchest supporter Sussex possessed at Court. He was to Sussex what Philip Sidney was to the Earl of Leicester" (48). As Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's Household, Sussex was of course the patron and administrative power behind the royal troop known as the Lord Chamberlain's Men from 1569 up until his death in 1583 (Chambers II 92-96), at which time it became known as the Queen's Men and passed under the administrative supervision of some unknown person.

As the story unfolds, the annotator follows the series of encounters between David and Saul very closely, underlining the climactic moments in the conflicted relationship: David's calming Saul by playing on his harp for him (chapter 16), his adventurous escape from Saul's henchmen (chapter 19), his gathering of discontented citizens (chapter 22), his confrontation with Saul in the sheepcote (chapter 24), and his sublime symbolic action of removing the pot of water and spear from Saul's sleeping head, instead of murdering him in his sleep (chapter 26). Several of these marked episodes are counted among the most frequently cited of all Shakespearean Bible verses (Shakespeare Diagnostics list items 13-18).

Perhaps more than any other element in the de Vere Bible study, the frequent reference to "the Lord's anointed" in Shakespeare (SDs #16 and #17) -- apparently inspired by verses marked in de Vere's Bible -- has given rise to the claim that the evidence contained in the de Vere Bible may plausibly be explained away as a result of the operation of some vague force, which might be likened to the "dormitive" principle once thought to be the active ingredient in opiates, termed "Renaissance Biblical Culture." Because the ideas and idioms in question circulated in the Homilies, as well as in the Bible, we are told, they are expressions of Biblical commonplaces. According to this theory, any educated Elizabethan writer would have been intimately familiar with these idioms and would have been practically obligated to refer to them, at least in certain circumstances, in his writings.

If every example of synchronicity between de Vere Bible annotations and Shakespeare were of such a nature, and if it were also true that these references were shared by a large number of other Tudor writers, this theory might have some plausibility. On theoretical grounds, however, we should suspect this view of being an *ad hoc* attempt to accommodate the facts of the de Vere Bible case without considering the historical context in which those facts have come to light. The "Biblical Culture" argument effectively obliterates any meaningful distinction between individuals and cultures, reducing human identity to an epiphenomenon of the structural imperatives of a given cultural moment.

Shakespeare's multiple references to this Tudor doctrine illustrate the overdetermined, perhaps compensatory, character the concept plays in his work. In history plays such as *Richard II*, the deposition or killing of the "anointed king" may be a historical fact. In other cases, however, no dramatic vicissitude requires reference to the concept. Such examples reveal how *over-determined* and *fundamental* the motif was for Shakespeare. Consider, for example, Camillo's soliloquy in *Winter's Tale*, in which obeying his master's orders to poison Polixenes, the king of Bohemia, is somehow equated with Davidic humility and non-resistance:

Cam. O miserable lady! But, for me,  
 What case stand I in? I must be the poisoner  
 Of good Polixenes; and my ground to do't  
 Is the obedience to a master; one  
 Who, in rebellion to himself will have  
 All that are his too. To do this deed  
 Promotion follows. If I could find examples



Of thousands that had struck anointed kings,  
And flourish'd after, I'd not do't; but since  
Nor brass nor stone nor parchment bears not one,  
Let villany itself forswear't.

(1.2.351-360)

In this speech, although Camillo wins sympathy points for his depth of loyalty -- always a trait romanticized in servants and advisors to Shakespeare's kings and nobles -- he also appears to be something of a simpleton. He apparently fails to realize that his loyalty to Leontes, whom he recognizes is one who "in rebellion to himself will have/All that are his too," involves him in a comical paradox: to demonstrate his obedience to one "anointed king," he happily prepares to murder another.

The best antidote for this generic "Biblical culture" argument, however, is Shakespeare's own Sonnets, for these portray an author whose concern with the ceremonial prerogatives of hierarchy emblemized in a phrase like "the Lord's anointed" cannot be construed as a matter of mere doctrine. André Gide has remarked that the Shakespeare Sonnets are "the Davidic hymns of modern man -- the supreme cry of the will made audible in lyric voice." Alistair Fowler, in his book *Triumphal Forms* (1970), echoes Gide, arguing that the Sonnets depend on the Psalms as a structural model, and finding that "the contents of several of Shakespeare's Sonnets correspond to those of psalms bearing the same numbers in the book of common prayer" (190) and that "the entire set of regular sonnets corresponds numerically to the entire set of psalms" (191).

Like the psalms, the Sonnets are a lament over the loss of political power. The Sonnets reveal the autobiography, the "unguarded letters in verse" to borrow Samuel Butler's felicitous phrase, of a man crushed between his own humble submission to anointed authority and his craving for recognition as a monarch, or at the least consort to a monarch, in his own right.

We might wish to consider closely the peculiar concluding couplet of Sonnet 87:

Thus have I had thee as a dream doth flatter  
In sleep a king, but waking no such matter.

(13-14)

In this couplet the author concludes a poem which begins "farewell, thou art too dear for my possessing" by admitting that he has been flattered by a dream of love. He was, in sleep, "a king" -- but being jilted out of the illusion of love he sees that he is no king, but merely a poet. While the thought -- Shakespeare as royal consort -- is perfectly explicable as a manifestation of de Vere's pen, it is positively *monstrous* from an



Figure Thirty-six: The Young Great Lord Chamberlain, carrying the sword of state before Elizabeth I in 1572. Engraving by Marcus Gheeraedts.

orthodox point of view. Little wonder that the need to deny the autobiographical character of the Shakespeare Sonnets and replace the simple "I, Shakespeare" with various personae of the critic's own projective apparatus has exercised such an overpowering influence in the history of Sonnet criticism. In this couplet the writer unambiguously asserts that his relationship -- whether of affinity or consanguinity remains unclear -- with his "thou" places him in the position of being almost the king of England. He is either a realist -- if Edward de Vere (figure thirty-six), or a megalomaniac -- if the Stratford William.

As G. Wilson Knight has shown in his study of the symbolism of the Sonnets, the symbolic attributes of the Fair Youth are consistently royalist in their connotations:

The loved one is royal, and so compared to 'throned queen' (XCVI). He is 'crowned' with various gifts of nature and fortune (XXXVII), especially 'all those beauties wherof now he's kin' (LXXIII). Like a sovereign, he radiates worth, his eyes lending a 'double majesty' to the rival poets' 'grace' (LXXVIII)....The result is that the poet, through accepted love, becomes himself royal. His mind is 'crowned' with wondrous youth, and is accordingly 'kingly' (CXIV); when he is sure of him, he is a 'king,' but when disillusioned, 'no such matter' (LXXXVII). However depressed he may be in other ways, in so far as his love is assured, it brings such wealth, well-being and power, 'that then I scorn to change my state with kings' (XXIX).  
(Knight 1955 61)

Clearly, "Shakespeare" was a proponent of what might be called, at least in England, the ideology of the age -- the fierce theocratic royalism reflected in the Tudor Homilies. His dedication to the ideal of the anointed king as an ideological matter is only matched by the intensity of his private devotion to the "royal" status of the Fair Youth in the Sonnets (Sears 1991).

The Sonnets directly affirm the author's identity as a prominent nobleman, a member of the "blood royal" and ranking ceremonial official. Sonnet 125, as Looney first hypothesized in 1920, concerns matters of state ceremony which pertain to de Vere's ceremonial position as the Lord Great Chamberlain of England. In that poem, the author speaks without pretense of his personal contempt for idolatrous public ceremony in which he has participated, invoking his private loyalty to his "thou,"<sup>164</sup> as a higher value than the external ceremony of carrying the canopy<sup>165</sup>. "If this [poem] can be shown to have any direct connection with the functions of Lord Great Chamberlain," wrote Looney, "it will be a very valuable direct proof of our thesis" (190).

125

**V**Ver't ought to me I bore the canopy,  
 With my extern the outward honoring,  
 Or layd great bafes for eternity,  
 Which proues more short then waft or ruining?  
 Haue I not seene dwellers on forme and fauor  
 Lose all, and more by paying too much rent  
 For compound sweet; Forgoing simple fauor,  
 Pittifull thriuors in their gazing spent.  
 Noe, let me be obsequious in thy heart,  
 And take thou my oblacion, poore but free,  
 Which is not mixt with seconds, knows no art,  
 But mutuall render onely me for thee.  
 Hence, thou subbornd *informe*, a trew soule  
 When most impeacht, stands leaft in thy controule.

Figure Thirty-seven: Sonnet 125 from 1609 Q.

<sup>164</sup> The "guilty goddess of my harmful deeds" (111).

<sup>165</sup> In his May 11 1601 letter to Robert Cecil de Vere refers to himself, in a curious paradox for the Lord Great Chamberlain of England -- the same one on which Sonnet 125 is predicated -- as a "hater of ceremonies" (Chiljan 66).

In his subsequent biography of Edward de Vere, B.M. Ward reproduced extant documents from the ceremonial order of marchers in the 1588 celebration of victory over the Spanish Armada showing that the Lord Great Chamberlain customarily marched in a position in proximity to the monarch. Ward's diagram, based on original records of equipage printed in William Segar's 1602 *Honor Militarie and Civil* and in Segar's unpublished notes (Figure Thirty-Eight), demonstrates that the ordering of ceremonial equipage would have placed The Lord Great Chamberlain in proximal relation to the monarch, so that if a canopy was employed he could well have been among those carrying it<sup>166</sup>. This evidence is one manifestation of a generic cultural principle. Such placement, as Malcolm Smuts has recently underscored, followed traditional principles of ceremonial precedence which strictly limited access to positions of prominence nearest to the monarch to individuals holding the highest ceremonial rank:

The court and nobility processed in a strict order of precedence, with relatively insignificant officials like messengers and footmen placed at the front and the greater officers of state and highest noblemen and women at the rear, around the royal family. The procession therefore provided a mirror of the proper ordering of the social elite under royal authority, that defined both the sovereign's pre-eminent centrality and the precise place of every participant in relation to him.

(Smuts 1994 3)

The ceremony of "carrying the canopy" over the head of a Tudor monarch was one reserved only for participants of the highest rank under the prevailing rules of equipage. The proposition that William Shakspeare of Stratford, however famous as a poet, would have participated in such a procession by "carrying the canopy" should give cause for mirth.

Contemporary documentation, on the other hand, demonstrates that de Vere's ceremonial title of Lord Great Chamberlain would have placed him in the position of carrying the canopy at important public functions such as the celebration after the victory over in the Armada in 1588 or the coronation of James I in 1603 (figure thirty-eight).

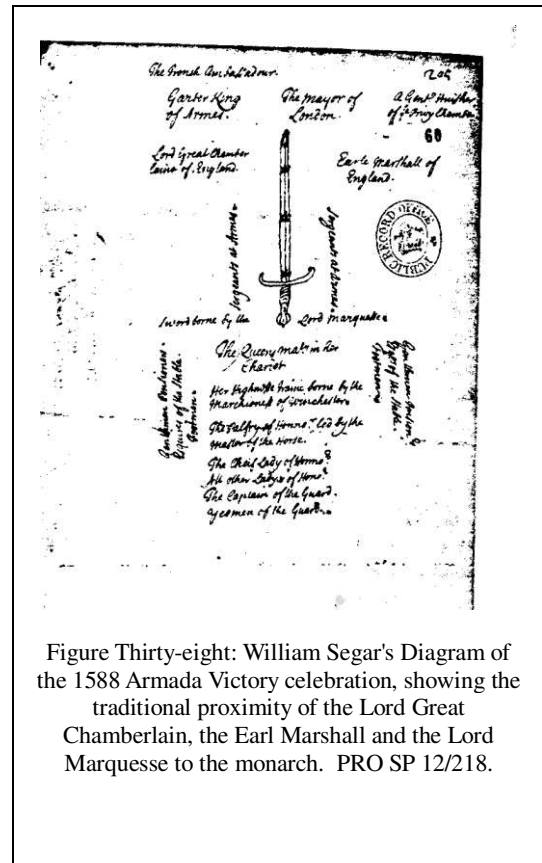


Figure Thirty-eight: William Segar's Diagram of the 1588 Armada Victory celebration, showing the traditional proximity of the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Earl Marshall and the Lord Marquesse to the monarch. PRO SP 12/218.

<sup>166</sup> For the details of this argument, see Stritmatter 1998.

This documentation is confirmed by an extant painting which, I have argued in another monograph (Stritmatter 1998), pictures Edward de Vere "carrying the canopy" over the head of Queen Elizabeth. The famous painting known as *Eliza Triumphans*, which depicts a procession to Blackfriars at the June 1600 wedding of Henry Herbert and Ann Russell, confirms the ceremonial order established by Segar and Tudor writers on equipage. In it, a



Figure Thirty-nine: Line drawing of painting by Robert Peake, known as *Eliza Triumphans* (after Scharf 1866) Does the painting depict Edward de Vere "carrying the canopy" over Queen Elizabeth I, c. June 1600, a ceremonial prerogative referred to in Sonnet 125?

previously unidentified marcher -- almost certainly de Vere -- carries the canopy in exactly the same ceremonial position in the equipage as is allocated to the Great Lord Chamberlain in Segar's diagram (figure thirty-nine).

Less well known is de Vere's ceremonial office of the Ewrie -- written about in relation to Sonnet 109 by Charles Wisner Barrell (1945). This ceremonial duty involved de Vere in royal oblations and ritual cleansing of the monarch before or after important ceremonials such as coronations. A July 7 1603 entry in the Calendar of State Papers Domestic records that de Vere's ancestors

From time immemorial served the noble progenitors of our Lord the King with water before and after eating the day of the Coronation, and had as their right the basins and towels and a tasting cup, with which the said progenitors were served on the day of their Coronation, as appears in the records of the exchequer. (cited in Miller II 113).

Ruth Loyd Miller notes the dependence of both Sonnet 109 and 125 on the experience of the author's participation in the ceremonial prerogatives associated with these offices. "In these two Sonnets," suggests Miller, "Shakespeare writes as one who had been a participant in these rituals and ceremonies of state who had witnessed the symbolic acts of oblation and obsequence in which stains of the past were washed away" (II 109). Indeed, the line "so that *myself* bring water for my stain" is predicated on the reality that the writer is accustomed, as de Vere was in his capacity as officer of the Ewery, to ritually "bring water" to cleanse the sins of *another*.

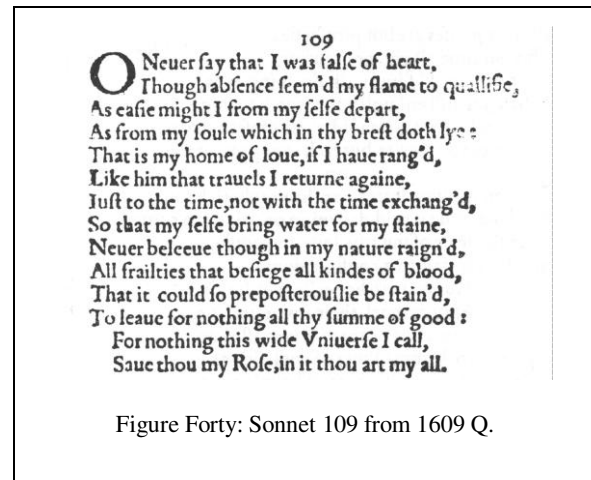


Figure Forty: Sonnet 109 from 1609 Q.

De Vere clearly was no mere ceremonial functionary. Like Shakespeare in the cited Sonnets, he was positioned to reflect on the psychological, aesthetic and ethical conundrums of his privileged position within the rank of ceremonial equipage. As Lord Great Chamberlain, de Vere sometimes "carried the canopy" as depicted in *Eliza Triumphans*; at other times he carried the sword of State. Such functions would have familiarized him from an early age with the splendor and also with the intrinsic theatricality of that "idol, ceremony" (HV 4.1.257). When the Duke in *Measure for Measure* declares that "he who bears the sword of state should be as holy as severe" (3.2.267) he indicates his punning partiality for making moral pronouncements about the Tudor office of the Lord Great Chamberlainship.

Finally, in considering whether or not Shakespeare's frequent reference to the doctrine of the "anointed king" can be explained away as a mere reflex of Renaissance culture, we should guard against the simplistic habit of ignoring elements of cultural contradiction and disequilibrium. It is a mistake to view Renaissance ideology as a uniform matrix of royalist doctrine. Republicanism was rare, but not unknown -- particularly in France. Montaigne -- a loyal civil servant and former counselor in the Bourdeaux parliament -- can write, in the first person: "Qui suit un autre, il ne suit rien. Il ne trouve rien, voire il ne cherche rien. *Non sumum sub rege; sibi quisque se vindicet*" (De l'institution D' enfants, 36 Frame: italics original)<sup>167</sup>. The thought could not be more radical in its challenge to the medieval doctrines of hierarchy and the inevitable subordination to a monarch anointed by God, but the citation from Seneca protects Montaigne from attack as a dangerous innovator. He is not even the author of the idea -- merely a coy copyist employing the quote in a context apparently devoid of any direct political implication.

<sup>167</sup> Whoever follows another, follows nothing. He finds nothing; indeed he seeks nothing. We are not under a king; let each one claim his own freedom.

Such moments of radical doubt, of course, occur in Shakespeare: who can forget the line, perhaps inspired by the above passage from Montaigne, "the king is a thing...of nothing" (*Hamlet* 4.2.28). Unlike Montaigne, however, who truly believes that political existence is possible without monarchy, in Shakespeare the absence of the monarch prefigures social chaos. "Untune that string, and hark what discord follows," as Ulysses says (*T&C* 1.3.110).

It is quite obvious for many reasons that Edward de Vere's personal sympathies were contrary to those espoused by Montaigne in his *Essaies* and identical to those expressed over and over again, including in the Sonnets, by Shakespeare. De Vere's extant correspondence reveals him as a moralist and rhetorician of royalty and the Aristotelian "great chain of being." Like Portia, for whom "Mercy....becomes a throned monarch better than his crown" (4.1.184-89) he can hold forth on the attributes which produce an ideal monarch, as in his May 7, 1603 letter to Robert Cecil: "Nothing adorns a king more than Justice, nor in anything doth a king more resemble God than in justice, which is the head of all virtue, and he that is indued therewith, hath all the rest" (Fowler 1986 771). As a member of the "blood royal" who could trace descent back to two of the seven sons of Edward III -- John of Gaunt and Thomas of Woodstock -- Edward de Vere would spontaneously have chosen David as his sacred role model in thinking and writing about the social and theological obligations of a poet king such as Richard II.

## CHAPTER 16. DAMNED IN THE BOOK OF HEAVEN

In the first of his five Danvers Escheat letters written to Robert Cecil during the period October 7 1601-March 22 1602, Oxford thanks his brother-in-law for his previous legal intercession in the case. He promises that if Cecil can usher his case past the Queen's desk to obtain the approval of Francis Bacon and Sergeant Harris, he will remain forever in his debt:

Which being done, I know to whom formally to thank, but really they shall be, and are from me, and mine, sealed up in an eternal remembrance to yourself. (Fowler 593)

This allusion to "sealing up" his thanks in an "eternal remembrance" is one of those many statements in Oxford's extant correspondence which begs for close examination by a student of phenomenological "thick description." The language evidently invokes Biblical precedent; in both Old and New Testaments, the verb "to seal" (σφραγίζειν) frequently occurs invested with the same apocalyptic penumbra as it carries in Oxford's letter, as in the Book of Daniel:

thou, o Daniel, shut up the dores, and seale the booke til the end of ye time  
(12.4)<sup>168</sup>.

In the physical sense, sealing was the action of impressing a design engraved in metal or other hard substance onto a molten wax surface used to hold shut two leaves of a folded paper. In metaphorical extension of this sense, the Sonnet writer transforms the seal into a printer's typeface, complaining to the fair youth that nature "has carved thee for *her seall*/and meant thereby/Thou shouldst print more, not let that copy die" (11.13: italics added).

Cognitively, however, in both the ancient world of the Biblical writers and in de Vere's Tudor England "to seal" implied not one, but two actions. The first action was one of *completion*. To "seal" a writing with a signet ring signaled the *telos* of the writer's act of composition; the seal attested to the completeness and authenticity of a document. It was the writer's last action before delivering a document into the hands of a messenger. This meaning also comes to be closely associated with the legal sense of "attest" or "witness," as when, in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Julia promises to "seal the bargain" of her promises to Proteus "with a holy kiss" (2.2.7).

The second action was one of *enclosing*. To seal a document meant to *seal it off* from unwanted readers. Thus the frequent comparison of a seal to a *lock*: a seal is a symbolic lock; it preserves a



document for intended readers while protecting the contents from casual or malevolent eyes. Thus, the anonymous letter written by the conspirators inviting the collusion of Brutus in their plot against Julius Caesar, when discovered lying on the casement of a window by Lucius, is "sealed up" (2.1.37). Only Brutus may read the contents. Thus, also, the oracle's word in *The Winter's Tale* is sealed to prevent premature disclosure of the answer to Polixenes' inquiry regarding Perdita's legitimacy. Officers must appear onstage to cross-examine the messengers, Cleomines and Dion, for the purpose of ensuring the authenticity of the document bearing the oracle's witness:

Officers:  
 You shall swear upon this sword of justice  
 That you, Cleomines and Dione, have  
 Been both at Delphos, and from thence have brought  
 This *sealed-up* oracle, by the hand deliver'd  
 Of great Apollo's priest; and that since then  
 You have not dared to break the holy seal  
 Nor read *the secrets* in't

Cleo, Dion. All this we swear.

Leontes. Break up *the seals*, and read. (3.1.15-31: italics added)

In such uses, the dramatist lays pronounced emphasis on the hermetic function of sealing as a way of protecting the contents of a document from misuse by unauthorized persons. The seals of Daniel, Isaiah or Revelations -- like those of Apollo's oracle in *The Winter's Tale* -- are symbolic of the hermetic nature of the texts enclosed within them and, ultimately of the hermetic, "sealed-up" character of the texts -- the plays -- within which they appear as simulacra.

The pseudonymous publication of the Shakespeare works was, then, a kind of "sealing" in both senses of the word. The placing of the name "Will-I-Am Shakespeare" was the final act of composition of the plays, equivalent to the authentication of the work by imposing a seal upon it. Placing the works under the false seal of the "Shakespeare" name obscured their actual contents from casual surveillance by those lacking sympathy for the author and his work. Ben Jonson writes of this "sealing" in his introductory verses to the first folio alluding to the author's "true-filed and well turned" lines, punning on the name "Shakespeare":

in each of which he seems to *shake a lance*  
 as brandisht in the eyes of ignorance. (italics added)

The "sealed up" testimony of De Vere's "eternal remembrance" of his gratitude to Robert Cecil may be read, I suggest, in the fourth act of *Hamlet*, when the Danish Prince delivers his apologia to Laertes, the son of Polonius/Burghley. The lines, already cited in connection with their inspiration in Romans 7.20 and the Geneva marginal note (q.v. 214-216), express Hamlet's fraternal devotion to the brother of his deceased lover and humbly request his forgiveness: "Give me your pardon, sir; I've done/ you

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<sup>168</sup> Not marked in the de Vere Bible.

wrong...What I have done...I here proclaim was madness. Was it Hamlet wrong'd Laertes? Never Hamlet...Free me so far in your most generous thoughts/That I have shot mine arrow o'er the house,/And hurt my brother" (5.2.226-244).

Moreover, in considering the meanings of the word seal we should not overlook the important technique of observing the antonym of the concept. The antonym of *to seal*, also turns out to be a concept of immense and profound significance in the taxonomy of Shakespearean thought. This antonym is the action of "blotting" or "razing" something out of a document. In the era of the Reformation, the concept of the "blotting, "razing" or "putting out" of the name possessed an enormous cultural currency.

The 16<sup>th</sup> century had already witnessed Tyndale's anonymous but epochal and brilliant New Testament almost completely destroyed, Tyndale himself burned at the stake for writing it, and then the remains of his translation plundered for editions published by Matthew and Coverdale after Henry VIII had decided to marry Anne Boleyn. On the Continent, the works of Erasmus and other moderate Catholic voices, sympathetic to the reformers and critical of prevailing Catholic practices, were literally being "blotted" in iconoclastic fury by the first waves of the Inquisition<sup>169</sup> (figure forty-one).

With this prelude in mind we come now to the heart of the present chapter. Why is it that, of all the plays of the

Shakespeare canon, the concept of "blotting" or "razing" is most conspicuous in *Richard II*, just as the concept of "sealing" or "sealing up" is so vibrantly energized in *Winter's Tale* and in the Sonnets?

At least since Tillyard's *Shakespeare's History Plays* (1944), *Richard II* has been recognized as the most ceremonial of the history plays; a play in fundamental ways *about* ceremonial surfaces. Yet the play



Figure forty-one: Defaced engraving of Erasmus from Sebastian Munster's *Cosmographia* (1550). After Hay 1967 239.

<sup>169</sup> Of course it is important to remember that the iconoclastic destruction of heretical documents and images had a long history which went back to an era long before the Christian world was threatened by the splits engendered by Luther's heresy. The 11<sup>th</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, citing the history of destruction and punitive listing of books, concludes that there were "many precedents" for the inquisition: "Constantine had had the Arian writings burnt, Theodosius II and Valentinian III, those of the Nestorians and Maichaeans, Justinian the Talmud. In 1210 were burnt the books of David of Dinant and the *Periphysean* of Aristotle. In 1255 the *De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum* of William of St. Amour was burnt by order of Pope Alexander IV, and from 1248 to 1319 was pronounced a series of condemnations of the Talmud" (XIV, 591).

is haunted by recurrent intrusions of portents of the unspeakable, the anarchic, and the sinful nature of man which perfect ceremony cannot contain or allow.

At stake in the play is not merely this-worldly political power but deeper historical/religious questions of eschatological honor, embodied in the family name and its representations, which depends upon the proper relation between heroic action and epic history. Thus Richard on the eve of his destruction

5 He that ouercometh, shalbe clothed  
in white aray, and I wil not put out his  
name out of the\*boke of life, but I wil  
confesse his name before my Father, &  
before his Angels.

Figure forty-two : Revelations 3.5 from de Vere STC  
2106.

obliquely recalls the French gossip reported in Froissart making him the bastard son of a French priest: "I have no name, no title/No, not that name was given me at the font/But 'tis usurped" (4.1.255-57). The recurrent imagery of the blotting out of the family name or its emblems in the play -- often based on Revelation 3.5 (figure forty-two) and related Bible verses -- is a manifestation of this larger thematic question. Richard, instructed by Northumberland to read the deposition articles drawn up against him, replies that the crimes enumerated by his enemies pale in comparison with their threatened regicide -- a crime for which their names will be "marked with a blot, damned in the book of heaven":

Must I ravel out  
My weav'd up follies? Gentle Northumberland,  
If thy offenses were upon record,  
Would it not shame thee in so fair a troop  
To read a lecture of them? If thou wouldst,  
There shouldst thou find one heinous article,  
Containing the deposing of a king,  
And cracking the strong warrant of an oath,  
Marked with a blot, damn'd in the book of heaven. (4.1.231-236)

The reference to the marked verse Revelation 3.5 has been noted by Carter (1905 170), Noble (157, 152), and by Shaheen (1987 114)<sup>170</sup>.

Mowbray, responding to Bolingbroke's charge of treason, earlier cites the same Bible reference in the form of an oath:

No, Bolingbroke, if ever I were traitor,  
My name be blotted from the book of life,  
And I from heaven banished as from hence! (1.3.201-203)

Again the reference to Revelations 3.5 has been noted by Noble (1935 152) and Shaheen (1987 100)<sup>171</sup>.

<sup>170</sup> As Shaheen notes (1989 22), this is a striking instance of the rare case in which Shakespeare's language reflects a definite preference for the wording of the Bishop's Bible. De Vere's marked Geneva text reads "put out" for Bishop's "blot" (Gr. ἐξάλειψω). On the theoretical implications of this discrepancy between the empirical evidence of the de Vere Bible and the "ideal" evidence of Shakespeare's Bible reference, see chapter Eight, "A Rosetta Stone?"

<sup>171</sup> Carter (154) mistakenly connects the passage with related Bible verses Rev. 17.8 and 20.12 (also marked in the de Vere Bible) or 20.15. The word "blotted," however, connects the passage indubitably to the Bishop's reading of Rev. 3.5.

Further instances of the imagery recur in the play. On his return to England following his exile, Bolingbroke accuses Richard's minions not just of abusing his property, but of embarking on an iconoclastic campaign to rout out his armorial bearings; while he was "eating the bread of bitter banishment," Richard's minions

...have fed upon my signories,  
 Dispark'd my parks and fell'd my forest woods,  
 From my own windows torn my household coat,  
 Rac'd out my imprese, leaving me no sign  
 Save men's opinions and my living blood,  
 To show the world I am a gentlemen.

(3.1.22-27)

Although this cannot be considered a definite reference to Revelations 3.5, the restatement of the thematic issue of the preservation or destruction of the "essence" of the person cannot be mistaken.

Such density of allusion in *Richard II* goes well beyond anything found anywhere else in the Shakespeare canon, with the possible exception of the Sonnets, in which language such as "among a number one is reckoned none"<sup>172</sup>/Then in that number let me pass untold" or "the painful warrior famoused for a fight/Is from the book of honor razed quite" apparently refers to the author himself.

"Shakespeare" appears fully conscious of the contingencies of history, by which the reputation of individuals and families can be compromised, invalidated or even extinguished through the rise to power of implacable enemies capable of altering the historical record -- by literally "razing" a collection of impresa or destroying documents, or by figuratively altering the zeitgeist through more subtle means. Duke Humphrey nationalistically inveighs against just such a contingency, again citing Revelations 3.5, when he warns the assembled peers in *II Henry VI* to reject the impending marriage of Henry to the French Queen Margaret. Although struck "at the heart" by the endowment of Anjou and Maine to the French King, it is the apocalyptic future implications of the shift in power balance signaled by the marriage which most outrages Gloucester:

O peer of England, shameful is this league,  
 Fatal this marriage, canceling your fame,  
*Blotting your names* from books of memory,  
 Rasing the characters of your renown,  
 Defacing monuments of conquered France.  
 Undoing all, as all had never been!

(*II Henry VI* 1.1.98-103)<sup>173</sup>

The action of *Richard II* turns dramatically upon an earlier incident of Richard's reign which is not directly represented, but only indirectly alluded to, in the play itself. This incident was the judicial execution in 1388 of Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest of Richard II's seven uncles. In the opening scene of *Richard II* the lingering question of responsibility for Woodstock's murder has thrust its face into Richard's court and provoked the feuding of Bolingbroke and Mowbray.

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<sup>172</sup> The number which is "counted none" is -- zero.

<sup>173</sup> Carter (1905 87) rightly senses a composite allusion to Revelation 3.5 and Malachi 3.16 (also marked in the de Vere Bible), in which the phrase "boke of remembrance" occurs. He also cites Numbers 5.23 "After, the priest shall Write these curses in a booke, and shall blot them out with the bitter water," as a possible influence. The reference is unaccountably missing from Noble (1935) and Shaheen (1987).

Most historians blame the antagonism of Richard's nobles and eventual deposition of the King on an ancestor of Edward de Vere's, the infamous 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Oxford, Robert de Vere. According to the accounts of Tudor Chroniclers, Richard provoked the animosity of his nobles by conferring the unprecedented title of Marchionesse upon de Vere and by generally favoring his company and advice inappropriately. As Ogburn recounts the controversial relationship between the 9<sup>th</sup> Earl and Richard,

The addiction to luxury that king Richard encouraged in the Earl --now Duke--Robert, the latter encouraged in the King, whose exactions upon his subjects were accordingly laid in part at his door. Revolt brewed. "The Lords," remarks Holinshed, "said, that they assembled their forces together, for the profit of both king and realm, and specially to take away from such traitors as remained continually about him; to wit Robert de Veer, Duke of Ireland, Alexander Ne Vill, Archbishop of York."

(1984 423)

There even existed an underground tradition, reflected in the history play, *Thomas of Woodstock*, whose author remains anonymous, of de Vere's homo-erotic involvement with Richard. This tradition is subtly alluded to in *Woodstock*, when de Vere's wife blames Richard for their disastrous marriage:

My husband, Ireland -- that unloving lord--  
(God pardon his amiss, he now is dead)  
*King Richard was the cause* he left my bed.

(198: emphasis added)

In both *Woodstock* and *Richard II*, however, the misdeeds of the 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Oxford have been surgically excised. Shakespeare copies the exculpatory emphasis of *Woodstock*, which lays the blame for Richard's downfall on lesser figures such as Tressillian, Bushy, Bagot and Greene and removes Robert de Vere entirely except for his wife's oblique complaint of Richard's alleged seduction of him. Curiously, Bolingbroke's indictment of Bushy and Green in Shakespeare's play reads like a list of the charges which conventional sources level against Robert De Vere:

You have misled a prince, a royal king,  
A Happy gentlemen in blood and in lineaments,  
By you unhappied and disfigured clean;  
You have in manner with your sinful hours  
*Made a divorce* betwixt his queen and him,  
Broke possession of a royal bed,  
And stain'd the beauty of a fair queen's cheeks  
With tears drawn from her eyes by your foul wrongs.

(3.1.8-15: emphasis added)

Ogburn shrewdly comments on the elision of reference to Robert de Vere in the play:

A dramatization of the reign faithful to history would hardly neglect this singular and consequential relationship, but not a word is breathed of any Earl of Oxford or Duke of Ireland while thirteen other noblemen tread the boards in the *Tragedy of King Richard II*. What the conscious mind censors, the unconscious may betray, and it was perhaps a Freudian give away that Oxford, the town, is named six times, twice as often as in all the other Shakespearean plays combined.

(1984 423)

This omission, it must be noted, is even more evident in the treatment of the reign given in the anonymous play *Woodstock*. In this play Richard, and not de Vere, is unambiguously seen, on the witness of de Vere's wife, as the "cause" of the affair and the moral condemnation usually attached to de Vere.

Since Robert de Vere died in 1392 after fleeing to Brabant in the wake of the rout of his royalist forces at the Battle of Radcot bridge in 1386 (an event depicted, but without de Vere, in *Woodstock*)<sup>174</sup>, his omission from Shakespeare's play could, it is conceivable, be attributed purely to chronological considerations.

And yet, the memory of Duke Robert's influence over the king haunts Shakespeare's play, in lines such as Bolingbroke's cited above, as does the question of moral responsibility for the death of Woodstock in the opening scene in which Bolingbroke and Mowbray come to bitter words and jousting blows over the moral responsibility for his death. Just as Gloucester's wife appears in *Richard II* to plead for her dead husband, Robert de Vere's wife appears in the former play to exculpate her husband from any blame for Richard's alleged immorality.

In no other play of Shakespeare's does knowledge of the immediate historical antecedents as represented, or misrepresented, in *Woodstock*, play such a potentially significant role in shaping our understanding of the play's action. Woodstock's murder is the primal crime, *in illo tempore*, which is responsible for the condition of conflict and alienation with which *Richard II* opens. Thus, the historical antagonism between Thomas of Woodstock and Robert de Vere, the one inglorious character in the entire panoramic history of seventeen generations of the de Vere patrilineage, is the secret spring to the entire action of Shakespeare's history cycle.

And it has been razed from the book of Shakespeare's history.

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<sup>174</sup> De Vere's infamous cowardice in removing his own armor so that he could leap into the Thames river and swim away without drowning, is pointedly parodied in the play when Nimble, Tressilian's assistant who is called a "lawyer's devil," comments: "I'll put off mine armour that I may run lustily too" (Armstrong 251) and later "As light as a feather, my lord. I have put off my shoes that I might run lustily" (257).



## CHAPTER 17. PURPOSES MISTOOK

Another verse in the historical books of the Old Testament which qualifies as a Shakespeare Diagnostic is I Kings 2.32 -- which states that God will punish a perpetrator of heinous crimes such as regicide by bringing "his blood upon his own head." The annotator has closely followed the episode of I Kings 2, in which Solomon instructs Benaiah to kill Joab for his past crimes against David's close allies Abner and Amasa so Joab's blood will "fall upon his own head." He underlines passages in I Kings 2.28, 29, 30, 31, and 32 (figure forty-three). The episode illustrates the principle of Old Testament divine monarchy, which assimilates the blood feud to the ideal of a theocratically ordained state in which the monarch reserves a monopoly over the legitimate use of force. As the kinless representative of the entire social order, the King cannot avenge the violent death of allies in his own name without himself becoming subject to death in turn by the contrary faction. Thus, those who offend against the king's allies commit a higher crime which will be punished by divine sanction and not by human law. The idea is one which Shakespeare evidently took to heart. In his three books, Naseeb Shaheen lists a total of nine references to this idea, two in the tragedies, six in the histories, and one in the comedies, viz.:

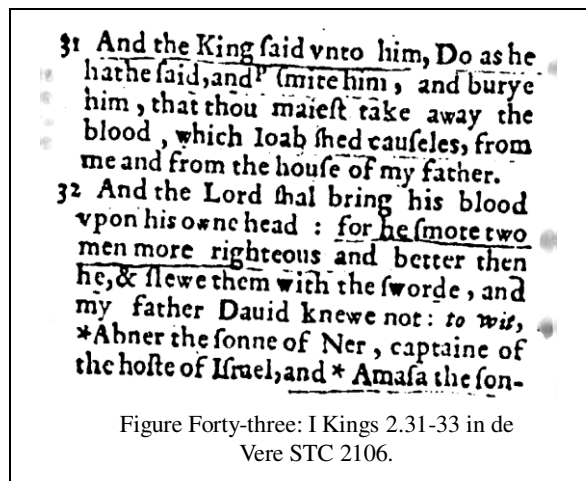


Figure Forty-three: I Kings 2.31-33 in de Vere STC 2106.

Put not another sin upon my head,  
By urging me to fury. (*Romeo & Juliet* 5.3.62)

Destruction on my head if my bad blame  
Light on the man! (*Othello* 1.3.177-78)

My blood upon your heads! (*3 Henry 6* 1.4.168)

My guilt be upon my head! (*Richard 2* 5.1.69)

Bear the sin upon their heads. (*1 Henry 4* 5.4.150)

It calls, I fear, too many curses on their heads  
That were the authors. (*Henry 8* 2.1.137-39)

'Tis certain, every man that dies ill, the ill upon his own head;  
the King is not to answer for it. (*Henry 5* 4.1.186-87)



My death upon my head!

(*Merchant* 4.1.206)

Significantly, later in the de Vere Bible in the book of Wisdom, we also find marked a more abstract phrasing of the same idea: "wherewith a man sinneth, by the same also shall he be punished" (figure forty-four). Although the influence of this verse in Shakespeare may be more subtle than the influence of I Kings 2.32, it is ultimately no less pervasive and profound. Indeed, no ethical precept emerges with greater force and clarity in Shakespeare than the idea, marked in this verse, that the wicked are punished by their own devices. Carter (1905) lists four references to the verse:

13 Because of the foolish deuises of their wickednes wherewith they were deceiued, and worshiped serpents, that had not the vse of reason, & vile beastes, y<sup>e</sup> sendidst a multitude of vnreasonable beastes vpon them for a vengeance, y<sup>e</sup> they might knowe that wherewith a man sinneth by the same also shal he be punished.

Figure Forty-four: Wisdom 11.13 in de Vere STC 2106.

Judicious punishment!

'Twas this flesh begot these pelican daughters.

(*Lear* 3.4.75)

The treacherous instrument is in thy hand,  
Unbated and envenomed. The foul practice  
Hath turned itself on me...

(*Hamlet* 5.2.316)

Yet 'tis greater skill  
In a true hate to pray they have their will  
The very devils cannot plague them better.

(*Cymbeline* 3.5.33-35)

.....I told ye all,  
When first we put this dangerous stone a-rolling,  
'Twould fall upon ourselves.

(*Henry 8* 5.2.139-41)

Milward (1987) three more:

Bloody instructions, which, being taught,  
Return to plague th' inventor.  
This even -handed justice  
Commends th' ingredients of our poison'd chalice  
To our own lips.

(*Macbeth* 1.7.9-12)

The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices  
Make instruments to scourge us...

(*Lear* 5.3.172)

Purposes mistook, fallen on the inventor's heads.

(*Hamlet* 5.2.384)

Such a simple listing, however, understates the integral, formative character of the idea found in Wisdom 11.13, in Shakespeare's ethical schema. Consider *the progression* of references to this idea found within the single culminating act of *Hamlet*:

Osric. How is't, Laertes?

Laertes. Why, as a woodcock to my own spring, Osric.

I am justly killed with mine own treachery. (5.2.305-08: emphases added)

Laertes. The treacherous instrument is in thy hand, unbated and envenomed. *The foul practice hath turned itself on me.* Lo, here I lie, never to rise again--thy mother's poisoned....  
 \*\*\*\*\*

[The King dies]

Laertes. He is justly served;  
 It is a poison tempered by himself. (5.2.316-19; 27-28: emphases added)

Horatio. And in this upshot, *purposes mistook*,  
 Fallen on th' inventors heads. (5.2.384-85: emphases added)

As this sequence demonstrates, the principle that the wicked are punished by their own devices is a predominating motif in *Hamlet*, restated with variation no less than four times in the play's concluding scene. In this scene a whole series of "wicked" characters meet ends precipitated by their own miscalculated devices. Gertrude is poisoned by her husband's plot. Claudius is poisoned by a sword envenomed by his own instruction. Laertes, who has conspired with Claudius to murder Hamlet, dies by the same instrument. By contrast Hamlet, although he dies, finds providence in the fall of a sparrow and redemption in his apologia to Laertes (based on Romans 7.20) and in his dramatic *nachleben* as a representative of the author's own conflicted life.

From a thematic point of view, moreover, we can detect deeper and ultimately more significant reverberations of the idea marked in the Bible verse. The thought that the wicked are punished by their own devices places a moral spin on the more basic concept of self-inflicted destruction of morally good or evil persons. This motif enters into the Shakespeare canon in a curious example of cryptic reference to de Vere family history in the play *Henry V*. This instance of a subversive "Oxfordian" subtext is just one element in a larger patterning of Shakespearean history which validates an "Oxfordian" reading of the canon (see Wright 2000).

In the French camp on the Eve of the Battle of Agincourt (3.7), Orleans and the Constable of France exchange bantering proverbs and almost come to fisticuffs when words threaten to escalate into deeds. The exchange begins with the Dauphin's citation of the French text of II Peter 2.22, which restates the idea of Wisdom 11.13 with yet further variation:

Le chien est retourné à son propre vomiss<em>ent, et la truie lavée au boubier. (3.7.64)

The full citation from the French text of II Peter 2.22, which is not given by the Dauphin, is "Il leur est arrivé ce que dit le véridique proverbe: Le chien est retourné à son propre vomissement" (Jerusalem 1955 1604). Although Shakespeare omits the portion of the verse identifying the quote about the dog which returns to its own vomit as "le véridique proverbe," the proverbial nature of the utterance seems to have influenced the scene, in which the nature of "le veridique proverbe" is under debate:

Cons. Yet I do not use my horse for my mistress: or any *such proverb so little kin to the purpose*.

Ram. My Lord Constable, the armour that I saw in your tent tonight, are those stars or suns upon it?

Con. Stars, my lord.

Dauphin. Some of them will fall, tomorrow, I hope.

Con. And yet my sky shall not want.

(3.7.68-75: emphasis added)

This little byplay over "stars and suns," as Richard Desper has noted in *The Newsletter of the Shakespeare Oxford Society* (28:2, 3-4), refers to a specific event in de Vere family history in which the outcome of a battle hinged upon the failure of a military commander to distinguish between the heraldic insignia -- mistaking stars for suns -- of contending armies.

This reference to the Battle of Barnet, fought on April 14 1471, some fifty years after Agincourt, is a coy anachronism on the dramatist's part. It can only have been inserted with covert malice aforethought, by an artist who signed his own work by covert allusion to certain uniquely formative events in his own family history.

Consider the extraordinary circumstances of the event to which the Shakespeare text alludes with such coy wit. At Barnet the forces of John de Vere, the 13<sup>th</sup> Earl of Oxford, as always, were arrayed on the side of Lancaster, bearing their ancient standard of the quartered shield with



Figure Forty-five: De Vere arms showing shield with quartered star.

the de Vere star blazoned in the upper left quadrant. At Barnet the forces of the Earl of Warwick, equipped as archers, also fought on the Lancastrian side. The day of battle was shrouded in thick fog. Disaster struck the Lancastrian cause when Warwick, confused by the foggy day, mistook the stars of the de Vere crest for the sun emblem of the Yorkist cause and ordered his men to fire on his own allies. Warwick's men launched a volley of arrows against the Oxford vanguard. The result, as Horatio would say: "in the upshot, purposes mistook, fallen on the inventor's heads." With de Vere's men falling under a rain of arrows from the bows of their own allies, the Lancastrians were put to rout, the Yorkists assured of victory, and Edward IV restored to the English throne, with disastrous consequences for the de Vere clan.

Shakespeare's account of Barnet in *III Henry VI* (5.2) omits direct reference to the de Vere family history subversively alluded to in *Henry V*. Instead, playgoers are treated to the spectacle of Warwick's own horrible death. The dramatist evidently revels in staging the deathbed groans of the great noble and king-maker who some scenes earlier (3.3.78-111) almost came to blows with the 13<sup>th</sup> Earl of Oxford<sup>175</sup> and in the omitted battle scenes has stupidly ordered his men to fire on his own ostensible allies:

<sup>175</sup> In this scene Warwick, still loyal to Edward IV, debates for the Yorkist faction against de Vere's Lancastrian sympathy: "Oxf. Why, Warwick, canst thou speak against thy liege,/Whom thou obeyed'st thirty and six years, and not bewray thy treason with a blush? War. Can Oxford, that did ever fence the right,/Now buckler falsehood with a pedigree? For shame! Leave Henry, and call Edward king. Oxf. Call him my king by whose injurious doom/My elder brother, the Lord Aubrey Vere, was done to death? And more than so, my father,/Even in the downfall of his mellow'd years,/When Nature brought him to the door of death? No, Warwick, no; while life upholds this arm,/this arm upholds the house of

The wrinkles in my brows, now fill'd with blood,  
 Were liken'd oft to kingly sepulchres;  
 For who liv'd King but I could dig his grave?  
 And who durst smile when Warwick bent his brow?  
 Lo now my glory smear'd in dust and blood!  
 My parks, my walks, my manors that I had,  
 Even now forsake me but my body's length.  
 Why, what is pomp, rule, reign, but earth and dust?  
 And live we how we can, yet die we must.

(5.2.19-28)

Surely this constitutes one of the most pathetic death scenes in the entire Shakespeare canon; and with good reason. The character is being subtly punished for the same foolish mistake to which the French officers unwittingly allude in the scene from *Henry V*: bringing calamity upon his own cause by mistaking "stars" for "suns".

The entire arc of action in the concluding scenes of *Henry V* can be analyzed as a fusion of the idea of Wisdom 11.13--that the wicked are punished by their own devices-- with the idea of Wisdom 18.21 -- that "prayer is the 'weapon of the godly.'" The intense piety of Henry V, in his late-night theological discussions with his men and in his public prayers on the morning of the battle, contrasts with the idolatrous emphasis on weaponry witnessed in the French camp in 3.7. Rather than discussing theology or praying, the French, boasting about their military hardware, fall to feuding among themselves over who shall hold pre-eminence.

Historically, the battle of Agincourt was not decided, as Shakespeare portrays it, by the pious oratory of Henry V. In fact, the British prevailed by means of their superior archery technology over heavily armored and cumbersome French forces. The undisciplined French cavalry portrayed boasting in their tents on the night before the battle in Shakespeare's play, arrayed in all their medieval armor, were easily repulsed the next day by the firepower of more than six thousand lightly armed English marksmen. Weighed down with armour and "sinking deeper into the mud with every step" (*Encyclopedia Britannica* 1910, I:374), the French ground forces led by the Constable managed to engage the enemy but were ultimately, like their mounted comrades, driven back in disarray by the English archers. Agincourt was remembered as one of the most humiliating defeats in European military history: 13 English, 5000 French dead.

"Shakespeare" appears to be quite conscious of the historical realities, as reported by Halle, Holinshead, and modern authorities; the boasting of the French soldiers, which threatens to wreak havoc within their own camp, furnishes an ironic counterpoint to their imminent defeat. In Shakespeare's play, the arrogant French forces are defeated by means of their own devices. While debating "le véridique proverbe" -- the aptness of the proverb to the circumstance -- they fail to realize that they are about to be destroyed by their own dependence on the antiquated military technology of armoured knights on horses.

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Lancaster" (3.3.95-107). This is a striking example of the history alluded to in an earlier chapter which is, at the very least, consistent with de Vere's authorship of the Shakespeare canon and which would explain the exclusion of any play about Edward IV from the Shakespeare canon.

The British, on the other hand, are seen placing their faith in pious prayer and devotion to the divine will, not in the new technology of the bow and arrow. In this contrast between Shakespeare's play and his sources we witness the purposeful transfiguration of sources to reflect the ethical doctrines marked in Edward de Vere's Geneva Bible.

## CHAPTER 18.

### THOSE THAT HAVE POWER TO HURT....

In reading Shakespeare's sonnets, declares Samuel Schoenbaum, "the biographer, in his eagerness for answers to the unanswerable, runs the risk of confusing the dancer with the dance" (Schoenbaum 1975, 134). This curious warning against seeking "answers to the unanswerable" has a distinguished genealogy in Shakespeare criticism. Many critics – ironically many Shakespeare biographers -- fear that readers who endorse a biographical paradigm for the Sonnets risk falling into overt apostasy. The biographer Sir Sidney Lee, an early enthusiast for Shakespeare's "fancy," holds that the bard's "dramatic instinct never slept, and there is *no proof* that he is doing more in those sonnets than produce dramatically *the illusion* of a personal confession" (Lee 1898 159: emphasis added). Schoenbaum, however, is more clever than any previous critic of the biographical school of Sonnet interpretation. His Romantic premise that poets are uninterested in proof is supported not by the authority of Sidney Lee, but of William Butler Yeats (1865-1939), whose famous couplet

O body swayed to music, O brightening glance  
How can I know the dancer from the dance

has become a *locus classicus* in contemporary debates about critical method.

As a matter of faith, it is impossible for Schoenbaum to distinguish the dancer from the dance; those who make the attempt are frustrated empiricists who have no business pretending to be literary critics.

Curiously, the line from Yeats which Schoenbaum cites has become a *locus classicus* of contemporary hermeneutics; in deconstruction according to Paul DeMan, just as in bardography according to Schoenbaum, it has indeed become impossible to "know" the dancer from dance. In such discourses, the verb "to know" is construed necessarily to mean "to distinguish" -- and anyone who doesn't accept the impossibility of distinguishing the dancer from her dance is revealed to be something of an epistemological simpleton.

In his survey of the debate provoked by DeMan's deconstructionist reasoning, David Lehmann observes that "know" can mean "understand" as well as "distinguish." In their reply to DeMan, Cavell and Hollander each argued that "the literalist of the imagination might ask not how we can *distinguish* the dancer from the dance, but how, appealing to the dance as our source of knowledge, we can come *to know the dancer*" (Lehmann 1991 139: italics mine). The DeMan/Schoenbaum reading proceeds from the

assumption that literary criticism, as if defending its honor in a world of science, must rival the analytical and predictive successes of the hard sciences by deconstructing the synthetic unity of dancer and dance. Of course such a project is doomed to failure and leads to the false nihilistic gesture that, therefore, sign and meaning can never coincide and all human communication is mere "sound and fury, signifying nothing." It is a reading of modern despair which, in imitation of the imperial power of the United States in Viet-Nam, destroys the city in order to save it.

Yeats, more likely, was writing about the power of eros: the way gestures of the body can inspire a subject to seek indwelling passion with the dancer. This would place him within the classical tradition of rhetoric which still prevailed in Shakespeare's day, the purpose of which, according to Agricola, was to "make one person the sharer of another's mind" (Trousdale 33). As Marion Trousdale demonstrates in her work, *Shakespeare and the Rhetoricians*, the alienation from this simple and powerful definition of the communicative arts, which DeMan and Schoenbaum paradoxically share, originates in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Cartesian alienation of the intellect from the body and reason from intuition. However imperfectly, the Renaissance rhetorician still believed that words denote things and that gestures denote feelings or ideas, organic to the communicant, which symbolic action seeks to *impart to another*. There would be no more reason for such a reader to convict Shakespeare of not speaking his own mind in the Sonnets than Falstaff of not doing so in *Merry Wives of Windsor*.

It almost goes without saying that the elaborate lengths to which orthodox bardographers have gone to enshroud the Sonnets in a "hermeneutics of suspicion," in which authorial voice is reduced to authorial *persona*, result from the intense discomfort generated by the apparent contents of these poems. In two previous centuries, the bugaboo was homosexuality. In this century -- it is authorship.

And authorship, or rather the alienation of authorship, is certainly a subject on which the Sonnets dwell in iterated detail. Already chapter eight has touched upon this matter; in chapters 29 and 30 I shall examine some further dimensions of it. In the present chapter, however, I propose to approach the question of authorship from a more subtle perspective, by considering not the writer's explicit statements about authorship, but his perspective on social relations. From what social perspective does "Shakespeare" view the universe of mankind? Walt Whitman supposed that "only one of the wolfish earls" so plentiful in the history plays would seem to be their "true author." Can the same be said for the Sonnets and Shakespearean writings from other genres?

It is often claimed, and the belief is sanctioned by modern laws of copyright which can find no other basis to defend the legal claims of an author against piracy, that the essence of authorship consists in the "originality" of a work of art. Considering Eliot's dictum that the importance of an author's work consists precisely in relation to the work of other artists, we perceive that this critical dogma is only partly true. Actually, the identity -- to avoid the vexing philosophical problems in using or defining a term such as

"essence" -- of an author consists in her creative, often *trans-gressive*, trans-figuration of received tradition. Her full meaning will be apparent only *in relation to* "the present moment of the past," as T.S. Eliot phrases it. Nowhere in the history of English literature is this more apparent than in Shakespeare's Sonnets.

Let us consider Sonnet 94, which begins "they that have the power to hurt and will do none...."

The influence of the beatitudes -- specifically of Matthew 5.3 and Matthew 5.5 (see figure forty-seven) -- noted in passing by Booth (1969 156)<sup>176</sup> will be immediately apparent to any reader who pauses to consider the poem from the perspective of sources. Not merely the structure of the sentiment "those...they shall," but the specific words "heaven" and

"inherit" are reflected in their genesis in these beatitudes, of which one is marked in the de Vere Bible:

The Sonnet's distinctive character emerges with fresh clarity against the contrasting background of the beatitudes. As Walter Kaufman has realized, it is not a blessing for the humble multitudes, but for the select few, the "lords and masters" who are the "owners of their [own] faces" -- who wield "the power to hurt" and yet "will do none." Thus, although the rhetorical template is the beatitudes, the concept expressed is far closer to the Aristotelian ideal of the "great souled" man found in the *Nicomachean Ethic*. Variations on the theme recur throughout the Shakespeare canon. Isabella in *Measure for Measure* declares that

94

**T**hey that haue powre to hurt, and will doe none,  
That doe not do the thing, they moſt do ſhowe,  
Who mouing others, are themſelues as ſtone,  
Vnmoued, could, and to temptation flow:  
They rightly do inheritt heauens graces,  
And husband natures riches from expence,  
They are the Lords and owners of their faces,  
Others, but ſtewards of their excellence:  
The ſommers flowre is to the ſommer ſweet,  
Though to it ſelfe, it onely liue and die,  
But if that flowre with baſe infection meete,  
The baſeſt weed out-braues his dignity:  
For ſweeteſt things turne ſowreſt by their deedes,  
Lillies that feſter, ſnell far worſe then weeds.

Figure Forty-six: Sonnet 94 from 1609 Q.

1 And when he ſawe the multitude, he  
went vp into a mountaine: and when he  
was ſet, his diſciples came to him.  
2 And he opened his mouth and taught  
them, ſaying,  
3 \*Bleſſed are the<sup>a</sup> poore in ſpirit, for theirs  
is the kingdome of heauen.  
4 \*Bleſſed are they that<sup>b</sup> mourne: for they  
ſhall be comforted.  
5 \*Bleſſed are the<sup>c</sup> meke: for they ſhall inher-  
ite the earth.

Figure Forty-seven: Matthew 5.1-5 in de Vere  
STC 2106, showing marked Matt. 5.3.

<sup>176</sup> Booth (1977) notices the generic influence of "Christ's sermon on the mount" and sees that "the juxtaposition of 'heaven' and 'grace' would suggest Christian grace" (306). In his earlier book, Booth notes "Hallet Smith does not appear to hear an echo of the Sermon on the Mount before line 9. I hear an echo of the beatitudes in They inherit...heaven's graces." In fact, the conjunction of multiple lexical cues -- inherit (Matt. 5.5), heaven (Matt. 5.3), grace (Pauline epistles) -- with the hortatory voice imitating the expression "blessed be...." renders the influence indubitable.



It is excellent  
To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous  
To use it like a giant.

(2.2.107-109)

Ironically, the sentiment is less Christian than pagan. Sonnet 94, comments Kaufmann, "celebrates Shakespeare's un-Christian ideal, which also was the ideal of Nietzsche<sup>177</sup>....you who are powerful: let your kindness be your final self-conquest. Of all evil I deem you capable: therefore I want the good from you" (5). The Sonnet is thus a fusion of pagan and sacred sources, making use of the rhetorical resources of the latter for the overtly elitist project of instructing the "great souled" Christian on the nature of his moral obligations. Can this paradox have been far from the author's own conscious consideration while crafting the Sonnet? The emphasis on moral admonition to the man of power, which a literate Elizabethan would have known from the *Nicomachean Ethics*, is marked in de Vere's Bible in the book of Wisdom (figure forty-eight).

The phrase from the marked verse, "thou ruling the power....iudgeth with equity....for *thou maist shewe* thy power when thou wilt" has clearly influenced the phraseology of the Sonnet when citizens "*that have the pow'r to hurt*, and will do none,/That *do not do* the thing they most do *show*" are chosen for special instruction by the poet.

Here again, of course, the convergence between de Vere's biography as one of the "wolfish earls" of the Elizabethan state and the social outlook expressed in the plays and

17 When men thinke thee not to be of  
a perfit power, thou declarest thy po-  
wer, and reproveest the boldenes of the  
wile.  
18 But thou ruling the power, iudgeth  
with equitie, & gouerneest vs with great  
fauour: for thou maist shewe thy power  
when thou wilt.  
19 By fuche workes now haft y taught  
thy people, that a man shulde be iust  
and louing, and haft made thy childre  
to be of a good hope: for thou giuest  
repentance to sinners.

Figure Forty-eight: Wisdom 12.17-19 in  
de Vere STC 2106.

14 And God answered Moses, I <sup>n</sup> A M  
T H A T I A M. Also he said,  
Thus shalt thou say vnto the children  
of Israel, I A M haue sent me vnto  
you.

Figure Forty-nine: Exodus 3.14 in de Vere STC  
2106.

121  
T IS better to be vile then vile esteemed,  
When not to be, receiues reproach of being,  
And the iust pleasure lost, which is so deemed,  
Not by our feeling, but by others seeing.  
For why should others false adulterat eyes  
Giue salutation to my sportiue blood?  
Or on my frailties why are frailer spies;  
Which in their wils count bad what I think good?  
Noe, I am that I am, and they that leuell  
At my abuses, reckon vp their owne,  
I may be straight though they them-selues be beuel  
By their rancke thoughtes, my deedes must not be showe.  
Vnlesse this generall euill they maintaine,  
All men are bad and in their badnesse raigne.

Figure Fifty: Sonnet 121 from 1609 Q.

<sup>177</sup> Nietzsche was quite aware that Shakespeare was an early and profound exponent of this anti-democratic doctrine. Perhaps it was this awareness which led to Nietzsche's own "instinctual" anti-Stratfordianism: "I know no more heart-rending reading than Shakespeare," he writes in *Ecce Homo*. "What must man have suffered to have such a need of being a buffoon! .... And let me confess it: I feel instinctively sure that Lord Bacon was the originator, the self-tormenter of this uncanniest kind of literature: what is the pitiable chatter of American flat-and muddle-heads to me? But the strength required for the vision of the most powerful reality is not only compatible with the most powerful strength for action, for monstrous action, for crime -- it even presupposes it" (702).

poems is often nothing short of breathtaking. What are we to make, for example, of the extraordinary and indeed disturbing fact that both "Shakespeare" and Edward de Vere refer to themselves in the first person with the same words God addressed to Moses in Exodus 3.14 (figure forty-nine) when asked to identify himself?

De Vere's citation of the phrase occurs in the handwritten postscript of a 1584 letter written to Lord Burghley in the hand of an amanuensis. Apparently written in a white-hot blaze of rage, de Vere's postscript angrily rebukes Burghley for employing his own servants to spy on him: "I pray, my lord, leave yt course, for I mean not to be yowre ward nor yowre chyld, I serve her magestie, and *I am that I am*, and by allyance neare to yowre lordship, but fre<e>, and scorne to be offred that iniurie, to thinke I am so weak of government as to be ruled by servants, or not able to governe myself" (Fowler 321:italics added). The Sonnet not only quotes the same striking line from the Bible, it actually appears to concern the same incident in the author's life<sup>178</sup>.

Both Sonnet and letter respond to the circumstance in which a grown man, one of the self-consciously "great souled," who "scorns to be offered that injury to think I am so weak of government as to be ruled by servants," is placed in the awkward position of enduring the meddling intrigues of a spying father-in-law. Like Hamlet under the watchful gaze of Polonius, he reacts by venting his rage in literary form, affirming that, like the almighty himself, "I am that I am, and they that level/At my abuses, reckon up their own."

- 7 Pride is hateful before God and man,  
 & by bothe doeth one cōmit iniquitie.  
 8 \*Because of vnrighteous dealing and  
 wrongs and riches gotten by deceit, y  
 kingdome is translated from one peo-  
 ple to another.  
 9 There is nothing worse then a couetous  
 man: [why art thou proude, o earth and  
 ashes? there is not a more wicked thing,  
 then to loue money:] for suche one wol-  
 de euen sel his soule. & for his life eue-  
 rie one is compelled to pu! out his ow-  
 ne bowels:  
 10 [All tyrannie is of smale indurance, &  
 the discafe that is hard to heale, is grie-  
 uous to the phisicion.  
 11 The phisicion curreth of the fore di-  
 scafe, & he that is to day a King, to mo-  
 row is dead.  
 12 Why is earth & ashes proude, seing  
 that when a man dyeth, he is the heire  
 of serpents, beastes and wormes?  
 13 The beginning of mans pride, is to  
 fall away from God, and to turne away  
 his heart from his maker.  
 14 For pride ~~is~~ the original of sinne, &  
 he that hathe it, shal powre out abomi-  
 nation, til at last he be ouerthrowen:  
 therefore the Lord bringeth the per-  
 suasions [of the wicked] to dishonour,  
 and destroieth them in the end.

Figure Fifty-one: Ecclesiasticus 10.7-14 in de Vere STC 2106. Note the typographical correction to 24.14, eliminating the error in "[x]is".

<sup>178</sup>It should not be overlooked that these are the only known instances in Elizabethan texts in which a writer applies this audacious -- blasphemous? -- phrase to himself. Contrary to the erroneous conclusion which might be obtained from trusting too implicitly to the account of Rollins (II:306), when the phrase appears in Brian Melbancke's *Philotimus* (1583: STC 17800.5), the implicit speaker is Yahweh, not an Elizabethan courtier: "or thou search a reason of Gods severe punishmente, whose name is Scripture, I am that I am (so incomprehensible is his maiestie)" (14).

No wonder that for Shakespeare the most feared of the seven deadly sins was pride. He was not only one of the most gifted artists in the history of the planet, but he was also rich, powerful, and, in some respects at least, enormously self-centered. The most obvious of Shakespeare's numerous references to pride as a sin are listed in the Shakespeare Diagnostics List as item #34. Three of these are listed by previous authorities as references to the marked verse, Ecclesiasticus 10.14 (figure fifty-one). As this number shows, pride is a recurrent theme in the marked verses of the de Vere Bible. Although the other verse on this theme listed by Shaheen and Milward, Proverbs 16.18, is not marked in the de Vere Bible, pride and its associated error in Shakespeare, lofty ambition, are also condemned in the marked verse Ecclus. 10.7.

De Vere's poem "My Mind to Me a Kingdom Is" (see appendix N) adumbrates Shakespeare's oft-iterated image of the social climber who comes tumbling down from the lofty heights of the Court: "I see how plenty suffers oft, how hasty climbers soon do fall/I see that those that are aloft, mishap doth threaten most of all." The thought is closely paralleled in several Shakespearean passages, among them: "...the art o' the court,/As hard to leave as keep, whose top to clime/Is certain falling" (*Cymbeline* 3.3.46-48).

Shakespeare habitually associates the sin of pride with this image of falling. The closest Biblical parallel to several such passages, which states that "Pride goeth before destruction, and an high minde before the fall" (Proverbs 16.18), is not marked in the de Vere Bible.

**17 The fall on a pauement is verie sudden;so shal the fall of the wicked come hastily.**

Figure Fifty-two: Ecclesiasticus 20.17 in de Vere  
STC 2106.

Four of Shakespeare's references to the sin of pride, two of them noted by previous students of the question, seem to refer directly to this verse: "Would he not fall down, since pride/Must have his fall?" (*Richard II* 5.5.88)<sup>179</sup>; "Vaulting ambition, which o'erleaps itself/And falls on th' other--" (*Macbeth* 1.7.27-28)<sup>180</sup>; "Richard Falls in the height of all his pride"; "My pride fell with my fortunes" (*As You Like It* 1.2.252). These passages are closely linked by idea not only to the reference to "hasty climbers" who "soon do fall" in the de Vere poem above, but also to the marked verse Ecclesiasticus 20.17 (figure fifty-two), which notes that "the fall of the wicked come[s] hastily."

A fourth reference to the sin of pride, according to Richmond Noble, refers directly to the marked verse Ecclus. 10.14:

Speed. Item, she is proud.  
Launce: Out with that too: it was Eve's legacy  
And cannot be ta'en from her.

(*Two Gentlemen* 3.1.337-39)

Explains Noble:

<sup>179</sup> Shaheen (1989) 30.

<sup>180</sup> Milward (1987) 125.

The point of Launce's remark lies in Eccles x.14: "For pride is the original of all sinne." Since Eve was the original sinner, and since it was her pride, as according to Eccles. X.14, that caused her to sin, therefore pride is part and parcel of female human nature." (1935 266)

"Flattery" is not listed as an item in the Shakespeare Diagnostics, but it might have been. Shakespeare uses the verb "to flatter" and its cognates over one hundred and thirty times in the canon. His most memorable evil characters, such as Iago, are adept at appealing to the weakness of "great-souled" heroes like Othello by employing the techniques of flattery. Affirms Caroline Spurgeon:

Shakespeare...turns almost sick when he watches flatterers and syncophants bowing and cringing to the rich and powerful purely in order to get something out of them for themselves. It is as certain as anything can be, short of direct proof, that he had been hurt, directly or indirectly, in this particular way. No one who reads his words carefully can doubt that he had either watched someone, whose friendship he prized, being deceived by fawning flatterers, or that he himself had suffered from a false friend or friends. (195)

It is easy to see that a man of Oxford's wealth, power and talents would have been constantly subjected to the evils of flattery. As a reader of the Bible he was struck by, and underlined, the Argument to II Samuel describing the "horrible and dangerous insurrections, uprores, and treasons [which] were wrought against [David], partly by false conselors, *fained friends & flatterers* & partely by some of his owne children and people" (emphasis added). A May 13, 1587 letter by Lord Burghley to Francis Walsingham complains that the Earl's "lewd friends....still rule him by flatteries." Both Oxford's own correspondence and the extant legal records of his estate reveal that, over and again, he found himself in the position of Othello, having been, he felt, deceived by the whispering flattery of trusted stewards who turned out to be more interested in their own gain than the welfare of their master or his estate.



## CHAPTER 19. A MAN MORE SINNED AGAINST THAN SINNING!

The Greek word *hamartia*, an archery term meaning "to miss the mark," is used both in the Bible, where it is translated by the English word, "sin," and in Aristotle's *Poetics*, in which it designates the "tragic flaw" which, in the Aristotelian theory of tragedy, gives rise to action and dénouement. Perhaps not surprisingly, then, the de Vere Bible annotations display a persistent concern for the origin and nature of sin. The word "sinne" (often cropped) is written seven times in the margin of the Bible, more often than any other word, alongside verses detailing some aspect of sin's nature. Many more verses concerning the subject of sin -- some forty-five in all -- are marked by underlining, most often in the VN style in black ink.

The theme is equally prominent in the writings of Shakespeare. Several Shakespeare Diagnostics not marked in the de Vere Bible also concern the question of sin, or more specifically "original sin." The Genesis narrative of the fall (Gen. 3) and of Cain's crime and exile (Gen. 4.1-16) are for Shakespeare typological paradigms for tragedy, moments in the human condition which recur to Shakespearean characters caught up in the vortex of sinful ambition. Claudius, meditating in the privacy of his cloister, remembers Cain when he confronts the criminal nature of his deeds:

My offense is rank, it smells to heaven;  
It hath the eldest curse upon't,  
A brother's murder!(3.3.36-38)

As does Bolingbroke, discussing Mowbray's culpability in the murder of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, in *Richard II*:

....He did plot the Duke of Gloucester's death,  
....And....like a traitor coward,  
Sluic'd out his innocent soul through streams of blood:  
Which blood, like sacrificing Abel's cries,  
Even from the tongueless caverns of the earth,  
To me for justice and rough chastisement.(1.1.101-106)

Edward de Vere's Bible annotations on sin are more theologically subtle than these prominent and easily recognizable citations from Genesis. A striking example of this subtlety is Wisdom 2.24, marked as part of a sequence of verses (figure fifty-three) which summarizes the "prayer of the Ungodly" which takes up most of the chapter and is a favorite Shakespearean Biblical topos. These verses recount an etiology of the devil as the cause of the sin of envy and ensuing punishment of

mortality. An impressive list of cross-references in the Geneva text of STC 2106 includes Genesis 1.27, 2.7, 3.2 and 5.1 and Ecclesiastes 17.2. Although the influence has not previously been noted, the verse has nevertheless left a clear and unequivocal stamp on the moral theology of *Measure for Measure*, in a comic passage in which Duke Ludovico debates the origins of sin with the bawd Pompey:

Duke. Fie, Sirrah! A bawd, a wicked bawd!  
 \*\*\*\*\*  
 Canst thou believe thy life is a life,  
 So stinkingly depending? Go mend, go mend.

Pompey. Indeed, it does stink in some sort, sir: but  
 Yet, sir, I would prove--

Duke. Nay, if the devil had given proofs for sin  
 Thou wilt *prove* this. Take him to prison, officer;  
 Correction and instruction must both work  
 Ere this rude beast will profit.

(3.2.19-33)

The passage illustrates a textual dependence on the marked verse from Wisdom which is no less impressive simply because it has hitherto remained unnoticed by critics unfamiliar with the de Vere Bible annotations. The Duke's somewhat peculiar idea of the devil "giving proofs" for sin originates in the statement of Wisdom 2.24 that the devil's partisans "prove" that death came into the world through the agency of their master's envy. As a pimp, Pompey is one of those identified in the marked passage as "they that holde of [the devil's] side." He has started to justify his occupation by citing scripture, but the Duke interrupts him by pointing out that if the devil himself were giving the proofs, they would be the same as those on the tip of Pompey's tongue. This resolution of a textual crux by reference to a verse marked in de Vere's Geneva Bible constitutes a striking example of prediction from new data.

**22** And they do not vnderstand the my-  
**steries of God, nether hope for y<sup>e</sup> rewar-  
 de of righteousnes, nor can discerne the  
 honour of the soules that are fauteles.  
**23** For God created man without corrup-  
 tion, and made him after the \* image  
 of his owne likenes.  
**24** \* Neuertheles, thorow enuy of the  
 deuil came death into the worlde: and  
 they that holde of his side, proue it.**

Figure Fifty-three: Wisdom 2.23-24 in De Vere  
 STC 2106.

A quite different kind of influence may be noted in the case of Romans 7.15-20, a series of verses marked incidentally in the de Vere Bible by the annotator's insertion of the first person pronoun "I," mistakenly omitted from the text of Romans 7.20 in STC 2106. By coincidence, it happens that of

n The flesh fl- wolde,"but the euil, which I wolde not,  
 yeth euen y mo- that do I.  
 ste perfect to rü-  
 ne ferwarde as  
 y spirit witheth.  
 19 For I do not the good thing, which I  
 20 Now if do that I wolde not, it is no  
 more I that do it, but the sinne y dwel-  
 leth in me.  
 21 I finde then by the Law, that when  
 I wolde do good, euil is present with  
 me.

Figure Fifty-four: Romans 7.19-21, with marginal note (n) in the de Vere STC 2106.

all the Shakespearean touchstones for the concept of sin, by far the most prominent (cf Shakespeare Diagnostics list in appendix B) appears to be Romans 7.15-20, the latter verse of which is marked here by editorial correction in de Vere's STC 2106<sup>182</sup> (figure fifty-four). Skeptics may, if they like, expend the effort to deny that this verse is actually "marked" by the annotator, but this seems like trying to kill an elephant with a pin. Such efforts might be justified in light of the implications of conceding that the elephant is alive, large, and dangerous -- but they seem unlikely to be effective. Numerous occurrences of Shakespearean reference to this series of verses have been documented by students of the source question ever since Carter first drew attention to its importance in 1905. In a brief article recently published in *Notes and Queries* the present writer listed four established references to these verses and pointed out a fifth in the case of Sonnet 151, which is described as "an elaborate paraphrase" of Romans 7.20 (Stritmatter 1997). A more complete listing, given in the SD list attached to this dissertation, finds a total of ten established prior references to the idea and adds two more -- Sonnet 151 and *Twelfth Night* 2.2.31.

Perhaps the most striking instance of the influence of Romans 7.15-20 in the plays is Hamlet's apologia to Laertes:

Hamlet. Give me your pardon, sir, I have done you  
 Wrong...  
 \*\*\*\*\*  
 Was't Hamlet wrong'd Laertes? Never Hamlet!  
 If Hamlet from himself be ta'en away,  
 And when he's not himself does wrong Laertes,  
 Then Hamlet does it not, Hamlet denies it.  
 Who does it then? His madness. If't be so,  
 Hamlet is of the faction which is wronged.  
 His madness is poor Hamlet's enemy.

(5.2.226-39)

<sup>182</sup> Omitted, Kathman Bible data transcript.



Both Carter (381-82) and Milward (1987 57-8) identify Romans 7.15-20 as the inspiration for this striking passage, in which Hamlet substitutes the secular concept of "madness" for the *hamartia* of Paul and Aristotle. As I argued in *Notes and Queries*, such examples "illustrate the powerful formative influence of Romans 7:15-20 on Shakespeare's theology of sin and even his conceptualization of tragic action in at least one of the great tragedies" (515). In the case of Sonnet 151, furthermore, Shakespeare demonstrably knew these verses from Romans in a

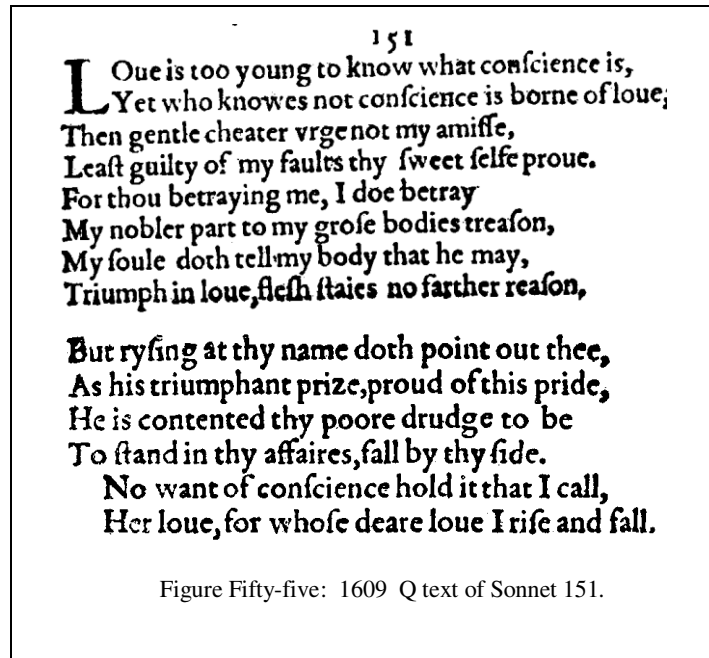
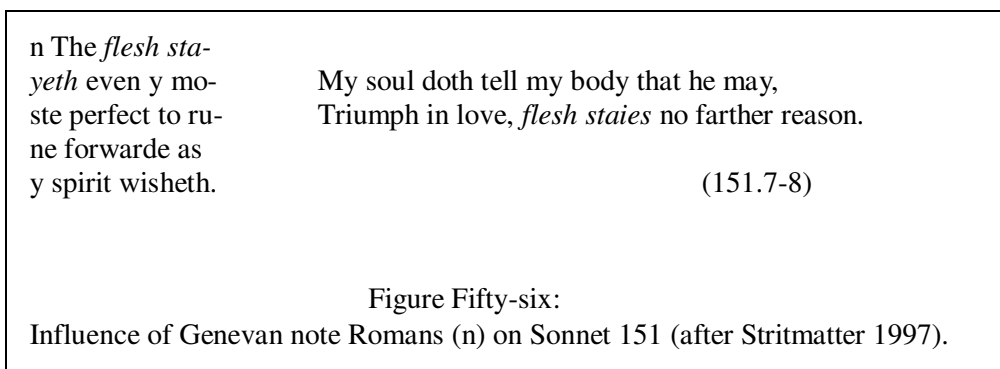


Figure Fifty-five: 1609 Q text of Sonnet 151.

Geneva translation containing the note (n), visible in the above reproduction from de Vere's STC 2106, attached to Romans 7.19 in that text. This note, along with Romans 7.20 *per se*, has entered into the compositional idioms of the Sonnet, as may be illustrated by the following diagram (figure fifty-six):



Shakespeare echoes the Genevan note phrase, *flesh stayeth*, in the concluding lines of the second quatrain of the Sonnet where we read that "*flesh staies* no farther reason." This unusual conjunctive influence of marginal note and Biblical verse, as I concluded in *Notes and Queries*, "supplies an additional proof [to supplement those offered by Burnet and other scholars] confirming Shakespeare's frequent and direct consultation of the Geneva Bible and the 'bitter notis' which, by so disturbing Archbishop Parker, helped to inspire the preparation and publication of the official Anglican (f.p. 1568) *Bishop's Bible*" (516).

Also previously published as influential in Shakespeare is the idea marked in scarlet ink in the (C)ontinuous mode at II Esdras 8.31 (figure fifty-seven).

According to Peter Milward (1987 47-48), this obscure passage from the obscure apocryphal book of *II Esdras* is the source of Queen Gertrude's reference to her "sick soul, as sin's true nature is" (4.5.17). The idea that sin is a form of spiritual sickness, perhaps even the ultimate cause of physical sickness -- which then becomes a mere symptom of pre-existing spiritual disequilibrium -- is fundamental in Shakespeare, as echoed in several other overt references to related verses marked in the de Vere Bible in II Chronicles and Ecclesiasticus (figure fifty-eight).

Carter (1905 273) cites the parallel phraseology of Mark 2.17 as the source for the following exchange from *II Henry IV*:

Poins. And how doth the martlemas your master?

Bardolph. In bodily health, sir?

Poins. Marry, the immortal part needs a Physician, but that moves not him: though that be sick it dies not.

(2.2.101-105)

Other references might be cited:

When the Doctor says of Lady Macbeth:  
More needs she the divine than the physician. (5.1.74)

When Lear, ironically, calls out like Asa from II Chronicles not for God's mercy for his hidden, "unwhipped crimes," but for a technician to perform brain surgery:

Let me have surgeons! I am cut to the brains.  
(4.6.193)

Shakespeare demonstrates an interest in the social as well as the individual dimension of sin. A series of marked verses from Ezekiel 18 (figures fifty-nine and sixty) which comment upon moral autonomy of souls is the pretext for Harry of Cornwall's lecture on theology to the enlisted men Will and Bates in the fourth act of *Henry V*. Although the influence of

30 Take not displeasure with them, &  
appeare worfe then beaſts, but loue the  
that alway put their truſt in thy righte-  
ouſnes and glorie.  
31 For we and our fathers haue all the  
ſame ſicknes: but becauſe of vs that are  
ſinners thou ſhalt be called merciful.  
32 If therefore thou wilt haue mercie v-  
pon vs, thou ſhalt be called merciful  
towards vs which haue no workes of  
righteouſnes.

Figure Fifty-seven: II Esdras 8.31-32 in the De Vere STC 2106.

15 He that ſinneth before his maker, let  
him fall into the hands of the phyſi-  
cion.

Figure fifty-eight: Ecclesiasticus 38.15 in De Vere STC 2106.

1 The wordes of the Lord came vnto  
me againe, ſaying,  
2 What meane ye that ye ſpeake this  
prouerbe, concerning y land of Iſrael,  
ſaying, 3 The fathers haue eaten ſoure  
grapes, & the childrens teeth are ſet  
on edge?  
3 As I liue, ſaith the Lord God, ye  
ſhal vſe this prouerbe no more in Iſra-  
el.  
4 Beholde, all ſoules are mine, bothe the  
ſoule of the father, and alſo the ſoule of  
the ſonne are mine: y ſoule that ſinneth,  
it ſhal dye.

Figure Fifty-nine: Ezekiel 18.1-4 in de Vere STC 2106.

these verses on Shakespeare has been acknowledged in other cases, for some reason the dense reticulation of language, imagery and diction linking Ezekiel 18.20-30 to Henry's sermon (4.1.130-305) has been overlooked, not only by Naseeb Shaheen but also by his two distinguished predecessors, Richmond Noble and Thomas Carter.

Such scholars have, however, noted the prominent influence on Shakespeare of related verses from Ezekiel. Ezekiel 18.2, which states the principle disputed in the marked verses in more colorful poetic language -- "the fathers have eaten a sower grape, & the children's teeth are set on edge" -- inspired Hotspur's complaint about poetry in *I Henry IV*:

That would *set my teeth nothing on edge*.  
(3.1.131)

Ezekiel 18.20-22-- in which we read that "the same soule that sinneth, shal dye: the sonne shal not beare the iniquity of the father" -- is alluded to in MacDuff's soliloquy in *Macbeth* when he laments that his children died not for their own iniquities, but for his:

Sinful Macduff,  
They were strooke for thee: Naught that I am:  
Not for their owne demerits, but for mine,  
Fell slaughter on their soules.  
(*Macbeth* 4.3.223-27)

In *Rape of Lucrece*, the protagonist advances the same conclusion as Macduff:

Here in Troy, for trespass of thine eye,  
The sire, the son, the dame, and daughter, die.  
Why should the private pleasure of some one  
Become the public plague of many moe?  
Let sin alone committed, light alone  
Upon his head that hath transgressed so;  
Let guiltless souls be freed from guilty woe.  
For one's offense why should so many fall,  
To plague a private sin in general?  
(1476-84)

Two parallel passages, though literally expressing the opposite moral found at Exodus 20.5 and Numbers 14.18, that the sins of the parents *should be* visited upon the children, occur in *Merchant of Venice*:

The Sins of the father are to be laid upon the children.  
(3.5.1)

So the sins of my mother should be visited upon me.  
(3.5.14)

Only in *Henry V*, however, does the marked sequence of verses from Ezekiel eighteen form the basis for what is literally a sermon on moral theology, commenting on the action of the play while didactically

19 Yet saye ye, Wherefore shal not the sonne beare the iniquitie of the father? because the sonne hath executed iudgement and iustice, and hath kept all my statutes, and done them, he shal surely liue.

20 \* The same soule that sinneth, shal dye: the sonne shal not beare the iniquitie of the father, nether shal the father beare the iniquitie of the sonne, but the righteousness of y<sup>e</sup> righteous shalbe vpon him, and the wickednes of the wicked shalbe vpon him self.

21 But if the wicked wil returne from all his sinnes that he hath committed, and kepe all my statutes, and do y<sup>e</sup> which is lawfull & right, he shal surely liue, & shal not dye.

22 All his transgressions that he hath committed, thei shal not be mentioned vnto him, but in his righteousness that he hath done, he shal liue.

Figure Sixty: Ezekiel 18.20-22 in de Vere STC 2106.

instructing other characters, and presumably the audience, in principles of late Tudor theology. This is a striking example of the tendency, noted by O.B. Hardison and commented upon at length by Daniel L. Wright in his book *The Anglican Shakespeare* (1993), for the history plays to activate "the audience's theological sensibilities by associating secular history with a sacred purpose and form," a project particularly exemplified in *Henry V*, according to Wright and Hardison.

In *Measure for Measure*, the disguised Duke dons the garb of a Roman priest to restore moral order to a lax Vienna; in *Henry V*, the king disguises himself as a common footsoldier, armed with Anglican theological doctrine, to administer the reformation version of last rites to his men on the eve of the Battle of Agincourt. Both, in disguise, become theologians, but of different doctrinal persuasions and with different theological purposes.

Henry comes upon the enlisted men William and Bates in the early hours of dawn just before the battle. His forces are radically outnumbered, half-starved, and retreating on enemy territory; all rational expectation favors their immediate and humiliating defeat. The subject for debate under such circumstances is whether the justice of "the King's cause" affects the disposition in the afterlife of the souls of soldiers fallen in battle. Bates contends that loyalty to the monarch confers its own reward, whether the King's cause is *ipso facto* a just one: "if his cause be wrong, our obedience to the King wipes the crime out of us" (4.1.132). William, while not directly disagreeing with this reasoning, affirms an antithesis (based on the same premise):

But if our cause be not good, the King himself hath a heavy reckoning to make....I am afraid, there are few that die well, and dye in a battle: for how can they charitably dispose of anything, when Blood is their argument? Now, if these men do not die well, it will be a black matter for the King, that led them into it; who to disobey, were against all proportion of subjection. (4.1.134-46)

The enlisted men are of course unaware that they are speaking with the King himself. Unbeknownst to themselves, their critical private theology is being exposed to a public arena of debate and conflict. The scene mirrors 3.7 in which the French officers in their tent are almost brought to blows with the Dauphin over the subject of who owns the best armor (see chapter sixteen above). While the French officers debate military technology, however, the English are considering "final things" appropriate to their acknowledged circumstance of mortal desperation.

Henry responds to his men's debate with an *amplificatio* of Ezekiel's statement in verses marked in the de Vere Bible that "the sonne shall not bear the iniquity of the father, nether shall the father beare the iniquity of the son" (18.20). His response is tailored to counter the objections of Will and Bates while exonerating the King himself from any moral responsibility for their impending destruction. The theology is distinctively Anglican, not medieval or Catholic, in its emphasis on the moral autonomy of subjects:

So, if a son that is by his father sent about merchandise do sinfully miscarry upon the sea, the imputation of his wickedness, but your rule, should be imposed upon his father that sent him: or if a servant, under his master's command transporting sum of money, be assailed by robbers and die in many irreconciled iniquities, you may call the business of the master the author of the servant's damnation. But this is not so: the king is not bound to answer the particular endings of his soldiers, the father of his son, nor the master of his servant; for they purpose not their death when they purpose their services.  
(4.1.156-69)

Will, for his part, is persuaded by Henry's sermon: "'Tis certain, every man that dies ill, the ill upon his own head: the king is not to answer it" (4.1.186).

This emphasis in *Henry V* 4.1.125-305 on the moral problem of the transference or inheritance of moral responsibility, although topical in its restatement of Anglican doctrine (see below), is directly inspired by marked verses in the de Vere Geneva Bible at Ezekiel 18.20-32. Should individuals be held accountable for the crimes of their parents or grandparents -- or for that matter their monarchs? The question must be as old as the anthropological blood feud, and the answer native to all tribal cultures seems to be that they can and sometimes should be. Ezekiel's answer in 18.20-30 is that they should not, although his use of the word "soul" might be held to complicate the answer. Whether or not the soul is an aspect of the individual or -- like the Egyptian *Ka* -- a manifestation of a descent group or other social entity, remains in some doubt. In any case, however, Henry is debating the casuistical theology of the marked verses with Will and Bates. His sermon elaborates Ezekiel's original exemplum of the father and the son, considering the derived analogies, appropriate to his context, of servant and master and soldier and king.

As Daniel Wright has noted (following the lead of Lily Campbell), in this context the specific reference to the doctrine of Ezekiel 18.2-30 invokes an Anglican apology. Henry's speech is a rebuttal to calls for insurrection against the Elizabethan crown by Catholic propagandists like Cardinal William Allen. Allen's tracts, widely distributed in England in the months leading up to the 1588 Armada, insisted that any soldier who died in an unjust war fought on behalf of an unjust world or in defense of a heretical prince would be forever damned. "Henry's declaration that every individual is responsible for his own salvation....not only endorses an Anglican theological judgement but specifically repudiates and reverses the antagonistic Catholic suggestions of Cardinal Allen, which threatened to break the domestic peace and undermine the authority of the realm" (Wright 222).

In his subsequent victory prayer, Henry underscores the nationalistic piety of this theological disquisition by seeking to heal up the domestic historical rift which still disturbs the tranquility of his realm. He returns to the theme of the moral autonomy of souls in reference to his father's own alleged crimes against Richard II:

.....Not today, O Lord,  
O, not to-day, think not upon the fault  
My father made in compassing the crown!  
(4.1.292-95)

And yet, paradoxically, Henry verifies the continuing presence of the more ancient doctrine -- that "the fathers have eaten bitter grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge" -- when he defends his own moral piety by remembering the compensatory actions he took, on behalf of the honor of his family's name and tradition, by honoring the man murdered by his own father:

I Richard's body have interred new,  
And on it have bestowed more contrite tears  
Than from it issued forced drops of blood.

(4.1.295-97)



## CHAPTER 20.

### SMALLEST THINGS IN *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*

Airy tongues, that syllable men's names

--Comus 206

The word “authority” occurs more often in *Measure for Measure* than in any other Shakespeare play, and we cannot go far amiss if we consider the play, in its universal sense, as a study of authority -- the dangers, limitations, possibilities and, ultimately – necessity for authority. In affirming the necessity of authority as an ineluctable element in the human condition, *Measure* also warns against authority's tendency to become rigid and ossified through adherence to the dead letter of tradition, forgetting the reasoned inspiration which is authority's fountain and source of self-renewing correction. Isabella's speech

...man, proud man,  
Dress'd in a little brief authority,  
Most ignorant of what he's most assur'd, (2.2.118-120)

might seem to have been written with the authorship question in mind. In this chapter I present a reading of *Measure for Measure* which argues that not only Isabella's speech, but the entire play, was in fact written with the authorship question in mind. My argument is organized into five acts, corresponding to the five acts of *Measure for Measure*<sup>183</sup>.

### The Duke as Author

To understand *Measure for Measure* as a play about authorship we may first wish to consider the narrative proposed by the Oxford theory in its broadest scope. A powerful and eloquent nobleman, gifted with the rhetorical skill and training of a Cicero, the historical sensibility of a Tacitus, and the dangerous wit of an Aristophanes, takes refuge behind a pseudonym and a front man rather than risk the public scandal and political instability which would inevitably ensue from the exposure of his identity and dramatic treatment of his conflicted relations with the power elite of newly Protestant England. Writes John Thomas Looney: “Our theory presupposes a man who had deliberately planned his self-

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<sup>183</sup>A version of this chapter was presented at the 1997 Annual Conference of the *Shakespeare Oxford Society* in Seattle/Washington, in Oct. 1997.



concealment” (173). During the final years of his life de Vere was “hard at work, seriously, but *in a measure secretly*, engaged in the activities that have produced at once the greatest drama and the finest literature England boasts” (179). Justice Stevens, in his “Shakespeare Canon of Statutory Construction,” confirms that the theory invokes an “imaginative conspiracy,” requiring both the coercion of the Tudor state and, in some measure, the willing abdication of the real – hidden – writer from his public role as legal author (Stevens 1993)<sup>184</sup>.

Now, it is impossible to imagine this circumstance taking place without it arousing the most profound ambivalence on the writer’s part – and indeed testimony of his ambivalence over some “vulgar scandal” which has caused his name to be erased from the body of his work is well documented in *Shake-Speare’s Sonnets*.

In Sonnet 72 we read the admonition

My name be buried where my body is....

In Sonnet 71, the instruction

No longer mourn for me when I am dead  
Then you shall hear the surly sullen bell  
give warning to the world that I am fled....

(71.1-3)

And again,

Do not so much as *my poor name* rehearse,  
But let your love even with my life decay.  
Lest the wise world should look into your moan  
And mock you with me after I am gone.

(71.11-14: emphasis added)

Indeed, by the time we come upon the apparently contrary claim of Sonnet 76 that “every word doth almost tell my name” (76.7), where the phonic pattern identifies the author through the analogy “Every word = Edward Vere” – the paradox points unmistakably towards the condition of alienated authorship postulated in the Oxfordian case. The sonnet transports the theological paradox of transubstantiation – in which identity is preserved through phenomenal transformation – into the secular realm. However, although the prominence of this motif of the author’s “wounded” – transfigured -- name has long been known to students of the Oxford theory, the extent to which that narrative is deeply and pervasively engrained in the Shakespeare canon, appearing in numerous dramatic and linguistic permutations which constitute literary witness to its fruitful character has not, I believe, truly been apprehended by the theory’s students.

Our first act accordingly requires us to consider the direct and striking analogy of the dramatic action of *Measure for Measure* when compared to the above version of events: Duke Vincenzo, to avoid the scandal which will ensue from any direct attempt on his own part to secure rigorous justice by prosecuting the letter of the law in Vienna, goes into self-imposed exile. In departing he delegates

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<sup>184</sup> For analysis of the role of “William Shakspeare” of Stratford-On-Avon (1564-1616), see the final chapter of the dissertation.

authority to his Puritanical deputy Angelo, whose name recalls, on the one hand, the Biblical emissary between God and man and, on the other, an Elizabethan unit of currency – a coin on which the image of authority may be stamped to guarantee its legitimacy.

On comes Angelo as the Duke's front man in Vienna. Although he lacks substantive authority, the Duke wryly instructs his deputy to ignore "any scruple" while acting to "enforce and qualify the laws/As to your soul seems good" (1.1.64-66). In an unconscious parody of the law set down in Genesis – in which mortality is the price to be paid for man's sexual awakening -- Angelo proceeds to enforce the dead letter of the strict statutes against fornication in Vienna. The Duke returns to Vienna disguised as a Friar so that he can witness at firsthand the foibles of the city's experiment in self-rule.

Both dramas, in other words, require an "imaginative conspiracy" in which the concealment of an author – in one case the author of laws and in the other the author of plays – is the necessary condition for their enactment.

It may be pertinent to recall that the Duke's motive for withdrawing into obscurity is to avoid being slandered in the political battle which is certain to ensue from strict application of the law in Vienna. As the Duke explains, "I love the people, but do not like to stage me to their eyes" (1.1.67). In defending himself from the slanders which nevertheless are comically dramatized through the copious intelligence of Lucio, the disguised Duke declares – speaking of himself in the figure of *illeism* or self-reference in the third person -- that were he "testimonied by his own bringing's- forth," he would "appear to the envious a scholar, a statesman and a soldier" (3.2.144-46).

Underneath the peculiar English phrase, "bringing's-forth," lies the Latin word *edita*, meaning "things having been brought forth," or "published" (Andrews 1876 514-15). The Sonnets employ the same phrase to express the writer's shame over his *literary production*. While the Duke, speaking of himself masked, testifies to his desire to be known through his publications, the Sonnet writer, speaking in his own person, confesses the indignity of his vocation as a writer of theatrical "trifles":

I am shamed by that which I bring forth,  
And so should you, to love things nothing worth. (72.13)

The statements are perfectly tailored expressions of the same dualistic ambivalence regarding public acknowledgement for works -- each appropriate to the speaker and his circumstances.

We might conclude this first act, then, by noting that this comparison of the Duke to the Sonnet author has been, as it were, foreshadowed in persistent orthodox identification of the Duke as a distinctively "authorial" character. One could cite authoritative testimony *ad infinitum*: Dayton Haskin characterizes him as "at once a character in the world of the play, a dramatist-like designer who provides controlled experiences for his subjects, and a judge who observes and evaluates their actions. He performs all these functions with a view to heightening his subjects' awareness of moral complexities"

(Haskin 3452). “The Duke is a virtuous absolutist,” concurs Anne Barton in the *Riverside Shakespeare*, “...a kind of comic dramatist...trying to impose the order of art upon a reality which stubbornly resists such schematization” (547).

“Even critics generally opposed to the biographical heresy,” concludes Rudolph Soellner, “have seen some measure of identification between the poet and his creature” (227)<sup>185</sup>.

## The Spirit and the Letter of the Law

The second act requires us to consider the critical history of *Measure for Measure* with respect to its hypothetical or actual genre. *Measure for Measure* is a dramatic representation, but should we classify it as a comedy or a tragedy? Although identified in the first folio as a comedy, *Measure for Measure* is traditionally defined by scholars as a “problem play.” It eludes simple classification as a comedy, history or tragedy. From the point of view of the history of genres, the play has as much in common with the medieval mystery play as it does the classical comedy of Terence or Plautus. And although it has a happy ending – a requirement, apparently, for a comedy – many critics have felt that *Measure for Measure* is not a particularly funny play.

From its critical inception the category of “problem play” was a classification which helped to bracket the question of genre to return readers to investigation of the empirical and dramaturgical qualities of a play without pre-conception as to genre. According to the term’s originator, Boas, the problem play – under which rubric he included *Hamlet*, *All’s Well*, *Troilus and Cressida* and *Measure for Measure* – was one involving “intricate cases of conscience” and requiring “unprecedented methods” of investigation.

Seven subsequent decades of interdisciplinary scholarship have shed some light on the general characteristics such an investigation should possess. *Measure for Measure* is indeed – on this point at least the critics seem to have reached a general consensus – an “intricate case of conscience.” Perhaps more than any other Shakespeare text, the play invokes an apparently unstable juxtaposition of legal, religious and literary discourses. In his seminal 1930 essay<sup>186</sup>, “Measure for Measure and the Gospels,” G. Wilson Knight adumbrated the dominant note in this 20<sup>th</sup> century tradition of considering the philosophical dimensions of *Measure for Measure*: “If the thought at first seems strange or the action unreasonable, it will be found to reflect the strangeness and unreason of Jesus’ teaching” (in Geckle, p. 49).

Knight’s insight into the play’s dependence on Biblical precept, and particularly the relevance of the New Testament parables of Jesus, received an abundance of confirmatory substance in critical essays such

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<sup>185</sup> Soellner intends the statement to cover both Duke Vincenzo and Prospero, the authorial magus of the *Tempest*.

<sup>186</sup> Battenhouse (1994 7) refers to this as “the most striking essay in Knight’s many volumes” of criticism. Battenhouse also makes the important observation that Knight was writing “not from any knowledge of the history of theology, but rather as a post-Romantic who valued human

as Louise Schleiner's "Providential Improvisation in *Measure for Measure*," Roy Battenhouse's "*Measure for Measure* and the Christian Doctrine of Atonement," Sarah Velz's "Man's Need and God's Plan," and Dayton Haskin's "Mercy and the Creative Process in *Measure for Measure*."

Moreover, even among critics stressing non-Biblical dimensions of the play – for instance in Ronald Berman's "Shakespeare and the Law" or John W. Dickinson's "Renaissance Equity and *Measure for Measure*" -- a consensus exists that the primary philosophical problem treated by the play is the tension between the strict application of the so-called "letter" of the law and the merciful application of the so-called "spirit" of the law.

Incidentally, we might wish to note that this general philosophical question – when to apply the "letter" of the law and when a metaphorical invocation is appropriate – is common to the spheres of discourse of law, religion and literary criticism – at least insofar as the latter discipline is guided by any sense of the normative or "lawlike" as a criterion of investigation. Any attempt to ascertain "what a writer means" involves a reader in the (both editorial and philological) task of reconstructing an "ur-text" free from mis-readings and misprints and also the higher cognitive challenge, which depends on the labor of editors and philologists, of applying the author's words to the circumstances of the text's production so as to discover a meaning or a set of meanings which is the emergent property of a text having been – previously -- correctly arranged and glossed.

A competent editor argues from analogy, guided by an imaginative reconstruction of "authorial intent" when emending a misprint. Although restoring the "letter of the law" the editor is, paradoxically, applying the doctrine of mercy by presuming that the writer did not intend a mistake. Exactly the same process of reasoning might in other circumstances be employed to argue for the correctness of the text on the grounds that perception of an apparent anomaly or aberration is based on a reader's incorrect assumptions about what the writer might have intended in the *textus receptus*.

An example of a textual feature which involves a reader or editor in such perplexities would be the hyphen in the name "SHAKE-SPEARE" in the text *SHAKE-SPEARES SONNETS*. What does this element of punctuation mean? Is it, as some orthodox scholars insist, a vicissitude of typesetting – or, as others have claimed, a tip-off to the pseudonymous character of the name "Shake-Speare," used to heighten the iconic character of the name as one denoting the act of "shaking a spear"?

## The Doctrine of Smallest Things

In pursuing the second act of our investigation we perceived that the primary philosophical problem of *Measure for Measure* is the relation between the spirit and the letter of the law. Our understanding of

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imagination as the key to insight into life" and who found in Shakespeare "a poet whose genius coincided here with that of Christ -- each being, as Knight explained elsewhere, an independent pioneer who challenged 'orthodox' morality" (Battenhouse 1994 7).

how this philosophical problem is pursued in the play will be enhanced by a quick survey of some dominant themes in the history of this question, as our author would have found them in his own reading of Aristotle and other sources. Shakespeare, let us remember, was heir to two great cultural traditions, the Greco-Latin and the Judeo-Christian, which differed in fundamental ways in their treatment of the spiritual-literal dialectic of interpretation. In the Greco-Latin tradition of literary criticism and legal theory, based on an alphabetic mode of writing, the smallest unit of meaning is a word; in the Hebrew tradition, however, the smallest unit of meaning was a letter or a syllable. This difference in the epistemology of reading resulted from the different emphasis of the two systems of written representation. In the more archaic Hebrew syllabic system, the identity of vowel sounds was determined by a reader on the basis of context. Individual letters, furthermore, retained the symbolic vestiges of their originally iconic, hieroglyphic character. In such a system of written representation, the miswriting or misreading of a single letter or syllabic element was much more likely to yield an intelligible but mistaken transcription than would have been the case in the Greco-Latin tradition, although as *Measure for Measure* itself demonstrates, alphabetic systems are by no means immune to such problems of textual transmission. When Justice of the Peace Elbow mishears Pompey's characterization of his wife as "respected," transposing it in his hearing into "suspected," a fistfight almost ensues because Elbow imaginatively fills in the blank and assumes she is "suspected" of immoral behavior. Nevertheless, it was in the Judaic tradition of philosophy that the fierce dialectical emphasis on the scrupulous preservation of, or dispute over the identity of, a single letter in a text, remained most characteristic. As Cohen explains

The notion underlying the "letter of the law" is peculiarly Jewish and would sound quite foreign if not irrelevant to a Greek or Roman Jurist. To the Jew, to whom Scripture was directly revealed, there was no superfluous letter in the law. Hence a single even apparently redundant letter could be loaded with legal significance. Thus, even the letters *He vav* carried with them some meaning above and beyond that implied in the word itself.

(Cohen 1966 60)

Thus, although what I am calling "the doctrine of smallest" things had sources in both traditions, it was only in the Judeo-Christian tradition in which the microcosmic unit of a single letter or syllable could assume a vast spiritual significance.

An intriguing illustration of this doctrine of smallest things is found in Henry Peacham's 1612 emblem book, *Minerva Britanna* (figure sixty-one). The emblem is dedicated to the principle spelled out by the paradoxical juxtaposition of the superscription above the emblem, and the emblem itself. Literally rendered in English, the superscription might be translated, "by means of that which weighs greater"; however Peacham's emblem -- paradoxically -- depicts a quill pen and a crown of bays outweighing a cannon<sup>187</sup>.

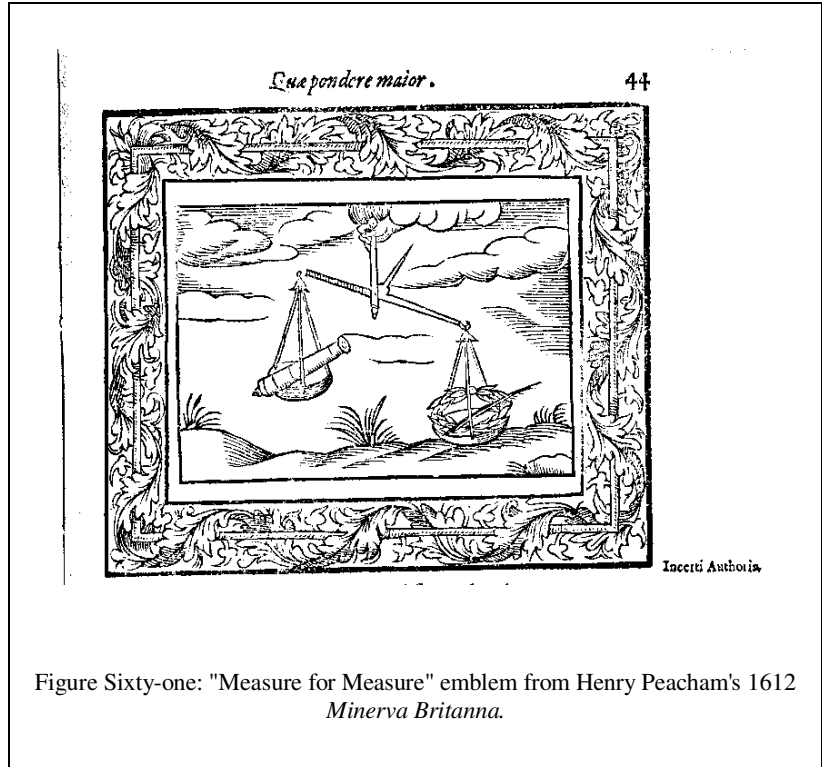


Figure Sixty-one: "Measure for Measure" emblem from Henry Peacham's 1612 *Minerva Britanna*.

It illustrates the generic principle that sometimes things of apparently slightest significance turn out to weigh the most, at least in a spiritual sense. Is it a coincidence that the superscription and emblem call to mind the title of our play, *Measure for Measure*? Although not published until 1612, Peacham's Latin side-note identifies the emblem as referring to events of Elizabeth's reign<sup>188</sup>. Not surprisingly, the emblem has been associated with *Measure for Measure* by editors of Shakespeare's play (figure sixty-two). Whether Peacham's consideration of the "doctrine of smallest things" represents an intentional reference to Shakespeare's play is, however, for our purposes, superfluous. That *Measure for Measure* is concerned with "smallest things" no alert reader could deny. The play is saturated with references to small but surprisingly consequential things:

Angelo need not  
On my honour, have to do  
With *any scruple*. Your scope is as mine own,  
So to enforce or qualify the laws  
As to your soul seems good.

(1.1.63-66)

<sup>187</sup> Is it relevant to overhear the "cannon/canon" pun which occurs in *Hamlet* (1.2.32)?

The Duke, furthermore, tells both Escalus and Angelo that

Spirits are not finely touch'd  
But to *fine issues*: nor nature never lends  
The *smallest scruple* of her excellence  
But, like a thrifty goddess, she determines  
Herself the glory of a creditor.

(1.1.35-39)

Escalus, later pleading for Claudio's life, urges Angelo to consider

Whether you had not sometime in your life  
Err'd *in this point* which now you censure him,  
And pulled the law upon you.

(2.1.14-15)

Isabella declares that if she could save her brother's life  
by forfeiting her own

I'd throw it down for your deliverance  
As frankly as a pin.

(3.1.103-105)

In a later scene, she weighs a beetle against a giant and  
finds them equal:

The *poor beetle* that we tread upon  
In corporal sufferance finds as great a pang  
As when a *giant* dies.

(3.1.78-80)

The words scruple, point, pin, beetle – all “smallest things” – underscore this play's concentrated focus on measurement as the material metaphor for judgement. A judge – or perhaps in this case a reader -- is she who weighs things, even very small things, with scrupulous regard for spiritual consequences. Of these smallest things in *Measure for Measure*, the scruple is perhaps the most intriguing. We think of a scruple, as the Duke intends when he advises Angelo to disregard *any scruple* in pursuing his vigorous prosecution of the law, as the psychological doubt traditionally associated with the legal-philosophical study of casuistry. Casuistry is “that part of ethics which resolves cases of conscience, applying the general rules of religion and morality to particular instances in which ‘circumstances alter cases’ or in which there appears to be a conflict of duties” (OED 352). A scruple, then, in the ancient semantic tradition shared both by Catholic and Protestant theological minds of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, is the tiny doubt which resolves the jurist in favor of one

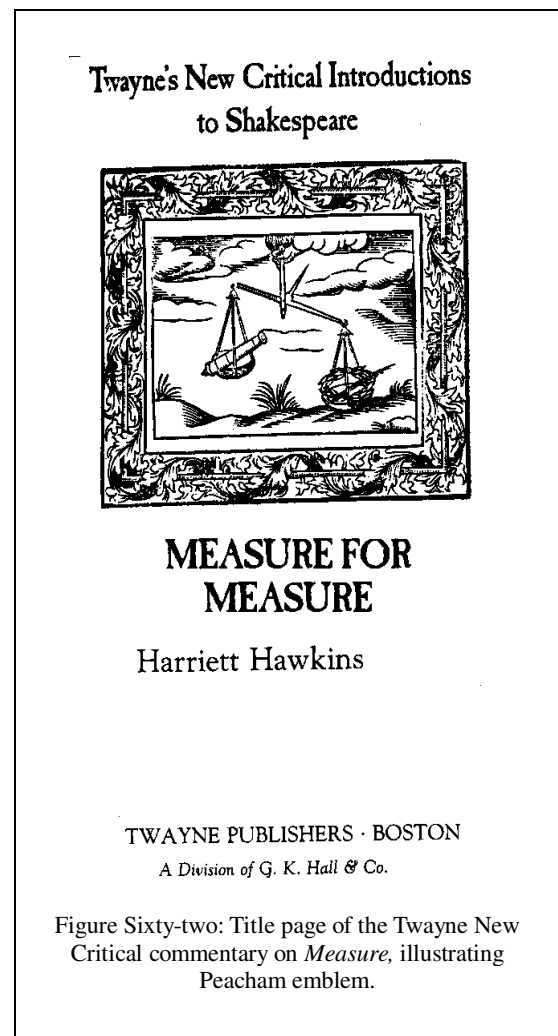


Figure Sixty-two: Title page of the Twayne New Critical commentary on *Measure*, illustrating Peacham emblem.

<sup>188</sup> The art historian Roy Strong contends that the emblem depicts a tournament impresa of the Earl of Essex, but a review of Strong's cited sources fails to confirm this claim.

or another application of general principle when ‘circumstances alter cases’ or ‘there appears to be a conflict of duties’ between two general principles.

We need hardly note that the scenario posited by the Oxfordians, in which one of the most skilled rhetoricians and writers of creative fiction in the history of the English language was, in a measure, forced to capitulate to the alienation of his literary work and to witness its publication under the name of another, is one involving a most potent “conflict of duties” and/or contest between two competing general principles. Accordingly the Duke’s ironic instruction to Angelo to disregard *any scruple* in the prosecution of the law should strike us not only as a pertinent clue about the crisis of conscience dramatized in this play, but also about the play’s relevance as a document which dramatizes, allegorically, the circumstances in which Edward de Vere found himself, like Vienna’s Duke, confronted with a conflict of duties. For the Duke the conflict is between the application of Justice in Vienna and the preservation of his own “good name”; for de Vere it is between his destiny as a writer, naturally covetous of fame, and his loyalty to a Tudor state compromised by his insider’s view of the personal and political conflict disguised behind pomp and circumstance.

There is, however, a more archaic and purely materialistic denotation of the word, of which Shakespeare is surely aware, and to which the Duke appeals when he says that “nature never lends the smallest scruple of her excellence/But she determines herself the glory of a creditor” (1.1.38). The scruple was originally an apothecaries’ weight of 1/24 oz., often used as a measure of gold. Thus, this one word stands double duty in Shakespeare’s play, both for the tiny grain of physical substance which trips the balance beam *and also* as the most potent symbol for the psychological effects the play intends to produce on a reader who, unlike Angelo, may pause long enough to “scruple” over its linguistic texture.

We should not in any case make the mistake of supposing that these “smallest things” are ever inconsequential as determinants of action in our play. Indeed, in *Measure for Measure* such “smallest things” become the leaven of secret action -- the tiny agent which, given time, produces results as magnificent as pregnancy. In fact, Dianne McColley considers the Duke a practitioner of spiritual homeopathy. His remedy for social ills “is neither palliative (as forgiveness with no real cure would be) nor harshly purgative (as exposure and punishment would be) but a homeopathic remedy.....[which] infuses a small dose having the same properties as the excess humor, in order to stimulate the body’s natural ability to purge itself.” Thus, the Duke’s admonition to Angelo to avoid all scruple and, in assuming his own powers and prerogative, “so to enforce and qualify the laws/As to your soul seems good,” is a kind of ironic baiting of sin. He knows full well that behind Angelo’s repeated Puritanical outbursts against the state of sexual depravity in Vienna lies the soul of a depraved libertine who will, given the reigns of power, entrap himself in his own confused designs and end up a married man.



## The mise en abyme

In the fourth act of the play, a messenger enters with a written stay of Claudio's execution. Explains the messenger to the Provost:

My lord hath sent you this note, and by me this further charge: that you swerve not from the smallest article of it<sup>189</sup>, neither in time, matter, or other circumstance. Good-morrow; for, as I take it, it is almost day.

(4.2.100-105)

In our own fourth act we must accordingly pause long enough to consider the prominent role which writing and written communication have already assumed in our drama. Starting from the first scene of act one we have heard that the Duke-in-exile intends to communicate his legal orders to Vienna by means of the written sign. He is not an actor on the public stage, but the "duke of dark corners" (as his *bête noire* Lucio dubs him), an author who prefers to lurk in the shadows. Apologizing for his swift departure from the public scene, Ludovico admits that

Our haste from hence is of so quick condition  
That it prefers itself and leaves unquestioned  
Matters of needful value.  
We shall write to you  
As time and our concernings shall importune.

(1.1.53-55)

Under such circumstances, perhaps it should not surprise us that both Escalus and Angelo express some confusion regarding the nature of the authority delegated to them. The former, in fact, desires verbal conference with Angelo:

A power I have  
But of what strength and nature  
I am not yet instructed.

(1.2.80-81)

But if the nature of the Duke's written law is not yet obvious, Claudio's offense of making love with his fiancée "with character too gross *is writ* on Juliet" (1.2.155).

With this brief recapitulation under our belts, we may notice that in this fourth act, on the eve of the Duke's long-prophesied return from his world travels, reading and writing have come into full blossom as a predominating motif and philosophical preoccupation. While the messenger bearing Claudio's pardon delivers verbal command for the most scrupulous adherence to the letter of the pardon – and here one might interject, incidentally, the question of the identity of the "real author" of this mysterious epistle: is it Angelo, or the Duke himself? --the Duke is simultaneously launching a volley of epistles with further instructions.

To the Provost he announces, handing him a written note:

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<sup>189</sup> Note, again, another instance of special rhetorical emphasis placed on "smallest things."

The contents of this is the return of the Duke: you shall anon over-read it at your pleasure, where you shall find within these two days he will be here. This is a thing Angelo knows not; for he this day receives letters of strange tenour, perchance entering into some monastery; but, by chance, nothing of what is writ<sup>190</sup>.

(4.2.195-202)

Some lines later the Duke thinks, almost as an afterthought:

Now I will write letters to Angelo.  
The provost he shall bear them, whose contents  
Shall witness to him I am near at home;  
And that by great injunctions I am bound to enter  
Publically....

(4.3.93-96)

And in the closing scenes of act four we find him still busy handing yet further letters to Friar Peter with instructions: “these letters at fit time deliver <for> me” (4.5.1). There is something intentionally comic about all this letter writing. Angelo and Escalus, whom we met confused over the Duke’s intentions in the first act, are even more confused by the fourth scene of act four. “Every letter he hath writ,” grumbles Escalus, “hath disvouched other” (4.4.1).

All these instances of writing, reading and misreading, invoke the *mise en abyme* – the Duke’s letters are microcosmic miniatures of the work of art, little *simulacra* of the drama which have been, as it were, tossed into the abyss at the heart of the play. Shakespeare’s exploitation of this favorite of all uncanny literary devices is highly conscious and artful. Notice that the disguised Duke *does not say*, when he hands the provost his stage directions, “the contents of *this note* is the return of the Duke.” He says something much more subtle and intriguing: “The contents *of this* is the return of the Duke.” Of course, for the line to seem intelligible in performance, the actor playing the Duke must physically deliver a note to Escalus. But the cognitive effect the line impresses on *a reader’s mind* is another matter. That staging requires the prop of a note is merely another way of saying that for the Duke to deliver a copy of the play, in which he acts as a character, would *seem to be* a violation of the elementary principles of dogmatic logic. That this is in fact what the Duke actually does, dramaturgically speaking, merely illustrates the devious capacity of literature to evade censorious conspiracies: the omission of the word “note” where one might expect it<sup>191</sup> merely underlines the virtual reality that the line does in fact refer, recursively, to the text of *Measure for Measure*. As we shall see in our fifth act, the text becomes a potent agent of the author’s redemption from the actual “dark corners” into which Elizabethan politics precipitated his name and his being.

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<sup>190</sup> Note the ambiguously oracular character of this phraseology.

<sup>191</sup> For a precise analog in the same play, review 4.2.100 et seq., quoted above where we read that “my lord hath sent you *this note*” (emphasis added).

## Recognition

In our fifth act, *Measure for Measure* swerves unexpectedly in the direction of tragedy. The Duke, it appears, may not be as trustworthy a jurist as we readers have been tempted to suppose. When Isabella, on his private urging in the previous act, publically reports the charges against Angelo, the Duke suddenly does the administrative two-step and starts to backpedal. Is it merely irony, or outright naked cynicism when he commands Isabella's testimony in these words:

Relate your wrongs. In what? By whom? Be brief.  
Here is Lord Angelo shall give you justice. Reveal yourself to  
him. (5.1.27-29)

The Duke knows the facts and has protested his support to Isabella. And yet, having heard her testimony, he dismisses her as a madwoman:

Away with her, poor Soul, she speaks this in the infirmity of sense. (5.1.47-48)

Isabella's answer might stand as an epigram to J.T. Looney's *Shakespeare Identified* (1920):

O gracious Duke,  
Harp not on that, nor do not banish reason  
For inequality; but let your reason serve  
To make the truth appear where it seems hid. (5.1.63-67)

In both of our dramas, after all, -- that of the Shakespeare authorship question (with its pettifogging substitutes galore) and of *Measure for Measure* -- we suppose that something false only seems true while the truth has been concealed -- originally by conspiratorial means but now just the world's failure to comprehend. As it turns out, the Duke is merely toying with the perceptions of the witnesses in his 5<sup>th</sup> Act. Indeed, Isabella has been warned in the prior act, by the Duke (incognito himself), of his own dark circumlocutions and courtroom verbal antics. "To speak *so indirectly*," Isabella tells Mariana,

I am loth;  
I would say the truth, but to accuse him so  
That is your part. Yet I am advis'd to do it,  
He says, to veil full purpose.

Besides, he tells me that, if peradventure  
He speak against me on the adverse side,  
I should think it strange for 'tis a physic  
That's bitter to sweet end. (4.6.1-8)

If this is "Shakespeare,"<sup>192</sup> it sure is not "gentle" William of Stratford. We are in the thick of an ornate, even mannerist, parody of the problem of conscience. The Duke's own heroine is advised to speak, against her own will, "indirectly," to "veil full purpose" so that the Duke can intervene on cue. Play your part, warns the Duke in his backstage directions in act four --so I can administer a "physic that's bitter to sweet end ." Don't be surprised if you find me, just like an author arguing for the necessity of his

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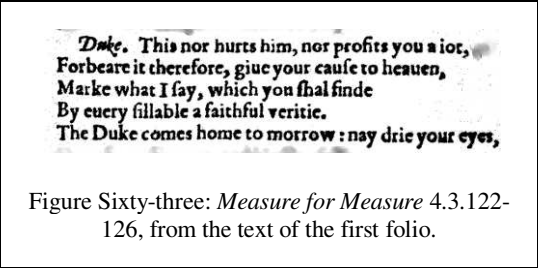
<sup>192</sup> Consider Dayton Haskin's apt characterization of the Duke as "at once a character in the world of the play, a dramatistlike designer who provides controlled experiences for his subjects, and a judge who observes and evaluates their actions. He performs all these functions with a view to heightening his subjects' awareness of moral complexities" (Haskin 3452).

temporary erasure from the public record, speaking against you, “on the adverse part”! The Duke, as author of his own “bringing’s-forth,” fully seems to apprehend that he is embroiled in a difficult “case of conscience” -- if not set within a nest of Chinese boxes, each one containing a new dimension on the problem of how to administer a harsh but healing medicine. Consider the Duke’s multiple devices: He wants Angelo humbled and reconciled with Mariana. He wants justice – and maybe something more – for Isabella. He wants punishment for the slanderer Lucio, restoration of public order in Vienna, and a happy ending for his play. But there is one more thing he wants. For he has already told Lucio, speaking in his friar’s disguise, that

The business he hath helmed<sup>193</sup> must upon a warranted need give him a better proclamation. Let him be but testimonied in his own bringings-forth and he shall appear to the envious a scholar, a statesman and a soldier. Therefore you speak unskillfully; or, if your knowledge be more, it is much darkened with your malice.

(3.2.136-144)

The Duke, in other words, wants recognition in, and for, his own “bringings-forth.” For this to happen, we readers must have a theory which can reconcile the generic actions of the play, and the general principles of law, language and mercy which are the play’s contribution to a theory of ethics, with the specific linguistic character in which those ideas are embodied and given substance. This is, after all, even more than *Hamlet*, Shakespeare’s most classically mannerist work—and mannerism is a mode characterized by “a personal unrest, a complex psychology that agitates the form and phrase,” evoking and holding its matter “in a state of dissonance, dissociation, and doubt” (Sypher 116-117). Serious critics of *Measure* know that the language of the play often seems superfluous to – if not incongruous with -- its presumed matter; among the most striking examples of this apparent misfit between the letter and the spirit of *Measure’s* law is the Duke’s oath to Isabella in the fourth act: “Mark what I say....By every syllable a faithful verity. The Duke comes home tomorrow”(figure sixty-three).



*Duke. This nor hurts him, nor profits you a jot,  
Forbear it therefore, giue your cause to heauen,  
Marke what I say, which you shal finde  
By every fillable a faithful veritie.  
The Duke comes home to morrow : nay drie your eyes,*

Figure Sixty-three: *Measure for Measure* 4.3.122-126, from the text of the first folio.

We are in act four, scene three; the Duke-in-disguise has just deceitfully informed Isabella of her brother’s execution, although he knows full well that if the provost has followed the messenger’s instructions to “swerve not from the smallest article of” his note -- Claudio has been reprieved. The authorities, at the direct or indirect instigation of the Duke, have staged a *false execution*, substituting Ragozine for Claudio. Nevertheless, the Duke provokes Isabella to tears with his false report of Claudio’s execution. What’s the point of this malicious emotion mongering? There is, it seems, only one motive for the Duke’s false report: he needs Isabella in tears. Her emotion sets the stage for his varied little mannerist jingle, “by every syllable a faithful verity.” With this oath, the disguised Duke Ludovico calms

Isabella's fears and prophesies his own return. Her brother may be dead, but the Duke will come riding in on his white stallion in the fifth act to make everything good in the end – o yes he will.

Have we here a final instance of what I termed, way back in our third act, the “doctrine of smallest things.” The Duke swears “by every syllable” that what he says is true, although he has just finished telling a monstrous but presumably justified fib. In an earlier case of justified deception in the same act he told Mariana that using Isabella as bait to entrap her husband was justified because “the justice of your title to him doth flourish the deceit.” The justice of Edward de Vere’s “title” to his own “bringing’s forth” could not fail to “flourish the deceit” of the Tudor political lie anatomized in books such as *The Mysterious William Shakespeare*. It may even now serve to remind us that that Duke’s oath to Isabella is a potent application of the “strangeness and unreason” of Christ’s gospel from Matthew<sup>194</sup>, in which we read the following, startlingly rabbinical, claim (figure sixty-four):

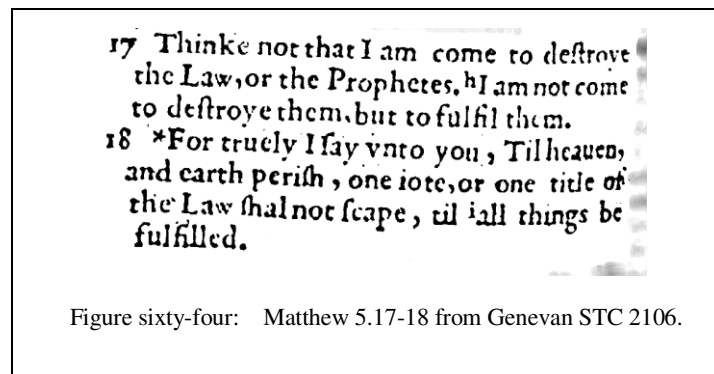


Figure sixty-four: Matthew 5.17-18 from Genevan STC 2106.

In the Duke’s witty jingle, “by every syllable a faithful veritie,” we find the anagrammatic seal of his close affinity to Edward de Vere, the same writer who in *SHAKE-SPEARES SONNETS* declares that “eVery word doth almost tell my name”<sup>195</sup>. The formative influence of the former text is Aristotle’s *Poetics*<sup>196</sup>; in *Measure for Measure*, it is Christ’s apocalyptic prophecy of the fulfillment of the law in Matthew. Christ’s doctrine in this passage is of the spiritual potency of each letter or syllable of an utterance. Inspired by this doctrine, De Vere’s answer to the Tudor state’s solution to the Shakespeare Question was to inscribe within this great and universal drama of the human conscience a tiny, secret but unmistakable badge of his authority-- a hidden signature just like that employed by visual artists deposited anamorphically<sup>197</sup> within a visual work, for whom the elucidation of their identity became the moral responsibility of a connoisseur. The Duke has finally reconciled the “letter” of the law with its spirit

<sup>193</sup> That is, helmeted (OED 1286: 207), or disguised by means of a helmet.

<sup>194</sup> For Calvin’s commentary on this critical passage see Pringle (1984, pp. 275-84). Calvin writes that Christ fulfilled the law “by quickening with his Spirit, the dead letter” (277) -- just as an actor does when filling the written word with the breath of life.

<sup>195</sup> Typography and emphasis supplied.

<sup>196</sup> Derrida has declared that truth is in the footnotes. For the dependency of Sonnet 76 on *The Poetics*, see XXI, concerning compound words (onoma triploun, tetraploun, pollaploun), metaphor (metaphora) et alia.

<sup>197</sup> In anamorphic art, “Like perspectives....rightly gazed upon/Show nothing but confusion,” but when they are “eyed awry, distinguish form” (*Richard II* 2.2.19).

and shown that mercy, and severity, if one may be pardoned the pun, belong to the same coin of the law. Thus measure answers measure: the justice of the true title flourishes the deceit. All that remains is for us to apprehend the time at which this epiphany will register. Jesus speaks of the “pleroma,” or moment of fulfillment, that moment when “all things shall be ready.”

Isabella, in the fifth act, echoes the Duke’s jingle with a variation on the de Vere motto, *vero nihil verius*<sup>198</sup>:

Truth is truth to the end of reckoning. (5.4.45)

Here our Arden editors assist us by recalling the relevant source-passage from Cinthio’s *Epitia*<sup>199</sup>:

Più ver, che il vero<sup>200</sup>,

Which translated back into English reads “more true than the true thing” – but says nothing about time.

Replies the ever-ironic Duke:

Poor soul, she speaks this in the infirmity of sense. (5.1.48).

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<sup>198</sup> Nothing truer than the truth.

<sup>199</sup> On Cinthio’s Italian drama as one of the play’s source texts, see Kenneth Muir’s “*Measure for Measure*,” in Geckle, 13-20.

<sup>200</sup> See also, of course, de Vere’s Jan. 1603 Danver’s Escheat letter: “I hope truth is subject to no prescription. For truth is truth, though never so old, and time cannot make that false which once was true” (Fowler 771). Prescription is used in its technical legal sense as denoting the “limitation of the time within which an action or a claim can be raised” -- which is same sense in which Isabella asserts the timeless and universal character of truth.



## CHAPTER 21.

### WHAT HAVE YOU DONE WITH THE BODY?

By the age of Elizabeth Tudor, the representation of the true Church as a second Israel, suffering bondage to Roman idolatry just as the Israelites had suffered bondage during the Babylonian exile, had become a commonplace among radical elements of the international Reformation. Luther's famous 1520 attack on the Catholic sacraments, which confutes the doctrine of transubstantiation as a primitive superstition, invoked the allegory in its title, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*. In setting out to liberate the true, hidden Church of "protestant" believers from Roman bondage, Luther's tract advocates eliminating five of the seven Catholic sacraments -- ordination, matrimony, confession, confirmation and extreme unction -- as encrustations of Latin superstition, wholly lacking in scriptural foundation. There are only three sacraments originally instituted by Christ: "Baptism, penance, and the bread" (152). Even these three, moreover, have been "subjected to a miserable captivity by the Roman curia, and the church has been robbed of all her liberty" (152).

Significantly, Luther uses the word "bread" when writing of the Eucharist. At stake in this innocuous transfer of terminology is the doctrine of transubstantiation itself, which declared that the "bread" employed in the Eucharist was converted *in toto* into the body of Christ through the intervention of the priest in mass. Affirming this traditional doctrine, the Council of Trent declared that anyone who denied "that wonderful and singular conversion of the whole substance of the bread into his body and the Wine into his Blood, the species [ie appearance] of the Bread and Wine remaining...." should be condemned as anathema.

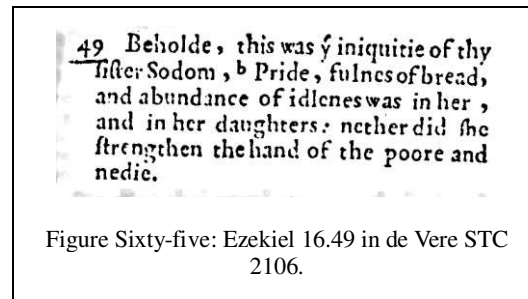
This theological context may be worth considering as we proceed to examine the Bible verse, marked in the de Vere Bible, which Richmond Noble in 1935 termed the "strongest of all" proofs testifying to Shakespeare's preference for the wording of the Geneva Bible over the Bishop's or other English translations. Noble explains the special significance this verse plays in establishing Shakespeare's reliance on the Geneva text:

When Hamlet in his excitement drops into the vernacular [he] utters, "A' took my father grossly, full of bread." It is in Ezek. Xvi.49 in the Genevan, "Behold, this was the iniquitie of thy sister Sodom, Pride, fulnesse of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her, and in her daughters." The other versions read "meate" instead of "bread."

(Noble 1935 67)



Naseeb Shaheen, in his recent survey of *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Tragedies* (1987 104), concurs that Hamlet's allusion must be ranked among several key examples of Shakespeare's dependence on the Geneva translation. No other English translation of Shakespeare's day translates the word "bread" in this context. This verse is marked in Edward de Vere's Geneva Bible (figure sixty-five).



Although the theological implications of Hamlet's wording have been overlooked by all previous commentators, these implications are consistent with what is known about Shakespeare's systematic employment of Biblical pretexts for thematic purposes. Cosgrove (1970), in his dissertation on Biblical, liturgical and classical allusions in *Merchant of Venice*, observes that such allusions are "thematically functional parts of the play rather than ornamental appendages" (DAI 31/7 (1971), 3498A). In this case, Hamlet's reference to his father dying "full of bread" carries an inter-textual implication which reverberates beyond the Cartesian walnut shell of conventional Stratfordian criticism of the play to the existential boundaries of the "brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestic roof fretted with golden fire" (2.2.300-01) which Hamlet lauds.

Unlike all the other English versions of the period, the Geneva Bible's "bread" was an accurate translation from existing pre-texts. The Greek Septuagint reads "ἄρτων" and the Vulgate "panis." It is surprising in view of this that both Coverdale's Great Bible of 1539 and the Bishop's Bible of 1568 -- the latter consciously sanctioned to make available a translation free from the anti-Papal undertones of the Geneva Bible -- translate the word as "meat". Why did all of Whittingham's fellow English translators choose this inaccurate word in place of the correct word, *bread*? I suggest the answer lies in the explosive doctrinal implications of the word "bread." Consider this passage from Luther's 1520 tract:

For my part, I cannot fathom how the bread is the body of Christ, yet I will make my reason captive to the obedience of Christ (II Cor. 10.5) and clinging simply to his words, firmly believe not only that body of Christ is in the bread, but that the bread is the body of Christ. My warrant for this is the words which say: "He took bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and said, 'take, eat, this (that is the bread, which he had taken and broken) is my body' [I Cor. 11.23-24]. And Paul says: "The bread which we break, is it not a participation in the body of Christ?"

(Luther 150-51).

In affirming that Christ is not "in" the bread but that the bread literally "is" the body of Christ, Luther is rejecting transubstantiation in favor of what became known as the doctrine of the "real presence," a theory of the Eucharist which dispensed with the priest as an intermediary whose ritual intervention was necessary to transform the bread into Christ's body prior to the communion. Clearly, in such a context of theological conflict, the word "bread" had assumed an awesome doctrinal significance. However correct

it may have been from a philological point of view, orthodox critics of the Geneva translation of Ezekiel 16.49 may well have cringed at the word's implications.

In considering this proposition, it is worth emphasizing that the text is *Ezekiel*, a book of the Bible which Luther and other reformers saw as a fertile source for critiquing the moral laxity of the Roman Catholic world. In *Ezekiel* they found a pre-existing typological allegory easily adaptable to their own purposes of making a prophetic criticism of the Roman Church. Ezekiel compares the idolatrous sins of his own people to those of Sodom and Gomorrah, ancient cities destroyed by the wrath of the Lord because of the sinfulness of their citizens. Like Sodom and Gomorrah, Israel has become rich, complacent and proud.

The typological template equating Israel-in-bondage with Sodom could be transferred to the Roman Church with the stroke of a pen, as Luther had already done in his 1520 tract. Pursuing the implications of Luther's typological comparison of the Church to fallen Israel, the Whittingham translation of the chapter is sprinkled with barbed notes aimed at the Catholic establishment, notes which imitate Ezekiel's own allegorical devices but transfer the topological allegory to a present context. When, for instance, the Genevan editors affix a note to Ezekiel 16.51, "thou art so wicked, that in respect of thee Sodom and Samaria were just," the vagueness of the second person pronoun "thou" transfers the implied object of Ezekiel's wrath from Israel to Rome, while concealing the critique with plausible deniability. It was this anti-papal tone, found chiefly in the marginal notes of the Geneva translation, to which Archbishop Parker objected in his correspondence to Queen Elizabeth when seeking sanction for the Bishop's translation of 1568. Without an authorized translation, warned Parker, the Queen's subjects would continue to favor "translations which have not byn laboured in your Realme having interspersed diverse prejudicall notis which might have been well spared" (Betterides 41). In his instructions to his translators, Parker charged them to avoid controversial wording and above all to "make no bitter notis upon any text, or yet to set downe any determinacion in places of controversie" (Betterides 41).

It may be appropriate here to consider Oxford's own religious attitudes as known from documents other than his Geneva Bible. It seems that sometime after his 1576 sojourn to the continent<sup>201</sup>, Oxford joined with Lord Henry Howard, Francis Southwell and Charles Arundel in making a secret profession of conversion to Roman Catholicism. Whatever his reasons for this swerve back towards the Old faith, it is apparent that Oxford soon came to regret the political implications of this decision; in December 1580 he accused his former associates of plotting counter-reformation, and Howard and Arundel, fighting to

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<sup>201</sup> It may be worth speculating that perhaps one of Oxford's purposes in travelling to Italy was to see if he could acquire a Papal annulment for his marriage to Anne Cecil which, according to Catholic canon law, was incestuous, since Anne was his classificatory adoptive sibling. In any event, Oxford did not become reconciled to Anne until some time after his 1580 informing on Howard and Arundel. In the interim, his liaison with Anne Vavasour, apparently a Catholic, may have strengthened his resolve towards the old faith. The couple were separated – and de Vere cut off from his books and other implements of his early domestic life—for five years. The reconciliation with Burghley's daughter took place sometime after 1581 but before July 1583; in April 1584 Anne gave birth to the couple's second child, Bridget Vere. Thus, the known facts are consistent with this intriguing theory.

save themselves from the taint of treason, leveled a number of ominous counter-accusations, properly regarded by Ward as in the main "preposterous slanders" (1928 222), against Oxford. For a number of reasons, it appears that although Oxford was in spirit sympathetic to the ideals, aesthetics, and rituals of the ancient Church, he could not ultimately reconcile himself to the political actions taken on behalf of that faith during his own lifetime.

Among the cohort-forming events of Oxford's life was the August 24, 1572, St. Bartholomew's Day massacre. Oxford's frantic letter recounting the horrors of the "cruelty" spreading all across France, cited *in extenso* in appendix N, reveals not merely the natural revulsion any sensitive spirit would have felt in response to the massacre but, one feels, a moment of genuine concern and affection for Lord Burghley, who had insured that his religious education include the commentaries of Calvin. By the end of the cruelty, many thousands of reformed Huguenots had been sacrificed before the altar of religious intolerance. With few exceptions, Church doors were locked shut against victims seeking sanctuary from the bloodbath. Although tempted by the aesthetic splendor of the Medieval world, de Vere could not after that time return to the Catholic fold without betraying a humanist cosmopolitanism which was revolted by the spectacle of butchery under any flag. While his cousins Horatio and Francis went on to become military heroes in their campaign against Spanish aggression in the Lowlands, de Vere eventually earned a reputation as a conforming Anglican with pronounced philosophical affinity to the Catholic faith but a strong political loyalty to the Anglican settlement. His name is thus recorded in papal documents among a list of prominent English nobles classified as conforming Anglicans with Catholic sympathies<sup>202</sup>.

Thus, we find a mirror of de Vere's religious condition in the life of Hamlet. Although the son of a Catholic father, Hamlet's theology and outlook are Calvinist or -- perhaps -- Christian existentialist.

The Shakespeare plays reflect this cosmopolitan humanism; they are deeply engaged, though often in subtle ways, with the crisis of religious conscience brought about by the reformation, and never on the side of dogma. As Peter Milward -- and before him Christopher Devlin -- has urged, *Hamlet*, for example, is a parable of the reformation. The Catholic father, slain precipitously, "unhousled, unanointed, unaneled" -- i.e., without Catholic rites of extreme unction -- is condemned to purgatory<sup>203</sup>. Hamlet, schooled at Wittenberg where Martin Luther nailed his 95 theses to the Cathedral door in 1517 -- wanders in a world which can no longer *be* Catholic. Hamlet delays revenge not from any a-historical neurosis, but as the result of a moral casuistry which is peculiar to the formative moment in the Protestant psyche of which he remains the outstanding mythic paradigm. Grieved by the "breach in nature" brought about by the reformation (Milward 1971 274), but unable to accept the compromised morality of the Catholic world as emblemized in the St. Bartholomew's day massacre, Hamlet stands like a man "to double

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<sup>202</sup> For a discussion of de Vere's religious sensibility, and his temporary return to the Roman Church c. 1576-1582, see Ward 207, 230.

<sup>203</sup> A critical point of doctrine, since Anglicans denied the existence of purgatory and of ghosts.

business bound," unable to move forward towards the "brave new world" of capitalism or to return to an idealized past of the Catholic world and the manor house mode of production. As Gayle Greene has recently emphasized, Shakespeare himself remained profoundly suspicious of the emerging doctrine of rationality on which the new order depended. A medievalist or an existentialist, he withheld his approval from the "'brave new world' he saw on the horizon, the Enlightenment, perhaps, whose spirit of capitalism, he suspected, did not bode well" (Kamps 25).

In *Hamlet*, Shakespeare concentrates attention on an exceedingly significant but poorly-documented shift in ritual practice which distinguished the emerging Protestant order from the traditional, medieval world of Catholicism -- namely, the elimination of extreme unction. As Peter Milward has noted, the ghost's complaint focuses on this ritual shift. He wanders in purgatory not because he has been murdered, but because "he has been murdered *without a chance to prepare himself for death*" (1973 19: emphasis added).

The Protestant ethic believed in the innate depravity of man, and practiced the kind of daily vigilance against any outbreak of sin parodied in the figure and actions of Angelo in *Measure for Measure*. For Protestants, the practice of extreme unction was not an invitation to immortality, but to immorality. To endorse forgiveness of accumulated sins as a pre-requisite to death, could only be an encouragement to sin. Logically, the criticism was unanswerable. As long as the Church allowed such an escape clause, which could be activated at the last moment in any life, no rational person pursuing worldly pleasure could be deterred from sin by threats of eternal damnation. Such a person would sin to his heart's content as long the Church promised the existential salvation of extreme unction. Accordingly, the terms of the ghost's complaint -- that he has been murdered "unhousled" and "unaneled" -- were outlawed, along with the practice of extreme unction, by the 1581 Elizabethan Proclamation on the uniformity of religion.

The results have been anatomized in Max Weber's classic sociological analysis, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. The elimination of this rite, as "Shakespeare" clearly perceives, was a major blow to the relaxed existential condition of medieval man and woman vis-à-vis their Protestant counterparts -- as well as a major incitement to the accumulation of primitive surplus and anxiety-driven expansive potential of mercantile capitalism. Thus, although Shakespeare's theology clearly involves an accommodation to Anglican doctrine motivated by his alienation from Catholic practices and recognition of the moral force of the reformer's critique, his world view is not easily reconciled with Protestantism, at least in its more Puritan and democratic elements, either.

It is easy to fool ourselves on this point. However scandalous it might seem from a late twentieth-century Anglo-American context, Shakespeare holds himself aloof from the brave new world of capitalism, with its seemingly inexorable dissolution of the hierarchy of values, as well as hierarchical and stable class relations, embodied in the great chain of being. His own doubt is expressed in Hamlet's

sardonic footnote on the former possessor of the skull who "might be in's time a great buyer of land" and whose "fine of fines" and "recovery of his recoveries" is to have his "fine pate full of fine dirt" (5.1.101-106).

Accordingly, when Hamlet cites the Geneva Bible phrase from Ezekiel 16.49 he is, as it were, consciously manipulating the most potent religious symbol of the 16<sup>th</sup> century for his own theological purposes. As it seems to have been for William Whittingham, Hamlet's reference to his deceased Catholic father dying "full of bread" is a reformation mousetrap. It implies that, as Lafeu says in another play, "the age of miracles is past" (*All's Well* 2.3.1). Transubstantiation has failed to produce the miracle of a new man, freed from sin. Hamlet Sr. is the same "old man" -- dead but not yet freed from the bondage of sin.

### ***The Corpus Christi in Hamlet***

"What have you done, my lord, with the dead body?" demands Rosencrantz. It is a question asked and re-asked, answered and re-answered in several riddles, taking up more than sixty-five lines of blank verse and two scenes of our play (4.2-3). When Rosencrantz and Guildenstern cannot get a clear answer from the antic Prince, Claudius, who has sent them to "seek him and to find the body," demands again, with elaborate patience: "Now, Hamlet, where's Polonius?" Finally Hamlet has an answer. But the catechistical play of question and answer in the two scenes reminds us of the theological import of this forensic inquest. The word "body," like the word "bread," has inescapable doctrinal signification. The slain sacramental body of Hamlet's "Jeptha" -- the "old man" of the Old Testament -- undergoes transubstantiation at death and becomes a parody of the doctrines of habeas corpus<sup>204</sup> and of corpus Christi: "At supper," answers the theologically acute Hamlet.

Claud. At supper? Where?

Ham. Not where he eats, but where he is eaten. A certain convocation of politic worms are e'en at him. Your worm is your only Emperor for diet: we fat all creatures else to fat us, and we fat ourselves for maggots. Your fat king and your lean beggar is but variable service -- two dishes, but one table. That's the end.

(4.3.18-25)

Hamlet's speech is a parody of doctrinal disputation over the Eucharist, complete with topical reference to vital events of the reformation. His image of the "convocation of politic worms" and the worm as the "only emperor for diet" alludes to the 1521 Imperial Diet of Worms at which Martin Luther was cross-examined by imperial inquisitors demanding a retraction of his heretical views (Jenkins 340 n. 21). These worms are feasting on the body or "corpus" of Polonius/Christ, the sacrificial victim of Hamlet's own scourging violence against the corrupt state.

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<sup>204</sup> I am indebted to Elizabeth Petroff for this fascinating observation, the implications of which cannot be pursued in the present context.

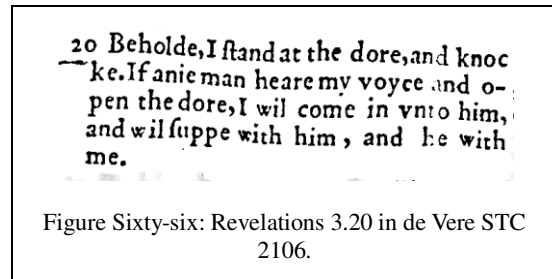
The passage supplies a compelling "topical" proof for the Oxfordian reading of the play: William Cecil was born in the same year as the Diet of Worms and was reportedly fond of boasting of this coincidence (Ogburn 1984 369).

An additional proof can be supplied from a literary point of view. Claudius, offended by Hamlet's apparently delusional references to the body devoured by worms, reiterates:

Claud. Where is Polonius?

Ham. In heaven. Send thither to see. If your messenger find him not there, seek him I' th' other place yourself. (4.3.32-35)

Because Hamlet's "supper" of politic worms is now located "in heaven," Naseeb Shaheen refers to this passage as "a clear echo of the Biblical supper promised to those who inherit the kingdom of heaven" (1987 108) and detects a possible allusion to a marked verse in the de Vere Bible, Revelation 3.20<sup>205</sup>(figure sixty-six), in which this theme is mentioned.



By far the most intriguing perspective for analyzing the passage is, however, the doctrinal one. Hamlet's riddling answers to the inquisition over the location of the corpse of Polonius are fraught with theological conundrums. The busybody old counselor, killed "dead for a ducat," and for being "too busy" while alive, undergoes a parody of transubstantiation after death. His Protestant "corpus" is translated by a host of worms. Hamlet the existentialist concludes that although the Protestant critique of Catholicism may have been inevitable, it has replaced corrupt and complaisant despots with meddling Jephthas like Polonius who will do almost anything for a ducat. Both, in the end, will be devoured by worms.

<sup>205</sup> For possible alternative influences see Shaheen 1987 108.



## **CHAPTER 22.**

### **AN UNWEEDED GARDEN**

Hamlet's "mousetrap" reference to the image of bread in Ezekiel -- a prophetic prefiguring of the fate of the Eucharist in a reformed world -- is no isolated display of scholastic pyrotechnics. His consciousness operates on a higher level of awareness than that of any other character in the drama. When Claudius admits out loud "if thou knewest our purposes in sending thee to England," Hamlet is three steps ahead of him: "I see a cherub," he announces, "that sees them" (4.3.50). Far from being insane, then, Hamlet represents the most developed manifestation of the deep Shakespearean archetype of the holy prophet. Like Feste or Touchstone, he speaks in riddles and enigmas. Unlike them, he is a Prince of the realm who is destined to inherit power and influence -- if he survives.

The prophet belongs to the class of mythic character-types in Shakespeare. Indeed the plays, as Harold Goddard has apprehended, are a prolonged symphonic meditation on the dilemma of the artist/prophet confronted by brute force. Cordelia, Hamlet, Lucrece, Feste and many more, are characters whose knowledge of the unspeakable brings them into unavoidable conflict with the prevailing social norms of the world in which they live and make symbolic acts. They understand that "where force rules, truth must either undergo martyrdom, be silent, or speak a language its enemy cannot understand" (Goddard 61). These Shakespearean characters are nourished by the deep well-spring of their literary antecedents in Ovid and other sources. The author's mythic paleo-symbols -- Philomela, Orpheus, or even David -- embody the quest for a language which can survive the disfiguring rituals imposed by political power and still communicate critical truths. They live in a world, like that of the marked Bible verse Hosea 9.7, in which political corruption and moral blindness decree that "the Prophet is a fool" and the "spiritual man is mad" (figure sixty-seven).



The dilemma is directly addressed in Sonnet 66, in which "Shakespeare" complains of "art made tongue-tied by authority."

In Elizabethan England one can identify two distinct sources of political intolerance which would have threatened to silence the artist "Shakespeare." One is the central authority of the monarch, staged in the late

tragedy *King Lear*. The other, --more subtle, insidious and ultimately more dangerous to Shakespeare's survival -- was populist religious antagonism to the theatre. And therein lies a curious paradox.

As Jonas Barish has argued in *The Anti-Theatrical Prejudice*, the "age of Shakespeare" was also an age of steadily accumulating hostility to theatrical representation. A latent hostility, which can be traced back to the earliest manifestations of the 16<sup>th</sup> century theatrical impulse, rises in a steady crescendo throughout the Elizabethan period; only in the reign of Charles I does "the attack move into high gear, beginning to take on the rancorous and envenomed character that increasingly stamps it until it reaches a climax with the dissolution of the stage in 1642" (Barish 83).

This popular anti-theatrical prejudice of Elizabethan England was not only influential in setting public policy limiting playgoing, but also deeply rooted in Church doctrines which, although originally articulated by Medieval clerics, were enthusiastically adopted and prosecuted to their logical conclusion only by 17<sup>th</sup> century Puritans such as William Prynne and Bourdaloue.

According to Bourdaloue, gambling was sinful when practiced in excess but theatre is "intrinsically evil and will remain so under any circumstances" (cited in Barash 80). In the traditional distinction, going back to Tyndale and Wycliffe in England, between human and devilish sins, playacting and playgoing were customarily confuted as members of the second species. Playgoing, as Barash summarizes the 16<sup>th</sup> doctrine, which was powerful enough to exert a definite influence in high places such as the Queen's own privy council, "smells of brimstone; it betokens a settled hardness of heart, a defiance akin to that which produced the revolt in heaven, and enlists its adherents in the legions of the damned" (81). Salvanius, a disciple of Augustine, held that while most sins defiled only active participants, indulgence in playgoing defiled by the mere fact of making the spectator a witness of sinful acts. "The indecencies of the spectacles," wrote Salvanius, "involve both actors and audience in substantially the same guilt."

As peculiar as it might seem, Hamlet shares certain prominent character traits with leading anti-theatrical propagandists such as William Prynne (1600-1669) or his antecedent, de Vere's cohort Stephen Gosson (1554-1624) -- with whose anti-theatrical tracts "Shakespeare" was certainly familiar. Hamlet's critique of the court as a decadent world of appearances which requires prophetic intervention and the

7 The dayes of visiration are come:  
the dayes of recompense are come: Ifra-  
el that knowe it: the Prophet is a foole:  
the spiritual man is mad, for the multi-  
tude of thine iniquitie: therefore y ha-  
tred is great.

Figure Sixty-seven: Hosea 9.7 in de Vere STC 2106.

restoration of justice, even at the cost of tragic self-destruction, paradoxically allies him with the powerful anti-theatrical forces which inhibited the influence of theatre for many decades during the first century of the existence of the works of Shakespeare and for a few years during the Cromwellian era even succeeded in completely closing the public stage. Like these Puritans, Hamlet follows the prophetic tradition of the Old Testament by placing the ideal of justice over that of peace. When he rails against the court at Elsinore as an "unweeded garden" -- a den of idolatry, incest and drunken ribaldry which invites the cleansing intervention of a higher power-- Hamlet overtly echoes this Old Testament prophetic tradition:

How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable  
Seem to me all the uses of this world!  
Fie on't! Oh, fie, fie! 'Tis an unweeded garden,  
That grows to seed; Things rank and gross in nature  
Possess it merely.

(1.2.133-137)

The "unweeded garden" image is not peculiar to Hamlet, as Hankins has observed; it is "one of Shakespeare's most vivid images and appears in various forms throughout his work" (189). Commentators connect several occurrences of the figure with the apocalyptic image of the abandoned garden of post-apocalyptic Jerusalem, which has gone to seed in the marked verses of Hosea Chapter Ten (see figure sixty-eight). Milward (1987 72) finds a reference to Hosea 10.13 in *Othello*: "If we will plant nettles or

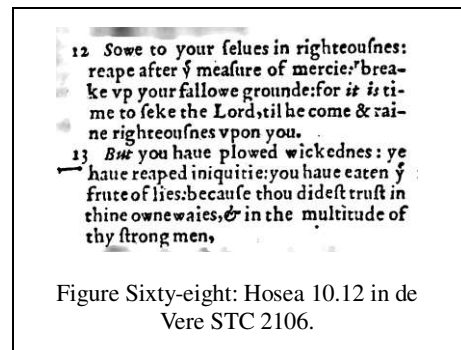


Figure Sixty-eight: Hosea 10.12 in de Vere STC 2106.

sow lettuce" (1.3.322); Shaheen cites another possible reference in *Coriolanus*: "In soothing them nourish 'gainst our senate/The cockle of rebellion, insolence, sedition,/which we ourselves have ploughed for, sow'd and scattered" (3.1.169-72) and in *Love's Labour's Lost*: "Sow'd cockle, reap'd no corn,/ and justice always whirls in equal measure" (4.3.380-81). Carter (390) detects a reference to Hosea 10.12: "Virtue? A fig! 'Tis in ourselves that we are thus, or thus. Our bodies are our gardens, to the which our wills are gardeners" (*Othello* 1.3.39-21). Hamlet, however, is the most prominent character in the canon for whom the image acquires a central importance in defining his moral relation to the world of appearances. Like the Puritans, Hamlet believes that the garden requires a thorough weeding.

Hamlet also shares with the Puritan theatrical critics a certain anticipation of radical Cartesian doubt when he suspects that the phenomenal world of appearances is a world of deceit. His "seems, Madam, I know not seems" expresses in lapidary form the somewhat affected disdain of corrupting spectacle which motivated 16<sup>th</sup> century "Puritan" critics of the theatre. But Hamlet's anti-theatrical tendencies can perhaps most vividly and directly be discerned in his diatribe against female cosmetics:

I have heard of your paintings well enough. God hath given you one face and you make yourselves another. You jig, you amble, you lisp, you nickname God's creatures, and make your wantonness your ignorance.

(3.1.142-46)

Cosmetics are a kind of "painting" -- a word which nearly always in Shakespeare conveys a sense of artificiality and deception. Hamlet's tirade mirrors so directly the anti-theatrical rhetoric of the era that it is difficult to believe the similarity can be anything but intentional, however paradoxical the connection might seem. As William Prynne inveighs in one late but apt version of the complaint: "The common accursed hellish art of face painting....which sophisticates and perverts the work of God, in putting a false gloss on his creatures" (X4-X4v). Cosmetics, like theatrical feigning, usurp the creative primacy of God, who established the world in a natural state of eternal order according to his divine plan. The anti-theatrical literature of the Elizabethan and Stuart periods habitually makes this association between cosmetics, which fictively adorn the body, and theatre, which sets a fictive "gloss" on reality which has the same destabilizing influence as cosmetics. Women who employ cosmetics "devise artificiall formes and favoures, to set upon their bodies and faces, by painting and colouring; thereby making themselves seem that which indeede they are not" (Perkins 1608).

The ultimate source of this "anti-theatrical" rhetoric, of course, is the belief of late historical prophets such as Jeremiah and Hosea, that the cause of the loss of Jerusalem was idolatry -- the worshipping of "fictional" -- imaginative -- graven images. Under Solomon and especially his grandson Rehoboam, Israel strayed from the straight and narrow path of monotheism, constructing idols representing local divinities worshiped by its Cananite neighbors. The annotator takes careful note of the prophet's diagnosis of idolatry as the source of the fall of Jerusalem, marking passages such as I Kings 15.11-13: "Asa did right in the eyes of the Lord" by expelling the idolators and destroying the idols built by his mother Maachah.

Like these partisan critics of the theatre, Hamlet yearns for the ontological stability expressed in the Sonnet writer's claim that "I am that I am" (121). He suspects the ghost of being "a devil" and knows -- in his own paraphrase of Shakespeare's favorite Bible verse II Corinthians 11.14 -- that "the devil hath power/T' assume a pleasing shape" (2.2.600). Other characters in the play mouth the same moral, but use words which incriminate themselves as participants in the world of mere "seeming." Polonius, for example, cites the same Bible verse with the parenthetical comment, "'Tis too much proved," and then remarks that "with devotion's visage/And pious action we do sugar o'er the devil himself" (3.1.46-47). Claudius, standing by, agrees:

O, 'tis too true,  
How smart a lash that speech doth give my conscience  
The harlot's cheek, beautied with plastering art,  
Is not more ugly to the thing that helps it,  
Than is my deed to my painted word.  
O heavy burden!

(3.1.48-52)

But although these characters share the same moral assumptions about the fallen world of appearances, unlike the reformation-minded Hamlet they believe in the innate depravity of the human

condition and offer apologies for their sins while avoiding authentic repentance. Their words, like cosmetics or stage paint, are designed to disguise and accommodate their own sins rather than express a desire for reformation. When the first player apologizes for the debased imitation of humanity current in some theatrical productions, with the hope that "we have reformed that indifferently with us," Hamlet abruptly snaps back: "Oh reform it altogether" (3.2.37).

Of course it would be a reduction of the worst sort to treat Hamlet as a Puritan. His expression encompasses the entire range of religious feeling -- from the deepest iconoclastic misanthropy to the most sublime, Catholic appreciation for God's glorious handiwork -- which an Elizabethan could experience. Isolated and alienated from his fellow students at Wittenberg, who are easily suborned by the lure of money and their naïve respect for established authority, Hamlet encounters real human contact only from the players. Class protocol disintegrates as he enthusiastically welcomes the itinerant troop to Elsinore and invites them to join in his prophetic plot to capture the conscience of the King in drama. For the first and only time in the drama, Hamlet becomes a whole, happy, alive being.

In his paradoxical character, Hamlet embodies the contradiction of the stern Protestant moralist who cannot shake his love for theatrical spectacle. His moral fervor is, however, tempered by a very un-Puritan tolerance for the fallen condition of the human subject. His philosophy is more reminiscent of the Florentine neo-Platonists than the severe doctrines of the anti-theatrical reformers. Like Pico or Ficino, Hamlet thinks syncretically, reconciling rather than banishing paradox.

Ultimately Hamlet reconciles his ambivalence about the world of appearances by transforming the theatre into an agent of prophetic action, a weapon against corruption. His model is the English Chronicle tradition of didactic history written to educate the reader to comprehend the unfolding ethical process of divine providence. While the Puritans distinguished history from theatrical representation because the former was true and the latter hypocritically fictitious, "Shakespeare" seeks the inner unity by which both forms of representation are united by their dedication to the divine will and their quest to discover the laws which govern human affairs.

13 Because of the foolish deuises of their  
wickednes wherewith they were decei-  
ued, and worshiped serpents, that had  
not the vse of reason, & vile beastes, y  
sendidst a multitude of vnreasonable  
beastes vpon them for a vengeance, y  
they might knowe that wherewith a  
man sinneth, by the same also shal he be  
punished.

Figure Sixty-nine: Wisdom 11.13 in de Vere  
STC 2106 underlines the final moral of the  
play  
Hamlet.

When Hamlet declares that "the play's the thing/wherein I'll catch the conscience of the king" he is following the moral paradigm laid down in Wisdom 3.10, which states that the ungodly "shalbe punished according to *their <own> imaginacions*" (Figure Seventy). As organized, objective and inter-subjective "imagination," the theatre is as capable of exerting moral force as the unregulated and private imagination of the sinner. In keeping with the Anglican liturgy, Hamlet uses his theatrical forces to evoke an imaginative response; he puts Claudius "in remembrance of those things wherein [he] has offended," placing him in a kind of psychological purgatory which is the modern, Protestant equivalent of the medieval purgatory to which Hamlet's own father, cut off "in the blossoms of his sin," is condemned. Through theatrical representation Hamlet thus restages the murder of his father in allegory. His representation is a mousetrap for the imagination of the king, provoking confrontation, confession, and ultimately just revenge and (pyrrhic) cleansing of the garden. This is Shakespeare's tragic answer to the anti-theatrical critique of theatre as intrinsic idolatry -- he transforms it into a prophetic instrument of political justice.

Despite his enthusiasm for the theatre, one can easily suspect that Hamlet believes that there is something sinful about his dramaturgical avocation. For one thing, it implicates him in a crossing of class boundaries which provokes anxiety and invites real danger. The sonnet writer admits to his unshakable feeling of being "shamed by that which I bring forth" -- i.e. his theatrical works. Thus, although Hamlet succeeds in his theatrical attempt to capture "the conscience of the King," he cannot escape the moral law that "wherewith a man sinneth" (figure sixty-nine) he is punished: inevitably Hamlet will be punished by the theatrical devices of a conspiratorial court:

Ere I had made a prologue to my brains,  
They had begun the play.

(5.2.30-31)

**10** \* But the vngodlie shalbe punished  
according to their imaginacions: for  
they haue despised the righteous, and  
forfaken the Lord.

Figure Seventy: Wisdom 3.10 in de Vere STC  
2106.

## CHAPTER 23.

### HAMLET'S *ALETHEIA*: THE GOSPEL OF JOHN AS PRETEXT AND SUBTEXT OF *HAMLET*

*Hamlet* is a play about the representation of political power. The cryptonymic dramatist, Hamlet, inserts a local mousetrap into the Italian drama, *The Murder of Gonzago*, which the players have brought on tour to Elsinore. His purpose is to "catch the conscience of the king," and he succeeds in this ambition, although the victory is a Pyrrhic one which eventually leads to Hamlet's own political murder by means of poison. From its opening scenes, in which we read of Hamlet's father murdered "within mine orchard" (Genesis 3), to the bitter *dénouement* in which Hamlet's friend Laertes, "as a woodcock" to his "own spring" is "justly killed with mine own treachery" (Wisdom 11.13), the play is anchored in Judeo-Christian scriptural precedent<sup>206</sup>. These Biblical references lay emphasis on the points of doctrine and belief around which the play is built and upon which its dramatic action ultimately depends. What is more, they impart an oracular quality to the text by situating it in an inter-textual field, the marked elements of which comment not merely on the play itself but also on the historical context in which the play was written, on the psychological circumstances in which it was alienated from the author, and on the compensatory role which religious belief played in allowing him to justify, rationalize, and cope with this loss of public identity.

An instance of the oracular character of these biblical topoi when considered in relation to the play and the circumstances of its authorship is the influence of Revelations 14.13 (figure seventy-one) on the gravedigger scene. When the clown declares that Ophelia shall "rest her soul," the prayer, as Peter Milward (1987 54) has suggested, refers to Revelations 14.13 or its derivations in the Catholic requiem for the dead (figure 71).

13 Then I heard a voyce from heauen,  
saying vnto me, Write, <sup>9</sup> Blessed are y<sup>e</sup>  
dead, which hereafter dye "in y<sup>e</sup> Lord.  
Euen so saith the Spirit: for they rest  
from their labours, and their workes  
followe them.

Figure Seventy-one: *Revelations* 14.13 in de Vere STC 2106.

As Milward observes, in contrast to the Anglican service, the traditional Catholic requiem makes frequent reference to the "rest" which the dead enjoy. Even Milward, however, seems to have overlooked the special role of Revelations 14.13 as an Urtext for *Hamlet*. The "commandment" which Hamlet swears to observe in the critically important and enigmatic scene 1.5 is apparently<sup>207</sup> that found in this marked verse in *Revelations* – "write -- 'blessed are the dead'"

From the table of my memory,  
I'll wipe away all fond trivial records,  
All saws<sup>208</sup> of books, all forms, all pressures past,  
That youth and observation copied there,  
And *thy commandment* all alone shall live  
Within *the book and volume* of my brain.

(1.5.98-103)

Not one hundred lines later, while urging his confederates Horatio and Marcellus to join his oath, Hamlet silences the ghost in words which underline the pre-eminent centrality of Revelations 14.13 in shaping the play's theological atmosphere: "rest, rest, perturbed spirit" (1.5.182). A state of restlessness, of course, is precisely the condition of a ghost confined to fast in purgatory, "cut off" in the "blossoms of my sin, unhousl'd, disappointed, unanel'd/, no reck'ning made, but sent to my account with all my imperfections on my head" (1.5.76-79)-- that is, without hearing Catholic rites of extreme unction<sup>209</sup> to which the technical language unambiguously points. Nor should this emphasis on the point of doctrine be dismissed as mere anachronistic confusion on the author's part; it is instead a testimony to his penetrating sociological realism and covert purpose to use the schema of the ancient story of the 11<sup>th</sup> century Danish prince as a vehicle for exploring the existential dilemmas created by the huge "rift in nature" wrought by the 16<sup>th</sup> century Protestant reformation. Like the emerging Calvinist character type diagnosed three centuries later in Weber's *The Spirit of Protestantism in the Rise of Capitalism*, the ghost is unable to "rest" precisely because he has lost the stable psychological moorings once provided by the Roman sacraments including, most importantly, extreme unction. As Christopher Devlin became the first modern scholar to observe in his essay, "Hamlet's Divinity," the purgatorial condition of the ghost results not from the intrinsic evil of Hamlet's father<sup>210</sup>, but from the absence of a cultural ritual which was in Shakespeare's own lifetime fading from practice in the emerging Anglican Zeitgeist of Elizabethan England. Contrary to modern secular or psychoanalytical readings of the drama, I argue that the historically situated religious

<sup>206</sup> Carter (1905) lists 82 Bible references in the play, more than he lists for any other play except Richard II (86); Noble counts 44, again second only to Richard II (50); Shaheen (1987) counts as many as 92 Bible references in the play.

<sup>207</sup> The conjunction of "tables" and "commandment" imparts a definite Biblical aura to the entire speech. For an alternative Biblical influence, see Proverbs 3.3, "Let not mercie and truth forsake thee:binde them on thy necke, & write them upon the table of thine heart" or Proverbs 7.3, "binde them upon thine fingers, and write them upon the table of thine heart" (Genevan 1570). "Tables" also suggests the Latin *tabulae*. A *Tabula* could be, in addition to a writing tablet, a public record, state papers, or last will and testament (Andrews 1512).

<sup>208</sup> OED 2649 (1450) lists four possibly relevant obsolete definitions of this word: 1) A saying; discourse; speech; 2) Story, tale, recital; 3) A decree, command; 4) A sententious saying, a traditional maxim, a proverb.

<sup>209</sup> On the centrality of the importance of these rites in Hamlet see Devlin (n.d.), "Hamlet's Divinity" (30-43) and Mutschmann and Wentdorf's *Shakespeare and Catholicism* (esp. the chapter on "Catholic Dogmas, Ideas and Customs", pp. 212-265, esp. 221-222, 244-248).

<sup>210</sup> It is clear enough that Hamlet's father was a sinner -- he died "cut off even in the blossoms of my sin" -- but had he confessed, been absolved, and received extreme unction, he would have been granted unambiguous remission from sin and promise of divine election. Without this final rite, he wanders in purgatory and sets loose the destabilizing commandment for revenge.

problem of the loss of extreme unction lies at the heart of Hamlet's drama; when the prince later obtains his one opportunity to effect revenge against Claudius, the King is at his prayers, forcing Hamlet into a complex theological ratiocination:

Now might I do it pat, now a is a praying.  
 And now I'll do it. [draws his sword]  
 And so I am reveng'd. That would be scann'd:  
 A villain kills my father, and for that  
 I, his sole son, do this same villain send  
 To heaven.  
 Why, this is hire and salary, not revenge. (3.3.73-79)

## Forgetting and Forgiving

At last,  
 Do as the heaven's have done; forget your evil;  
 With them, forgive yourself... (A Winter's Tale 5.1.4-6)

Cleomenes' advice to Leontes explicitly acknowledges the psychological link between forgiving and *forgetting*. Like Leontes in the romantic comedy, Hamlet cannot forgive because he cannot forget. Thus he is driven inexorably to the Calvinist wager which terminates the play's tragic action. The centrality of the problem of memory is underscored as early as the vital scene 1.5, in which we discover the following iteration of a stark "commandment" to remember:

Ghost. Adieu, adieu, Hamlet remember me.... (1.5.91)  
 Hamlet. Remember thee! Aye, thou poor ghost.... (1.5.95)  
 Hamlet. Remember thee! Yea, from the tables of my memory I'll wipe away all fond trivial records..... (1.5.97)  
 Hamlet. Now to my word.  
 It is, adieu, adieu, remember me..... (1.5.110)

Thus Hamlet swears, and later obliges his confederates in turn to swear, that he will not forget the crime. The ghost recognizes an important truth: that which cannot be remembered cannot be revenged. He enforces his vengeance on Hamlet by charging his memory with an account of the deed requiring vengeance. In transferring his commandment to Hamlet, however, the ghost imposes an irreconcilable dilemma on his son. He imposes his own restless anxiety upon Hamlet without giving him the requisite powers to fulfill his familial obligation of revenge. When Hamlet finds Claudius at prayer he is arrested in his purpose both by the Judeo-Christian tradition to honor rights of sanctuary and by the logic of his own realization that sending a murderer to heaven is "hire and salary" and "not revenge." The play thus becomes a drama by which Hamlet learns to forget the desire for revenge by transferring the memory of the evil -- by means of the symbolic venue of the drama -- to the consciousness of the criminal, placing Claudius in the symbolic purgatory of psychological guilt and freeing himself from the responsibility for



literal revenge. As in the verse marked by Edward de Vere which states that "the ungodlie shalbe punished according to their imaginacions" (Wisdom 3.10), Hamlet captures the conscience of the King, as many critics have recognized (see, for example, Goddard 331-386), in a *dramatic representation* which restages *in imagination* ---following the prescription of Wisdom 3.10 (see p. 186) -- the crimes for which he seeks revenge.

## Hamlet's Word

In one of his more remarkable footnotes to the history of Shakespeare scholarship, John Dover Wilson comments as follows on the crux "word" as it occurs repeated in the above passages in 1.5:

Word Q2, F1 'word.' Hitherto not satisfactorily explained. Steevens suggests 'watchword' and Dowden 'command' (cf Jul Caes. 5.3.5); but neither accounts for the oath that follows. I interpret it heraldically as the motto or 'word' on a knight's coat of arms or shield, which expressed, often in riddling or cryptic fashion, the cause or ideal to which life of its bearer was sworn. Cr. The joust in 'Pericles,' 2.2, at which six knights appear, each with a device on his shield, together with a 'motto' or 'word,' these terms being used interchangeable (v. N.E.D. 'motto,' Ib). Hamlet solemnly dedicates himself to the service of the quest which the Ghost has laid upon him, adopting as his motto his father's parting words. By a touch at once of supreme irony and profound psychological insight, the 'word' his creator gives him is 'Adieu, adieu, remember me!'

(162-63)

The phrase, as Wilson notes, is handed down from father to son, just as a heraldic 'word' or 'motto' is handed down from one generation to the next. Having received the 'word,' the son repeats it -- not merely for emphasis but also to claim his reflexive ownership of it as a piece of linguistic 'property'. Now it is not merely the ghost who commands an act of memory from his listeners -- Hamlet demands one as well, from Marcellus, Bernardo and Horatio, who in turn stand as witnesses by synecdoche for the play's audience. All are sworn not only to "remember" the ghost and his word, but to honor the secret of his death which they have seen and heard.

The esoteric character of Hamlet's word is further underscored by the scene's subtle alternation between that which is spoken and that which is written. It is not merely a matter of Hamlet's repeated invocation of the metaphor of writing in lines such as "thy commandment all alone shall live/Within the book and volume of my brain;" Hamlet's reference to his "tables" and subsequent speech indicate that he is writing during the lines which lead up to his echo of the ghost's "word," and so most editors<sup>211</sup> insert a stage direction (1.5.109) that Hamlet "writes":

My tables, meet it is I set it down  
That one may smile and smile and be a villain,  
At least I am sure it may be so in Denmark.  
So, uncle, there you are. Now to my word,  
It is 'Adieu, adieu, remember me.'

(1.5.107-111)

<sup>211</sup> Furness: "[Writing]"; Dowden: "[Writing.]"; Wilson "[He writes]"; Jenkins: "[Writes.]"

As Wilson, among other critics, recognizes, the phrase "so, Uncle, there you are" provides a full stop to Hamlet's writing. Although the point at which he begins to write remains fuzzy, he *stops writing* by *saying* "uncle, there you are." The line imposes the epistemological boundary between what Hamlet has written -- words which are literally 'sacred' or 'set apart' from the perceptions of the witnesses, encoding a secret or esoteric knowledge which can only be inferred from Hamlet's musing soliloquy -- from the verbal, spoken 'word' which follows and is -- apparently -- fully manifest. The scene stages the ancient philosophical debate, made famous in Plato's *Phaedrus*, over the ontological primacy of the two modes of communication. Socrates, as is well known, maintains the ontological priority and moral supremacy of the oral mode. Paradoxically, although what Hamlet actually writes in his "tables" is apparently a secret from witnesses of his play, the sacred "cause or ideal" to which he dedicates his life (to remember the ghost) remains, on Wilson's authority, open to "every gaping auditor."

I propose to address this paradox by calling attention to another possible reading of the crux, "word." I am not contradicting Wilson's claim for heraldic implication of the "word"; indeed I endorse the value of the insight and claim it for a striking instance of testimony *res gestae*<sup>212</sup>. Accordingly my interpretation does not compete with, but instead *supplements*, Wilson's. And it begins from full consciousness of the literary and Biblical influences which operate to shape a reader's awareness of polysemous intentions within the play.

In another passage, Wilson himself calls attention to the importance of linguistic riddles and conundrums not only within the text of the play itself, but in the literary tradition to which Shakespeare was heir in shaping the character of the manic prince:

Riddle and quibble are close of kin, and Shakespeare's prince of Denmark inherited both from his legendary ancestor Amleth. To repeat the words of Saxo: 'Astutiam veriloquio permiscebat, ut nec dictis veracitas deesset, nec acuminis modus verorum iudicio proderetur'.....Stage quibbling was indeed a kind of game, like the modern crossword puzzle or the problems which writers of detective stories pose their readers; and in *Hamlet* it was 'performed at height.' The very first words Hamlet utters are a riddle.....

(xl)

Hamlet's word, also, is a holy riddle, spoken by a soothsayer of literary history, which is best understood through the hermeneutic lens of Renaissance ontology.

## Hamlet's Logos

Hamlet's sacred heraldic 'word' in 1.5 contrasts thematically with those 'words, words, words' which he uses to sarcastically mock Polonius in a subsequent scene (2.2) when the later makes inquiry into his reading practices:

Pol. ....what do you read, my Lord?  
Ham. Words, words words.....

(2.2.191-192)

<sup>212</sup> In law, a statement made without full awareness of its implications and hence becoming a critical element of the record (Giffis 1991, 414).

This scene of reading mirrors, and comments upon, the writing scene of 1.5; together the paired scenes are pivotal moments in the play's exploration of the great Renaissance conundrum of logos. As previously discussed in chapter ten, Renaissance philosophers accepted the fundamental division of things into the categories of *realia* -- real, substantive, things -- and *accidence*, that is, things of merely illusory, transitory or 'accidental' existence. As the *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* summarizes this distinction, which originated in Aristotle's classification of things into the categories of substance and attribute in his *Categories*,

Aristotle's main purpose...is to contrast the independent way of existing proper to substances with the parasitic mode of being of qualities and relations [that is, in Renaissance terminology, accidences --R.S.]. Substances can exist on their own; qualities and relations, only as the qualities of , or relations between substances.

(Edwards 1967)<sup>213</sup>

In Renaissance thought language was, with a single vital exception, a domain of accidental things. Only the divine Word, enfleshed in holy scripture, had substantive existence. Because scripture participated in the mystery of the Eucharist, the 'word of god' was a substantive category of existence; human language, including the sarcastic "words" which Hamlet nihilistically flings at Polonius, are on the contrary mere 'accidence', having no substance of their own; they exist only as qualities or relations between substances. Such words are the cause of much suffering in the human condition; indeed the

Accidental judgements, casual slaughters,  
.....deaths put on by cunning and forced cause  
And in this upshot, purposes mistook,  
Fall'n on the inventor's heads.....

(5.2.380-88)

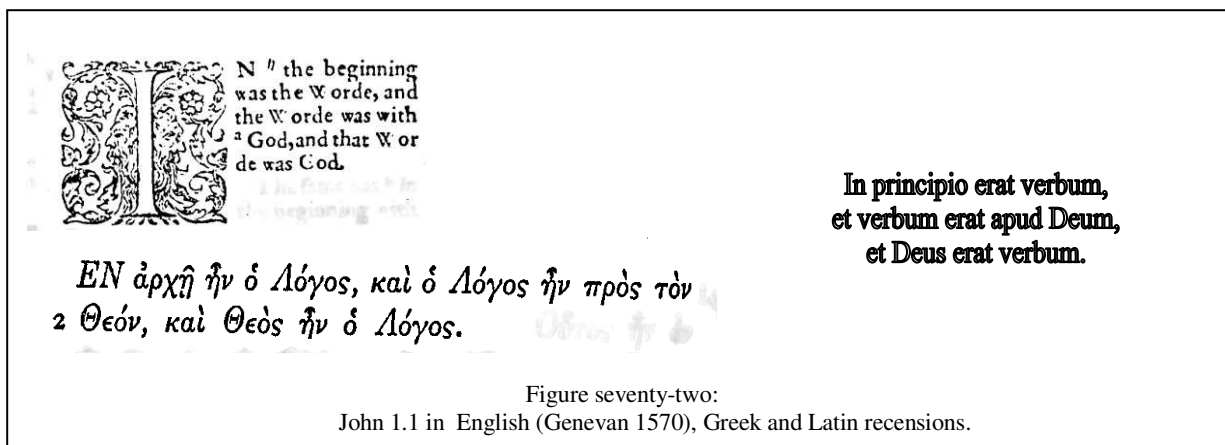
which Horatio recalls at the close of the play may be considered the results of such "accidental" language. They result from the human inability to perceive the distinction between substance, which is necessary for life, and accidence, which is mere illusion. We may suspect that Hamlet's 'word,' on the other hand, like the 'word of god' according to any Renaissance philosopher or theologian -- in whose number we must include the Danish Prince -- does have a substantive reality. However, in keeping with Hamlet's own 'riddling wit' and assumed 'antic disposition,' it has been concealed, I shall maintain, by the means of a rhetorical quibble.

## **The *Logos* of John and Hamlet's Quibble**

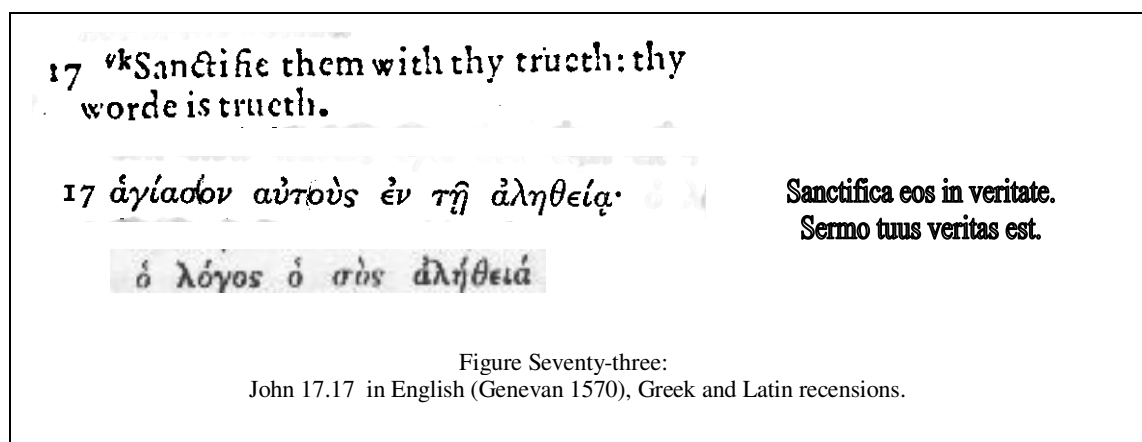
Hamlet declares that his word is "adieu" -- literally "with God." The quibble points us directly to the Renaissance Urtext for the doctrine of the con-substantiality of the divine word: The Book of John. In that text we read (figure seventy-two):

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<sup>213</sup> For a synopsis of this complex history see Edwards' entries under "Realism" (7:77-83) and "Universals" (8:194-206).



As in *Hamlet*, in John we read of a word (λογος) which was "with god" (πρὸς τὸν θεόν). As familiar as this passage may be, few readers are aware that several chapters later John actually gives his *logos* a name (figure seventy-three):



John's word is ἀληθεια.

I propose that by running this word through three sets of linguistic filters -- English, Greek and Latin - we will encounter the full range of 'accidental' significations which the author has uploaded into Hamlet's 'word.' In the first case we shall notice that the term ἀληθεια literally means the absence of

forgetfulness. By the addition of the alpha-privative to the noun *Ληθη*<sup>214</sup> (in Homer and Plato, the narcotic river which produces forgetfulness in those who bathed by its waters), the Latin *oblivio*, we achieve a word defined as "truth, opp. to a falsehood" (Liddell & Scott 1889 34), but more literally means *that which is not forgotten*. Thus we apprehend the linguistic logic by which Hamlet's word can be *αληθησ*. Indeed, this reading reinforces Wilson's original solution that Hamlet's word was "remember me!" If Hamlet and his allies swear by that which is *αληθεια*, they have implicitly taken an oath to remember the ghost.

In fact, the ghost had already made reference to the river Lethe in 1.5, just after Hamlet first announced his unambiguous intent to seek revenge for his father's murder:

Hamlet. Haste me to know't, that I with wings as swift  
 As meditation or the thoughts of love  
 May sweep to my revenge.

Ghost. I find thee apt.  
 And duller shouldst thou be than the fat weed  
 That roots itself on Lethe wharf,  
 Wouldst thou not stir in this. Now, Hamlet, hear.... (1.4.28-35)

The passage clearly underscores the play's repeated contrast between the imperative to remember, and in remembering revenge, and the narcotic influence of forgetfulness which calms past fears and present anxieties by bequeathing the painful past to oblivion. The 'apt' Hamlet -- or for that matter the 'apt' Horatio<sup>215</sup> -- is he who will *remember the meaning* of Hamlet's word.

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<sup>214</sup> Etymological proofs may be found in Gainsford, 1848 II:277-281. I would like to gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Roy Wright in first questioning, and eventually helping to confirm, the correctness of this derivation.

<sup>215</sup> "Thou art a scholar; speak to it Horatio" (I.1.42).

## John's *Aletheia*

Curiously, the Latin translation of John's ἀληθεια --veritas<sup>216</sup> -- turns up with variation no less than three times in the above quotation from Saxo Grammaticus which delineated Hamlet's character in the received tradition as one which so combined "astutiam veriloquio" (soothsaying speech with prudence) that "nec dictis veracitas deesset" (he neither lacked truth in things said) "nec acuminis modus verorum iudicio proderetur" (nor revealed the method of his keen wit to the judgement of the wise (verorum)). As we have noted in a previous chapter, Edward de Vere's personal motto, a play on the name de Vere apparently derived from the Martial epigram 7.76<sup>217</sup>, makes much of the name's etymological derivation from Latin words such as the noun *veritas* or the adjective *verus* -a -um:

Vero nihil Verius.  
Nothing truer than the truth.

Although it appears that the derivation of this motto was de Vere's own<sup>218</sup>, from at least 1579 onwards he used it as the heraldic "word" attached to his coat of arms as they appeared, for example, published in Anthony Munday's 1579 *Mirror of Mutability* (STC 18276) (figure seventy-four).

That de Vere and his literary associates regarded *veritas* as the Latin synonym for ἀληθεια is easily demonstrated by way of two witty dialogues on the subject of truth prefixed to Gabriel Harvey's 1578 Audley end encomium to the literary peer. In line fourteen of the second dialogue, when we read "Ô quanti quanta Alethia Dea est?" The "Alethia Dea" echoes the "Veri filia, vera Dea" of the previous line twelve.

De Vere's personal penchant for what Saxo Grammaticus, in a rare hybrid construction, terms "veriloquium" (truth-speaking) is verified in the following Latin poem, so rich in the same figurative wit

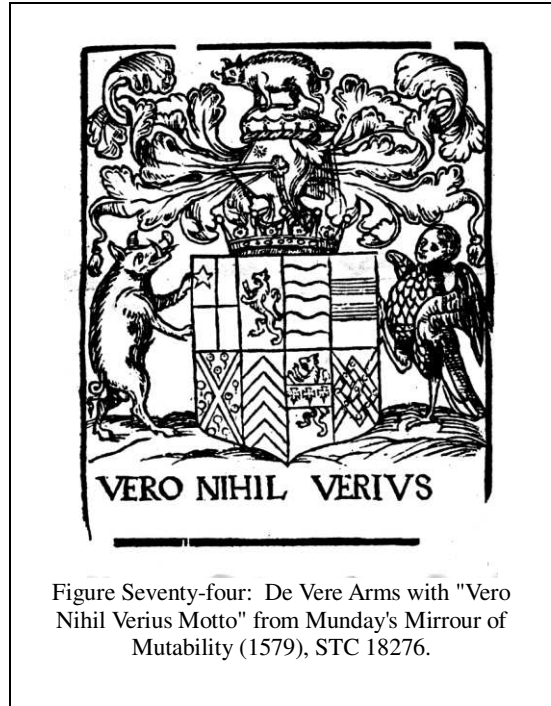


Figure Seventy-four: De Vere Arms with "Vero Nihil Verius Motto" from Munday's *Mirror of Mutability* (1579), STC 18276.

<sup>216</sup> 17. Sanctifica eos in veritate. Sermo tuus veritas est.

<sup>217</sup> Dic verum mihi, Marc. . . nil est quod magis audiam libenter. . . . vero verius ergo quid sit audi: verum, Gallice, non libenter audis. "Tell me the truth, you always say to me Marcus: there is nothing which I would prefer to hear. . . . Very well, I shall tell you that which is truer than the truth: that truth, Gallicus, which you do not wish to hear."

<sup>218</sup> In the account from *Dell' Arte Rappresentativa Premeditata ed all' improvviso* (Naples 1699), reprinted by Julia Cooley Altrocchi and by Charlton Ogburn (1984 549), we read that Oxford on his 1576 continental tour carried "for device a falcon with a motto taken from Terence: *Tendit in ardua virtus* (Valor proceeds to arduous undertakings)."

as the dialogue prefixed to Harvey's oration two years later<sup>219</sup>, apparently written by him on the flyleaf of the Froben New Testament (The popular new Greek translation of Erasmus) which he gave to Anne Cecil<sup>220</sup>:

Veram vera docent: sunt falsa dorsala vero  
Solaque vera manent, caetera vana volant  
Vera ergo veri, cum sis coniunxque parensque  
Verae, speque bona sis paritura Verum.

Mens tua fac Veri semper deflagret amore  
Veri semper amans, sint tua verba Vera  
Quod magis ut praestes, a veri Authore requiras  
Litera te doceat: spiritus intus alat.

Chari ut longa viri sic desideria levans  
Gloria vera viri Vera vocere tui<sup>221</sup>.

It may easily be apprehended from this example that John's word as it appears in the Vulgate translation of the Latin Bibles used in Catholic mass -- *veritas* -- possessed a special "heraldic" as well as religious signification for the author. This poem to Anne Cecil admonishes her to preserve her Vere-like virtue during a time in which her husband was subjected to numerous rumors of his own cuckoldry.

Finally, if we turn to the word's English rendering "truth" -- using the entire Shakespeare canon as our field of reference -- we discover that John's *aletheia* reappears in myriad disguises as one of Shakespeare's most stable core ideas. The word "truth" occurs over nineteen times in the play *Troilus and Cressida* alone, in which a reader may discover the following pointed variants on the de Vere motto:

Troilus. ....What envy can say worst shall be a mock for his<sup>222</sup> truth, and what truth can speak truest not truer than Troilus.

(3.2.95-98)

<sup>219</sup> For another Latin poem apparently written by de Vere and published just after his death in the 1605 edition of Joshua Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas's *Days and Weeks* (1605), see chapter seven.

<sup>220</sup> Transcription by William Plumer Fowler (1986, 194). The extant document (Hatfield MSS. CP 140/124) is, unfortunately, only a copy of the original poem, which was apparently in Oxford's hand. It was discovered by B.M. Ward who discusses it (1928) on pp. 108-09. Fowler, following Ward, argues that the book was the Froben New Testament sent to Anne by Oxford during his continental journeys in 1576. However, the mention in lines 3-4 of Anne as one who is already "parensque Verae" -- the mother of a Vere daughter -- as well as one expecting (sis paritura) a male child (Verum), strongly suggests that the date of the gift must actually be Spring 1584, at which time Anne had already given birth to Elizabeth Vere but would still have been expecting her second child, Bridget (who turned out, contrary to de Vere's hopes expressed in the poem, to be a girl).

<sup>221</sup> True things teach the truth: false things are the very antithesis of truth.  
Only true things endure; all other things vanish in vanity.  
Therefore, true wife of a Vere, because you are both spouse and parent to a true girl,  
And because you are about to give birth in hope to a true boy,  
Cause your mind always to be aflame with the love of truth:  
"Always a lover of truth" -- let these be your true words.  
Which, so that you are more able to fulfill it, you require that  
The true author shall instruct you in holy writ; that his spirit may nourish thee inwardly,  
So that thus easing the true yearnings of your dear husband, you may be called true--  
The true glory of your true husband.

To the illustrious wife Anne Vere, countess of Oxford,  
Her illustrious husband Edward de Vere, Count Oxford,  
Being occupied in overseas regions.

Translation mine; modified from Fowler (1986 194).

118 Note the figure of illeism.

Troilus. I am as true as truth's simplicity and simpler than the infancy of truth.  
(3.2.169-70)

And my personal favorite, so wittily *apropos* the present document:

Troilus. After all comparisons of truth, as truth's authentic  
author to be cited. (3.2.180)





## CHAPTER 24. NEEDIE NOTHING TRIMMED IN JOLLITY

Beggar that I am, I am even poor in thanks....

--Hamlet

W.H. Auden captures the elusive character of the great comic symbol of the Shakespeare canon, Sir John Falstaff -- sometimes thought to be a mere Lord of Misrule -- when he calls him at heart "a comic symbol for the supernatural order of charity" (1962 198). Roy Battenhouse, pursuing Auden's insight, asserts that the traditional image of Falstaff as inveterate trickster is "more mask than inner man." The inner man, maintains Battenhouse, reveals depths of wisdom concealed beneath the libidinous braggadocio of his exterior display of anti-heroism:

The Sermon on the Mount enjoins Christians to show charity through a secret almsgiving. Could this be a clue to the enigma of Falstaff's behavior? Perhaps so, I think, provided we put beside it Lord Raglan's intuition that Falstaff's vocation in the public world is that of court fool and soothsayer. Such a double hypothesis, in any case, seems to me to warrant a trying out and testing. For it could mean that while as "allowed fool" Falstaff is shamming vices and enacting parodies, his inner intent is a charitable almsgiving of brotherly self-humiliation and fatherly truth-telling.

(1994 303)

Battenhouse's perception of the division between Falstaff's public role as "court fool and soothsayer" - an "allowed fool" to Prince Hal as Feste is to Olivia -- and his covert identity as a holy almsgiver seems eminently plausible to this writer. That many details which confirm this impression, perhaps the most vivid and memorable ones, are delivered in comic fashion need not be any deterrence to the theory. On the contrary, the paradox is implicit in Auden's analysis of the character, for whom nothing -- and therefore everything -- is sacred. Battenhouse even discovers the scriptural basis for Falstaff's peculiar claim that he was "born about three of the clock in the afternoon" in the passage from Mark 15.39 in which the Roman Centurion, at three o'clock in the afternoon, cries out "Truly, this man was a Son of God." As Battenhouse goes on to indicate, moreover, the two identities -- the "son of God" and the "tun of tallow" -- coalesce in Falstaff's subtle moralizing against the courtly hypocrisy of heroic figures such as Hotspur, Hal or Henry IV. Comparing himself to Pharaoh's fat kine, he intimates "that England under King Henry is comparable to an Egypt of spiritual darkness under a troubled Pharaoh, and that [he] embodies within his English-Egypt a God-given plenty that could save England from the famine figured in the lean Prince Hal" (Battenhouse 306).

However, like the other "allowed fools" who constitute a definite Shakespearean type -- Touchstone, Feste, Lavache or even the twin Dromios of *Comedy of Errors* -- the comic holy man Falstaff frequently runs short of cash. He embodies the principle of the supernatural order of charity, *in comic fashion*, by never having any money to give away. If he had anything, Falstaff would give. But when his thieving confederates try to rob him they can only find an IOU for unpaid bills to the tavern hostess Mistress Quickly.

Like de Vere, Falstaff begs a thousand pounds from the state to underwrite his dramatic activities in the Boar's Head tavern. Consider the scene with minute care: In the first act of *II Henry IV*, Falstaff asks the Lord Chief Justice, who has come to question him about the Gadshill Robbery, to lend him "*a thousand pound to furnish me forth.*" The Lord Chief Justice, who has been cross-examining Falstaff about his impecunious condition, refuses with these words: "Not a penny, not a penny, you are too impatient to bear crosses" (1.2.222-226). This exchange between Falstaff and the Lord Chief Justice is not only emblematic of Shakespeare's well-known cavalier attitude toward worldly wealth, but even parodies the specific circumstances surrounding Edward de Vere's 1000 pound grant, previously discussed in chapter four. Furthermore, the passage can be *directly linked* to the de Vere Bible; it parodies the exchange between Jesus and the rich young man seeking salvation at Mark 10.21<sup>223</sup>, in which Jesus instructs the man to "sell all that thou hast, and give to the poore...and come followe me, and *take up the cross*" (G). This verse, like many others on economic themes, is marked in de Vere's Geneva Bible (figure seventy-five). Conclusion? In a single short passage in *II Henry IV* we discover a stunning

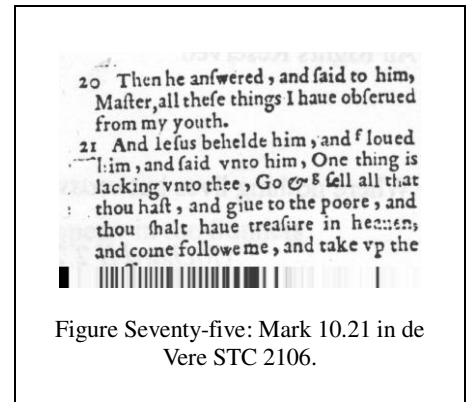


Figure Seventy-five: Mark 10.21 in de Vere STC 2106.

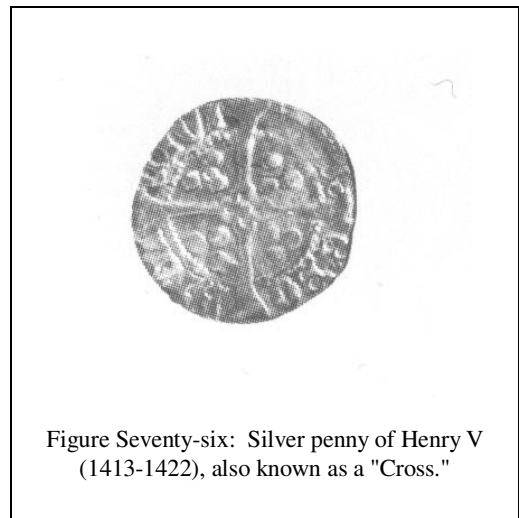


Figure Seventy-six: Silver penny of Henry V (1413-1422), also known as a "Cross."

<sup>223</sup> Both Noble (1935 176) and Shaheen (1987 158) prefer Luke 14.27, "whosoever beareth not his crosse, and cometh after me, can not be my disciple" (G), as the proximate source. Shakespeare's verb, "bear," apparently does connect the passage to Luke 14.27, the only one of six gospel parallels (Matt. 16.24, 10.38; Mark 8.34, 10.21; Luke 9.23 and 14.27) which has "bear" in place of "take up" or "taketh up." This variation, which reflects the different wordings of the Greek texts, which use the imperative verb "ἀρατώ" or the finite form "λαμβάνει" in every case except for Luke 14.27, which reads "οὐστις οὐ βαστάζει" originates with Tyndale and is still preserved in The New English Bible which, however, translates "βαστάζει" as "carry". Modern textual scholars have now rejected the textual basis for the phrase "take up the cross" at Mark 10.21. The phrase remained in the authorized translation of 1611 but has subsequently been removed from standard editions of the Greek New Testament and from English translations.

Despite the lexical basis for linking the passage to Luke 14.27, the structural and thematic reasons for suspecting a connection of a more profound nature with Mark 10.21 are, in the opinion of the present writer, compelling. Mark 10.21 is the only one of the six gospel parallels in which the context of Jesus' admonition is explicitly economic. Only in this verse is Jesus explicitly addressing a rich young follower who is asking how to become one of his faithful followers. It is clear from the context of the Lord Chief Justice's remark that Falstaff is parodying this request when he asks for a thousand pounds.

triangulation of evidence, in which awareness of de Vere's 1000 pound annuity and the traces of his Bible reading combine to enliven and charge the comedy with topical point.

The Chief Justice, however, responds to Falstaff's impecunious request for indulgence with the harsh medicine of Jesus in the Gospel. This response actually *reverses* the real life complaint of de Vere, in his 1602 Danvers Escheat letter to Robert Cecil, that he is obliged to "earnestly solicit her [Majesty] for the report, which I should not have needed to do, *if gospel had been in the mouths of the Lord chief Justice and the Attorney...*" (Fowler 652-53). The author of *Henry IV* has put "gospel in the mouth of the Lord chief Justice" -- but the joke, as we might expect, is self-reflexive. Falstaff mocks himself, and his creator. Here is one of those "immortal jests" for which Tom Nashe praised his literary mentor and for which Falstaff remembers himself, not many lines previously, as "not only witty, but the cause that wit is in other men" (*II Henry IV* 1.2.10). Curiously, the literary historian W.J. Courthope would eventually remember Edward de Vere, in turn, as "not only witty in himself, but the cause of wit in others" (1897 II: 313).

Falstaff's affinity to the author has been noted by a number of Shakespeare critics, among them Frank Harris who observes in this connection that Shakespeare's own irrepressible wit sets him apart "not only from Coleridge and Keats, but also from the world-poets, Goethe, Dante and Homer" (149). Falstaff may be Shakespeare's most complete embodiment of this principle of wit. As Harold Goddard has remarked of Falstaff, he is the quintessence of *play*: one who

goes through life playing. He coins everything he encounters into play, often even into *a* play. He would rather have the joke on himself and make the imaginative most of it than to have it on the other fellow and let the fun stop there.

(Goddard I: 184)

Even Falstaff's obesity can become a symbol for a precocious, metonymic wit which bears an unmistakable and intimate affinity to authorial consciousness: "I have a whole school of tongues in this belly of mine, and not a tongue of them all speaks any other word *but my name*" (*II Henry IV* 4.3.18-20: emphasis added) -- which potently recalls the famous "Oxfordian" line from the Sonnet 76 that "every word doth almost tell my name." No matter how one examines the hypothesis of Falstaff as author Oxford, from the deconstructed etymology of the name False-Staff=Shake-Speare, to the self-conscious playfulness of the character who "would rather have the joke on himself and take the imaginative most of it than to have it on the other fellow and let the fun stop there," the identification evokes a congress of confirmatory insight.

Oxford's reputation, both for comic wit and fiscal improvidence, is consistent with the portrait of the impecunious fat knight which emerges in the *Henriad* and *Merry Wives of Windsor*. Like Sir John, he thought of himself as one "as poor as Job...but not so patient" (*IHIV* 1.2.127). Like Sir John, he lived in "great infamy" (1.2.139) because of his prodigal improvidence and his rapier wit. Like Sir John, he was

known for having run away from battles -- preferred to fight with words and tall tales. Like Sir John, he begged a thousand pounds from the Elizabethan state to supply his improvidence and underwrite his punster wit. Like Sir John, his own sins were the chief source and whetstone of his irrepressible wit.

By the period of the early 1590s to which the plays allude, his means were indeed "very slender" (1.2.140); he could with some reason, both for his advancing years and his declining fortunes, be compared to "a candle, the better part burnt out" (1.2.157). And declining his fortunes were. During the fourteen years between his marriage to Anne Cecil in 1571 and the granting of the privy seal warrant in 1586, Oxford sold not fewer than forty-nine estates. On December 2, 1591, having failed to raise cash by commuting his annuity into a lump sum payment of 5000 pounds in May, he finally alienated the ancestral estate of the de Veres in Essex, Castle Hedingham, to his three daughters and Lord Burghley. Ward, commenting on Oxford's quixotic attempt to exchange his thousand pound annuity into a lump sum of only five times that amount, observes that his financial imprudence "seems most extraordinary" and proposes that Burghley "who knew by bitter experience his son-in-law's complete ignorance of the value of money" (306), must have shrugged his shoulders in dismay.

Oxford's lifelong preoccupation with financial troubles like those which perplexed Sir John Falstaff is very evident in the annotations in his Geneva Bible. Indeed, the word "poor" is the most frequently occurring word written in the margins of this Bible. Some fifty-one verses in the Bible, almost all of them marked in red ink, concern economic topics such as Jubilee (Deut. 1-4, 7-14), almsgiving (Ez. 18.7; Eccus. 7.10, 14.13, 41.12; Tobit 4.7-11, 16-17; Matt. 6.1-4; Hebrews 13.16; II Corinthians 9.1-15), usury (Ex. 22.25, Lev. 25.36-37; Ez. 18.8) and the radical Christian ideal of poverty (Matt. 5.3, 6.19-21, 19.21; Mark 10.21; Revelations 3.17-20). Among these marked verses is the intriguing example, demonstrating not only the annotator's close interest in the scriptural foundation for acts of charity, but also his knowledge of variant translations even of apocryphal chapters of the Bible, of Eccus. 14.13 (figure seventy-seven).

In the Genevan translation, the verse exhorts the giving of alms to "thy friend." The annotator's correction of the pronoun "him" to "unto the poore" reflects the wording of the Vulgate Bible, which reads in this place "da pauperi" (Gramatica 1913). The distinction is of course significant not merely for semantic reasons. There is a profound difference between charity offered to one's "friend" and that given to "the poor"<sup>224</sup>.

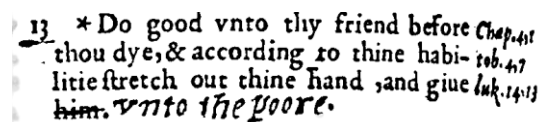


Figure Seventy-seven: Ecclesiasticus 14.13 from STC 2106 showing annotator's correction to the vulgate's wording.

<sup>224</sup> This distinction is elaborated at great length, for example, in the 1596 special Homily on Charity, "set forth by Authoritie" in response to outbreaks of famine and food shortages, entitled *Three Sermons, or Homilies, to Moove Compassion towards the Poore and Needie in These Times* (London: I. Windet for Andrew Maunsell): "Againe, Christ teacheth us here what is true liberalitie, and perfect charitie: notwe to entertayne

Although a very large number of marked verses on economic themes exhibit influence of one kind or another in "Shakespeare," Mark 10.21<sup>225</sup> remains of special interest, both for the immediate relevance of its moral to de Vere's situation and because of its frequency of pointed reference in Shakespeare. Although de Vere may have felt as poor as Falstaff, from another point of view he was as rich as Dives, the wealthy man who was tormented in hell while the beggar Lazarus was taken up into the bosom of Abraham in another of Christ's parables (Luke 16). When composing comic characters such as Falstaff, into whom he projected the persona of the court fool, he seems to have frequently recalled the moral of Mark 10.21. Although Shaheen cites five references to the theme of taking up or bearing the cross from the histories<sup>226</sup>, and two more prominent citations are found in the Sonnets<sup>227</sup>, the most intriguing additional reference to the verse is found in *As You Like It*, when the clown of Arden forest, Touchstone, quips back to the tired Celia after she begs him to "bear with me":

For my part, I had rather bear with you, than bear you. Yet I should bear no cross if I did bear you, for I think you have no money in your purse. (2.4.11-14)<sup>228</sup>

As in the example from *II Henry IV*, the economic pun links the passage indisputably to the marked verse in the de Vere Bible, as well as further illustrating Shakespeare's preoccupation with the dilemma of the rich Christian.

Of like significance is the statement of the Clown LaVache in *All's Well that Ends Well*, citing Mark 10.23<sup>229</sup> or the parallel of Lazarus at Luke 16.20-24 (Noble 196; Shaheen 1993 207):

No, madam, 'tis not so well that I am poor,  
Though many of the rich are damned. (1.3.16-17)

The theme, paradoxically for Stratfordians, is pervasive in Shakespeare. Shaheen cites three references to Luke 16 in the tragedies (1987), seven in the histories (1989), and two in the comedies (1993), making it one of Shakespeare's most prominent topoi of Biblical reference. When Falstaff looks upon Bardolph's red nose he can't help but be reminded of "hell-fire and Dives that liv'd in purple" (*I Henry IV* 3.3.32). The same passage recurs to Falstaff in the next act when he needs a metaphor to capture the essence of his conscripts, who are like "slaves as ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth, where the glutton's dogs lick'd his sores" (4.2.25). Here Falstaff is apparently unaware of the irony of the comparison of his recruits to Lazarus, since by implication he himself becomes the rich Dives who lived a

---

them that are able to entertaine thee againe, it may be civil courtesie, but this is not true and perfect charitie, it may be recompensed at the handes of men now presently, but it shall not bee rewarded of God in the resurrection of the iust, therefore saith Christ, if thou wilt doe a worke of true charitie, When thou make a feast call the poore" (C-C2: type variation original). This discussion of the distinction between Christian charity, given to "them that never deserve it," and mere exchange of gifts, is elaborated for several pages in the tract.

<sup>225</sup> The episode is also found, though without the line about "taking up the cross," in Mt. 19.16-30 and Lk 18.18-30. In Luke the young man is called "a certain ruler" (τις αὐτον αρχον).

<sup>226</sup> See the Shakespeare Diagnostics list for a complete survey. To Shaheen's list I add *I Henry 4* 2.1.36-37).

<sup>227</sup> Sonnets 42.5, 11-12 and 34.9-14; see the previous note for details.

<sup>228</sup> Shaheen (1993) 162.

<sup>229</sup> "How hardly do they that have riches, entre into the kingdome of God?" (G).

prodigal existence, untroubled by leprosy or licking dogs, but after death was condemned to the flames of hell.

As Roy Battenhouse observes, Falstaff is habituated to the Dives allusion and "cannot let [it] alone" (309). In 2 *Henry IV*, when "Master Dumbledon" refuses to provide him with clothes, Dives is at the tip of his tongue once more:

Let him be damned, like the glutton! Pray God his tongue be hotter.  
A whoreson Achitophel! (1.2.34-35)

The problem which Falstaff treats in jest through his iterated references to the parable of Lazarus becomes a primary source of the emotional torment felt by King Lear in another of Shakespeare's great dramas. When Lear cries out on the heath against the injustices of nature he wonders

Poor naked wretches, whersoe'er you are,  
That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm.  
How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides,  
Your looped and window'd raggedness, defend you  
From seasons such as these? (3.4.28-32)

A monarch, a man of wealth, power and privilege like Lazarus in Falstaff's tapestry, Lear has suddenly been brought face to face with the radical challenge of Jesus' admonition to give up all that he has in order to follow the Christian path of humble submission to the cross. Considering the fate of hovel-dwellers such as Mad Tom, he rebukes himself for failure to consider the obvious:

I have ta'en  
Too little care in this! Take physic, pomp,  
Expose thyself to what wretches feel,  
That thou mayest shake the superflux to them,  
And show the heavens more just. (3.4.32-36)

When the blinded Gloucester hands over his purse to his own son Edgar, disguised as Mad Tom, he explicitly recalls the moral implied in Lear's words, found in another marked verse in the de Vere Bible:

Here, take this purse, thou whom the heav'ns plagues  
Have humbled to all strokes. That I am wretched  
Makes thee the happier, heavens, deal so still!  
Let the lust-diet man,  
That slaves your ordinance, that will not see,  
Because he does not feel, feel your pow'r quickly;  
So distribution should undo excess,  
And each man have enough. (4.1.64-71)

Gloucester's synonym for charity -- *distribution*--is drawn, as Judy Kronenfeld has noted -- from Hebrews 13.16 (figure seventy-eight).

The marked admonition appears to have left a deep imprint on the spiritual imagination

16 h To do good, & to distribute forget  
not : for with such sacrifices God is  
pleased .

Figure Seventy-eight: Hebrews 13.16 from de Vere STC 2106.

of the author of King Lear. He remembers it again when Lear tells Cordelia: "Upon such sacrifices, my Cordelia, the gods themselves throw incense" (5.3.20). Roy Battenhouse declares that Lear's words "clearly echo St Paul's words in Hebrew 13.16" (452).

But the most profound manifestation of these verses occurs in the Sonnets, in which the radical Christian admonition to poverty found in verses such as Mark 10.21 or Revelation 3.17-20 has become justification for the erasure of his own name from his works. In Sonnet 146 we read the spiritual confession of a man whose rebel body has been clothed in the finery of the English aristocracy, while the soul "pines within" and "suffers dearth":

Poore soule, the center of my sinfull earth,  
My sinfull earth these rebbell powres that thee array,  
Why does thy pine within and suffer dearth,  
Painting thy outward walls so costlie gay?  
Why so large cost having so short a lease,  
Dost thou upon thy fading mansion spend?  
Shall wormes inheritors of this excesse,  
Eate up thy charge? Is this thy bodie's end?  
Then soule live thou upon thy servant's losse,  
And let that pine to aggravate thy store;  
Buy termes divine in selling houres of drosse:  
Within be fed, without be rich no more,  
So shalt thou feed on death, that feeds on men,  
And death once dead, there's no more dying then.

A number of commentators have discerned in the contrast between "outward walls" painted "so costlie gay" and the invisible soul which "pines within and suffers dearth" and "lives upon thy servant's loss" a reference to the Pauline neo-Platonism of such verses as I Corinthians 4.16<sup>230</sup> or II Corinthians 5.1-10<sup>231</sup>, both of which are marked in Edward de Vere's Geneva Bible. But the Sonnet also stands in dense figurative relation to the marked verse Revelation 3.17 (figure seventy-nine), one of the "spiritual poverty" series. In both cases the speaker is one who is perceived by others as wealthy and "in need of nothing," but feels himself to be among the poor.

In the Genevan STC 2106, this verse is accompanied by note "i" which reads "Persuading thyself of yt we thou hast not." It is this note which has apparently suggested Sonnet 66, a list of the author's complaints of things which he "has not":

Tyr'd with all these for restfull death I cry,  
As to behold desert a begger borne,

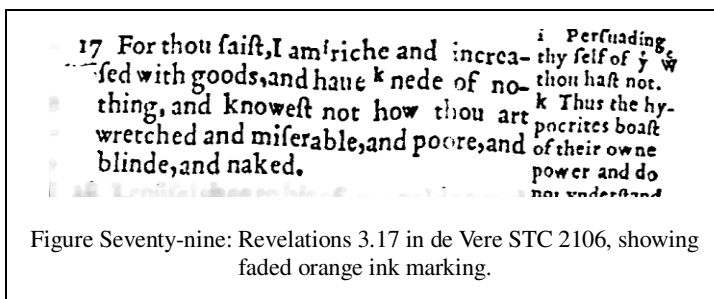


Figure Seventy-nine: Revelations 3.17 in de Vere STC 2106, showing faded orange ink marking.

<sup>230</sup> Carter 224.

<sup>231</sup> Carter 224; Booth 503; 506.



And needie Nothing trimd in iollitie,  
 And purest faith unhappily forsworne,  
 And gilded honor shamefully misplast,  
 And maiden vertue rudely strumpeted,  
 And right perfection wrongfully disgrac'd,  
 And strength by limping sway disabled,  
 And arte made tung-tide by authoritie.  
 And Folly (Doctor-like) controuling skill,  
 And captive-good attending Captaine ill.  
     Tyr'd with all these, from these I would be gone,  
     Save that to dye, I leave my love alone.

The phrase "needie nothing trimmed in jollity," expresses in lapidary form the paradox enlarged upon in Sonnet 146: this is the esoteric, tragic literature of a writer such as Falstaff, an "allowed fool" carrying out the Christian injunction to "show charity through secret almsgiving" (Matthew 6.16-19). *Needie nothing*, rings distinctive, apparently intentional, variation on the marked verse's "needing nothing." The transference incarnates a purely Shakespearean, and profoundly true, sentiment: "needing nothing" and "needie nothing" are, actually, the same thing. But we have already encountered the thought in the self-abasing phrase of the "great-souled" writer in Sonnet 136: "for nothing hold me."

## CHAPTER 25.

### "WILL-I-AM SHAKESPEARE"

An aspect of the Oxfordian case which deserves special attention before undertaking detailed examination of *Shake-Speare's Sonnets* (1609) as evidence is the matter of special devotion subsisting between the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Southampton Henry Wriothesley (1574-1624), and "Shakespeare" -- a devotion manifested by the dedication of two narrative poems, *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and *Rape of Lucrece* (1594), to this remarkable young nobleman. Despite his primary importance in the Shakespeare story, scholars have failed to document any plausible connection between "Shakespeare" and Southampton outside of these literary signs of Shakespeare's intimacy with him. Even Southampton's biographer Charlotte Stopes, in a lifetime of research, failed to discover any tangible connection between "Shakespeare" and Southampton outside the literary documents of the poems.

Southampton's links to de Vere, on the contrary, are manifest and manifold. Like de Vere, Wriothesley was raised as a court ward by Lord Burghley after the death of the second Earl, a devoted Catholic, in 1581. As he had done with de Vere, furthermore, Burghley seized the opportunity of his legal and administrative control over the young ward to arrange a profitable marriage liaison within his own clan. By 1591 Southampton was betrothed to marry Oxford's oldest daughter Elizabeth, Burghley's granddaughter by the alleged "bed trick" in 1576.

Naturally Looney recognized in this relationship between de Vere -- prospective father-in-law -- and Southampton -- prospective son-in-law -- a personal link of the most potent circumstantial nature, tending to confirm his suspicion of de Vere's secret identity as the "real Shakespeare." This engagement was in force during the peak production of Shakespeare's Sonnets -- many written to a "fair youth" identified by most experts of the period, including Looney, as Southampton<sup>232</sup>. The first seventeen sonnets, as Looney

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<sup>232</sup> This fact has been vigorously denied by David Kathman in Usenet discussion. Interestingly, Kathman never bothered to post the denial on his Shakespeare Web Page, perhaps because he eventually became aware of the total untruth of his claim that "only A.L. Rowse and the Oxfordians" allege the identity of Southampton and the Fair Youth. The primary landmarks in the history of this debate have been surveyed by the present author in an unpublished manuscript, "The Rhetoric of Beauty's Rose" (Stritmatter 1995). The attribution has in fact been supported by Lee (1898, 1898), Stopes (1922), Akrigg (1968), Rowse (1965) and Schoenbaum (1965), among many others. As Schoenbaum accurately stated in 1975, "many commentators, perhaps a majority, believed that the Earl of Southampton is the fair youth urged to marry and propagate in the Sonnets" (1975 134).

After reviewing the history of the debate over whether the "fair youth" should be identified as Southampton or as William Herbert, the third Earl of Pembroke (1580-1630), Booth (1977) erroneously states that "I ignore candidates proposed by the Baconians, Oxfordians, and such" (1977 548)-- a claim which illustrates the depressing tendency, found even in orthodox scholars of considerable accomplishment, to make authoritative pronouncements about subjects on which they are apparently totally ignorant.

Previously undisclosed or marginalized internal evidence supporting the identity of Southampton and the fair youth is assembled in the writer's own 1995 paper, cited above, on the Sonnets.

summarizes their content, endorse "the special aristocratic plea of maintaining the continuance of the family's succession" (377) by marrying and begetting children. The youth, in short, is urged to

Make thee another self for love of me,  
That beauty still may live in thine or thee. (10.13-14)

The significance of the coincidence that de Vere's daughter was betrothed to marry Southampton while these "marriage sonnets" were being written is magnified when we take into consideration the unique evidentiary character of "Shakespeare's" relation to Southampton. Southampton is the only Elizabethan for whom we possess unambiguous probative evidence -- in the form of the two dedications and the Sonnets themselves -- testifying to a close personal relation to the poet. If there is a "Shakespeare question," it is indissolubly linked, biographically and historically, to the "Southampton question" -- that is, of Southampton's actual relationship to "Shakespeare." Quite understandably, Looney believed that by drawing attention to the Vere-Wriothesley marriage betrothal of 1591-95, he had discovered a vital clue to the actual relation between "Shakespeare" and the dedicatee of the two Shakespearean poems.

Of course, like the matter of Lord Burghley's special role as the inspiration for Polonius in *Hamlet*, the question of the poet's relationship to the fair youth has a long prehistory<sup>233</sup> before Looney took up the puzzle in 1920. As Looney recounted the problem at that time:

In the year 1590, William Shakspeare, the son of a Stratford citizen, having become interested in theatres, and thereby acquainted with a young man, just home from the university, and having himself by the time attained the patriarchal age of twenty-six, suddenly becomes greatly concerned about the continuance of the youth's aristocratic family, and writes a set of exquisite sonnets urging him to marry. He also assumes the bearing and tone of a man of large and even painful experience, "past his best," with chilled blood and wrinkled brow. We doubt whether a more ridiculous position ever provoked the hilarity of mankind.

(377)

Within the ranks of the tenured, however, the position has not provoked hilarity; it has engendered an industry of theoretical speculation on how to fit a square peg into a round hole without using any carpentry tools. The relationship between Southampton and Shakespeare has always been the critical nub of what orthodox scholars are wont to refer to as the "mystery of Shakespeare's Sonnets." The scandal, and hence the self-perpetuating mystery, originates in the Sonnet author's unabashed self-reference to himself in the first person pronoun. Orthodox critics are in flight from this "I, Shakespeare" and what he writes about himself and his relationships: for orthodox readers such as Sir Sidney Lee, Samuel Schoenbaum, or even Helen Vendler (1997), the sonnet author's tangible person becomes a mere *persona* -- a mask apparently employed to induce the reader into experiencing a false sense of authenticity and personal rapport with the author.

In such analyses, we have come very far from the 16<sup>th</sup> century world of Agricola in which the *raison d'être* of rhetorical praxis, including poetry, was that "one person makes another the sharer of his mind"

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<sup>233</sup> A useful synopsis of the 19<sup>th</sup> century history is given by Rollins (1944) II, 177-241.

(quoted in Trousdale 33). By discovering that Edward de Vere was in 1591 the prospective father-in-law of the "fair youth" of the Shakespeare Sonnets, Looney had taken the first step towards unraveling the "mystery" of the Sonnets. Furthermore, he demonstrated to the satisfaction of readers such as Gerald Rendall and, ultimately, Sigmund Freud, that this local mystery was inextricably bound up with the authorship question. To treat the "mystery of Shakespeare's Sonnets" in isolation from the question of authorship was, to Looney and his followers, an oxymoron. For his part, C.S. Lewis, at least on principle, seems to have agreed: "What man in the whole world, except a father-in-law," wrote Lewis, "cares whether another man gets married or not?" (1954 503).

When pressed to demonstrate a tangible connection between the poet's life and his oeuvre, Stratfordian scholars sometimes quote the so-called "Will Sonnets" (135-36) as definitive evidence for their beliefs about authorship (Matus 1993 82). It may be doubted, however, whether these poems really support the orthodox view. Beginning with the poet's sarcastic invocation of his muse, who "hath her *Will* too boote, and *Will* in overplus" (135.2) the poems ring a series of semantic metamorphoses on the Christian name "William." Their dominant conceit is that "William" is a product of the unnaturally masculine libido of the dark lady -- a phantasm of her supercharged sexual "will." The poet sarcastically congratulates the lady for indulging in her salacious appetite for state secrets by imposing her metonymic will on him.

Indeed, the "will" Sonnets belong to a longer series -- among them 71-76, 81, and 112 -- elaborating upon the circumstance in which the author's true name has been erased from the history books of the Elizabethan era and replaced by the decoy name: "Will-I-am Shake-Speare." The name itself of course spells out the nature of the problem under consideration; but the problem is in other respects difficult enough that full consideration must be reserved for a later chapter in which we may consider some sources of inspiration for the Sonnets, derived from the Bible and the classical tradition of lyric poets such as Horace. At this juncture it may be relevant to recall that in Sonnet 112 we have already read that because of "public means which public manners breeds" -- an apparent reference to Oxford's 1000 pd annuity -- the poet's "name" has "received a brand/and almost is subdued to what it works in, like the dyers hand." The "Will" sonnets name the brand: the brand is "Will". Consider the full text of the paired sonnets:

Whoever hath her wish, thou hast thy *Will*,  
 And *Will* to boot, and *Will* in overplus;  
 More than enough am I that vex thee still,  
 To thy sweet will making addition thus.  
 Wilt thou, whose will is large and spacious,  
 Not once vouchsafe to hide my will in thine?  
 Shall will in others seem right gracious,  
 And in my will no fair acceptance shine?  
 The sea, all water, yet receives rain still,  
 And in abundance addeth to his store;  
 So thou, being rich in *Will*, add to thy *Will*

One will of mine, to make thy large *Will* more.  
 Let no unkind, no fair beseechers kill;  
 Think all but one, and me in that one *Will*.

If thy soul check thee that I come so near,  
 Swear to thy blind soul that I was thy *Will*,  
 And will, thy soul knows, is admitted there;  
 Thus far for love, my love-suit, sweet, fulfill.  
*Will* will fulfil the treasure of thy love,  
 Ay fill it full with wills, and my will one.  
 In things of great receipt with ease we prove  
 Among a number one is counted none;  
 Then in that number let me pass untold,  
 Though in thy store's account I one must be;  
 For nothing hold me, so it please thee hold  
 That nothing, a something sweet to thee:  
 Make but my name thy love, and love that still,  
 And then thou lov'st me--for my name is *Will*<sup>234</sup>.

For those who prefer sound-bites to literary exegesis, the concluding catastrophe, "my name is *Will*" seems a pungent and irrefutable confirmation that "Shakespeare" was somebody named "Will." However, the Sonnets recount an etiology of the name which cannot be reassuring to orthodox readers of a more thoughtful persuasion. The fulfillment of the poet's love suit to the Lady is that she will, to disguise his intent by subsuming it within her own, impose the name "William" upon him. Thus, just as in the branding of the writer's name in Sonnet 112, these two poems speak of the imposition of the Lady's "Will" in renaming her penitent vassal with the sobriquet "Will," with the result that he himself is "counted nothing." Thus the Lady imposes her "vultus"<sup>235</sup> -- in both senses of the Latin word-- upon the author: both her own intent, and a disguising and disfiguring "mask" or visage<sup>236</sup> which protects the "public manners" necessary for the preservation of her reign. The poet is reduced to a cipher, a zero, a "nothing" (136.8-10).

Far from inducing conviction in the orthodox view of Shakespeare, then, these sonnets constitute impressive witness to the Oxfordian thesis: they deconstruct the name "Will-I-Am Shake-speare" by recounting the process of its imposition upon the author. Readers familiar with the recent history of the authorship question may be irresistibly reminded of Justice Stevens' pregnant remark that "nothing short of a royal command could have induced the author to remain anonymous" (1372). Here we have two poems in which the author in mock-ingratiating terms urges his "dark lady" to impose her will -- to "count me nothing" -- by renaming him as "Will," while erasing his actual name and identity from the history books and from the title pages of his works.

<sup>234</sup> Spelling modernized, except for the original distinction between italicized, capitalized forms of *Will* and un-italicized, un-capitalized forms. It will be noticed that all capitalized forms are italicized and vice versa.

<sup>235</sup> *Vultus* can mean "will" in the sense of intention when the form is taken to denote the perfect participle from *Volo velle volui*. *Cassells* lists "(5) to express a wish with authority, to will, ordain." Taking this as the root meaning, *vultus* means "the thing having been ordained" -- precisely the sense of "will" in several uses in the Sonnet

<sup>236</sup> See Andrews 1649: II B. 1. "A painted face, portrait or likeness."

Looney anticipated such a reading of the Will Sonnets by drawing attention to the prominence of the *anathema sum* theme in the Sonnets. Their author explicitly and unambiguously calls attention to, and even pleads on behalf of, this sanitizing of official history by the removal of his name, viz. --

No longer mourn for me when I am dead,  
 Then you shall hear the surly sullen bell  
 Give warning to the world that I am fled  
 From this vile world, with vilest worms to dwell;  
 Nay, if you read this line, remember not  
 The hand that write it....  
 Do not so much as my name rehearse  
 But let your love even with my life decay  
 Lest the wise world should look into your moan  
 And mock you with me after I am gone. (71)

My name be buried where my body is,  
 And live no more to shame nor me nor you. (72)

Or you shall live your epitaph to make  
 Or you survive when I in earth am rotten  
 From hence your memory death cannot take  
 Although in me each part will be forgotten.  
 Your name from hence immortal life shall have  
 Though I, once gone, to all the world must die. (81)

As Looney argued, this repeated invocation of the author's own express wish for anonymity -- that his name should be "buried" along with his body, his beloved survivors should refrain from even rehearsing the name for fear of being mocked along with him, and his compensatory declaration that the loss of his identity will guarantee "immortal life" (81.5) in the person of the fair youth -- constitutes a most difficult, if not insuperable, obstacle to the orthodox view of authorship. In these lines, observed the founder of the present theory, "it is made as clear as anything can be that he was one who had elected his own self-effacement, and that disrepute was one, if not the principle, motive" (174).

What do orthodox scholars say in response to this?

For the most part -- nothing. In fact, one gains the distinct impression that orthodox Shakespeareans prefer not to read these poems. Orthodox commentary on the series of Sonnets in which the author makes these explicit statements (71-76, 81 and 112) is remarkably elliptical and utterly fails to even acknowledge their evidently paradoxical character when read in an orthodox light. From Rollins (1944) we learn next-to-nothing. John Dover Wilson (1966) can bring himself to write less than forty words on Sonnet 72 -- fewer than any other in his edition -- although he does wonder whether "that which I bring forth" refers to Sonnets or to plays. Stephen Booth (1977 259), repeating a point picked up by Rollins from Abbott, assures us that the phrase "my name be buried where my body is!" is a hortatory subjunctive meaning "let my name be buried..." But all these writers are silent about the implications of such an exhortation.



## CHAPTER 26.

### PRECEDENT AND MEANING IN *SHAKE-SPEARE'S SONNETS*

Decades before Harold Bloom's *Anxiety of Influence*, which perhaps popularized the idea more effectively than any other book, T.S. Eliot insisted on "the importance of the relation of the poem to other poems by other authors" (7). The poet, claimed Eliot, was a vector of creative energies, an embodiment and concentrator of poetic truth, not an identity *sui generis* creating himself anew out of whole cloth. Eliot's poet must live "not merely in the present, but the present moment *of the past*," being conscious "not of what is dead, but what is already living" (11: emphasis added). Eliot's dictum has no more obvious application than in the case of Shakespeare's Sonnets, the 1609 collection of poems steeped in the "already living" tradition of classical and Renaissance lyric and epic poetry. Indeed, the drama revealed in the Sonnets emerges in *bas* relief against the contextual background of literary history.

The most profound conflict in the drama of the *Sonnets* is not, strictly speaking, of a biographical or psychological nature. Instead, it is a conflict of principles embodied in the diverse and sometimes contradictory cultural traditions to which the "myriad-minded" author was exposed during a lifetime dedicated to the study of history, religion and literature. In the Latin poets, particularly Ovid (43 B.C.-14 A.D.) and Horace (65-8 B.C.), he discovered the proud tradition of the writer as immortalizing agent of his own name. The concluding lines of the *Metamorphoses*, in which Ovid celebrates his own achievement and prophesies his own literary immortality, are echoed in myriad ways in the Sonnets:

Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iovis ira nec ignis  
Nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere vestutas.  
Cum volet, illa dies, quae nil nisi corporis huius  
Ius habet, incerti spatium mihi finiat aevi;  
Parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis  
Astra ferar, nomenque erit indelebile nostrum.  
Quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris,  
Ore legar populi, perque omnia saecula fama,  
Siquid habent veri vatum praesagia, vivam.

(Metamorphoses XV.871-79)<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> Now I have made a work, which neither Jove's consuming rage,  
nor sword, nor fire, nor devouring time itself, can destroy or ever tarnish.  
And when that day shall come, when strength of mortal body fails,  
And when the race of my uncertain days shall end,  
The better part of me shall rise into the starry heavens  
And then my name shall printed be, indelibly in brass,  
However far as Roman might holds sway across the conquered earth,  
I still shall be remembered in the mouths of men,  
And throughout the centuries of fame to come,  
If prophecies of Bards have any grain of truth, I still shall live. (Translation mine.)



Horace, not without a touch of comic paradox, invokes the same proud tradition of the writer as conquering-warrior-of-time in lyric, when he boasts that his little verses are more enduring than pyramids: "Exegi monumentum aere perennius,/Regalique situ pyramidum altius" (Ode XXX, Carminum Liber III).

J. B. Leishman's *Themes and Variations in Shakespeare's Sonnets*, undoubtedly the most sophisticated source study of the Sonnets, which traces both ancient and Renaissance influences in the poems, refers to this as the topic of poetry as the "Defier of Time." From its earliest articulation in Ovid and Horace, it was "frequently imitated by the vernacular poets of modern Europe from Petrarch onwards" (38). "There can be no doubt," continues Leishman, "that both passages [from Ovid and Horace] were very much in Shakespeare's memory and imagination when he was writing these sonnets about poetry as the defier of Time" (39). So intimate is the connection between Horace and Shakespeare on this point that they "'have shook hands as over a vast and embraced as from the ends of opposed winds.'" On this topic of poetry as the Defier of Time each of them has written more great and more memorable poetry than any other European poet" (37).

This pagan, individualistic, ethic of poetry as heroic action against the corrosive influence of time appealed to a man steeped in the proud history of his own clan, the de Veres of Castle Hedingham. For seventeen unbroken generations his house had preserved a patrilineage of "wolfish earls" known, with a few lapses such as the infamous career of Robert de Vere, for their dedication to the medieval ideals of justice through strength, the cultivation of local village life, and literary patronage<sup>238</sup>. "A crown of bays shall that man wear, who triumphs over me" de Vere wrote (Sobran 237), prognosticating his own literary triumph, sometime before 1576.

The contrast with the New Testament admonition to perform works of charity in secret marked in de Vere's Geneva Bible in Christ's sermon on the mount, could not be more absolute.

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<sup>238</sup> For one recent, erudite treatment of the de Veres as literary patrons, see Hanna & Edwards, "Rotheley, the De Vere Circle, and the Ellesmere Chaucer" in *The Huntington Library Quarterly* (58:1, 11-35).

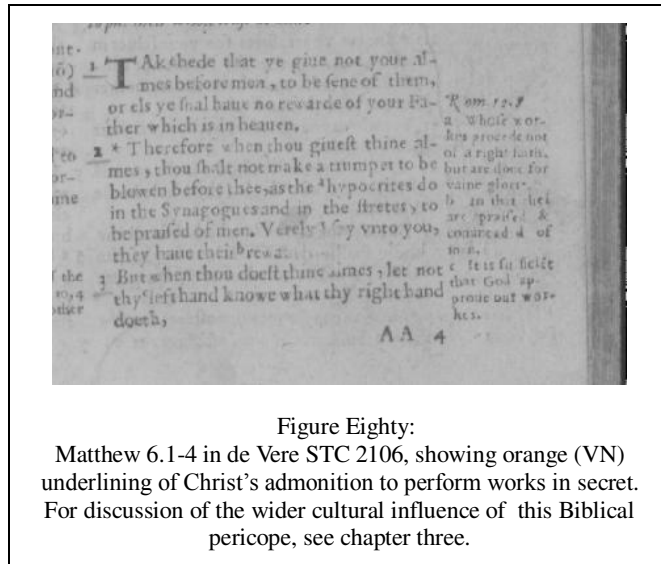


Figure Eighty:

Matthew 6.1-4 in de Vere STC 2106, showing orange (VN) underlining of Christ's admonition to perform works in secret. For discussion of the wider cultural influence of this Biblical pericope, see chapter three.

This strict injunction to forbear worldly honor for good works such as literary labors and wait patiently for a secret heavenly reward is marked by Edward de Vere in his 1570 Geneva Bible (figure eighty). As we saw in chapter three, this Biblical pericope seems to have exercised a widespread and profound influence in shaping the cultural norms of the "golden age" of pseudonymous publication. The "great-souled" martyr William Tyndale cited these verses as precedent for his anonymous New Testament. But a more local instance may profit the reader more. In 1624, the year after the publication of the "Shakespeare" first folio, Gervase Markham remembered Edward de Vere himself with a sly reference to the same verses (see pp. 29-30 above)<sup>239</sup>.

The pagan poets such as Horace and Ovid, whose influence is so manifest in the Sonnets would, however, have found this

ethic absurd. For them the purpose of poetry was to raise a monument which would survive the effects of corporeal decay and preserve the poet's memory, embodied in his name, against the corrosive effect of time. The ethic is bluntly and persuasively recorded in Sonnet 55 (figure 81) -- with one significant shift in emphasis. Here the immortalizing power of poetry is cited, not for the conquering poet himself, but for the object of his devotion who survives in his poetry even when the flesh perishes.

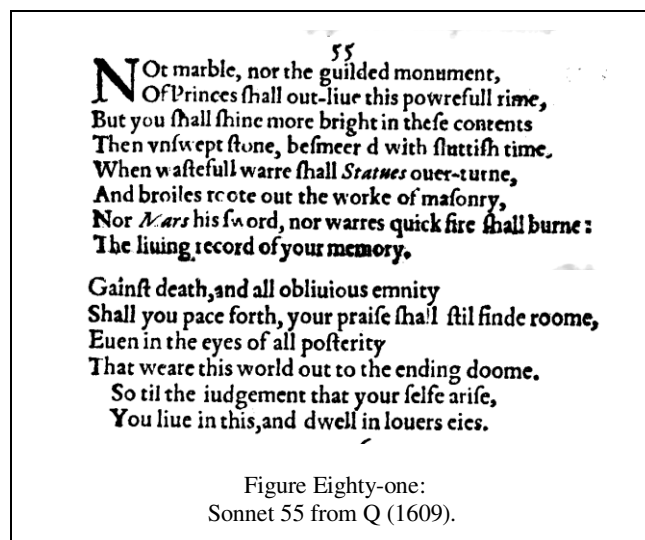
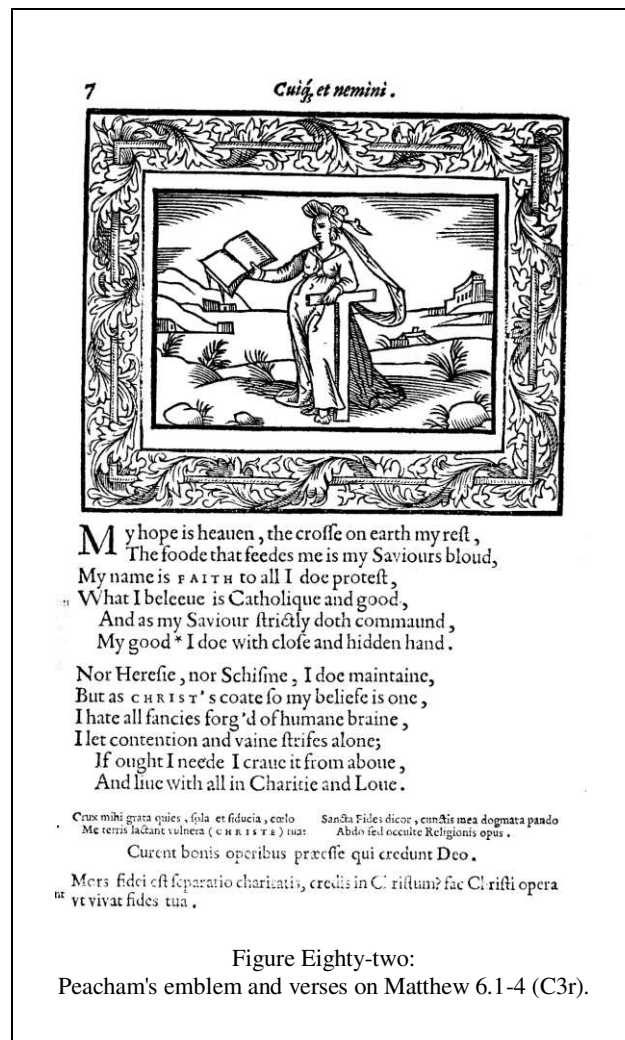


Figure Eighty-one:  
Sonnet 55 from Q (1609).

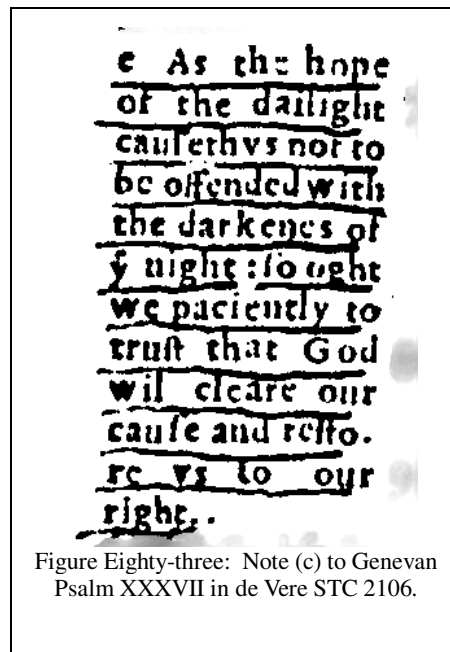
<sup>239</sup> Henry Peacham's 1612 reference to these verses in *Minerva Britanna*, a book long believed to be covertly dedicated to the memory of Edward de Vere as the secret genius of Elizabeth's reign (Clark 1937, Astley-Cock, et. alia. See Miller 1975 II 306-307), confirms that the *topos* was an active pretext for great works done in secret. Dickson 1998 provides a current synopsis of this history.

Christian charity and admonition to perform great works in secret form the deepest tragic undercurrent in Shakespeare's Sonnets. Indeed, this note of resignation and loss, the sense that the writer is compelled by the invisible hand of historical destiny, reinforced by religious conviction, to capitulate to the erasure of his own name, sets these poems apart from all their lyric antecedents, in both classical and Renaissance traditions. While immortalizing the image of his beloved "fair youth," the poet inverts Horace to say that "the earth can yield *me* but a common grave/While *you* entombed in men's eyes shall lie" (81).



In this common grave both body and name will be entombed. Thus Leishman, although missing the full import of the *paragone* between classical and Christian ethic, coins the term "compensatory" to describe the psychological movement of the Sonnets.

The idea of the just man or suffering servant as one who does good works in secret had, of course, ample precedent in the scriptural traditions in which Christ was schooled in the temple. A number of Old Testament passages appeal to the *lebenslust* of members in God's flock by promising divine redemption from destruction and obscurity, as in, for example this selection from the Genevan Psalms in which de Vere has noted Whittingham's moral that one "ought...to wait patiently to trust that God wil cleare our cause and restore us to our right" (figure eighty-three).



The moral appears to have been an urgent one for the annotator. As we noticed in a previous chapter, the same sentiment is marked twice (VN, C) in Micah 7.9, as if the annotator felt compelled to underline the moral on two subsequent readings (figure eighty-four).

2 I wil beare the wrath of the Lord be-  
 cause I haue sinned against him, vntil he  
 pleade my cause, and execute iudge-  
 ment for me: then wil he bring me for-  
the to the light, & I shal be his righte-  
 oufnes.

Figure Eighty-four: Micah 7.9 in de Vere STC 2106.

A great deal of the imagery and idioms of the Sonnets is directly related to the author's attempt to find a consolation which can compensate him for the sinful obscurity into which he, like the Prophet Micah in the underlined verse, has been plunged. His position is eloquently stated in Sonnet 25, in which we read of "the painful warrior famoused for fight, [who] is from the book of honor razed quite/and all the rest forgot for which he toiled."

Like the sinful Robert de Vere excised from the plot of *Woodstock* and *Richard II*, or Edward IV from the Shakespeare history cycle, the author of the Sonnets has been "razed" -- cut out -- from the book of public honor. He consoles himself with the thought that his beloved will survive in his verse even if his own name will perish.

It transpires that the author, if we continue reading the Sonnets, is actually culpable in this erasure of his name from the book of honor, and for just the reasons marked in the de Vere Bible. His shame for "that which I bring forth" is manifest in Sonnet 72: because of this shame he appeals to his reader to literally "bury" -- conceal -- his name along with his body (figure eighty-five).

Indeed, the Sonnet is built around the contrast between the death of the name and the death of the body. One may paraphrase, not without a nod in the direction of speakers of apodictic pronouncements against the crime of

paraphrasing the Sonnets: "Because I am shamed by my writing, *you also* should be ashamed. Therefore, do not remember me after I am dead. Let *my name be buried along with my body*." The same

72  
 O Leaft the world should taske you to recite,  
 What merit liu'd in me that you should loue  
 After my death/dcare loue /for get me quite,  
 For you in me can nothing worthy proue,  
 Vlesse you would deuise some vertuous lye,  
 To doe more for me then mine owne desert,  
 And hang more praise vpon deceafed I,  
 Then nigard truth would willingly impart:  
 O leaft your true loue may seeme false in this,  
 That you for loue speake well of me vntrue,  
 My name be buried where my body is,  
 And liue no more to shame nor me, nor you.  
 For I am shamd by that which I bring forth,  
 And so should you, to loue things nothing worth.

Figure Eighty-five:  
 Sonnet 72 in 1609 Q.

message was already encountered in the previous sonnet, which begins "No longer mourn for me when I am dead," and ends with the following quatrain:

Do not so much as *my poor name* rehearse,  
But let your love ev'n with my life decay,  
Lest the wise world should look into your moan,  
And mock you with me after I am gone.

It may of course be wondered why the "rehearsal" of the author's name -- which according to the conventional view is blazoned across every half-page of 1609 Q -- should be prohibited. Why should "Will-I-Am Shake-Speare" fear that the articulation of his name will cause the speaker to be "mocked" by the "wise world" -- with him -- after he is gone? The Oxfordians, of course, have a good answer, one perhaps best left unspoken, to this perplexing question.

It has not been noticed by prior students of Shakespeare's Bible references that the distinction between the death of the name and the death of the body, upon which these two Sonnets depend for their eschatological energy, is derived from the book of Ecclesiasticus, where it occurs in a series of verses marked by Edward de Vere (figure eighty-six).

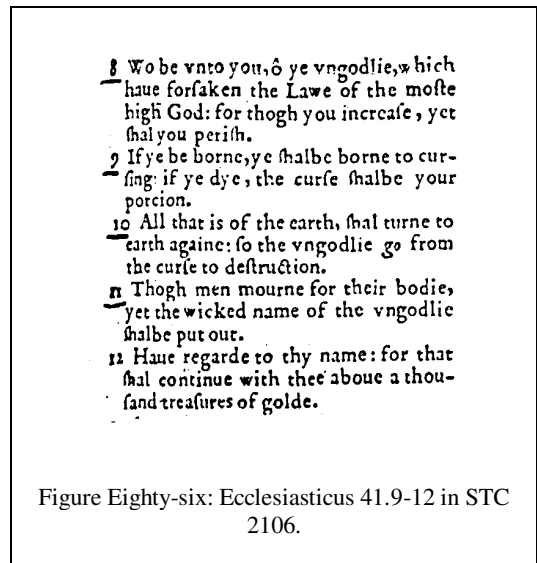


Figure Eighty-six: Ecclesiasticus 41.9-12 in STC 2106.

This pericope appears to have left a profound imprint in the annotator's religious conscience. The idea of cursing the day of one's birth appears in many permutations in the Shakespeare canon, many of them listed under SD # 32 in the present dissertation. Eccus. 41.12 is apparently (Carter 1905 394; Noble 1935 218; Milward 1987 84; Shaheen 1987 132) the best source<sup>240</sup> for Iago's hypocritical sermon valuing the "good name" above all worldly treasures:

Good name in man and woman, dear my lord,  
Is the immediate jewel of their souls.  
Who steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something,  
Nothing.  
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands.  
But he that filches from me my good name  
Robs me of that which not enriches him  
And makes me poor indeed.

(3.3.155-162)

The pericope's most impressive influence in Shakespeare, however, is on the series of Sonnets 71-74. In Sonnet 74, which extends the theme of the death of the author's name, we read that

My life hath in this line some interest,  
Which for memorial still with thee shall stay.  
When thou reviewest this thou dost review  
The very part was consecrate to thee,

<sup>240</sup> Please see appendix K for a detailed discussion of the controversy over possible alternative sources of this passage.

The earth can have but earth which is his due.  
My spirit is thine, the better part of me,  
So then thou hast but lost the dregs of life,  
The pray of worms, my body being dead,  
The coward conquest of a wretches knife.

(74.5-14)

The line "the earth can have but earth," typically derived from the Anglican memorial service based on Gen. 3.19's "thou art dust, and to dust shalt thou returne," more closely resembles the marked wording of Ecclesiasticus 41.10: "all that is of the earth, shal turne to earth againe." The thematic context affirms the relevance of this lexical clue: both Sonnet and Ecclesiasticus passage contrast the body with the spiritual essence of the person embodied in the name. In both Sonnet 74 and the Bible passage, the perishable body, composed of earth, returns again to earth, while the spiritual essence of the holy person is preserved by the divine action of the text itself. The Sonnet assumes a recursive, self-referential posture when the author states that his life has "*in this line* some interest." The "interest...for memorial with thee shall stay." We will encounter this word, *interest*, in a subsequent chapter; here it means both compound interest accrued upon an investment, and also legal ownership.

The self-reflexive reference to *line* also prepares readers for the pregnant *double-entendre* of the word *body* -- meaning the *corpus* of a writer's works as well as his physical body -- in the subsequent Sonnet 72, and invites the reader's close attention to the logical and rhetorical structure of both poems:

My *name* be buried where my *body* is.

(72.11)

Intrinsic to the "Oxfordian" argument is the view that by "reviewing" the lines set down by the author, a reader may in fact discover numerous permutations of "truth" which spell out the author's "buried" name.

## CHAPTER 27. THE HUNDREDTH PSALM TO THE TUNE OF GREENSLEEVES

Bound with de Vere's 1570 Geneva Bible is a copy of the *Sternhold & Hopkins* metrical Psalms published in Geneva by John Crespin dated 1569 (STC 2440a), with an introductory treatise by Athanasius (figure eighty-seven). Several Psalms are marked by the annotator with a pointing hand or other emblematic device, some in the margins of the introductory treatise and others in the text itself. The five Psalms marked in the treatise are: 8, 11, 15, 23 and 59<sup>241</sup>. The sixteen<sup>242</sup> Psalms marked in the text are: 12, 25, 30, 31, 51, 61, 65, 66, 67, 77, 103, 137, 139, 145, 146 and Lamentations. Two Genevan Psalms, one by underlining a line (18.20) and two by underlined marginal notes (37), are also marked in the Old Testament of de Vere's STC 2106.

Before evaluating the potential significance of these psalm annotations, we must consider the special methodological questions which they raise. Bibliographically, the Psalms present complex, even labyrinthine, source questions. In Elizabethan England, the Psalms were extant in four distinctive translations -- the Coverdale Psalter which functioned as the official psalm book of the

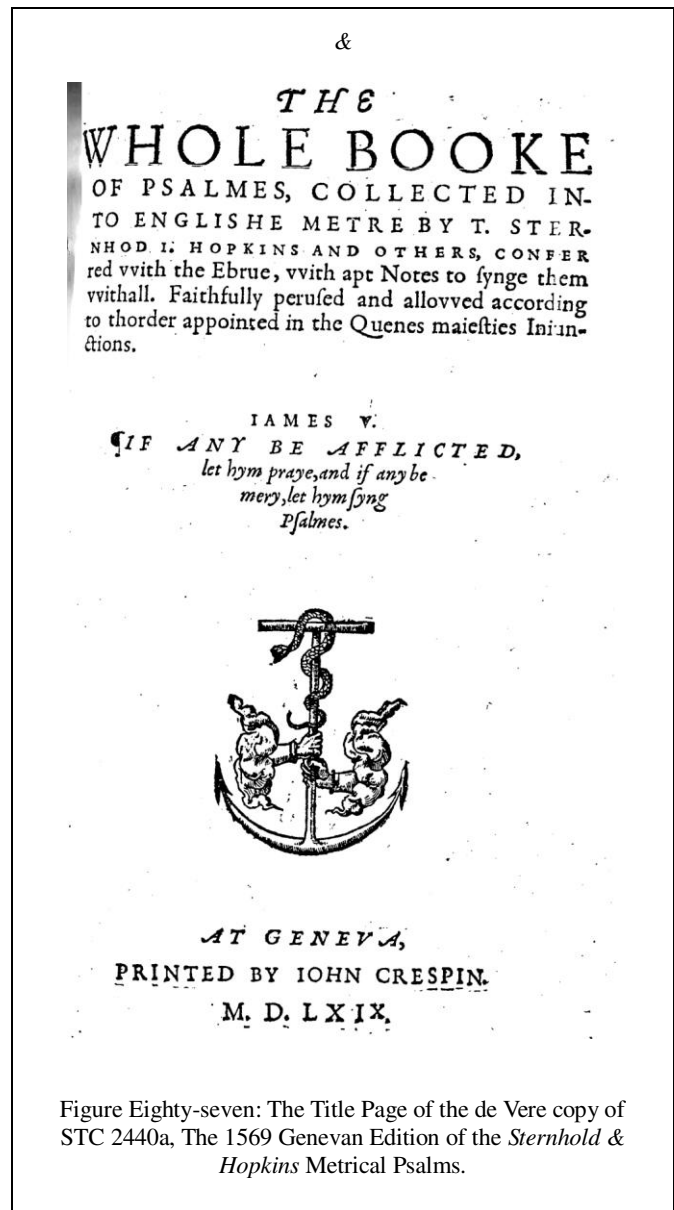


Figure Eighty-seven: The Title Page of the de Vere copy of STC 2440a, The 1569 Genevan Edition of the *Sternhold & Hopkins* Metrical Psalms.

<sup>241</sup> The marked psalm is either 59 or 37.

<sup>242</sup> Updated in the third printing by the addition of 51 and 65; 51 is considered in the appendix B under SD #29 but was inadvertently omitted from this list.



Anglican Church, the Genevan and Bishop's translations appearing in the Old Testaments of those two respective versions of the Bible, and the popular *Sternhold Hopkins* metrical Psalms. These four versions, moreover, existed in a bewildering number of editions, many displaying slight bibliographical or textual variation. The STC lists two hundred and sixty-two distinct editions of the *Sternhold & Hopkins* translation published in England from 1549 to 1615, of which one hundred and seventy-three were published before 1603. This variegated bibliographical landscape presents some unique difficulties and possibilities for the investigator of Shakespearean references which it is the subject of this chapter to consider in all their splendid and telling minutiae.

At first glance, Shakespeare seems to make more reference to the Psalms than any other book of the bible. Noble cites one-hundred-and-thirty-three Shakespearean references to the Psalms; Shaheen's more comprehensive survey finds as many as seventy-seven in the comedies alone (1993). Since, however, many of the references are to language also found elsewhere in the Bible, these numbers are, to a certain extent, illusory. Many items listed by Noble or Shaheen as references to the Psalms depend upon language which also occurs in other chapters of the Bible. For example, the phraseology -- "Lord have mercy" (SD #22) -- appears not only in four places in the Psalms but three more in the New Testament; "pains of hell" (SD #21<sup>243</sup>) -- occurs with slight variation in Ecclesiasticus. Out of sixty-six Shakespeare diagnostics, then, only two -- Psalm 18.3 (SD #20) and Psalm 137 (SD #23) -- are *definitely* references to the Psalms.

But even if the relative magnitude of Shakespeare's reference to the Psalms has sometimes been overstated, there is little doubt that the Psalms exhibit a profound and far-reaching influence on the Shakespeare canon. In at least a few cases, moreover, his psalm language can be traced to a particular printed version of the Psalms.

According to Richmond Noble, in those cases allowing for a determination, most of Shakespeare's references to the Psalms follow wording of the Coverdale Psalter -- not the *Sternhold & Hopkins*, the Genevan, or the Bishop's editions. This finding, with which Shaheen concurs<sup>244</sup>, paradoxically allows us to see just how powerful the evidence from the de Vere Bible, which includes copies of two editions of the Psalms which Shakespeare typically *does not* follow, actually is. Noble could discover only two instances in which Shakespeare's wording obviously differed from that found in the Psalter. These were the Genevan and Bishop's wordings of a line found in Psalm 18.18: "The Lorde was my stay," which occurs in Henry VI's appeal to the "Good Duke Humphrey" of Gloucester:

Give up thy staff: Henry will to himself  
Protector be; and God shall by my hope,

---

<sup>243</sup> "The pains of hell."

<sup>244</sup> "Shakespeare refers to the Psalms more frequently than to any other book of the Bible except Matthew, and whenever the references verbally resemble a particular version of the Psalms, it is almost always the Psalter rather than the Geneva" (Shaheen 1987 34).

The imagery of God as protector, guide, and lantern reflects, of course, the influence of the Psalms. The phrase, *my stay*, however, can be traced to the Genevan wording of Psalm 18.18, according to Noble (76)<sup>246</sup>. Curiously, Psalm 18.20, proximate to this rare Shakespearean reference to idiomatic language of the Genevan Psalms, is the only phrase marked in the de Vere Genevan Psalms (figure eighty-eight).

Conceivably, this close correspondence between the de Vere annotation of the Genevan Psalm 18.20 and Shakespeare's reference to the Genevan 18.18, could be rejected as a mere coincidence. It is less easy, however, to reject the implications of de Vere's marking of other Psalms alluded to in Shakespeare. Subsequent to Noble's study, Shaheen, in his more comprehensive and accurate survey of Shakespearean Bible references (1987, 1989, 1993),

18 They preuented me in the daye of  
my calamiue : but the Lord was my  
stay.  
19 He broght me for:he also into a lar-  
ge place : P he deliuered me becaufe he  
fauiored me.  
20 The Lord rewarded me according  
to my righteoulnes : according to the  
pures of mine hands he recompensed  
me:

Figure Eighty-eight: Psalm 18:18-20 in de Vere STC 2106.

identifies several additional references to Psalm versions other than the Psalter, some of which are also marked in de Vere's *Sternhold and Hopkins*. Since Shakespeare's references are usually to the Psalter, and since we do not have a copy of de Vere's psalter for comparative inspection, these references to the *Sternhold and Hopkins* version deserve particularly close scrutiny by students of the authorship controversy. Should there turn out to be a correlation of any kind between these references and the markings found in de Vere's *Sternhold and Hopkins*, it would constitute a level of confirmation of the present thesis involving a multiplication of several independent factors which would be almost beyond belief were it not for the testimony of photographic proof.

In *Merry Wives of Windsor*, for example, Shaheen finds three consecutive allusions to the metrical *Sternhold and Hopkins*. The first of these references comes when Mrs. Ford makes comical reference to the fact that in her eyes Falstaff's "truth" and his "words"

Do no more adhere and keep place together than *the hundredth*  
Psalm to the tune of Greensleeves.

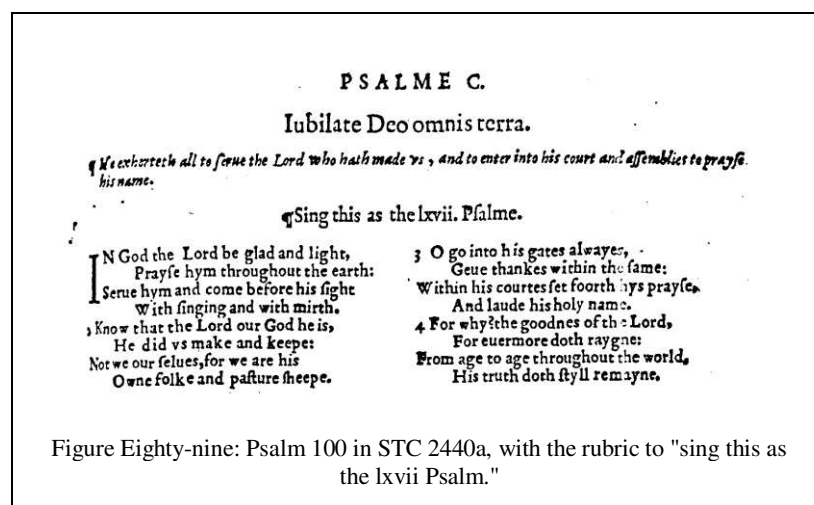
(2.1.62-63)

Curiously, anomalies in the arrangement of STC 2440a go far to justify the inference that Mrs. Ford's complaint is based on a clever joke about comparative bibliography, one which depends upon an intimate knowledge of de Vere's text of the Psalms -- and no other. This hypothesis is based on the observation of Professor Shaheen that in some editions of *Sternhold & Hopkins*, "Psalms for which no musical notes are

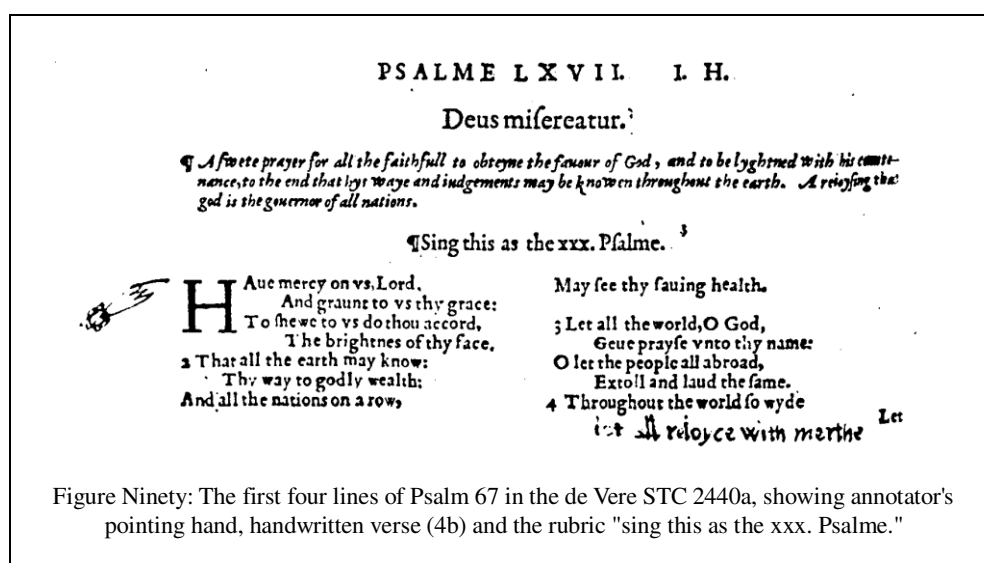
<sup>245</sup> Psalm 18 is a particularly important Psalm for Shakespeare; it will be recalled that Psalm 18.3 and Psalm 18.4, in their Bishop's or Psalter readings, constitute respectively SD's #20 and #21.

<sup>246</sup> Instead of "my stay," the Psalter has "my upholder"; the Bishop's, published only in 1568, 1572 and 1585, has "God was unto me a sure stay." Shakespeare's wording reflects the influence of either the Bishop's or the Genevan Psalms, or the parallel wording in II Samuel 22.19 in the Genevan ("the Lord was my stay").

provided have a rubric directing the reader which tune to use when singing that Psalm" (1993 139). To understand why this observation may be relevant to pinpointing Shakespeare's knowledge of a specific edition of the metrical Psalms, let us consider the evidence from de Vere's copy of STC 2440a. No music is provided for psalm 100 in STC 2440a; instead a rubric directs the reader to "Sing this as the lxvii Psalme" (figure eighty-nine).



Turning to psalm 67 in the same volume one may be surprised to note that, again, no music provided here: only another rubric requesting the reader to "Sing this as the xxx Psalme." The annotator has marked this psalm with a pointing hand and supplied a missing line of type (Psalm 67.4b) which reads "let all reioyce with merthe"<sup>247</sup> (figure ninety).



<sup>247</sup> The spelling "merthe" -- not "mirth" or "mirthe" -- exhibits the characteristic de Vere substitution of "e" for "i".

If we then follow the treasure hunt for the tune to the 100th psalm, turning to psalm 30 we are finally rewarded by a printed tune, this one again marked by a conspicuous pointing hand (figure ninety-one).

PSALME XXX. L. H.  
Exaltabo te Domine.

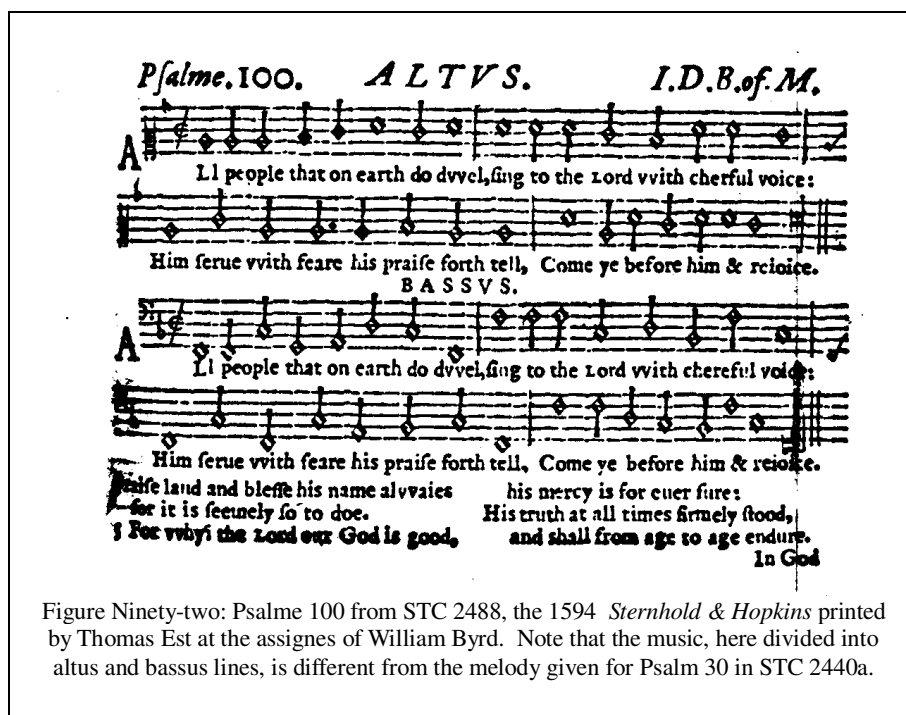
¶ When David shoulde haue dedicated his house to the Lord, he fell so extreme sicke, that he was without all hope of life, and therefore after his recovery he rendreth thanks to God, exhortyng others to the lyke, and learne by his example, that God is rather mercifull then seuer, and rigorous towards his children, and also that the fall from prosperitie to aduersitie is sodaine. This done, he returneth to prayer, promysing to prayse God for ever.

**A** I laud and prayse, with hart and voyce, O Lord I geue to thee: which didst  
not make my foes reioyce, but hast exalted me, O Lord my God to thee I cride,  
in all my payne and grieve: thou gauest an care, and didst prouide, to ease me  
with reliefe.

Figure Ninety-one: Psalm 30 in de Vere STC 2440a (Genevan 1570), showing the musical accompaniment for this text's Psalms 67 and 100. Note the pointing hand.

Of the editions of *Sternhold & Hopkins* which I have consulted<sup>248</sup>, only STC 2440a lacks a musical accompaniment for psalm 100. Here, for comparison, is a typical arrangement from STC 2488, the 1594 *Sternhold & Hopkins* printed by Thomas Est and assignes of William Byrd (figure ninety-two):

<sup>248</sup> STC 2433 (1564, J. Day); 2449.7 (1578, J. Day); 2460 (1583, J. Day); (1588, J. Wolfe); 2476.5 (1591, J. Windet); 2488 (1594, T. Est); 2493 (1598, W. Barley); 2506 (J. Windet, 1601).



Perhaps a recapitulation is in order. Starting from the rubric of STC 2440a directing us to Psalm 67, we have sought for the music to accompany psalm 100; although we found no music at Psalm 67, we did find the annotator's pointing hand, accompanied by another rubric which directed us to Psalm 30. Here, at last, we discovered, along with another pointing hand, musical accompaniment to Psalm 100. Apparently, the absence of a musical accompaniment for Psalm 100 is a bibliographical anomaly characteristic only of STC 2440a; this idiomatic bibliographical anomaly supplies, I submit, the best context for understanding Mrs. Ford's jest about the appropriate melody to the tune of Psalm 100. In keeping with Richmond Noble's dictum that "literary allusion involved the reader or spectator in a working partnership with the author" (23), bibliographical investigation recovers the rationale of Mistress Quickly's jest. It only remains to remind the reader that we are not only documenting a concurrence between de Vere's annotations in his *Sternhold & Hopkins* and one of very few precise and unambiguous Shakespearean references to *that version* of the Psalms, but we are actually noticing bibliographical variance found, so far as can be determined, in *only one* of many dozens of editions of *Sternhold & Hopkins* known to 16<sup>th</sup> century readers.

Not sixty lines later in the same play occurs a second reference, drawn partly from the metrical Psalms, this time a composite allusion which "combines the readings of the Psalter and the metrical Psalms" (Shaheen 1993 140):

He wooes both high and low, both rich and poor,  
Both young and old, one with another (2.1.113-14)

In this case the psalm in question (49.2), though not marked in the de Vere *Sternhold & Hopkins*, signals a second instance, within the compass of a few short lines, of the special influence of the metrical Psalms in *Merry Wives of Windsor*.

Yet a third reference to *Sternhold & Hopkins* occurs in *Merry Wives*, when the Welsh parson Sir Hugh Evans inserts a colloquial corruption from the metrical Psalms into a garbled version of Christopher Marlowe's popular lyric, "The Passionate Shepherd to his Love":

When as I sat in Pabylon..... (3.1.24)

Here we once more discover compelling photographic witness for Edward de Vere's particular affinity for Shakespeare Diagnostic #23: his pointing hand aims directly at the line quoted by Parson Evans (figure ninety-three).

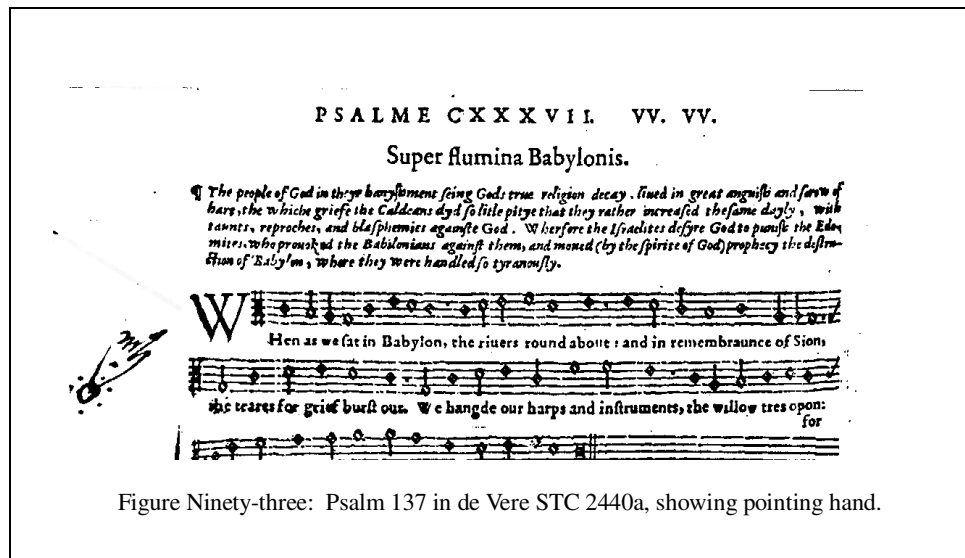


Figure Ninety-three: Psalm 137 in de Vere STC 2440a, showing pointing hand.

Yet another example of a marked psalm which is cited by Shakespeare occurs in *Merchant of Venice*, during the casket guessing game, when Aragon opens the silver casket to discover a scroll with metrical lines derived from Psalm 12.6:

The fire seven times tried this:  
Seven times tried that judgement is. (2.9.63)

This Psalm, also, is marked in the de Vere *Sternhold & Hopkins* with a pointing hand (figure ninety-four):

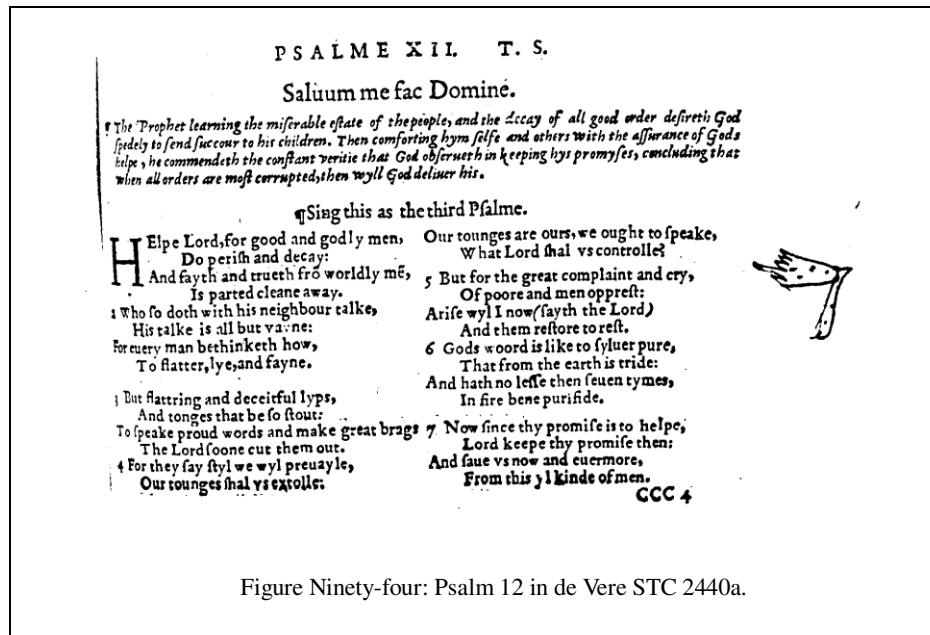


Figure Ninety-four: Psalm 12 in de Vere STC 2440a.

This harvest of direct connections between Shakespeare's allusions to the Psalms, purposefully deferred to this penultimate phase of my nine years of research on the de Vere Bible, provides compelling photographic witness to the unity of mind between the annotator, tried in the cauldron of the creative process, and his work under the *nom de plume* "Shakespeare".

## CHAPTER 28. SPEECH ACTS

Art made "tongue-tied by authority" is forced to employ devious means of polyvocal indirection to persuade. As Sue Curry Jansen writes:

Domination, repression, and the stale cake of custom constrict the range of univocal discourse. They force emancipatory ideas between-the-lines. But serious litterateurs seldom accept this exile with mute resignation. They frequently seize the opportunity to plumb the paleosymbolic depths of equivocal expressions. It is within this subterranean netherworld that the community founding powers of language can be rediscovered or invented. It is here the "no longer" and the "not-yet" are uncovered.

(1988 192-93)

If de Vere was, as so many readers have concluded, the author of the "Shakespeare" canon, he must have found himself in the position of one of those "serious litterateurs" who would not have accepted his own exile from Mount Parnassus with mute resignation. Confronted on one side by a monarch's command for silent complicity with a political hoax and on the other by a rising tide of anti-theatrical Puritanism which transformed his authorship of dramatic works into an intolerable scandal, he must have often thought of himself like the fool LaVache in *All's Well That Ends Well* who, when accused by the Countess of being a "foul-mouthed calumnious knave," can only reply in the affirmative: "A prophet I, Madam, I speak the truth -- in the next way" (1.3.57-59).

That "truth" -- at least the idiosyncratic, idiomatic, dramatic truth of "Shakespeare" -- was often regarded by the Elizabethan court as mere "calumny," just as Claudius regards the theatrical representations of the players at Elsinore, is the Oxfordian thesis in a nutshell. Truth is of course an important word -- and concept -- which remained constantly in the foreground of Edward de Vere's consciousness. He inherited, or more likely invented for himself, an onomastic personal motto -- "vero nihil verius" -- "nothing is truer than the truth."

Because no exemplars of this motto are extant prior to Gabriel Harvey's 1578 *Gratulationes Valdenses*, it seems probable that de Vere himself coined the motto sometime during the 1570s. Apparently derived from a lyric poem by Martial on the subject of truth, written to his friend Gallicus, the motto contains an etymology of the name de Vere from the Latin *verus*, *-a*, *-um*. We owe to Andrew Hannas, an independent scholar and former classics teacher at Purdue University, the discovery of Martial 7.76 as the motto's most probable source: "Dic verum mihi, Marcus....nil est quod magis audiam



libenter....vero verius ergo quid sit audi: verum, Gallice, non libenter audis"<sup>249</sup>. De Vere was by all evidence fascinated by linguistic plays on both his name and his motto. His echo poem, written for Anne Vavasour c. 1581, in which echo iterates his name four times in a single stanza, closes with an ironic play on the motto which echoes the context in Martial: "O Lord how great a miracle/To hear this lady tell/A *truth as true* as Phoebus oracle."

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

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

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

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

May I his favour match with love, if he my love will try?	Ay.
May I requite his birth with faith? Then faithful will I die?	Ay.

And I, that knew this lady well,  
Said, Lord, how great a miracle,  
To hear how Echo told the truth,  
As true as Phoebus oracle.

Figure Ninety-five: De Vere's unpublished echo poem, extant in five (or possibly six) manuscript copies, discussed by May (1980 79-81). I follow the text of Sobran (1997).

One can almost hear in LaVache's brazen affirmation that he speaks "truth" -- in the "next way" -- an echo of lines from the Martial lyric which apparently inspired the de Vere motto. Like Martial writing to his lawyer friend Gallicus, LaVache speaks a truth which the Countess prefers not to hear. This "truth"

<sup>249</sup> You always say, 'Tell me the truth, Marcus...there is nothing I would hear more gladly.' Very well then, I shall tell you what is more true than truth itself: that truth, Gallicus, which you do not wish to hear."

can only be apprehended "in the next way" --that is, not in a way available to any reader, but only to those who "follow".

In several previous chapters we have already considered evidence for the systematic presence of a sub-textual pattern which prophesies, using the plays and poems themselves as the vehicle for the prophecy, de Vere's eventual recognition -- "in the next way" -- as the author. Significantly, we have also encountered witness to de Vere's own belief that certain kinds of speech -- prayer for example -- possess a kind of magical force capable of producing consequential effects which transcend the literary *per se* and can therefore substitute for more direct forms of action. We have also seen that Edward de Vere, like the clown LaVache, was notorious for his comic wit and "unruled tongue." The breathtaking melliflence of early poems such as "If Women Could Be Fair" or "My Mind to Me a Kingdom Is," <sup>250</sup> and the Ciceronian peal of his prose correspondence, were matched by an infamous theatrical wit, of which no specimens have, unfortunately, survived under de Vere's own name. In our previous analysis of *Measure for Measure* and *Hamlet* we have seen, furthermore, how de Vere's own systematic exploration of the secret language of his own name and motto saturates the Shakespearean canon and attests to his authorship at every turn. We may thus speak of de Vere's own action in writing the "Shakespeare" works as a kind of "self-fulfilling prophecy" which, properly understood in relation to the author's own circumstances, as documented in the works themselves and in the historical record of his life in other sources, "verifies" --- for those "with ears to hear" (Luke 8.8) -- his suppressed authorship.

In view of these circumstances it may not be surprising that speech -- the nature, dangers and qualities of speech -- is a recurrent motif in the de Vere Bible annotations. This concern for the philosophical and ethical dimensions of speech is manifest in at least three inter-related ways:

- Marked verses indicating that undisciplined speech or gossip is a sin;
- Marked verses, of which we have already seen one example from Wisdom 18.21, concerning the nature and value of prayer as a specific kind of speech act;
- Marked verses on swearing as a particular kind of prohibited speech.

Together these verses complete the picture of our annotator as a man who struggled with his own ambiguous reputation for comic wit and attempted to balance the popular view of himself as an irrepressible chatterbox with a serious investigation into the nature and rules governing different kinds of speech acts, according to such prescriptive texts as the Bible.

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<sup>250</sup> See appendix N, "A Matter of Style," for these poems.

Like the gossip Lucio in *Measure for Measure*, who when asked the reason for the Duke's secretive abdication of power in Vienna replies that, although he knows the answer, "'tis a secret *must be lock'd* within the teeth and lips" (3.2.134-35: italics added), Edward de Vere apparently also struggled with the impulse for indiscreet use of secret information<sup>251</sup>. It is clear from his reputation among the peerage such as his sister's mother-in-law that he was thought capable of wielding his tongue as a weapon. Hamlet in his confrontation with Gertrude must caution himself to "speak daggers" but "use none" (3.4.95). We overhear this same capacity for linguistic indiscretion (if not blasphemy) when de Vere rebukes Lord Burleigh -- in a blazing display of linguistic compensation -- by declaring that "I am that I am." A record of his spiritual meditation on this subject is inscribed in repeated annotations in both the New Testament and the apocrypha; the theme is marked in a long sequence of verses Wisdom 1.1-12 (figure ninety-six), again at Ecclesiasticus 14.1 (figure ninety-seven) and also at Philippians 2.15 (figure ninety-eight), among other places.

**B**lessed is the man \* that hath not fallen by [the worde of] his mouth, and is not tormented with the sorow of sinne.

Figure Ninety-seven: Ecclesiasticus 14.1 in de Vere STC 2106: "blessed is the man who hath not fallen by the [the worde of] his mouth." Note annotator's correction to error in printed text.

## CHAP. I.

*How we ought to searche and enquire after God. 2 Who be those that finde him. 3 The holy Gost. 8. 11. We ought to flee from backbiting and murmuring. 12 Wherof death cometh. 15 Righteousnes or vnrighteousnes.*

**L**oue \* righteousness, ye that be Iudges of the earth, thinke reuerently of the Lord & seke him in simplicitie of heart.

\* For he wil be founde of them that tempte him not, & appeareth vnto such as be not vnfaithful vnto him.

For wicked thoughts separate fro God: and his power when it is tryed, repro- ueth the vnwise,

Because wisdom can not enter into a wicked heart, nor dwell in the body y is subiect vnto sinne.

For the holy \* Spirit of discipline fleeth from deceit, & withdraweth him self from the thoughts that are without vnderstanding, and is rebuked when wickednes cometh.

For the Spirit of wisdom \* is louing and wil not absolue him, that blasphemeth with his lippes: for God is a witness of his reines, and a true beholder of his heart, and an hearer of the tongue.

For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the worlde: and the same that main- taineth all things, hath knowledge of y voice.

Therefore he that speaketh vnrighteous things can not be hid: nether shal the iudgement of reproche let him escape.

For inquisition shalbe made for the thoughtes of the vngodlie, and the foun- de of his wordes shal come vnto God for the correction of his iniquities.

For the eare of ielousie heareth all things, and the noyce of the grudgings shal not be hid.

Therefore beware of murmuring, which profiteth nothing, & refraine your tongue from selander: for there is no worde so secret, that shal go for nocht, & the mouth that speaketh lies shal the toulc.

Figure Ninety-six: Wisdom 1.1-12 in de Vere STC 2106, showing successive markings of verses about "murmuring."

<sup>251</sup> Consider the author's treatment of William Cecil as Polonius -- who is then taunted by Hamlet as a latter-day "Jephtha," a comparison which would have been in the 16<sup>th</sup> century certainly an actionable cause for slander. As we have seen in a previous chapter, the young de Vere was, like the 18<sup>th</sup> century genius to whom he bears some considerable likeness (Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart), in the habit of constantly getting himself into trouble through his indiscreet speech. As Charlton Ogburn puts it, "The real-life Hamlet did not kill the real-life Polonius -- Lord Burghley. He did not skewer the venerable old counselor with his sword but -- let us, as Dorothy Ogburn suggests, transpose the 's' -- he did so with his words. That was what he had done in writing the play *Hamlet*: he had lampooned Anne Cecil's father. The intent was malicious, but it was not homicidal" (367).

The motif of suppressed speech is prominent in the Shakespeare canon. We might wish to consider, for example, the following instances in which intemperate language is counter-posed to moral restraint as prescribed in the marked verses in the De Vere Bible:

Within my mouth you have engaol'd my tongue  
(*Richard II* 1.3.166)

The liberty that follows our places stops the mouth of all find-faults  
(*Henry V* 5.2.272)

I had rather have this tongue cut from my mouth Than it should do offense  
(*Othello* 2.3.221)

O God, that men should put an enemy in their mouths to steal away their brains!  
(*Othello* 2.3.290)

Thou art worthy to be hanged, that wilt not stay her tongue  
(*Winter's Tale* 2.3.110)

Whose tongue more poisons than an adders tooth  
(*3 Henry VI* 1.4.112)

Which obloquy set bars before my tongue (1 *Henry VI* 2.5.49)

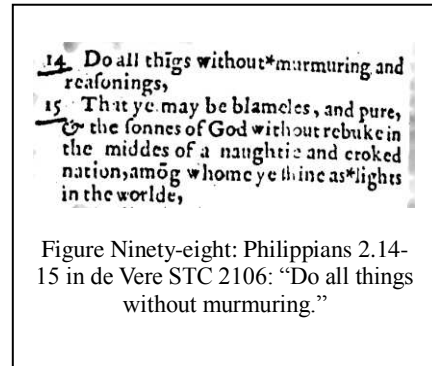


Figure Ninety-eight: Philippians 2.14-15 in de Vere STC 2106: "Do all things without murmuring."

A Shakespeare Diagnostic not marked in the de Vere Bible but relevant to our consideration of speech acts is Matt. 5.33-37 -- verses which admonish the reader to perform their oaths to God and to eschew casuistical equivocation in the performance of promises made to other persons. In these verses "the emphasis is not on the way in which a man binds himself, but on his obligation to perform his promise. Jesus opposes himself to all distinction in oaths, a distinction which a casuist might interpret as determining the relative solemnity of one promise against another" (Albright & Mann 66). Shakespeare's awareness of these verses -- to which Shaheen finds eight references, Carter and Milward one more each, in the canon -- may seem paradoxical for a writer capable of creating the kinds of complex rhetorical patterns found in the plays. But Jesus' admonition to offer simple 'yes' or 'no' oaths is indeed reiterated in many passages in the Shakespeare canon which support the view of its normative value to the author. Perhaps the most striking is that noted by Carter in *All's Well*, when Diana instructs Bertram that

Tis not the many oaths that make the truth,  
But the plain single vow, that is vow'd true.  
What is not holy, that we swear not by,  
But take the highest to witness.  
(4.2.21-24)

The emphasis on the obligation to perform vowed promises, furthermore, is echoed in a series of verses marked by de Vere in II Corinthians, the influence of which can be identified in several related passages in Shakespeare (figure ninety-nine). In these verses Paul exhorts the Corinthians to persevere in their works of charity for the poor: "Now therefore perform to do it also, that as there was a readines to wil, even so ye may performe it of that which ye have." Claudius repeats the moral in *Hamlet*:

That we would do,  
We should do when we would:  
for this 'would' changes.

(4.7.118-19)<sup>252</sup>

As does Prince Hal in *I Henry IV*:

This in the name of God I promise here,  
The which if he be pleas'd I shall perform

(3.2.153-54)

The prohibition of swearing in its more usual modern sense -- to use "a profane oath" (OED II 3189) is the subject of a series of verses marked by de Vere, Ecclesiasticus 23.8-13, which list the Shakespeare Diagnostic series Matt. 5.33 et seq. as a cross-reference (figure one-hundred). The markings include a curious icon which appears to represent a human ear. One can only speculate on the possible significance of this icon. In England the ear became an object of punishment under the 1572 Elizabethan Act for the punishment of vagabonds. The Act defined common players not operating under the patronage of a Baron of the realm or some "other honorable personage of greater degree" as rogues and vagabonds and provided that anyone convicted of belonging to this undesirable class should "be grievously whipped and burnt through the grisle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about" (Prothero 68). Hamlet, according to John Dover Wilson (1936 187)<sup>253</sup>, parodies this statute when he sarcastically says to Polonius: "God's bodkin man, much better! Use every man after his desert and who should 'scape whipping?" (2.2.530).

As we have previously seen in reference to de Vere's synoptic note written at Wisdom 18.21, the annotator and "Shakespeare" share a common interest in the idea of prayer as a kind of weapon, one which sublimates the immediate impulse for direct hostile action by turning over the grievance of the wounded party to God in hopes of divine redemption. It is worth noticing that this idea invokes the basic philosophical problem, to this day unresolved by linguists and legal philosophers, of the relation between speech and other forms of "real" action.

10 And I shewe myminde herein: for  
this is expedient for you, which haue  
begonne not to do onely, but also to  
d wil. a yere ago.  
11 Now therefore performe to do it also,  
that as ~~there was~~ a readines to wil, euen  
so ye maye performe it of that which ye  
haue.  
12 For if there be first a willing minde,  
it is accepted according to that a man  
hathe, & not according to that he ha-  
the not.

Figure Ninety-nine: II Corinthians  
8.10-12 in de Vere STC 2106.

<sup>252</sup> Carter (378) detects the Biblical influence in these lines but cites James 4.14, Prov. 27.1, John 12.35 and Ecclus. 9.10. II Corinthians 8.11 is, however, a much more plausible source for Claudius' idea.

<sup>253</sup> Comments Wilson: "Burghley shared the Puritan dislike of players and believed in rewarding poets also 'according to their desert'" (187), i.e. according to a utilitarian calculation of their usefulness and loyalty to the state.

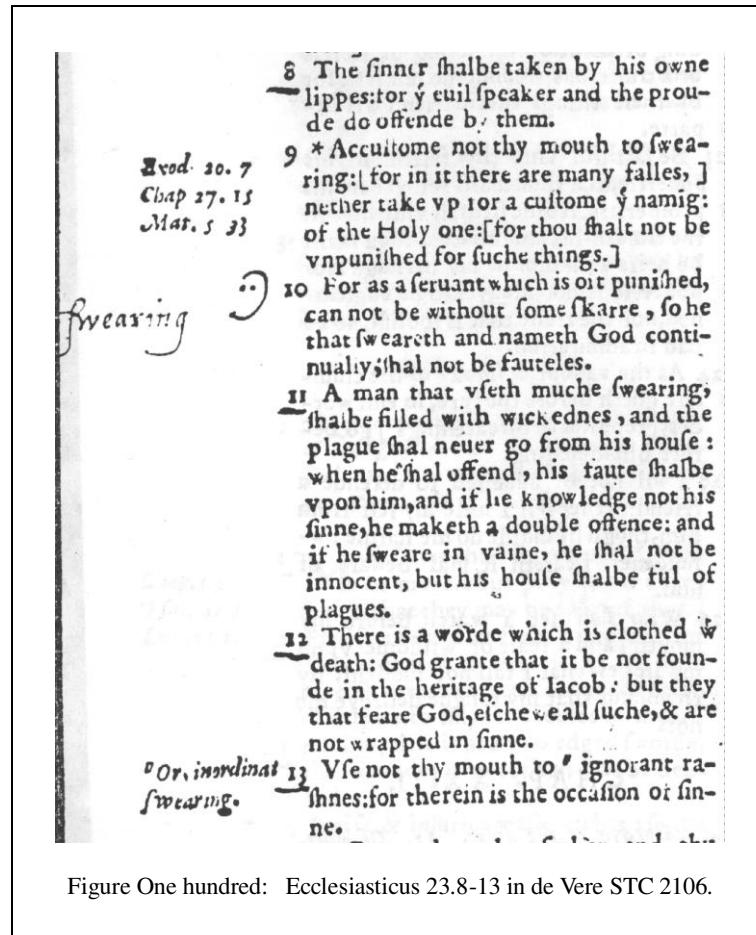


Figure One hundred: Ecclesiasticus 23.8-13 in de Vere STC 2106.

Like gossip, finances or mercy, prayer is a repeated motif in the de Vere Bible. In II Esdras 8, a chapter devoted to recording the prophet's theodical prayer for divine mercy, the annotator has underlined portions of a whole series of verses in scarlet ink and then written in the margins: "A Godly Praier." At least one of these verses from this obscure book of II Esdras is cited by Shakespeare in *Hamlet* (see above p. 151); another appears to have left an imprint on Hamlet's "what a piece of work is man" speech (Stritmatter 1993 266-67). Close reading of the prayer in relation to the entire Shakespeare canon, furthermore, reveals many further echoes. For present purposes, however, what matters is that de Vere apparently looked upon this prayer as a model locution for addressing God.

The annotator also underlines Ecclesiasticus 7.10 (figure one hundred and one), which admonishes the reader to pray and give alms zealously. Shaheen (1989 118) compares a line from *Richard II*:

He prays but faintly and would be denied;  
We pray with heart and soul

10 Be not faint hearted, when thou ma-  
kest thy praier, nether slacke in giuing  
of almes.

Figure One hundred and one:  
Ecclesiasticus 7.10 in STC 2106.

(5.3.103-04)

As in so many instances cited in the present study, however, this citation is a clue to a much more pervasive sentiment in the Shakespeare canon. The practice of zealous prayer is a normative virtue for Shakespeare. Shakespeare Diagnostic #25, marked at Tobit 12.8-9, extols the virtue of prayer done in conjunction with fasting. Although Shakespeare can laugh at the moral piety invoked in such religious disciplines, in the Sonnets we read that the author himself is not immune to the need for prayer and often troubles "deaf heaven with my bootless cries" (29.3).

Like the clown Lavache, Shakespeare holds a prophetic view of the nature of speech -- namely that the consequences of speech acts are not limited to their effects on proximal audiences. As de Vere writes in his 1602 Danvers Escheat letter, "*finis coronat opus*"<sup>254</sup>, and then everything will be laid open, every doubt resolved into a plain sense" (Fowler 653). The utterance is a prophecy about prophecies: "then," means *in the end*.

This emphasis on final things is characteristic of Shakespeare's prophetic mode. Even the Latin proverb used in de Vere's letter -- "*finis coronat opus*" -- occurs with variation at least four times in the Shakespeare canon:

La fin couronne les oeuvres	( <i>I Henry VI</i> 5.2.28)
The end crowns all	( <i>Troilus</i> 4.5.224)
The conclusion shall be crowned with your enjoying her	( <i>Merry Wives</i> 3.5.120)
All's well that end's well. Still, the fine's the crown. Whate'er the course, the end is the renown.	( <i>All's Well</i> 4.435-36)

The proverb is very close in sense to the apocalyptic Bible verse Matthew 10.26, another Shakespeare Diagnostic (#52), which declares that "there is nothing covered that shall not be disclosed, nor hid that shall not be known". Milward finds as many as five references to this verse in Shakespeare, among them Lear's striking oracular utterance: "Time shall unfold what pleated cunning hides" (1.1.286).

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<sup>254</sup> "The end crowns the work." The proverb does not appear to be a commonplace. The closest variant in Tilley is E116, "the end crowns all."

Another Bible verse which lays stress on the principle that truth will come to light in the end is Ecclesiasticus 11.27, which states that "in the end a man's works are discovered" (figure one hundred and two). Strikingly, this verse combines the idea of *apocalypsis* found in Matt. 10.26 with the idea of "works" found in the proverb from de Vere's letter and previously discussed in relation to the concept of "secret works" in the above chapter on Matthew 6.1-4. Although this verse is not directly marked in the de Vere Bible, the column in the text of Ecclesiasticus in which it appears has been marked with a curious note which says "continue".

The word "continue" appears to be a kind of stage direction for reading as well as a more general principle for

human conduct. The verses are themselves a disquisition on the value of "continuing" in proper conduct. Ecclesiasticus 11.27 caps the sequence with the reminder and divine promise: although it is easy to forget pleasure in the midst of adversity, "in a man's end his works are discovered."

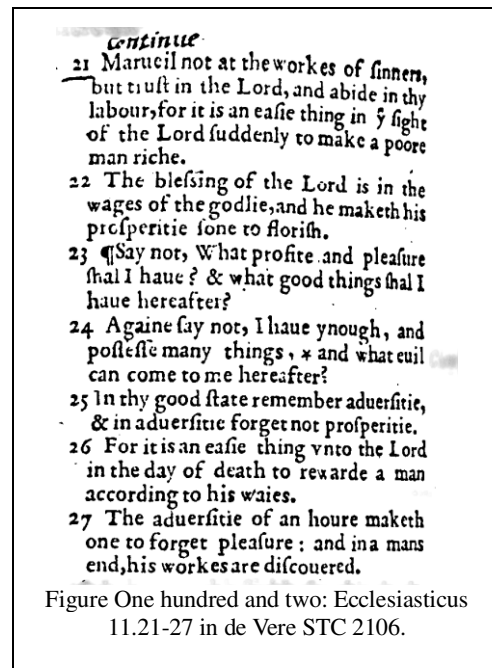
Certainly one can see how this principle would have comprised a significant moral support for a man such as de Vere, undertaking great works in the midst of adversity and enforced anonymity. The verse holds forth the promise --parallel to Micah 7.9 and other verses marked in the de Vere Bible --- that, in the end, a man's works *will be discovered*. Shaheen (1989 161) cites Ecclus. 11.27 as the source of a line from 2 *Henry IV*: "Let the end try the man" (2.2.47). More significantly for our purposes, the verse *combines* the idea of secret works with that of apocalypsis -- which we previously saw marked in Micah 7.9 and which becomes a prominent leitmotif in Shakespeare (S.D. # 41).

Matthew 10.26, Ecclesiasticus 11.27 and Micah 7.9 might all be considered variations on the popular Renaissance proverb that "truth is the daughter of time" (Tilley T580). Shakespeare's most startling rephrasing of this aphoristic commonplace occurs in *Rape of Lucrece*. Readers who make a strict division between religious and secular language may not immediately perceive the transformational logic which links the phrase "he will bring *me* forth into the light" (Micah 7.9: italics added) to the stunning moral of *Lucrece*:

Time's glory is to calm contending kings,  
To unmask falsehood and *bring truth to light*.

(939-940: italics added)

Time, after all, is not Yahweh; nor is it immediately obvious that "truth" is itself a figure for the prophet.





The liberal syncretists of Renaissance neo-Platonism would not, however, have been so rigid in distinguishing between Time and Yahweh; indeed the allegorical assimilation of one to the other would have been a natural and easy one for all but the most rigid Renaissance Hebraists.

In de Vere's punning Neo-Platonic system of cosmic identifications -- the secret language revealed in his own writings -- "truth" meant "me": "*Now time, and truth,*" he writes to Robert Cecil in 1602, "have *unmasked* all difficulties...finis coronat opus, and then everything will be laid open, every doubt resolved into a plain sense" (Fowler 653<sup>255</sup>).

In the letter, as in the narrative poem, *truth* functions as a *cryptic metaphor* for the first person pronoun. Time, *and de Vere*, have unmasked all difficulties. In *Lucrece* "truth" -- de Vere -- is the accusative subject revealed -- unmasked -- by time's glorious action, just as, in the marked passage in Micah, God will, in the eschatological end time, bring *the prophet*, condemned to obscurity for his own sins, forward into the light.

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<sup>255</sup> The 1602 Danvers Escheat letter to Robert Cecil.

## CHAPTER 29. EVERY WORD....

For a poet to instruct the reader, as Shake-Speare does in Sonnet 72, to entomb his memory and to refuse to "rehearse" his name because of the shame which poetry confers on him, is not a Renaissance convention. Some elements of the present study could be rationalized and rejected by making a simple shift in logical typing. Perhaps the alleged connections between de Vere and Shakespeare are an illusory consequence of the fact that the two hypothetically distinct individuals belonged to the same "culture." The experience voiced in Sonnets 71-72 demonstrates the superficiality of this line of reasoning; these sonnets contradict not only the poetic norms of the day, but also those of the golden and silver ages of Latin literature in which Horace and Ovid first celebrated the memorializing function of poetry. Apotheosizing "Cynthia" in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, Edmund Spenser articulates the post-Armada *energeia* of a generation of poets, fed by the literary revival of the Renaissance and celebrating their own immortality in verse, in conscious imitation of Ovid and Horace:

And while after I am dead and rotten,  
Amongst the shepherds daughters dancing round,  
My layes made of her shall not be forgotten,  
But sung by them with flowery gyrlonds crowne. (640-43)

Spenser's speaker, ironically, is Cuddy -- previously identified in this study as "Shepherd Oxford." The sentiment, however, is classical -- and in its classical form in Ovid and Horace the promise of immortality is claimed not only and not primarily for the objects of the poet's art, but for the poet's own self.

In a previous chapter we have seen much evidence for the bard's deep concern for the existential problem of the "putting out" of the author's name. We have seen that in his Geneva Bible, de Vere marks several Biblical pretexts for this problem which are echoed in Shakespeare. We have seen how at least three texts, *Measure for Measure*, *Hamlet*, and the *Sonnets*, can be examined in terms of this linguistically sophisticated subtext or inter-text which consists of the author's cunning ironic punning on his own name, *Veritas*, "truth." By means of such cryptic devices the writer preserved testimony to his identity despite the public erasure of his name as the legal author.

Several further examples serve to drive home the point that the Oxfordians do not need a "smoking gun" discovery to prove their claims -- because the Shakespeare canon, in itself, testifies punningly to de Vere's authorship. In fact, as we shall see later in this chapter, *As You Like It* sardonically dramatizes the alienation of de Vere's work by the country lad "William".

In Sonnets 71-74 the de Vere puns achieve a tragi-comic apotheosis in which the author laments the putting out of the name but celebrates the rebirth of his identity in his own work. Although he felt himself to be one of the "ungodly," whose name would be "put out" from the book of life (Ecclus. 41.11, Rev. 3.5), his works testify to his intrinsic merit and perseverance in carrying forward devotion to the divine will.

As we have previously seen, Sonnet 71 enjoins the reader not to "rehearse" the author's name after his death, lest the "wise world should look into your moan." The subsequent sonnet -- responding to the marked thought of Ecclus 41.11 -- exhorts us to bury the author's name "where my body is" (figure one hundred and three). These two injunctions -- one not to speak the name and another to "bury" it in a specific location -- set the stage for a comic epiphany, a Christian "resurrection" of Dantesque magnitude, a divine comedy in which poetry triumphs over Caesar's sword. We have only to read with open eyes and ears -- reminded punningly that "to hear with eyes belongs to love's fine wit" (Sonnet 23)<sup>256</sup>. For "my body" means "my corpus"—my

"copies"—and the forbidden name has already been interred in the verse by the author. Sonnet 72, a small but consequential piece of the corpus, in fact flags the name Vere, no fewer than three times: *truth, true, untrue*. The name is, quite literally, buried *within* the body.

72

**O** Leaft the world should task you to recite,  
 What merit liu'd in me that you should loue  
 After my death (deare loue) for get me quite,  
 For you in me can nothing worthy proue.  
 Vnlesse you would deuise some vertuous lye,  
 To doe more for me then mine owne desert,  
 And hang more praise vpon deceafed I,  
 Then nigard truth would willingly impart.  
 O leaft your true loue may seeme false in this,  
 That you for loue speake well of me vntrue,  
 My name be buried where my body is,  
 And liue no more to shame nor me, nor you.  
 For I am shamd by that which I bring forth,  
 And so should you, to loue things nothing worth.

Figure One hundred and three: Sonnet 72 from 1609 Q. Note the iteration of the truth puns in "truth" (8), "true" (9), "untrue" (10) -- all leading up to the exhortation "my name be buried where my body is" -- i.e. with my *corpus*.

<sup>256</sup> Activating the homophone "eyes"/ "ayes".

In a previous chapter on *Measure for Measure*, I introduced the concept, derived from a succession of images appearing in the play and an apparently related image from Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britanna*, of the "doctrine of smallest things." I suggested that the line "by every syllable a faithful verity" encoded a double anagram of the name "Vere" -- in the words "every" and

"verity." A verse marked in the de Vere Bible which is relevant to the "doctrine of smallest things" as well as to the concept of speech acts is Wisdom 1.11 (figure one-hundred and four). The verse declares that "there is no word so small that it shall go for nought" -- meaning that every word, no matter how small or apparently insignificant, has potential spiritual consequence. This passage from Wisdom is an example of the importance placed in Hebrew practice on perfect fidelity to each and every word, or even letter, in the transmission of a textual tradition, a precursor of Matthew 5.18 in which Christ declares that not a "iota or a tittle" will be put out of the law "until all things shall be fulfilled." Interestingly, the same principle is enunciated by John Paul Stevens in his 1992 *Pennsylvania Law Review* essay on the authorship controversy, in which he writes: "words --even a simple word like 'now' -- may have a meaning which is not immediately apparent" (1373).

Wisdom 1.11 is one of those arresting verses in the de Vere Bible which, although not previously recorded as exercising an influence in Shakespeare, is capable almost by itself of transforming the Stratfordian paradigm with a single stroke of ink. To consider why, let us examine Sonnet 76. This Sonnet contains the well-known "Oxfordian" line, echoing that of the Duke in *Measure for Measure*<sup>257</sup>, "every word doth almost tell my name". Wisdom 1.11 not only confirms the Oxfordian reading of Sonnet 76 and other contested passages of Shakespeare, but leaves a palpable

imprint of the mental process by which the author was inspired to invoke linguistic conundrums such as "every word doth almost tell my name", as testimony to his disguised but not quite obliterated identity. The statement "there is no word so small it shall go for naught" contains the following syllogism:

Premise A: Some words are small or apparently insignificant

¶ Therefore beware of murmuring, w-  
hich profiteth nothing, & reframe  
your tongue from selander: for there is  
no worde so secret, that shal go for  
nought, & the mouth that speaketh lies  
flaith the toule.

Figure One hundred and four:  
Wisdom 1.11 in de Vere STC 2106.

76  
**V**Hy is my verse so barren of new pride?  
So far from variation or quick change?  
Why with the time do I not glance aside  
To new found methods, and to compounds strange?  
Why write I still all one, euer the same,  
And keepe inuention in a noted weed,  
That euery word doth almost fel my name,  
Shewing their birth, and where they did proceed?  
O know sweet loue I alwaies write of you,  
And you and loue are still my argument:  
So all my best is dreffing old words new,  
Spending againe what is already spent:  
For as the Sun is daily new and old,  
So is my loue still telling what is told,

Figure One-hundred and five: Sonnet 76 from  
1609 Q.

<sup>257</sup> By *every syllable*, a faithful *verity*, the Duke comes home tomorrow" (4.3.123).

Premise B: Even words which are small or apparently insignificant are important  
Conclusion: all words, large or small, obvious or insignificant, are important

The phrase "every word doth almost tell my name" inverts the syllogism by affirming that "every word" -- even those which are small or apparently insignificant -- expresses the author's communicative intention by telling his "name." It depends on the same premises contained in the marked verse in Wisdom 1.11 but restates the conclusion as an anagram -- again not a letter-perfect anagram but one which certainly rings a punning turn on the hidden name sought by the Oxfordians -- of "Edward Vere."

The wider context of the entire Sonnet makes this "Oxfordian" reading all but unavoidable. In Sonnet 76 the writer laments that he must "keep invention in a noted weed" -- in other words, he houses his literary production ("invention") within the *nom de plume* ("noted weed") "William Shakespeare."<sup>258</sup> The result is that his suppressed identity assumes a kind of chronic punstering wit, assertively attempting to break through and reach his readers with subliminal indications of his suppressed but substantial nature.

This reading not only satisfies a reader's natural desire for comprehension but exposes -- by making use of the documentary evidence of Edward de Vere's Geneva Bible -- the rationale according to which the line was apparently written.

Let us pass from close reading and semantics to the image of the author, and allegories of authorship, which also reveal de Vere's presence behind the work. Like *Measure for Measure*, *As You Like It* enacts an allegory of authorship. In this allegory Touchstone, who like his kindred fools Feste in *Twelfth Night* or LaVache in *All's Well that Ends Well*, shares the distinction of being a strongly "authorial" character, contests with a country squire named "William" over the possession of a woman, Audrey. The idea of woman-as-text enjoys a rich foreground in the literary traditions inherited by the play's author<sup>259</sup>. And the concept Audrey as an ironic personification of the Shakespeare canon finds ample intrinsic warrant in *As You Like It* itself. Although she adopts the pretense of simple-mindedness, Audrey is evidently one of those characters in Shakespeare who speaks more than she admits to knowing. To her, Touchstone addresses his authorial moral that "when a man's verses cannot be understood, nor a man's good wit seconded with the forward child, understanding, it strikes a man more dead than a great reckoning in a little room" (3.3.12-16). Replies the guileless Audrey:

I do not know what poetical is.  
Is it honest in deed and word? Is it a true thing? (3.3.17-18)

<sup>258</sup> Why -- if the author's name is (unproblematically) "William Shakespeare" -- would he ever write such a line? His name, reason Charlton and Dorothy Ogburn, "*must be* hidden, then, if it is only thus tacitly revealed" (1952 892: italics added).

<sup>259</sup> See for example Augustine's discussion of rhetorical styles in *De Doctrina Christiana* (IV, 48-50), in which the female body as text is implicit.

Exactly -- that is -- the question which the author de Vere might well have been asking himself around 1593, shortly following the murder of Christopher Marlowe (who is memorialized in the play as a "dead shepherd") and the publication of the narrative poem *Venus and Adonis* under the fictive name "William Shakespeare." Is "poetical" a "true thing"? Audrey wonders because she suspects Touchstone of plotting improper designs on her virginity. *The author*, a reader may infer, wants to know because he understands Touchstone's point, about the destruction of the poet at the hands of uncomprehending readers, from personal experience. Has he too suffered the metaphorical death of being misconstrued by readers incapable of seconding his wit with the "forward child, understanding"?

In 5.1, after Sir Oliver Martext -- a parody on the Puritan controversialist Martin Marprelate -- refuses to marry Touchstone and Audrey, the former introduces her to an alternative suitor from the Forest of Arden named "William." This "William" is said to be 25 years of age; he lives in the Arden forest; he is uneducated, but possesses "a pretty wit." Such character traits serve to help identify this "William" with the William Shakspeare who has subsequently become known as the author of the plays. In 1589, the year of the Marprelate controversy<sup>260</sup> Shakspeare, like the "William" of *As You Like It*, was exactly 25 years of age. Stratford village in Warwickshire, of course, adjoins the ancient forest of Arden. Shakspeare never attended College, his attendance at the Stratford grammar school is purely conjectural, and his children and parents were apparently illiterate. It was, however, said of him -- recalled John Aubrey in his *Brief Lives* (compiled circa 1685) -- that he was "a natural wit" (1962 275)<sup>261</sup>. Only the most

Will. Good eu'n Audrey.  
 Aud. God ye good eu'n William.  
 Will. And good eu'n to you Sir.  
 Clo. Good eu'n gentle friend. Couer thy head, couer thy head: Nay prethee bee couer'd. How olde are you Friend?  
 Will. Fiue and twentie Sir.  
 Clo. A ripe age: Is thy name William?  
 Will. William, fir.  
 Clo. A faire name. Was't borne i'th Forrest heere?  
 Will. I fir, I thanke God.  
 Clo. Thanke God: A good answer:  
 Art rich?  
 Will. Faith fir, so, so.  
 Clo. So, so, is good, very good, very excellent good: and yet it is not, it is but so, so:  
 Art thou wife?  
 Will. I fir, I haue a prettie wit.  
 Clo. Why, thou saist well. I do now remember a saying: The Fooles doth thinke he is wife, but the wiseman knowes himselfe to be a Foole. The Heathen Philosopher, when he had a desire to cate a Grape, would open his lips when he put it into his mouth, meaning thereby, that Grapes were made to cate, and lippes to open. You do loue this maid?  
 Will. I do fir.  
 Clo. Giue me your hand: Art thou Learned?  
 Will. No fir.  
 Clo. Then learne this of me, To haue, is to haue. For it is a figure in Rhetoricke, that drinke being pow'r'd out of a cup into a glasse, by filling the one, doth empty the other. For all your Writers do consent, that *ipse* is hee: now you are not *ipse*, for I am hee.  
 Will. Which he fir?  
 Clo. He fir, that must marrie this woman: Therefore you Clowne, abandon: which is in the vulgar, leaue the societie: which in the boorish, is companie, of this female: which in the common, is woman: which together, is, abandon the societie of this Female, or Clowne thou perishest: or to thy better vnderstanding, dyest; or (to wit) I kill thee, make thee away, translate thy life into death, thy libertie into bondage: I will deale in poyson with thee, or in bastinado, or in Steele: I will bandy with thee in faction, I will ore-run thee with police: I will kill thee a hundred and fifty wayes, therefore tremble and depart.  
 Aud. Do good William.  
 Will. God rest you merry fir.

Figure One hundred and six: *As You Like It* 5.1.13-59 from the 1623 Folio.

<sup>260</sup> In which year, according to the scenario outlined in chapter seven (pp. 87-94), the Puritan uproar against theatrical satires against Marprelate resulted in the clampdown on de Vere's theatrical activities.

<sup>261</sup> Baldwin's extensive commentary (II: 116-120) on the sources of Touchstone's speech in Cicero and Quintilian sheds very little light on the literary or dramatic purposes invoked in this display of fustian rhetoric. Nor does it dissuade an independent reader from the sneaking suspicion that the passage contains rhetorical dynamite.

dedicated Stratfordolators can ascribe such parallels to coincidence.

A reader's understanding of these lines undergoes a metamorphosis by the scene's conclusion. Is Touchstone catechizing William with the intent of approving the lad's marriage to Audrey? Until Touchstone breaks into his "to have is to have" (40-44) speech, the unwary reader is led to suspect so. The Puritan hedge-priest has refused to sanctify Touchstone's own designs on the Lady, and clearly she lacks a man. This naive reading is abruptly terminated by Touchstone's "to have is to have" speech and his subsequent enumeration of all the ways in which he will gore and eviscerate his rival if he doesn't shove off and abandon his love-suit. Possession is nine tenths of the law, Touchstone possesses Audrey, and William should disappear and leave them alone. This is followed by the peculiar rhetorical enthymeme which concludes that "all your writers do consent that *ipse* is he: now you are not *ipse*, for I am he" (43).

When William asks, "which 'he', sir?" Touchstone answers: "He, sir, that must marry this woman" (46), emphasizing by repetition that the riddle of *ipse* is fundamentally connected to the possession of Audrey. *Ipse* is *he* – all the writers do consent -- who will possess Audrey.

The passage is utterly inexplicable from an orthodox point of view which refuses to consider the ironic implications of William's Christian name and the persistent intellectual irony of his competitor, Touchstone. Touchstone's outrage against William, played literally, is inconsistent with the ironic superiority with which he approaches every other situation in the play. William poses no real threat to his monopoly on Audrey's attentions. In fact, Audrey has clearly stated that William "hath no interest in me in the world" (5.1.9) "Interest" is glossed by Knowles in the New Variorum edition (1977 258) as a "legal concern" or "right or title to." As the reader will recall, the same word, used in the same sense, has already been encountered in Sonnet 71.

The scene is rescued from its dramatic implausibility if we consider it from a literary perspective, as Alex McNeil has recently done (1999): it enacts a self-reflexive ironic commentary on the alienation of de Vere's work, animated by a playful punstering wit. "To have is to have" in Italian is "avere é avere" -- a perfect bilingual anagram of "a Vere is (é) a Vere"<sup>262</sup>. William cannot be *ipse* -- the conquering lover who lays claim to a justified "interest" in the work -- because Vere is he. Thus Touchstone finally answers Audrey's question of whether "poetical" is a "true" thing -- though of course, in keeping with his indirect, poly-linguistic manner of speaking in riddles, he does so in a highly "poetical" fashion, so elliptical that it has required four hundred years to come to a proper appreciation of the meaning of the lines.

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<sup>262</sup> See Burford (1987).

## CHAPTER 30.

### AS YOU FROM CRIMES WOULD PARDONED BE

Many commentators agree in the belief that *The Tempest* is the last creation of Shakespeare. I will readily believe it. There is in the *Tempest* the solemn tone of a testament. It might be said that, before his death, the poet, in this epopee of the ideal, had designed a codicil for the Future.

--Victor Hugo

*The Tempest*, although traditionally considered the last play written by Shakespeare, appears first among those plays published in the 1623 folio. The reasons for this placement have not been ascertained, or for the most part even considered, by Shakespearean critics<sup>263</sup>. This chapter will consider some possible reasons for that placement and argue that the play enacts a parable of alienated authorship which becomes fully intelligible only from a heretical "Oxfordian" perspective.

In considering the *Tempest* we must, however, attempt to clarify certain chronological matters. The orthodox view of Shakespearean authorship leans heavily on the *Tempest* as a chronological proof against the "Oxfordian" theory. Indeed, the claim that the play was written long after De Vere's death in 1604 constitutes a sort of magical fetish employed by practitioners of the orthodox school of Shakespearean authorship: in some places it is believed that, by waving this alleged "fact" around in public, the enemy can be put to rout and the world made safe for conventional belief. For reasons detailed in Appendix L, this chronological consideration seems far less significant, to say the least, than is frequently contended. Oxfordians tend to support the traditional view of *The Tempest* as the author's farewell to the stage, but disagree with orthodox academicians about the date at which this leave-taking took place. Both the 1611 and the 1604 solution, as appendix L demonstrates, depend upon circumstantial, intrinsically inconclusive, evidence.

Genius is often its own harshest critic. According to ancient tradition, Virgil on his deathbed called for his manuscripts, with the intent of burning the *Aeneid*; he was only contradicted on the authority of Augustus. Prospero's declaration of intent to "drown" his book in another tempest (5.1.57), like that in

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<sup>263</sup> The theory that the Folio displays an architectonic structure in which the first and the last plays of the book -- *The Tempest* and *Cymbeline* -- are placed in those positions for artistic purposes (most probably by folio editor Ben Jonson) has previously been argued by the present writer in brief in the *Shakespeare Oxford Society Newsletter* (Fall 1998 (34:3), 16-17).



which he has brought his enemies to the shores of his deserted island, may merely refer to the author's own compulsive perfectionism and his literal 11<sup>th</sup> hour wish to destroy his own work. Certainly, as a literary character, Prospero owes much to Dante's Virgil: the exiled magus and personification of reason who will rescue the sinner by leading him to salvation through the winding paths of the bowels of hell.

But if we turn to the book of Isaiah XXIX in the Geneva Bible an intriguing alternative reading immediately becomes apparent. This is the chapter from which Shakespeare derived the name "Ariel," defined in a Genevan marginal note as a word which "signifieth the Lyon of God" (Slater 1972). In the same chapter we also read the prophet's testimony that "I wil beseige thee as a circle" -- possibly one source of Prospero's image of the magic circle, so prominent in the play.

Indeed, the closer one examines Isaiah XXIX, the more apparent its myriad influences on *The Tempest* become. Anne Pasternak Slater argues that the two texts "agree in their shared thematic movement from sin, to punishment involving a trance-like state, to the final coming of understanding, justice and joy" (128). Details of action and idiom, of which Slater cites a large number based on the first ten verses of Isaiah 29, also connect the two texts. "It is almost as though Isaiah xxix were the lesson, and *The Tempest* a dramatic sermon embodying its theme," concludes Slater. "The impression is certainly not that of a sought-out source, but of the Isaiah chapter providing a yeast-like impulse to the growth of the play" (128). The prophet promises that "Thou shalt be visited of ye Lord of hostes with thundre, and shaking, & a great noyse, a whirlewide, and a tempest, and flame of devouring fire" (29.6: italics added). In lines which seem to have inspired the many curious episodes of sleeping which punctuate the play's action (1.2.187; 2.1.186, 194-300), Isaiah declares that "the Lord hathe covered you wt a spirit of slomber, & hathe shut up your eyes" (figure one hundred and eight). Comments Slater on this theme: "This is fundamental to the play. Here every human except Prospero is sunk into a trance state at a point significant in their own development" (132).

Curiously, however, Slater overlooks the passage which is for this reader the most significant of all the direct thematic connections between XXIX Isaiah and the *Tempest*. In that book, marked in de Vere's copy with two



Figure One hundred and seven:  
The Bolbeck Crest: A lion  
brandishing (shaking) a broken  
spear. Could this be the  
inspiration for the choice of the  
name "Ariel" for Prospero's  
spirit?

10 For the Lord hathe covered you w<sup>th</sup> a  
spirit of slomber, & hathe shut vp your  
eyes: the Prophetes, and your chiefe Secres  
hathe he covered.  
11 And the vision of them all is become  
vnto you, as the wordes of a booke that  
is sealed, which they deliuer to one that  
can read, saying, Read this, I pray thee.  
Then shal he say, I can not: for it is sealed.  
12 And the booke is giuen vnto him that  
can not read, saying, Read this, I pray  
thee. And he shal say, I can not read.

Figure One hundred and eight:  
Isaiah 29.10-12 in STC 2106.

marginal notes reading "po<or>" and "sin<ne>," we discover an image of a book which has been -- not consumed by flames -- but "sealed" against time.

The chapter includes a prophecy in which, after the book has been "sealed" and given to one who "cannot read," it is eventually unlocked and given back -- in anticipation of Christ's sermon on the Mount -- to those to whom it was bequeathed (figure one hundred and nine).

A more intriguing interpretation of Prospero's words, then, is that they refer to a kind of hermetic "sealing" of his book -- by analogy with the book sealed up in Isaiah. Like the hermetic book of Isaiah, Prospero's book must be

preserved from literal destruction at the hands of his enemies by being figuratively "destroyed." Although drowned "deeper than ever plummet did sound," it will, like the Bones of Ferdinand's father, be transmuted by the alchemical actions of the waves into "something rich and strange."

Peter Greenaway, in his 1993 film *Prospero's Books*, sees Prospero's own book as a reflexive reference to the 1623 "Shakespeare" Folio: he stages Prospero's submerging of his "book" by using the folio as a prop. The view of the folio seen by viewers of *Prospero's Books* just before Prospero "drowns" the folio, showing the uncanny juxtaposition of the Droeshout engraving of "Shakespeare" and the verses by Ben Jonson which urge the reader to "look not on his picture, but his book," is here reproduced (figure one hundred and ten). The folio is perhaps the most vital and significant of all pieces of evidence adduced for the traditional view of Shakespearean authorship. As Charlton Ogburn writes, Stratfordians "have no case if they do not take the First Folio at face value" and "grant it the claim of authenticity" (1984 222).

17 Is it not yet but a litle while, and Le  
banon shalbe P turned into Carmel? &  
Carmel shalbe counted as a forest?  
18 And in that day shal the deafe heare y  
wordes of the boke, & y eyes of y blind  
shal se out of obscuritie, and out of dar-  
kenes.  
19 The meke in the Lord shal receiue  
ioye againe, and the poore men shal re-  
ioyce in the holie one of Israel.

Figure One hundred and nine:  
Isaiah 29.17-19 in STC 2106.

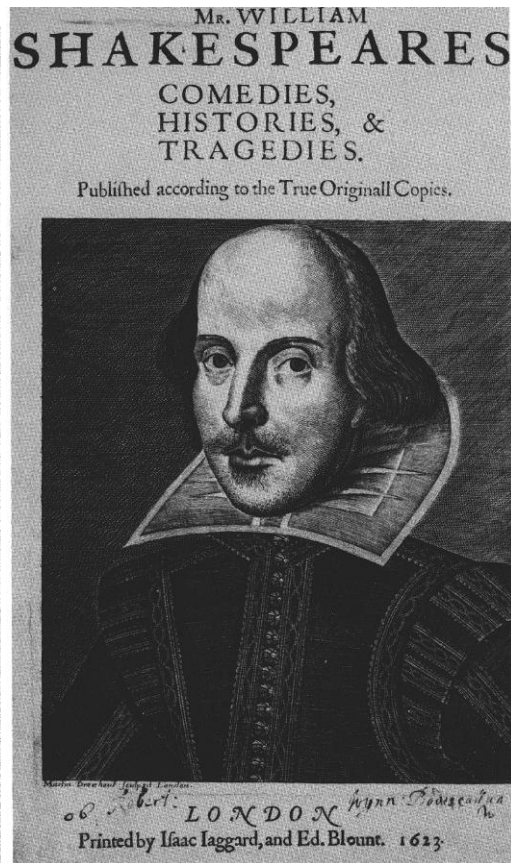
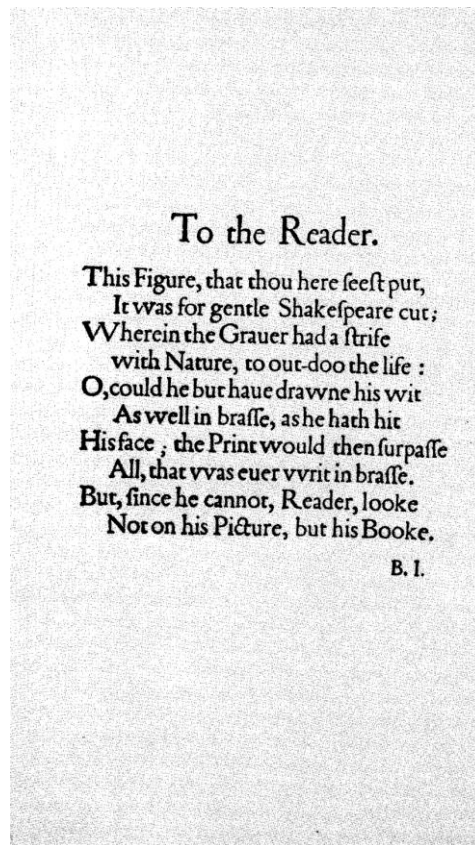


Figure One hundred and ten:  
 The 1623 Droeshout engraving of "Shakespeare" with verses by B.[en] I.[onson].

For many decades the semiotic elements of the folio's anti-Stratfordian commentators such as George Greenwood (1907) and George Greenwood: "I can never understand how any unprejudiced person could look upon it without being tempted to irreverent laughter. Not only does it look like a caricature, but it looks at one with a peculiar expression of sheepishness" (1921, 36). In her fastidiously orthodox *Puzzling Shakespeare* (1985), Barbara Marcus demonstrates that the Droeshout engraving would have looked even more bizarre to an early modern reader. Compared to Droeshout's other Jacobean engravings, the folio's iconography is "ecclesiastic, resistant, and 'rhetorically turbulent' in character, writes Marcus (19-20). "What is striking in ornamental features and trimming oval customarily employed in such book designs is a general tendency to a 'raw' unfinished look....[offering ] no particularizing details--only the raw directness of the image, as if in this case no artifice is necessary: this is the Man Himself" (18). When compared to other Jacobean title pages, such as Samuel Daniel's 1609 *Civile Wars* (figure one hundred and eleven), the Droeshout engraving becomes evident to those

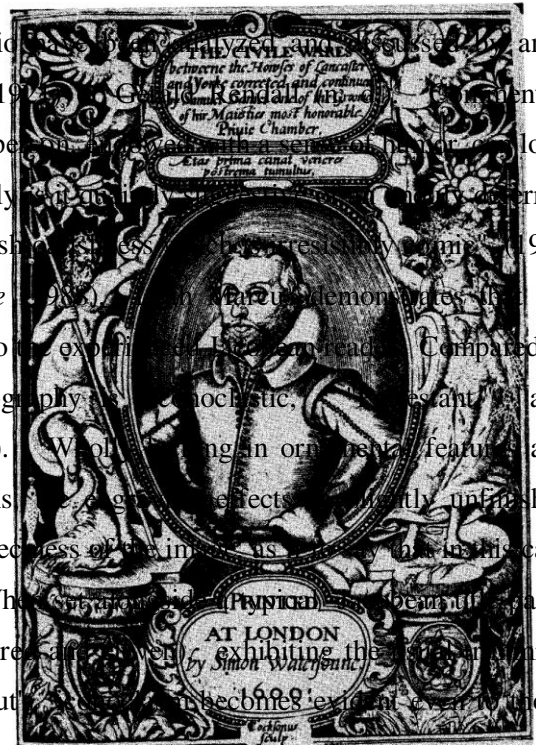


Figure One hundred and eleven:  
 Title Page of Samuel Daniel's 1609 *Civile Wars*, illustrating the profusion of decorative ornaments on a typical Jacobean title page.

unfamiliar with Renaissance semiotic conventions. Marcus goes on to problematize the exclusive critical focus on the Droeshout and instead analyzes a folio in which word and image are juxtaposed elements in an intentionally disruptive iconography designed to disorient and subvert a reader's preconceptions. Gainesborough and other Droeshout critics "blame the picture for a broader discomfort arising out of the endlessly circulating interplay among all elements of the title page -- the portrait, the words above, the poem" (20). These elements form an unstable gestalt which produces cognitive disequilibrium and "sets readers off on a treasure hunt for the author" (19). Thus, despite the uncompromisingly orthodox character of Marcus' work, she lends powerful corroborative substance to the longstanding anti-Stratfordian contention that there is "something fishy" about the 1623 folio.

I argue that the positioning of *The Tempest* as the opening movement in the folio substantiates these anti-Stratfordian speculations that the folio is not what it seems to be. If readers are "set off on a treasure hunt for the author" by the folio's introductory matter, they discover a literary emblem of that author in the opening play -- the exiled magistrate and magus Prospero. Placed here, as an "entry code" to the folio, the *Tempest* becomes an allegory of the intimate relation between life and art as seen through the "Oxfordian" interpretation of the canon. Placed here, the play foreshadows and legitimizes the deceit required by the Folio itself. The destruction of Prospero's book becomes the pretext for the action of the folio editors in hoaxing the literary public with the Droeshout engraving. This "sealing up," or "drowning" of the text enfolded it within a myth of authorship. It simultaneously facilitated preservative publication and shielded those still scandalized by the contents from immediate public danger. Prospero's purposeful drowning of his book, then, foreshadows the violent rupture of memory, authenticity, and authority which the folio publication effects by severing the work from de Vere's authorship and instantiating in his place the idols of the Droeshout engraving and the Stratford fiction.

Let us consider in greater detail how the allegorical dimensions of the fable unfolded in *The Tempest* recapitulate and comment upon the circumstances of the artist de Vere, confronted by the forceful alienation of his literary kingdom. Isaiah XXIX, echoing marked verses in de Vere's copy of II Esdras VIII, speaks of the organic relation between the craftsman and his work:

Your turning of divises shal it not be esteemed as the potters claye? For shal ye worke say of him that made it, He made me not? Or the thing formed, say of him that facioned it, he had none understanding?

Understanding of this nature is critical to the plot-structure of *The Tempest*. In I.2 Prospero unfolds a fable, hedged about with normative injunctions commanding Miranda's close attention to every minute detail of his oral testimony ("the hour's now come; and every minute bids thee ope thine ear; obey, and be attentive" (1.2.37-39)). His purpose is to instruct "the fashioned" -- Miranda -- in the history of her own formation. His speech is fraught with half-conscious homophonic allusions to Miranda as his "art":

I have done nothing but in care of thee,  
Of thee, my dear one; thee, my daughter, who,  
Art ignorant of what thou art.

(1.2.15-17)

This is Prospero's application of the question from Isaiah, "shal ye worke say of him that made it, He made me not? Or the thing formed, say of him that facioned it, He had none understanding?" To avoid this unfortunate circumstance Prospero instructs his daughter -- his "art" --through a fable of her genesis. As the lecture unfolds, however, we are confronted by an ironic reality. Prospero's narrative suffers from one glaring yet critical obscurity:

Pros. ....Thy father was the Duke of Milan, and  
A prince of power.

Mir. Sir, are not you my father?

Pros. Thy mother was a piece of virtue, and  
She said thou wast my daughter; and thy father  
Was Duke of Milan....

(1.2.54-58)

Ironically, Prospero is not really in a position to guarantee that he is the "maker" of Miranda. Although an omnipotent magician who has spirits such as Ariel at his beck and call to stir up tempests on command, he remains, like Isaiah's maker, in a state of humble ignorance regarding Miranda's wonderful origins. His oral *fabula* depends entirely upon the witness of his former wife, who "*said* thou wast my daughter" -- to which testimony Prospero anxiously adds the codicil that she was "a piece of virtue." The lines, however, cannot effectively be delivered without some comic pause indicating Prospero's very real lack of certain knowledge regarding Miranda's paternity; he drops the subject immediately and moves on to matters of more definite concern about which he can speak with some certainty -- namely his own public status as the Duke of Milan. It is a moment of high irony which reminds an attentive reader not only of the jealous agonies of Leontes or Othello in other plays, but also of the very real circumstances of the birth of Elizabeth Vere in 1576, and the subsequent scandal, of which de Vere declared in a letter to Burleigh that he would "not blaze or publish until it please me" (see Fowler 1986 248).

Readers are, however, made privy to Miranda's secret jesting with respect to the question of her paternity. The girl trusts Prospero's identity as her father and assures him that "more to know/Did never meddle in my thoughts" (1.2.22). In other words, despite Prospero's own particle of doubt, which introduces a note of humanizing irony into the character of the otherwise practically omnipotent magus, his history of *acting as her father* relieves Miranda of any illusions about her obligation of filial loyalty. Unlike the "thing formed" in Isaiah, she does not presume to doubt the identity of her maker. Indeed, when Prospero later asks rhetorically if the evil Antonio can possibly be his brother, Miranda underscores the moral,

affirming that she cannot suspect her own grandmother of infidelity: "I should sin/To think but nobly of my grandmother: Good wombs have borne bad sons" (1.2.118-120).

The story which Prospero subsequently unfolds to Miranda is a parable of usurped and alienated authority. It comments directly upon the alienation of the writer de Vere from his literary progeny in the 1623 folio. Before he begins his tale, Prospero removes his cloak, his "magic garment"; placing it on the ground, he says, "Lie there, my art." This gesture signifies that the tale Prospero is about to relate is not adorned by art; it communicates only the natural facts, without any attempt at embellishment or artistic subterfuge. This is, of course, a feint within a feint; Prospero's tale uses every trick known to the storyteller's art to enforce attention and compel belief.

Consider the "artless" tale. Prospero's own devotion to the liberal arts has allowed an ambitious brother to abscond with his temporal powers and kingdom. Prospero, we learn, was one, like Duke Ludovico in *Measure for Measure*, so "rapt in secret studies" (1.2.76) that he "neglected worldly ends" (1.2.89). Although "reputed/In dignity and for the liberal Arts/Without a parallel" (1.2.72-74), he transfers his worldly obligations to his brother Antonio and devotes himself exclusively "to closeness and the bettering of my mind" (1.2.90). Having been delegated with the management of Prospero's estate, Antonio came to believe that he, and not his brother, was in fact the Duke of Milan. He was one

Who having minted truth, by telling of it,  
Made such a sinner of his memory,  
To credit his own lie, he did believe  
He was indeed the Duke; out o' the substitution,  
And executing the outward face of royalty  
With all prerogative; -- hence his ambition growing,--  
Dost thou hear?

(1.2.100-106)

Prospero repeatedly refers to this usurpation by Antonio as an act of concealment: Antonio executed "th' *outward face* of royalty" (1.2.104); he is compared to "the ivy which had *hid* my princely trunk" (1.2.85); finally his actions are compared to those of an actor who mistakes theatrical feigning for reality:

To have no screen between *this part he play'd*  
And him he *play'd it* for, he needs will be  
Absolute Milan. Me, poor man, my library  
Was dukedom large enough; of temporal royalties  
He thinks me now incapable....

(1.2.107-111)

The story of the loss of Prospero's worldly kingdom forms a dramatic counterpoint to the situation of its telling. That which he still "possesses" -- his lovely daughter, his "art" Miranda -- attentively heeds the dramatic story of her genesis and the loss of her father's worldly power. The worldly kingdom may be lost beyond recovery, but Miranda remains by his side. The psychological structure of the scene, like the *mise-en-scène* of the Sonnets, is one of consolation and compensation by means of art. Furthermore there is in this scene a pronounced emphasis on the hermetic tradition that esoteric knowledge, the knowledge which enabled an acolyte to properly translate and understand a written text, could only be transmitted through *oral*

*instruction*. Miranda receives such an "oral instruction" -- i.e. one not written in any of Prospero's books -- from her father: the story of stories, the story of how "art" has come to be.

*The Tempest* thus functions as a kind of prelude and literary "entry code" to the imaginative corpus contained in the 1623 folio. It relates an etiological fable which addresses the generic question inscribed in Isaiah XXIX, of the relation between the artist and his art, and it more specifically relates, in a fictional form which becomes another allegory of alienated authorship, how the Shakespeare canon itself, specifically, came into being. Readers are placed in the imaginative position of voyeuristic witnesses who overhear this intimate narrative -- replete with ironic lacunae -- instructing Miranda on her origins. It is not just Miranda, in other words, but readers and witnesses of the play as well, who are commanded to "obey, and be attentive" to what follows. We are alerted that what follows in the 1623 folio is the flotsam and jetsam of a real life. The tension between the author's devotion to liberal studies and his political responsibilities and station in life have almost destroyed him and those he loves. His life has been a voyage blasted by a momentous tempest; hence his book should begin with a fabula of that *Tempest*.

Prospero -- whether magus or magistrate -- has often been seen as a figure for the author's own self. "Commentators," writes Harold Goddard,

have long been tempted to identify Prospero with Shakespeare and to find in his farewell to his art, with the breaking of his wand and the drowning of his book, the poet's farewell to the stage. The magician's summary of his deeds--the graves he has opened, the wards of the elements he has fomented, the oaks he has rifted with his lightening bolts, on to the heavenly music he is even now "requiring," which might so easily be *The Tempest* itself--fits the masterpieces of the poet so exactly that the inference seems all but inescapable.

(1951: II 278)

And yet the identification remains controversial. Even Goddard eventually seeks refuge in the curious view that "we can easily believe that Shakespeare had his own retirement from the theatre in mind when he wrote this particular speech, without committing ourselves to the idea that Prospero is the author throughout" (279) and proceeds to develop an elaborate and entirely unconvincing theory of "two Prosperos" -- the "man and magician" and the "master of Caliban and Ariel" (who apparently is not a man or a magician, but only a "fomenter of tempests").

This controversy seems to me a curious one, a tempest in the teapot of traditional criticism, the *a priori* presumptions of which inevitably collide with the evidence of the printed text of "Shakespeare." The internal signs of Prospero's close affinity to the author's own self -- of his identity as an emblem for the artist's alienation and vehicle for the expression and confession of his need for redemption -- seem, to this reader at least, unmistakable. Nor is acknowledgement of this reflexive artistic design, in which the author sets aside the magic cloak of his art and breaks the confines of the drama, necessarily an impediment to

alternative readings, except perhaps those which recoil from its implications with elaborate theories such as Goddard's<sup>259</sup> invention of the "two Prosperos."

The tradition of "Prospero as author" now receives a substantial new confirmation from external empirical evidence found in Edward de Vere's Geneva Bible in the form of a series of marked verses on the theme of mercy in Ecclesiasticus. The question of mercy, as others like Slater have noted, is central to the unfolding action of *The Tempest*. In this fable Prospero, like Hamlet, learns to abandon the lust to punish his enemies and realizes that "the rarer action is in virtue than in vengeance" (5.1.27) -- in which statement "virtue" is a metaphor for "mercy." Although the point has been overlooked by previous students of Shakespeare and the bible, Prospero's epilogue "as you from crimes would pardoned be..." derives direct, unequivocal inspiration from Ecclesiasticus 28.1-5 -- verses marked in the de Vere Bible (figure one hundred and twelve).

---  
**1** H E \* that seketh vengeance, shal  
finde vengeance of the Lord, and  
he wil surely kepe his sinnes.  
**2** || Forgiue thy neighbour the hurt that  
he hathe done to thee, so shal thy sin-  
nes be forgiuen thee also, when thou  
praieft.  
**3** Shulde a man beare hatred against  
man, & \* desire forgiuenes of the Lord?  
**4** He wil shewe no mercie to a man, &  
is like him self: and wil he aske forgi-  
uenes of his owne sinnes?  
**5** If he that is but flesh, nourishe hatred,  
[and aske pardone of God, ] who wil  
intreate for his sinnes?

Figure One hundred and twelve:  
Ecclesiasticus 28.1-5 in de Vere STC 2106  
(S.D. # 31).

<sup>259</sup> Perhaps this is the appropriate moment at which to insert my conviction that Harold Goddard is, and seems likely to remain, one of the most consistently insightful orthodox critics of Shakespeare. That is precisely what makes his extra-curricular theorizing about two Prosperos so surprisingly disappointing.



These marked verses have long been recognized as exercising a profound influence in Shakespeare, the details of which are given in the Shakespeare Diagnostics list in which they appear as SD #31. Carter (1905) cited two references to them, to which Noble (1935) and Shaheen (1989, 1993) concurred in adding two more, including Portia's memorable words:

We do pray for mercy,  
And that same prayer doth teach us all to render  
The deeds of mercy.

(*Merchant* 4.1.200-202)

Overlooked by such previous scholars are not one -- but two -- references to these critical verses, marked in Edward de Vere's Bible, in *The Tempest*. The first is Prospero's response to Ariel in Act V, when the sprite visualizes the distracted condition of the hypnotized sailors, whom Prospero has cast into a trance, and then declares that

Your charm so strongly works 'em  
That if you now beheld them, your affections  
Would become tender.

(5.1.17-19)

"Dost thou think so?" asks Prospero -- again marking with curious irony the epistemological limitations under which the patriarchal magus labors, dependent as he is for empirical knowledge of the world -- not to mention, in this case, ethical instruction -- on the airy sprite enslaved to his earthy will:

Ariel. Mine would, sir, were I human.

Prospero. And mine shall.  
Hast thou, which art but air, a touch, a feeling,  
Of their afflictions, and shall not myself,  
One of their kind, that relish all as sharply  
Passion as they, be kindlier mov'd than thou art?  
Though with their high wrongs I am struck to th'  
Quick, yet with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury  
Do I take part: the rarer action is  
In vertue than in vengeance....Go, release them, Ariel:  
My charms I'll break, their senses I'll restore,  
And they shall be themselves.

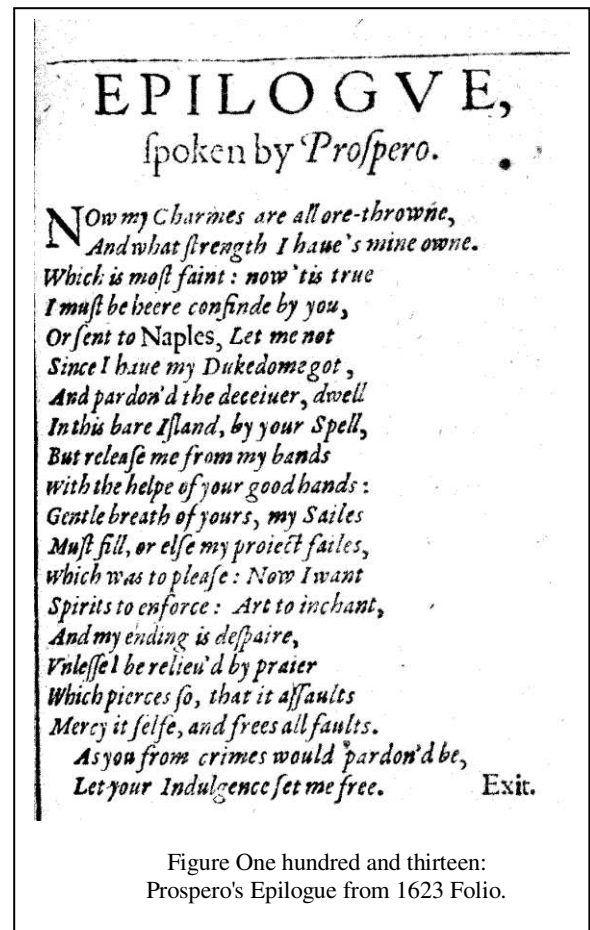
(5.1 19-30)

Prospero's question: "hast thou, which art but air, a touch, a feeling,/of their afflictions, and shall not myself, one of their kind, that relish all as sharply Passion as they, be kindlier mov'd than thou art?" is another elaborate literary transfiguration of Jesus Son of Sirach's own question: "He wil shew no mercie to a man, yt is like him self: and wil he aske forgiveness of his owne sinnes?" Unlike the "lion of God" Ariel, Prospero is only flesh. If he *asks* forgiveness of God but refuses to *grant* mercy to his fellow fleshly creatures, who will entreat for his sins?

Prospero's forgiveness of the errors of his enemies sets the stage for another speech, one in which he, in turn, entreats forgiveness -- this time for himself -- from his readers in the play's epilogue. Again the thought is modeled closely on Ecclesiasticus 28.1-4: "as you from crimes would pardon'd be/let your indulgence set me free."

In her analysis of Isaiah XXIX as a pretext for *The Tempest*, Ann Slater notes that Prospero is the only character in the play who does not suffer the curious fate of being thrown into a deep slumber at the critical moment of his own psychological development. He alone seems to escape the condition described in Isaiah, in which the Lord "hath covered you with a spirit of slumber, & hath shut up your eyes". But if we reflect upon the play's conclusion, we find that this is not really so. Prospero's slumber is not omitted from the play -- it is only delayed until the closing scene. With the shipwrecked sailors restored to health, Ariel stirs a calm breeze to blow them home again to England. Miranda has met her mate Ferdinando; Ferdinando has been reunited with his father; even Caliban, "a plain fish" and "very marketable" is carried off, in a moment of high Shakespearean irony, to be civilized by the likes of Stephano and Trinculo. Prospero's magic has brought his enemies to their knees and then raised them up again, alive and restored to health, morally improved for their adventures. His faithful servant and comrade, Ariel, the neo-Platonist's image of the soul's imaginative delight -- Prospero has set to wing, as free as the sparrow. As we arrive at the end of *The Tempest*, merciful justice has been done for every character except Prospero. Only the magus, abandoned and forlorn on his deserted island, remains. From within the confines of his own magic circle, he speaks his epilogue to the audience. As Frank Kermode admits, the epilogue is "at the heart of the controversy concerning the interpretation of this play as a personal allegory" (133).

Like all of the other characters in the play, Prospero is now -- only now -- placed under a trance, confined within his magic circle.



As Stephen Orgel (1987) insightfully notes, "Prospero's epilogue is unique in the Shakespeare canon in that its speaker declares himself not an actor in a play but a character in a fiction. The release he craves of the audience is the freedom to continue his history beyond the limits of the stage and the text" (204). A more strictly historicist reading of the epilogue might also detect traces of anachronistic religious belief. Like a believing Catholic condemned to purgatory, Prospero appeals to the prayers of the living. Only their "indulgence" can effect the disposition of his soul condemned to purgatory. In keeping with the anachronistic premise of Ecclesiasticus 28.1-4 he requires sympathetic redemption by means of the active prayers of his listeners.

The figure of Shakespeare as Prospero, craving from his audience "the freedom to continue his history beyond the limits of the stage and the text" -- enters into criticism at a very early date, although its history has been virtually ignored by the dominant orthodoxy. Consider the testimony of Samuel Shepphard, writing in 1651, which appears in no Shakespearean allusion books<sup>265</sup> and which has never been reprinted, let alone considered, in any Shakespearean biography of which I am aware:

Shakespeare trod on English earth,  
His muse doth merit more rewards  
Then all the Greek, or Latine Bards,  
.....  
He that his worth would truly sing,  
Must quaffe the whole Pierian spring.  
And now -- (be gone ye gastefull feares  
Alas I cannot speak for teares)  
There is a Shepherd cag'd in stone,  
Destin'd unto destruction,  
Worthy of all before him were,  
Apollo him doth first preferre,  
Renowned Lawreate be content,  
Thy workes are thine own monument.

(Bentley 1945: II 82)

The image of Shakespeare as a "Shepherd cag'd in stone" vividly recalls the purgatorial condition of Prospero at the close of the *Tempest*, caged within his own magic circle and making heartfelt appeal to readers to heed his words and free him. But what sense can this possibly make from an orthodox biographical perspective? Why should Shepphard need to console the "poet Lawreate" Shakespeare, echoing Milton's verses from the 1632 2<sup>nd</sup> folio<sup>266</sup>, with the news that his works are "his own monument"? Ostensibly the lines refer to the dispute over the creation of a monument for Shakespeare in Westminster Cathedral which seems to have erupted not long after the publication of the first folio. In Shepphard's poem, however<sup>267</sup>, the

<sup>265</sup> Note to the third printing: subsequent to writing these words I see, in fact, that Ingleby in Vol. II of the *Shakspeare Allusion Book* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932) does excerpt the poem. However, the critical lines starting "there is a shepherd caged in stone" (Bentley, 1945, *Shakespeare & Jonson* II: 82) are not included in Ingleby.

<sup>266</sup> Writes Milton of Shakespeare in his verses prefixed to the 2<sup>nd</sup> 1632 folio: "Thou in our wonder and astonishment/Hast built thyself a live-long Monument."

<sup>267</sup> 1/22/2003: I am indebted to Terry Ross for pointing out the likelihood that these lines apparently do not refer, as I inferred rather too quickly, to Shakespeare. In a posting to the Shakespeare Fellowship discussion boards dated 23/12/02, Ross argues persuasively that the proximate reference of the passage is to William Davenant, who was at the time Shephearde's poem was published imprisoned in the tower of London as a

issue over the monument is clearly emblematic of a more fundamental problem over the posthumous disposition of the author's remains, one in which the author is, like Prospero in his magic circle at the close of the play, or Ariel before him pinned in the cloven pine, "caged" by the fates.

Contemplating Shakespeare's condition, Shepphard is struck mute ("alas I cannot speak for teares") and can only communicate by means of innuendo, invoking those "community-founding" powers of language which "plumb the paleosymbolic depths of equivocal expressions" of which Sue Curry Jansen writes so eloquently. Like Prospero, Shepphard's "Shakespeare" is one who has been condemned to purgatory unless rescued by the posthumous "prayers" of knowing readers who can heed "what silent love hath writ" and able, in turn, to write what they now know -- "between the lines."

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Royalist sympathizer. So far, neither Ross nor any other orthodox critic whose work has come to my attention has questioned the central assertions of this chapter regarding the structure and timing of the folio and the allegorical character of *The Tempest* as a play about dramatic authorship.



## APPENDICES



## APPENDIX A: TABLE OF SHAKESPEARE DIAGNOSTICS

Verse Set	Theme	Number of Citations	Marked in De Vere Bible?
SD 1. Gen. 2.24	Marriage Service	5	No.
SD 2. Gen. 2.17 et alia	Die the Death	4	Yes.
SD 3. Gen 3.19	Dust to Dust	9	Indirect by thematic cross-reference to Ecclus. 40.10-11.
SD 4. Gen. 3.20	Eve	4 +	No.
SD 5. Gen. 4.15-18	Cain's crime & exile	13	No.
SD 6. Gen. 18.16	Bring you on the way...	4	No.
SD 7. Gen. 49.9	A Lion's whelp	4	No.
SD 8. Exodus 22.22	Widows and orphans	6	Yes.
SD. 9 Deuteronomy 11.6 et alia	Earth swallows her own increase.	4	No.
SD 10. Job 10.21-22	The shade of death	4	No.
SD 11. Job 14.1	Man born of woman	4	No.
SD 12. Job 33.6	Man formed of clay	4	No.
SD 13. I Samuel 16.7	God looks on the interior man	8 + 5 (13)	Yes.
SD 14. I Samuel 16.23	Music as medicine for melancholy.	5	Yes.
SD 15. I Samuel 10.1/16.13	The Lord's anointed	5+ 3 (8)	Yes.
SD 16. I Samuel 28-7-8	Familiar spirits from underground	2 + 3 (5)	Yes.
SD 17. I Samuel 24.11/II Samuel 1.14	The sanctity of the Lord's anointed	5 + 2 (7)	Yes.
SD 18. Kings 2.32-38	Blood of sinner on own head	8	Yes.
SD 19. I Kings 12.11,14	Scourge of rods and nettles.	5	Indirect by marked note at I Kings 12.9.
SD 20. Job 21.26	Body devoured by worms	6	No.
SD 21. Ezekiel 18.20-32	The heritability of sin	7 + 1 (8)	Yes.
SD 22. Ezekiel 18.21-22	Value of repentance	3 + (4)	Yes.
SD 23. Ezekiel 28.16	Cherubim	5 <sup>268</sup>	Yes (by substitution for cited verses Gen. 3.24 et alia).
SD 24. Ezekiel 36.26	Stony heart	4	Indirect by proximate marked verse 36.25.
SD 25. Isaiah 14.12	Lucifer	7	No.
SD 26. Ecclesiastes 5.3-4	Against vow-breaking	4	Indirect by proximate marked verse Ecclesiastes 5.7.
SD 27. Psalm 18.3	The pangs of death	6 <sup>269</sup>	Indirect by underlining to Genevan psalm 18.20.
SD 28. Psalm 18.4	The pains of hell	5	Yes by substitution of Ecclus 21.10 "hel, darkness and paines".
SD 29. Psalm 25.15	Lord have mercy	5	Yes (Psalm marked in Genevan S&H).
SD 30. Psalm 137	Various	5	Yes (Psalm marked in Genevan S&H).

<sup>268</sup> Shaheen (1987) lists alternate sources.

<sup>269</sup> Updated from 4 to 6 in the third printing, based on new data (Shaheen 1999).



SD 31. Psalm 140.3	Sharp-tongued slander.	6	Indirect cross to Wisdom 1, etc.
SD 32. Isaiah 11.12 et alia.	Four corners of the world.	4	No.
SD 33. Tobit 12.8-9	Prayer and fasting are good together.	3 + 2 <sup>270</sup> (5)	Yes by substitution of cited verses I Corinthians 7.5 etc.
SD 34. Ecclus 10.14/Proverbs 161.18	The swift fall of the proud	5 + 1 (6)	Yes (Ecclus. 10.14 marked).

#### Apocrypha

SD 35. Wisdom 11.13	The wicked are punished by their own devices	7	Yes.
SD 36. Finis Coronat opus (Ecclus. 11.27)		4	Yes/De Vere letters.
SD 37. Ecclus 13.1	He that touches pitch...	8	Indirect by proximate marked verse Ecclus. 13.3.
SD 38. Ecclus. 13.22	Friends desert the impoverished man	5	Indirect by marked verse Ecclus 13.3 on related theme in same chapter.
SD 39. Ecclus. 23.16-18	The omniscient eye of god.	8 + 4 (12)	Yes by substitution for cited verses psalm 33.12 et alia. <sup>271</sup>
SD 40. Ecclus. 28.1-4	Reciprocal mercy	6 + 1 (7)	Yes.
SD 41. Ecclus 41.19	Don't curse the day of birth	6 + 4 (10)	Yes.

#### New Testament

SD 42. Matt. 4.10	Avaunt, Satan	7	No.
SD 43. Matt. 5.9	Blessed are the peacemakers	4	No.
SD 44. Matt 5.29/Mark 9.47	If your eye offends, pluck it out.	4	No.
SD 45. Matt. 5.33-37	Don't swear	11	Indirect by cross-reference to marked Ecclus 23.10.
SD 46. Matt. 5.44	Love your enemies	10	Indirect by I Samuel 24.18 <sup>272</sup> .
SD 47. Matt. 6.19-21	Don't store treasure on earth.	3 + 3 (6) <sup>273</sup> .	Yes.
SD 48. Matt. 7.3-4/Luke 6.42	Take the mote out of your own eye.	4	Yes/De Vere letters.
SD 49. Matt. 7.13-14	Enter at the straight gate/avoid the 'primrose path'.	5	Indirect by thematically related Matthew 25.34-41 and "primrose path" cross reference to Wisdom 2.1-12. <sup>274</sup>
SD 50. Matt. 7.15	False prophets are wolves in sheep's clothing.	7 + 1 (8)	Indirect by association with neo-Platonic cluster.
SD 51. Matt. 10.26	There is nothing hid....	6	Yes/De Vere letters.
SD 52. Matt. 12.24	Beelzebub, prince of devils	5	No.
SD 53. Matt. 13.45-46	The pearl of great price	5 + 1 (6)	Indirect by thematic association to Mark 10.21.
SD 54. Matt. 16.17 et alia	Flesh and blood...	6	No.
SD 55. Matt. 16.25	What shall it profit a man...	8	No.

<sup>270</sup> Carter and Milward list alternate sources I Corinthians 7.5 etc.

<sup>271</sup> See "A New Biblical Source for Shakespeare's Concept of 'All Seeing Heaven'" (*N&Q* June 1999, 207-209).

<sup>272</sup> Compare the marked verse I Samuel 24.18 to All's Well 2.5.52, which Shaheen (1993 213-14) compares to Matt. 5.44 among other NT verses.

<sup>273</sup> See my note "The Heavenly Treasure of Sonnets 48 and 52" (*N&Q* June 1999, 226-227).

<sup>274</sup> With marked verses Wisdom 21-24 which conclude the "prayer of the ungodly."

SD 56. Matt. 23.23	Things left undone...	4	No.
SD 57. Matt. 20.28	The Christian "ransom" of life for life.	4	No.
SD 58. Matt. 25.14-29	The parable of the talents.	5	No.
SD 59. Matt. 26.48-49	Kissing Judas.	5	No.
SD 60. Matt. 27.24-25	Pilate washes his hands.	4 + 2 (6)	No.
SD 61. Mark 5.9	My name is legion.	4	No.
SD 62. Mark 10.21 et alia	Take up the cross.	7 + 1 (8)	Yes.
SD 63. Luke 16.20-31	Lazarus and the beggar.	11	No.
SD 64. Acts 12.15	An evil angel.	4	No.
SD 65. Romans 6.16-19	The members of the body.	6 + 1 (7)	Yes.
SD 66. Romans 7.18-20	It is not "I" who sins.	13	Yes.
SD 67. Romans 13.4-6	Heaven ministers correction.	11	No.
SD 68. I Corinthians 6.19	The body is the temple of the soul.	7	Yes.
SD 69. I Corinthians 11.2	The husband is the wife's head.	4	No.
SD 70. I Corinthians 15.52	The last trumpet...	4 + 1 (5)	No.
SD 71. II Corinthians 4.16-18	The eye of the mind	4 + 3 (7)	Yes.
SD 72. II Corinthians 11.14	Satan is an angel of light.	18	Indirect by association with neo-Platonic cluster.
SD. 73. Ephesians 6.12	The Kingdom of Darkness	4	No.
SD 74. Ephesians 6.14-17 et alia	Weapons of faith	6	Yes by clustering and substitution for equivalent marked verses I Thessalonians 7-8 and Wisdom 5.18.
SD 75. Ephesians 4.22-24	Put off the old man...	13	Indirect by thematic association with Romans 6.6 and Ezekiel 18.31.
SD 76. Hebrews 1.14	The good angel...	4	No.
SD 77. I Peter 3.7	The weaker vessel.	8	No.
SD 78. Rev. 12.9	Satan the deceiver.	4	Indirect by proximate marked verse Rev. 12.10.
SD 79. Rev. 3.5	Name blotted from book of life...	7	Yes.
SD 80 Rev. 20.12	The book of life...	4 + 4 (8)	Yes.
SD 81. Rev. 21.8/20.10	The lake of fire and brimstone.	12	Yes.

Totals Yes (Bible): 30  
 Yes (letters): 3  
 Indirect: 16  
 No: 32



## APPENDIX B: SHAKESPEARE DIAGNOSTICS DETAILED

Shakespeare Diagnostic (SD) Verses are numbered one through eighty-one, starting with Genesis and working forward in the Bible. A verse or group of verses qualifies as a diagnostic if cited four or more times in Carter (1905), Noble (1935), Shaheen (1987, 1989, 1993, 1999), Milward (1987), Booth (1977), Stritmatter (1997, 1999a, 1999b), or some combination of these authorities. All citations must refer to the same motif or topic within a verse.

Of these eighty-one Diagnostics, thirty are directly marked in the de Vere Bible; three more occur in Oxford's letters and sixteen are "indirectly" marked.

In constructing the Diagnostics list, I have attempted to balance the sometimes competing principles of accuracy and comprehensiveness. Included in the list are four items – "the murder of Cain" (Genesis 4.8-15) Psalm 137, "The parable of the talents" (Matthew 25:14-29), and "Lazarus and the beggar" (16.20-31) comprised of units larger than 1-2 verses. It seemed to me that any comprehensive listing of Shakespeare's major Biblical topoi must include these items even though they may have been excluded under a stricter methodology which counted only single verses and doublets. Only one of this group, Psalm 137, is marked in the de Vere Bible. Are there other such groups of verses, comprising identifiable motifs, which should have been included in the Diagnostics List? Possibly, but the ones included seemed most salient to the general contours of the Shakespearean Biblical imagination. For example although no individual verse in the Lazarus sequence (Luke 16.20-31) is cited more than four times in Shaheen's data, as a group of verses on a common topic, they represent one of the most important of all Shakespearean Bible topoi. Four diagnostics fall below the cutoff of four citations by previous scholars. For various reasons, which become apparent in the analysis of each SD, these topoi remain underrepresented in the published data on Shakespeare's use of the Bible. With one exception, each is cited at least three times in published sources; in each case it can be shown that additional references to the verse, or to the idea expressed in it, do exist in Shakespeare. Three of these four are marked in the de Vere Bible and one is listed in the 'indirect' category.

These are:

SD 15	Underground spirits.	2X in prior authorities, with three additional citations here.
SD 23	Repentance.	3X prior authorities, with multiple generic references in Shakespeare.
SD 33	Prayer is good with fasting.	3X in prior authorities, with two additional citations here.
SD 79	Blotted name.	3X in prior authorities, with three further citations here.

### Analysis of Authorities

Of these sources, only Noble and Carter covered Bible references in the entire canon, and only Carter extended his search to include the narrative poems and Sonnets. Milward (1987) includes only the tragedies, and Shaheen's trilogy (1987, 1991, 1993) does not include the Romances. Although Carter (1905) includes the sonnets, and Booth (1977) provides a more current listing of many major Biblical motifs therein, as a general rule the non-dramatic works, like the romances, have not received their full share of attention by previous authorities and hence provide a larger share of the required emendations.

In three cases – SDs 39, 47 and 66 -- additions to the Shakespeare Diagnostics lists have been authenticated by publication in *Notes & Queries* (Stritmatter 1997, etc).

Of the four major authorities on whom I primarily depend for compilation of the Shakespeare Diagnostics, Shaheen is the most comprehensive and empirically exacting in his discriminations. However, Shaheen has not published a book on the Romances, nor has he treated the Sonnets or the Narrative Poems. Also, in my opinion, he sometimes overlooks subtle but pertinent references which were accepted by other scholars such as Carter, Noble or Milward.

False positives in Shaheen's data

Psalms 9.3; 27.8; 51.1 and 123.2-3; Matt. 20.30; Luke 17.13 and 18.13 all represent the phrase "Lord have mercy" included herein under Psalm 25.15

Matt. 19.5-6: Of seven references listed to this verse in Shaheen (1987, 1989, 1993), five are included herein under Genesis 2.24.

Matt. 23.27-28: Of four references listed in Shaheen (1987, 1989, 1993) and Milward (1987), one (Timon 4.2.98) appears to be an error and two (Measure 3.1.88-92 and Hamlet 3.1.48) are cross-listed herein under SD # II Corinthians 11.14. Only one (*Merchant* 2.7.6) definitely refers to Matt. 23.27-28.

Romans 12.9: Almost all possible references are cross-listed herein under Romans 13.4-6.

Note to the third edition (November 2002): A number of mechanical corrections have been made to this list. The only correction in content is that SD # 27 now includes two additional items enumerated for the first time in Shaheen (1999).

SD #1. Genesis 2.24: The marriage service	
Indirect.  I Corinthians 6.16-17 <sup>275</sup>  Shaheen (1987):  Father and mother is man and wife; man and wife is one flesh; and so, my mother. Come, for England! <div style="text-align: right;">(<i>Hamlet</i> 4.3.53-56)</div>  By all your vows of love, and that great vow Which did incorporate and make us one <div style="text-align: right;">(<i>Julius Caesar</i> 2.1.270)</div>	....By your leaves, you shall not stay alone Till Holy church incorporate two in one <div style="text-align: right;">(<i>Romeo &amp; Juliet</i> (3.6.36-37))  Shaheen (1989):  As man and wife, being two, are one in love, So be there 'twixt your kingdoms such a spousal That never may ill office.... <div style="text-align: right;">(<i>Henry V</i> 5.2.389-92)  Shaheen (1993):  Thyself I call it, being strange to me, That, individable incorporate Am better than thy dear self's better part <div style="text-align: right;">(<i>Comedy of Errors</i> 2.2.122)</div></div></div>
SD # 2 Genesis 2.17 et alia Die the Death	
Yes.  Shaheen (1999):  To die the death <div style="text-align: right;">(<i>Midsummer Night's Dream</i> 1.1.65)</div>	To die the death <div style="text-align: right;">(<i>Measure for Measure</i> 2.4.165)</div>  Shall die the death <div style="text-align: right;">(<i>Antony and Cleopatra</i> 4.14.26)</div>  Die the death! <div style="text-align: right;">(<i>Cymbeline</i> 4.2.96)</div>

<sup>275</sup> These verses cite Genesis 2.24: 16 Do ye not knowe, that he which coupleth himself with an harlot, is one bodie? For two, saith he, shalbe one flesh. 17 But he that is ioyned unto ye Lord, is one spirit.

S.D. #3 Genesis 3.19: Dust to dust.	
Indirect (Ecclus 41.11)	Shaheen (1993):
Shaheen (1987):	Well, niece, I hope to see you fitted with a husband. Beatrice. Not till God make men of some other metal than earth. Would it not grieve a woman to be overmastered with a piece of valiant dust? ( <i>Much Ado</i> 2.1.59-63)
And yet to me, what is this quintessence of dust? ( <i>Hamlet</i> 2.2.308)	
What have you done, my Lord, with the dead body? Compounded it with dust, whereto 'tis kin. ( <i>Hamlet</i> 4.2.5-7)	Come, where is this young gallant that is so desirous to lie with his mother earth? ( <i>As You Like It</i> 1.2.200-01)
Now get you to my lady's chamber, and tell her, Let her paint an inch thick, to this favour she must come. ( <i>Hamlet</i> 5.1.209-210)	Here feel we but the penalty of Adam ( <i>As You Like It</i> 2.1.5)
All our yesterdays have lighted fools the way to dusty death ( <i>Macbeth</i> 5.5.23)	Booth (1977):
Shaheen (1989):	Earth can have but earth, which is his due (Sonnet 74.7)
My uncle's spirit is in these stones. Heaven take my soul, and England keep my bones! ( <i>Henry V</i> 4.1.270-73)	

SD #4 Genesis 3.20: Eve.	
No.	Eve is also mentioned:
Shaheen (1993):	What Eve, what serpent, hath suggested thee... ( <i>Richard II</i> 3.4.75)
It was Eve's legacy, and cannot be ta'en from her! ( <i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i> 3.1.337-38)	So rails against all married mankind, So curses all eve's daughters, of what complexion soever ( <i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i> 4.2.24)
With a child of our grandmother eve, a female ( <i>Loves Labours Lost</i> 1.1.264)	
If Sir Toby would leave drinking, thou wert as witty A piece of Eve's flesh as any in Illyria ( <i>Twelfth Night</i> 1.5.27-28)	Had he been Adam, he had tempted Eve ( <i>Loves Labours Lost</i> 5.2.322)

SD # 5 Genesis 4:8-15: Cain's crime and exile	
<p>No.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>My offense is rank, it smells to heaven; It hath the eldest curse upon't, A brother's murder!</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Hamlet</i> 3.3.36-38)</p> <p>How the knave jowls it to the grounds, as if 'twere Cain's jawbone, that did the first murder</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(Hamlet</i> 5.1.76-77)</p> <p>It will have blood, they say; blood will have blood. Stones have been known to move and trees to speak....</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(Macbeth</i> 3.4.121)</p> <p>Let my tears staunch the earth's dry appetite. My son's sweet blood will make it shame and blush... ....So thou refuse to drink my dear son's blood.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(Titus</i> 3.1.16, 22)</p> <p>They brother's blood the thirsty earth hath drunk!</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(3 Henry VI</i> 2.3.15)</p> <p>O God, which this blood mad'st, revenge his death! O earth, which this blood drink'st, revenge this death!</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(Richard III</i> 1.2.63)</p>	<p>Sluic'd out his innocent soul through streams of blood; Which blood, like sacrificing Abel's cries, Even from the tongueless caverns of the earth, To me for justice and rough chastisement. <i>(Richard II</i> 1.1.104-6)</p> <p>The basin that receives your guilty blood</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(Titus</i> 5.3.183)</p> <p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>Stained with the guiltless blood of innocents.... Whose maiden blood thus rigorously effus'd Will cry for vengeance at the gates of heaven.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(1 Henry VI</i> 5.4.44-53)</p> <p>With Cain go wander through shades of nights, And never show thy head by day or night</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(Richard II</i> 5.6.43)</p> <p>For then my guiltless blood must cry against 'em</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(Henry VIII</i> 2.1.68)</p> <p>Shaheen (1993): Hast thou slain him then? Henceforth be never numbered among men!</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(Midsummer Night's Dream</i> 3.2.67)</p> <p>Milward (1987):</p> <p>The near in blood, the nearer bloody</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(Macbeth</i> 2.3.147)</p>
S.D. #6 Genesis 18.16: Bring you on the way....	
<p>No.</p> <p>Shaheen (1999):</p> <p>We will bring you on your way.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(Love's Labor's Lost</i> 5.2.873)</p> <p>That we may bring you something on the way</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(Measure for Measure</i> 1.1.61)</p>	<p>I pray you bring me on the way a little</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(Othello</i> 3.4.197)</p> <p>Shall I bring thee on the way?</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(Winter's Tale</i> 4.3.114)</p>
S.D. #7 Genesis 49.9: A Lion's Whelp	
<p>No.</p> <p>Shaheen (1999):</p> <p>The lion's whelp</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(1 Henry IV</i> 3.3.147)</p> <p>Lion's whelp</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(Henry V</i> 1.2.109)</p>	<p>A lion's whelp</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(Antony &amp; Cleopatra</i> 3.13.94)</p> <p>When as a lion's whelp</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(Cymbeline</i> 5.4.138)</p>

SD #8. Exodus 22.22 <sup>276</sup> et alia: Special Provisions for widows and orphans:	
<p>Yes.</p> <p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>To God, the widow's champion and defense (<i>Richard II</i> 1.2.43)</p> <p>To reave the orphan of his patrimony, To wring the widow from her custom'd right. (<i>2 Henry VI</i> 5.1.187-88)</p> <p>A widow cries; be husband to me heavens! (<i>King John</i> 3.1.108)</p> <p>Carter (1905): Turns he the widow's tears, the orphan's cried (<i>Henry V</i> 2.4.100)</p>	<p>Milward (1987 145):</p> <p>New widows howl, new orphans cry, new sorrows Strike heaven on the face... (<i>Macbeth</i> 4.3.5)</p> <p>Carter (1905 204) also detects reference to the doctrine of Exodus 22.22 in the appeal of the widow Constance for justice for her orphaned child</p> <p>Draw those heaven moving pearles from his poor eies, Which Heaven shall take in nature of a fee: I, with this christall beads heaven shall be bribed To do him justice, and revenge on you. (<i>King John</i> 2.1.169)</p> <p>I add:</p> <p>QE. Was never widow had so dear a loss! Children. Were never orphans had so dear a loss. (<i>Richard III</i> 2.2.77-78)</p>
S.D. #9 Deuteronomy 11.6/ Psalm 106.17: Earth Swallows her own increase	
<p>No.</p> <p>Shaheen (1999):</p> <p>May that ground gape, and swallow me alive (<i>3 Henry VI</i> 1.1.161)</p> <p>Or earth gape open wide and eat him quick (<i>Richard III</i> 1.2.65)</p>	<p>Like to the earth swallow her own increase (<i>Titus Andronicus</i> 5.2.191)</p> <p>Earth hath swallowed all my hopes but she (<i>Romeo &amp; Juliet</i> 1.2.14)</p>
S.D. #10 Job 10.21-22: The shade of death	
<p>No.</p> <p>Shaheen (1999):</p> <p>Darkness and the gloomy shade of death (<i>I Henry VI</i> 5.4.89)</p> <p>The shade of death (<i>Richard III</i> 1.3.266)</p>	<p>But that the dread of something after death, The undiscover'd country, from whose bourn No traveller returns.... (<i>Hamlet</i> 3.1.77-79)</p> <p>Finish, good lady, the bright day is done And we are for the dark (<i>Antony &amp; Cleopatra</i> 5.2.193-94)</p>
S.D. # 11 Job 14.1: Man Born of Woman	
<p>No.</p> <p>Shaheen (1999):</p> <p>As ever you come of women (<i>Henry V</i> 2.1.117)</p> <p>Man that's born of woman (<i>Macbeth</i> 5.3.6)</p>	<p>Thou wast born of woman (<i>Macbeth</i> 5.7.11)</p> <p>Surely, this man Was born of woman. (<i>Timon of Athens</i> 4.3.493-94)</p>

<sup>276</sup> Alternate sources: (Marked in de Vere Bible) Deut. 10.11, Exodus 22.22, Psalm 146.68; (not marked in de Vere Bible: Ecclus. 25.14, 15.



S.D. # 12 Job 33.6: Man formed of clay	
<p>No.</p> <p>Shaheen (1999):</p> <p>This lump of clay <i>(1 Henry VI 2.5.14)</i></p> <p>That womb, ....that self mould, that fashioned thee, made him a man. <i>(Richard II 1.1.22-24)</i></p>	<p>This foolish-compounded clay, man. <i>(2 Henry IV 1.2.7)</i></p> <p>Be merciful, great Duke, to men of mould<sup>277</sup> <i>(Henry V 3.2.22)</i></p>
SD # 13. I Samuel 16.7: The Lord looks not on the stature of the exterior man, but on his inward heart.	
<p>Yes.</p> <p>Carter (1905):</p> <p>We know each other's faces; for our hearts, He knows no more of mine than I of yours. <i>(Richard III 3.4.10)</i></p> <p>Hast. I think there's never a man in Christendom Can lesser hide his love or hate than he For by his face straight shall you know his heart.</p> <p>Stanley. What of his heart perceive you in his face...? <i>(Richard III 3.4.51-55)</i></p> <p>There's no art To find the mind's construction in the face <i>(Macbeth 1.4.11-12)</i></p> <p>Ye have angels faces, but heaven knows your hearts. <i>(Henry VIII 3.1.145)</i></p> <p>Milward (1987):</p> <p>For when the outward action doth demonstrate The native act and figure of my heart In complement extern <i>(Othello 1.1.116)</i></p> <p>Milward (citing alternate source Psalm 5.9):</p> <p>And make our faces vizards to our hearts <i>(Macbeth 3.2.34)</i></p>	<p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>Will you tell me, Master Shallow, how to choose a man? Care I for the limb, the thews, the stature, bulk and big Assemblage of a man? Give me the spirit. <i>(2 Henry IV 3.1.257-60)</i></p> <p>No more can you distinguish of a man Than of his outward show, which God he knows, Seldom or never jumpeth with the heart. <i>(Richard III 3.1.9-11)</i></p> <p>To these might be added:</p> <p>O serpent heart, hid with a flowering face! <i>(Romeo &amp; Juliet 3.2.73)</i></p> <p>An evil soul producing holy witness Is like a villain with a smiling cheek, A goodly apple rotten at the heart: O, what a goodly outside falsehood hath <i>(Merchant 1.3.100-103)</i></p> <p>Neither in our hearts nor outward eyes Envy the great nor do the low despise <i>(Pericles 2.3.25)</i></p> <p>When, for fame's sake, for praise, an outward part, We bend to that the working of the heart <i>(Love's Labour's Lost 4.1.132)</i></p> <p>What a hero hadst thou been, If half thy outward graces had been placed About thy thoughts and counsels of thy heart <i>(Much Ado 4.1.102)</i></p>

<sup>277</sup> Note that the thought expressed actually alludes, with poetic variation, to marked verses at Ecclus. 28.1-4.

SD #14. I Samuel 16.23: Music as medicine for melancholy.	
<p>Yes. Noble (1935) and Milward (1987):</p> <p>This music mads me; let it sound no more. For though it have holp madmen to their wits In me it seems will make wise men mad. <i>(Richard II 5.5.60-62)</i></p> <p>Carter (1905):</p> <p>...naught so stockish, hard and full of rage But music for the time doth change his nature. The man that hath no music in himself, Nor is not mov'd with concord of sweet sounds Is fit for treasons, strategems and spoils... <i>(Merchant 5.1.82-85)</i></p> <p>Prosperous Ass, that never read so far To know the cause why music was ordained! Was it not to refresh<sup>278</sup> the mind of man After his studies or his usual pain. <i>(Shrew 3.1.9-12)</i></p>	<p>Let there be no noise made, my gentle friends, Unless some dull and favourable hand Will whisper music to my weary spirit <i>(1 Henry IV 4.5.1-4)</i></p> <p>A solemn air, and the best comforter To an unsettled fancy, cure thy brains <i>(Tempest 5.1.57-59)</i></p> <p>I add:</p> <p>Music hath such a power to make bad good <i>(Measure 4.1.14)</i></p> <p>If they but hear perchance a trumpet sound, Or any air of music touch their ears, You shall perceive them make a mutual stand, Their savage eyes turned to a modest gaze, By the sweet power of music <i>(Merchant 5.1.75-79)</i></p>
SD # 15. I Samuel 28.7-8: Familiar spirits conjured from underground.	
<p>Yes.</p> <p>Carter (1905), followed by Shaheen (1987), finds two references to the “familiar spirits” of I Samuel 28.7-8:</p> <p>Now, ye familiar spirits, that are cull'd Out of the powerful regions under earth Help me this once! <i>(1 Henry IV, 5.3.10-12)</i></p> <p>He has a familiar under his tongue <i>(2 Henry IV 4.7.107-108)</i></p>	<p>To these may be added – although the key word “familiar” apparently used by both Carter and Shaheen does not appear -- three additional references to the idea of spirits conjured from subterranean regions:</p> <p>This they have promised, to show your highness A spirit raised from underground <i>(2 Henry IV 1.2.79)</i></p> <p>Raising up wicked spirits from underground <i>(2 Henry IV 2.1.174)</i></p> <p>Call spirits from the vasty deep <i>(1 Henry IV 3.1.55)</i></p>
SD # 16. 1 Samuel 10.1/16.13: The Lord's Anointed.	
<p>Yes.</p> <p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>The balm washed off wherewith thou wast anointed. <i>(3 Henry VI 3.1.17)</i></p> <p>I was anointed king. <i>(3 Henry VI 3.1.76)</i></p> <p>Of England's true-anointed lawful king. <i>(3 Henry VI 3.3.29)</i></p> <p>Shaheen (1993): The anointed sovereign of sighs and groans. <i>(Love's Labour's Lost 3.1.184)</i></p>	<p>Anointed,.....thy royal sweet breath. <i>(Love's Labour's Lost 5.2.522-23)</i></p> <p>To which might be added:</p> <p>Not all the water in the rough rude sea Can wash the balm off from an anointed king. <i>(Richard II 3.2.55)</i></p> <p>The balm washed off wherewith thou wast anointed. <i>(3 Henry VI 3.1.17)</i></p> <p>Hail, ye anointed deputies of heaven! <i>(King John 3.1.136)</i></p>

<sup>278</sup> As Carter (238) notes, the verb “refresh” is carried over from G’s “refreshed.”

SD # 17. I Samuel 24.11/II Samuel 1.14: The Sanctity of the Lord's Anointed	
<p>Yes.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>Most sacrilegious murder hath broke ope The Lord's anointed temple. <i>(Macbeth 2.3.72)</i></p> <p>I would not see thy cruel nails Pluck out his poor old eyes; nor thy fierce sister In his anointed flesh stick boarish fangs. <i>(Lear 3.8.56-58)</i></p> <p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>You stand against anointed majesty... <i>(1 Henry IV 4.3.40)</i></p>	<p>Before the Douglas' rage Stooped his anointed head as low as death. <i>(2 Henry IV In. 32)</i></p> <p>Let not the heavens hear these tell-tale Women Rail on the lord's anointed <i>(Richard III 4.4.150)</i><sup>279</sup></p> <p>To which might be added the following:</p> <p>Comest thou because the anointed king is hence? <i>(Richard II 4.1.127)</i></p> <p>If I could find examples Of thousands that had struck anointed kings And flourished after, I'd do it. <i>(Winter's Tale 1.2.358)</i></p>
SD # 18 I Kings 2.32-34: The blood of the sinner falls upon his own head.	
<p>Yes.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>Put not another sin upon my head, By urging me to fury. <i>(Romeo &amp; Juliet 5.3.62)</i></p> <p>Destruction on my head if my bad blame Light on the man! <i>(Othello 1.3.177-78)</i></p> <p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>My blood upon your heads! <i>(3 Henry VI 1.4.168)</i></p> <p>My guilt be upon my head! <i>(Richard II 5.1.69)</i></p> <p>All his offenses live upon my head! <i>(1 Henry VI 5.2.20)</i></p>	<p>Let them that should reward valour Bear the sin upon their own heads. <i>(1 Henry IV 5.4.150)</i></p> <p>It calls, I fear, Too many curses on their heads That were the authors. <i>(Henry VIII 2.1.137-39)</i></p> <p>'Tis certain, every man that dies ill, the ill upon his own head, the King is not to answer for it... <i>(Henry V 4.1.186-187)</i></p> <p>Shaheen (1993):</p> <p>My deeds upon my head! <i>(Merchant 4.1.206)</i></p> <p>I add:</p> <p>Bastard. But whe'r I be as true begot or not, that still I lay upon my mother's head <i>(King John 1.1.75-76)</i></p>
SD # 19. I Kings 12.11,14/Psalm 89.32: Chastisement by rods, whips and scourges.	
<p>Yes.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>You have been a scourge to her enemies, you have been a rod to her friends. <i>(Coriolanus 2.3.91-92)</i></p> <p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>Whipped an scourged with rods, nettled and stung. <i>(1 Henry IV 1.3.239)</i></p>	<p>Make me believe that thou art only mark'd For the hot vengeance and the rod of heaven To punish my misreadings. <i>(1 Henry IV 3.2.10-11)</i></p> <p>The King hath wasted all his rods On late offenders <i>(2 Henry IV 4.1.213-14)</i></p> <p>Shaheen (1993):</p> <p>I'll whip thee with a rod. <i>(Midsummer Night's Dream 3.2.410)</i></p>

<sup>279</sup> Shaheen cites the proximate source 2 Samuel 19.21.

SD # 20. Job 21.26/Isaiah 51.8 <sup>280</sup> : The Body devoured by dust and worms.	
<p>No.</p> <p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>Two tender bedfellows for dust, Thy broken faith had made thee prey for worms (<i>Richard III</i> 4.4.384-86)</p> <p>Thou art dust, And food for...worms. (<i>1 Henry IV</i> 5.4.85-86)</p> <p>Only compound me with forgotten dust; Give me that which gave thee life unto the worms (<i>2 Henry IV</i> 4.5.115-16)</p>	<p>When I shall dwell with worms, And my poor name, banished the kingdom. (<i>Henry VIII</i> 4.1.126-27)</p> <p>Shaheen (1993):</p> <p>Where is this young gallant that is so Desirous to lie with his mother earth? (<i>As You Like It</i> 1.2.201)</p> <p>Thou art by no means valiant, For thou dost fear the soft and tender fork Of the poor worm. (<i>Measure for Measure</i> 3.1.15-16)</p>
SD #21. Ezekiel 18.20-30 <sup>281</sup> : The Heritability of Sin.	
<p>Yes.</p> <p>Carter (1905):</p> <p>Crimes, like lands, are not inherited (<i>Timon</i> 5.5.6)</p> <p>And here, in Troy, for trespass of thine eye, The sire, the son, the dame and daughter die... Let sin, alone committed, light alone Upon his head that hath transgressed so; Let guiltless souls be freed from guilty woe. For one's offense why should so many fall To plague a private sin in general. (<i>Lucrece</i> 1476-84)<sup>282</sup></p> <p>Sinful Macduff, They were all struck for thee. Naught that I am, Not for their own demerits, but for mine, Fell slaughter on their souls. (<i>Macbeth</i> 4.3.226- 29)<sup>283</sup></p> <p>All his offenses live upon my head And on his father's. We did train him on, And his corruption being tane from us We as the spring of all, shall pay for all. (<i>1 Henry IV</i> 5.2.20-23)<sup>284</sup></p> <p>Milward (1987):</p>	<p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>Thy sins are to be visited upon this poor child; The canon of the law is laid on him... (<i>King John</i> 2.1.179-180)<sup>285</sup></p> <p>The woe's to come. The children yet unborn Shall feel this day as sharp to them as thorn. (<i>Richard II</i> 4.1.320-21)<sup>286</sup></p> <p>Shaheen (1993):</p> <p>The sins of the father are to be laid upon the children. (<i>Merchant</i> 3.5.1)<sup>287</sup></p> <p>All prior critics seems to have missed:</p> <p>So the sins of the mother should be visited upon me... (<i>Merchant</i> 3.5.15)<sup>288</sup></p> <p>So, if a son that is by his father sent about merchandise do sinfully miscarry upon the sea, the imputation of his wickedness, by your rule, should be impos'd upon his father that sent him...But this is not so. The King is not bound to answer the particular endings of his soldiers, the father of his son, nor the master of his servant...every subject's soul is his own. (<i>Henry V</i> 4.1.147-77)<sup>289</sup></p> <p>Such is my love, to thee I so belong, That for thy right myself will bear all wrong.</p>

<sup>280</sup> Alternative sources include: Psalm 22.6; Job 25.6; Isaiah 41.14.

<sup>281</sup> Parallels include Ezekiel 18.2 and 18.3 (marked in the de Vere Bible), Exodus 20.5 and the Anglican catechism and communion service. Shakespeare refers to the distinctive idiom of Ezekiel 18.3 at *1 Henry IV* 3.1.131.

<sup>282</sup> Carter (219) cites Ezekiel 18.2.

<sup>283</sup> Carter cites Ezekiel 18.2

<sup>284</sup> Carter (259) cites I Sam. 25.39, Joshua 2.19 and 2 Chron. 6.23. However, Ezekiel 18 is undeniably closer in expressing Worcester's thought in these lines.

<sup>285</sup> Shaheen (124) cites the catechism and Exodus 20.5. The thought expressed in Exodus 20.5 is the opposite of that found in Ezekiel 18, namely that, as Constance says in *King John*, the sins of the parents should be placed on the children.

<sup>286</sup> Shaheen (116) cites Exodus 20.5.

<sup>287</sup> Shaheen (124) cites the catechism, Exodus 20.5 and other sources.

<sup>288</sup> The preferred proximate source is evidently Exodus 20.5.

<sup>289</sup> See Stritmatter 1998e for an extensive discussion of this passage as a prominent reference to Ezekiel 18.20-32.

Lay not your blame on me	( <i>Othello</i> 4.2.45)	(Sonnet 88.13-14)
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SD # 22. Ezekiel 18.21-22: The value of repentance.		
Yes.		
Noble (1935):	God of his mercy, give you patience to endure and true repentance	( <i>Henry V</i> 2.2.180)
.....At last, Do as the heavens have done: forget your evil; With them, forgive yourself	Our purposes God hath justly discovered And I repent my fault more than my death.	( <i>Henry V</i> 2.2.152)
( <i>Winter's Tale</i> 5.1.1-5)		
Who by repentance is not satisfied Is nor of heaven nor earth; for these are pleas'd By penitence the eternal's wrath's appeased.	Full of repentance, Continual meditations, tears and sorrows: He gave his honors to the world again, His blessed part to heaven, and slept in peace.... And add greater honors to his age Than man could give, did fearing God.	( <i>Henry VIII</i> 4.2.27-33)
( <i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i> 5.4.79-81)		
Milward (1987):		
Confess yourself to heaven; repent what's past, avoid what is to come.	I am sorry that such sorrow I procure And so deep sticks it in my penitent heart That I crave death more willingly than mercy 'Tis my deserving, and I do entreat it.	( <i>Measure for Measure</i> 5.1.480)
( <i>Hamlet</i> 3.4.149)		
Repentance is one of the most frequently mentioned normative religious practices in the Shakespeare canon. Numerous further strong parallels to these references might be listed, among them:		

SD # 23: Ezekiel 28.16 et. alia: Cherubim.		
Yes.	Heaven's cherubim, hors'd Upon the sightless couriers of the air	( <i>Macbeth</i> 1.7.22-23) <sup>290</sup>
Shaheen (1987) classifies five Shakespearean references to the Biblical word "cherubim," which first occurs at Genesis 3.24. This marked verse includes the word:	Fears make devils of cherubins.	( <i>Troilus &amp; Cressida</i> 3.2.69)
I see a cherub that sees them.	Thou young and rose-lipped cherubin.	( <i>Othello</i> 4.2.63)
( <i>Hamlet</i> 4.3.48)	For all her cherubin look.	( <i>Timon</i> 4.3.64)

SD # 24. Ezekiel 36.26: Stony heart.		
Indirect (p).	Shaheen (1989):	
Milward (1987):	Whom thou hast whetted on thy stony heart.	( <i>2 Henry IV</i> 4.5.107)
She shall not live; no, my heart is turned to stone	My heart is turn'd to stone; and while 'tis mine, It shall be stony.	( <i>2 Henry VI</i> 5.2.50-51)
( <i>Othello</i> 4.1.190)		
Thou dost stone my heart.		
( <i>Othello</i> 5.2.63)		

<sup>290</sup> Shaheen prioritizes Psalm 18.10 as the most likely proximate source.

SD #25. Isaiah 14.12: Lucifer.	
No.	His face is Lucifer's privy kitchen (2 Henry IV 2.4.333)
Shaheen (1987): Angels are bright still, though the brightest fell. (Macbeth 4.3.22)	Though he be as good a gentlemen as the devil is, as Lucifer and Beelzebub himself, it is necessary... (Henry V 4.7.137-38)
Shaheen (1989): Thou art more deep damned than prince Lucifer. (John 4.3.122)	And when he falls like Lucifer (Henry VIII 3.2.371)
He of Wales that gave Amamon the bastinado and made Lucifer cuckold. (1 Henry IV 2.4.337)	Mark but my fall, and that that ruined me: Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition. (Henry VIII 3.2.440-41)
SD #26. Ecclesiastes 5.3-4: Against vow-breaking.	
Indirect (by adjacent marked verse Ecclesiastes 5.7)	Shaheen (1993): I hold it a sin To break the vow I am engaged in. (Love's Labours Lost 4.3.175-76)
Shaheen (1989):  And that same vengeance doth he hurl on thee For false forswearing and for murder too. Thou didst receive the sacrament.... ..... And like a traitor to the name of God Didst break that vow. (Richard III 1.4.201-206)	Princ. This field shall hold me, and so hold your vow: Nor God, nor I, delights in perjur'd men. King. Rebuke me not for that which you provoke: The virtue of your eye must break my oath. (Love's Labours Lost 5.2.345-48)  So much I hate a breaking case to be Of heavenly oaths, vow'd with integrity. (Love's Labours Lost 5.2.355-56)
SD # 27. Psalm 18.3: The Pangs of death.	
No.	Shaheen (1993):
Shaheen (1989):	Yes, and shall do till the pangs of death shake him. (Twelfth Night 1.5.75)
See how the pangs of death do make him grin! (2 Henry VI 3.3.24)	Satisfaction can be none but by the pangs of death and expulchre. (Twelfth Night 3.4.239)
And in the very pangs of death he cried, Like to a dismal clangor heard from afar. (3 Henry VI 2.3.17)	Shaheen 1999 adds two more citations not included in his previous book on the histories:  The cruel pangs of death (John 5.4.59) Each pang a death (Henry VIII 5.1.69)
SD # 28. Psalm 18.4: Pains of hell.	
Yes by substitution of Eccus. 21.10.	Shaheen (1989):
Shaheen (1987):	And plague injustice with the pains of hell. (Richard II 3.1.34)
Though I do hate him as I do hell pains. (Othello 1.1.155)	Let hell want pains enough torture me! (King John 4.3.138)
With such a hell of pain and world of charge. (Troilus & Cressida 4.1.58)	Shaheen (1993):

	I would it were hell pains for thy sake. <i>(All's Well that Ends Well 2.3.232)</i>
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SD # 29. Psalm 67.1 Lord have mercy.	
<p>Yes. The variants are as follows:</p> <p>Genven 67.1: Have mercy on us, Lord. Genevan 51.1: Have mercie upon me, O God. Genevan 25.16: Have mercie upon me. S&amp;H 25.15: With mercy me behold. S&amp;H 51.1: Lord consider my distress, and now with speed some pity take. S&amp;H title to Psalm 51.1: Miserere mei Deus; ie, 'have mercy/piety on me God.'</p> <p>Shaheen invariably cites these phrases as references to Psalm 51.1 (G: "Have mercie upon me, o God") or 25.16 (G: "Have mercie upon me") or identical phraseology at Psalm 9.13 (G: "Have mercie upon me, o Lord"), 27.7 (G: "have mercie also upon me"), Matt. 20.30 (G: "O Lord, the sonne of David, have mercie on us."), Luke 17.13 (G: "Iesus master, have mercie on us"), or Luke 18.13 (G: "O God, be merciful to me a sinner").</p> <p>De Vere's edition of Sternhold &amp; Hopkins uses the phrases at Psalm 67.1, which is marked with a pointing hand: "Have mercy on us, Lord." Psalms 51 and 25 are also marked in the de Vere S &amp; H: however these translations do not read "have mercy."</p>	<p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>Sal. O lord, have mercy on us wretched sinners! Gar. O lord, have mercy on me, woeful man! (1 Henry VI 1.4.70-71)</p> <p>O Lord, have mercy upon me! (2 Henry VI 1.3.215)</p> <p>Write "Lord have mercy on us" on those three: They are infected, in their hearts it lies; They have the plague.<sup>291</sup> (Love's Labours Lost 5.2.419-21)</p> <p>Lord have mercy on thee. (All's Well That End's Well 2.3.212-13)</p> <p>God have mercy upon one of our souls! He may have mercy upon mine. (Twelfth Night 3.4.166-68)</p> <p>Sternhold and Hopkins Psalms 25, 51 and 67 are each marked with a pointing hand in the de Vere Bible. See also Jeremiah 5.20 and Ecclus. 18.1-5 for the annotator's distinctive interest in divine mercy</p>
SD # 30: Psalm 137	
<p>Yes.</p> <p>Carter (1905) found one reference to line 137.1 of the metrical Sternhold and Hopkins marked in the de Vere Bible:</p> <p>There dwelt a man in Babylon, lady, lady....<sup>292</sup> (Twelfth Night 2.3.84)</p> <p>Carter also found an echo of the (G or B) phrase "let my right hand forget to play" (5)</p> <p>And shall forget the office of our hand Sooner than quittance of desert or merit. (Henry V 2.2.32)</p> <p>Noble (1935) likewise discovered two further echoes of the (G or B) phrase "let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth" (6):</p>	<p>My very lips freeze to my teeth, my tongue to the roof of my mouth, my heart to my belly (Taming of the Shrew 4.1.6-)</p> <p>Forever may my knees grow to the earth, My tongue cleave to the roof within my mouth, Unless a pardon ere I rise or speak. (Richard II 5.3.31-35)</p> <p>Shaheen (1993) adds perhaps the most striking reference, again definitely to the metrical Sternhold &amp; Hopkins text marked by de Vere:</p> <p>Melodious birds sing madrigals— When as I sat in Pabylon— And a thousand vagram posies To shallow.... (Merry Wives 3.1.23-26)</p>

<sup>291</sup> The proximate reference is to the practice of writing "Lord have mercy on us" upon houses struck by the plague.

<sup>292</sup> Shaheen (1993 179) designates Sir Toby's line as the opening line of the Ballad of Constant Susanna:

There dwelt a man in Babylon  
Of reputation great by fame;  
He took to wife a faire woman,  
Susanna she was called by name.

The Ballad was inspired by the Apocryphal book of Susanna, which begins: "There dwelt a man in Babylon...."



S.D. #31 Psalm 140.3: Sharp-tongued Slander	
<p>Shaheen (1999):</p> <p>Could not a worm, an adder, do so much? An adder did it! For with doubler tongue Than thine, thou serpent, never adder stung (<i>Midsummer Night's Dream</i> 3.2.71-73)</p> <p>Whose tongue more poisons than the adder's tooth (3 <i>Henry VI</i> 1.4.112)</p> <p>How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is. (<i>Lear</i> 1.4.288)</p>	<p>Strook me with her tongue Most serpent-like (<i>Lear</i> 2.4.160-61)</p> <p>'Tis slander, Whose edge is sharper than the sword. (<i>Cymbeline</i> 3.4.33-34)</p> <p>Slander, whose sting is sharper than the sword's (<i>Winter's Tale</i> 2.3.86-87)</p>
S.D. # 32: Isaiah 11.12/Ezekiel 7.2 The Corners of the World	
<p>Shaheen (1999):</p> <p>From the four corners of the earth they come (<i>Merchant</i> 2.7.39)</p> <p>By the four opposing coigns Which the world together joins (<i>Pericles</i> Chorus 17-18)</p>	<p>And winds of all the corners kiss'd your sails (<i>Cymbeline</i> 2.4.28)</p> <p>All corners else o' the world (<i>Tempest</i> 1.2.492)</p>
SD # 33. Tobit 12.8-9: Prayer and Fasting together.	
<p>Yes.</p> <p>The standard references used by Carter and Milward are I Corinthians 7.5 ("For a time, that ye may give yourselves to fastyng and prayer") Mark 9.29 ("By praier and fasting") and Matt. 17.21 (How be it this kine goeth not out, but by prayer and fasting"). None of the cited verses is closer to Sh. wording than the marked Tobit 12.8-9:</p> <p>Milward (1987):</p> <p>A sequester from fasting and prayer, Much castigation, exercise devout. (<i>Othello</i> 3.4.41)</p> <p>Carter (1905):</p> <p>Ferdinando. You shall fast a week with bran and water. Costard. I had rather pray a month with mutton and porridge. (<i>Love's Labours Lost</i> 1.2.302-305)</p>	<p>You have no stomach having broke your fast, But we, that know what 'tis to fast and pray, Are penitent for your default today. (<i>Comedy of Errors</i> 1.2.50-52)</p> <p>To which might be added:</p> <p>I fast and pray'd for their intelligence: thus.... (<i>Cymbeline</i> 4.2.347)</p> <p>With true prayers.... Prayers from preserved souls From fasting maids whose minds are dedicate To nothing temporal. (<i>Measure</i> 2.2.151-53)</p>

SD #34. Proverbs 16.18 et alia: The swift fall of the proud and wicked.	
<p>Yes (Ecclus 10.14).</p> <p>Pride is the sin most frequently condemned by Shakespeare. This SD fuses two Bible verses cited by Shakespeare, Ecclus. 10.14 and Proverbs 16.18, which condemn pride.</p> <p>Ecclus. 10.14 is cited three times by previous authorities:</p> <p>Carter (1905):</p> <p>Who cries out in pride That can therein tax any private party? (<i>As You Like It</i> 2.2.70-71)</p> <p>What heaven hath given him, let some graver eye Pierce into that, but I can see his pride Peepe through each part of him. (<i>Henry VIII</i> 1.1.66-69).</p> <p>Noble (1935):</p> <p>Speed. Item, she is proud. Launce. Out with that too: it was Eve's legacy And cannot be ta'en from her. (<i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i> 3.1.344-46)</p> <p>Proverbs 16.18 twice:</p> <p>Shaheen (1989): Would he not fall down, since pride Must have his fall? (<i>Richard II</i> 5.5.88)</p> <p>Milward (1987):</p> <p>Vaulting ambition, which o'erleaps itself And falls on th' other— (<i>Macbeth</i> 1.7.27)</p>	<p>To these might be added:</p> <p>Richard falls in the height of all his pride. (<i>Richard III</i> 5.3.176)</p> <p>My pride fell with my fortunes (<i>As You Like It</i> 2.136)</p> <p>Three related verses are marked by the annotator:</p> <p>Ecclus. 10.7 Pride is hateful before God and man, &amp; by bothe doeth on comit iniquitie.</p> <p>Ecclus. 10.14 For pride is the original of sinne, &amp; he that hathe it, shal powre out abominacion, til at last he be overthrown: therefore the Lord bringeth the persuasions [of the wicked] to dishonour, and destroieth them in the end.</p> <p>Ecclus. 20.17: The fall on a pavement is verie sudden: so shal the fall of the wicked come hastily.</p> <p>One is not marked:</p> <p>Proverbs 16.18: Pride goeth before destruction, and an high minde before the fall.</p>
SD # 35. Wisdom 11.13: The wicked are punished by their own devices.	
<p>Yes.</p> <p>This topos is a more abstract version of SD #10. Taken together, the two point to a pervasive Shakespearean leitmotif:</p> <p>Carter (1905):</p> <p>Judicious punishment! 'Twas this flesh begot these pelican daughters. (<i>Lear</i> 3.4.76)</p> <p>The treacherous instrument is in thy hand, Unbated and envenomed. The foul practice Hath turn'd itself on me.... (<i>Hamlet</i> 5.2.325)</p> <p>Yet 'tis greater skill In a true hate to pray they have their will</p>	<p>I told ye all, When we first put this dangerous stone a-rolling, 'Twould fall upon ourselves. (<i>Henry VIII</i> 5.2.137)</p> <p>Milward (1987):</p> <p>Bloody instructions, which, being taught, Return to plague th' inventor. This even handed justice Commends th' ingredients of our poison'd chalice To our own lips. (<i>Macbeth</i> 1.7.9-12)</p> <p>The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices Make instruments to scourge us... (<i>Lear</i> 5.3.172)</p>

The very devils cannot plague them better. ( <i>Cymbeline</i> 3.5.33-35)	Purposes mistook, fallen on the inventor's heads. ( <i>Hamlet</i> 5.2.398)
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SD#36 “Finis coronat opus” (Ecclus. 11.27)	
Yes: de Vere letters.	The conclusion shall be crowned with your enjoying her. ( <i>Merry Wives</i> 3.5.120)
This diagnostic is a proverb, found in de Vere’s extant correspondence, which exists in several variations in Shakespeare <sup>293</sup> . The column in which the related Biblical sentiment (Ecclus 11.27), that “ <i>in the end</i> a man’s works are discovered” is marked in de Vere’s Bible with a marginal note, “continue”:	All’s well that ends well. Still, the fine’s <sup>294</sup> the crown. Whate’er the course, the end is the renown. ( <i>All’s Well</i> 4.4.35-36)
La fin couronne les oeuvres ( <i>1 Henry VI</i> 5.2.28)	Time is the old justice that examines all such offenders, and let time try. ( <i>As You Like It</i> 4.1.197) <sup>295</sup>
The end crowns all. ( <i>Troilus &amp; Cressida</i> 4.5.224)	Shaheen (1989 161) cites a reference to Ecclus. 11.27: Let the end try the man ( <i>2 Henry IV</i> 2.2.47)

SD # 37. Ecclus. 13.1: “He that touches pitch will be defiled.”	
Indirect (p).	To which Noble (1935) adds:
Shaheen (1987):	When saucy trusting of the cozen’d thoughts Defiles the pitchy night. ( <i>All’s Well</i> 4.4.23-24)
So I shall turn her virtue into pitch. (Othello 2.3.360)	
Thou art a soldier, therefore seldom rich, It comes in charity to thee, for all thy living Is ‘mongst the dead, and all the lands thou hast Lie in a pitched field. ( <i>Timon</i> 1.2.224-25)	and Carter (1905): I am betrayed by keeping company With men like you, men of inconstancy ( <i>Love’s Labours Lost</i> 4.3.174)
Shaheen (1989):	To which might be added:
Convers’d with such As, like to pitch, defile nobility. ( <i>2 Henry VI</i> 2.1.191)	I have foresworn his company hourly any time this two-and- twenty years, and yet I am bewitched with the rogue’s company. ( <i>1 Henry IV</i> 2.2.17-20)
This pitch (as ancient writers do report) doth defile, so doth The company thou keepest. ( <i>1 Henry IV</i> 2.4.412.14)	Company, villainous company, hath been the spoil of me. ( <i>1 Henry IV</i> 3.3.9-10)
Shaheen (1993):	It is certain that either wise bearing or ignorant carriage is caught, as men take diseases, one of another; therefore let men take heed of their company. ( <i>2 Henry IV</i> 5.1.72-75)
Pitch that defiles. (Love’s Labours Lost 4.3.3)	
They that touch pitch will be defil’d. (Much Ado 3.3.57)	

<sup>293</sup> Tilley E116, “the end crowns all,” is quite close to de Vere’s variant.

<sup>294</sup> A macaronic pun on the French words *finis* or *fin*.

<sup>295</sup> Carter (333) cites Ecclus. 12.27 and Acts 5.38, 39.

SD # 38. Ecclus. 13.22: Friends desert the impoverished man of wealth.	
Indirect (p & t by marked Ecclus 13.3)	
Carter (1905):	To which Shaheen adds:
What! Am I poor of late?	When they once perceive
'Tis certain, greatness, once fall'n out with fortune,	The least rub in your tortunes, fall away
Must fall out with men too: what the declin'd is	Like water from ye.
He shall as soon read in the eyes of others	( <i>Henry VIII</i> 2.1.128-30)
As feel in his own fall.	
( <i>Troilus</i> 3.3.71) <sup>296</sup>	Noble (1935 37) adds:
Anon, a careless herd,	The great man down, you mark his favorite flies
Full of the pasture, jumps along by him	The poor advanced make friends of enemies
And never stays to greet him: Ay, quoth Jacques,	( <i>Hamlet</i> 3.2.213-14)
Sweep on, you fat and greazie citizens;	
'Tis just the fashion: wherefore do you looke	The parallel verse Ecclus. 37.4 is cited by Milward (1987 34)
Upon that poore and broken bankrupt there.	as a source:
( <i>As You Like It</i> 2.1.52-27) <sup>297</sup>	For who not needs shall never lack a friend.
	( <i>Hamlet</i> 3.2.219)
Go, get the from me, Cromwell,	
I am a poor fall'n man.	( <i>Henry VIII</i> 3.32.412) <sup>298</sup>

<sup>296</sup> Carter also cites parallel verses Proverbs 14.20 and 19.4-7.

<sup>297</sup> Also in Noble p. 191.

<sup>298</sup> Also in Shaheen (1989) p. 206.

SD #39. Ecclus 23.16-18: The Omniscient eye of God.	
<p>Yes.</p> <p>Among the most prominent of all Biblical images in Shakespeare, this may in theory be derived from any one of seven thematically similar verse sets, two of which are marked in the de Vere Bible: Proverbs 15.3 or Amos 9.8 (“eyes of the lord”); Job 24.13-19 (“The eye also to the adulterer waiteth for the twilight, and saith, None eye shall see me, and disguiseth his face”) II Chronicles 16.9 (“eyes of the Lord”) Ecclus 23.19 (“eyes of the Lord”) John 3.20 (“everie man that evil doeth, hateth the light”) ; psalm 139.11 (“Yet the darkenes shall hide me”).</p> <p>Carter cites seven references:</p> <p>All-seeing heaven, what a world is this! (<i>Richard III</i> 2.1.83)</p> <p>That high all-seer which I dallied with Hath turned my feigned prayer on my head. (<i>Richard III</i> 5.1.20)</p> <p>O thou eternal mover of the heavens, Look with a gentle eye upon this wretch! (<i>2 Henry VI</i> 3.3.320)</p> <p>Did heaven look on And would not take their part. (<i>Macbeth</i> 4.3.224)</p> <p>O God, seest thou this, and bearest so long? (<i>2 Henry VI</i> 2.1.153) Noble, Milward and Shaheen both add an eight citation, this one with an evident proximate origin in Job 24.13-19:</p> <p>Discomfortable cousin! Knowest thou not That when the searching eye of heaven is hid Behind the globe, that lights the lower world Then thieves and robbers range abroad unseen In murders and in outrage boldly here; But when from under this terrestrial ball He fires the proud tops of the eastern pines And darts his light through every guilt hole, Then murders, treasons and detested sins The cloak of night being plucked from off their backs Stand bare and naked, trembling at themselves. (<i>Richard II</i> 3.2.36-46)</p> <p>Milward cites John 3.20:</p> <p>Let not light see my black and deep desires! (<i>Macbeth</i> 1.4.51)</p> <p>And psalm 139.11-12:</p> <p>Come, thick night, And pall thee in the dunest smoke of hell, That my keen knife see not the wound it makes, Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark... (<i>Macbeth</i> 1.5.50-53)</p>	<p>These final two examples are invocations modeled upon the belief of the adulterer in the marked verses in Ecclus. 23 that his sins can be hidden from the eyes of the lord by wrapping them up in darkness. In <i>Rape of Lucrece</i><sup>299</sup>, reference to Ecclus. 23 becomes a leitmotif invoked many times as Tarquin pursues his “dark” evil of raping Lucrece:</p> <p>Tarquin prays to the “eternal power”:</p> <p>The blackest sin is cleared with absolution; Against love’s fire fear’s frost hath dissolution. The eye of heaven is out, and misty night Covers the shame that follows sweet delight. (354-57)</p> <p>Lucrece reverses the moral but alludes to the same verses:</p> <p>And my true eyes have never practis’d how To cloak offenses with a cunning brow. They think not but that every eye can see The same disgrace which they themselves behold; And therefore would they still in darkness be, To have their unseen sin remain untold. ..... Make me no object to the telltale day The light will show, characterized in my brow The story of sweet chastity’s decay, The impious breach of holy wedlock vow. (748-54, 806-809)</p> <p>But they whose guilt within their bosoms lie Imagine every eye beholds their blame For Lucrece thought he blushed to see her shame. (1342-45)</p> <p>Two further examples from <i>Titus Andronicus</i>, discussed in my 1999 <i>Notes and Queries</i> (Stritmatter 1999a) article on this topos, also apparently allude to Ecclus. 23.16-19: There serve your lust, shadow’d from heaven’s eye And revel in Lavinia’s treasury. (<i>Titus</i> 2.1.130-31)</p> <p>O, that which I would hide from Heaven’s eye. (<i>Titus</i> 4.2.58)</p> <p>Finally, to these might also be added, as instances of the same idea of divine omniscience marked at Ecclus. 23.16-18. Fie, my Lord, fie. A soldier and afeard? What need we fear who knows it, when none can call our power to account? (<i>Macbeth</i> 5.1.36-38)</p> <p>Sometime too hot the eye of heaven shines (Sonnet 18.5)</p>

<sup>299</sup> For fuller discussion of the source of Ecclus. 23.16-18 as the pre-eminent source for these Bible references in *Rape of Lucrece*, see Stritmatter 1999b (pp. 908-10 below).

SD #40. Eccus. 28.1-4: Reciprocal Mercy.	
<p>Yes.</p> <p>Carter (1905):</p> <p>For, as thou urgest justice, be assured Thou shal have justice more than thou desirest. (<i>Merchant</i> 4.3.316)</p> <p>Bol. I pardon him, as God shall pardon me.</p> <p>Dutch. O happy vantage of a kneeling knee! Yet I am sick with fear, speak it again, Twice saying 'pardon' doth not pardon twain But makes one pardon strong (<i>Richard II</i> 5.3.131-136)</p> <p>Noble (1935) and Shaheen (1989, 1993) add two further citations:</p> <p>The mercy that was quick in us but late, By your own counsel is suppress'd and kill'd, You must not dare, for shame, to talk of mercy. (<i>Henry V</i> 2.2.79-83)</p> <p>We do pray for mercy, And that same prayer doth teach us all to render The deeds of mercy. (<i>Merchant</i> 4.1.198-200)</p> <p>Although Shaheen cites Matt. 18.35, the thought is closely parallel:</p> <p>Buck. Sir Thomas Lovell, I as free forgive you As I would be forgiven: I forgive all. (<i>Henry VIII</i> 2.1.82-84)</p> <p>While Carter (103) compares Matt. 5.7, Luke 11.4 or James 2.13, again the thought is strikingly the same as that found in the marked cluster:</p>	<p>Ah Countreymen, if when you make your prayers God should be so obdurate as yourselves, How would it fare with your departed souls? (<i>2 Henry VI</i> 4.7.121-23)</p> <p>Finally, these verses are, remarkably, twice cited in the <i>Tempest</i>, although both references have been missed by prior students of Shakespeare's Bible reference:</p> <p>Ariel. Your charm so strongly works 'em That if you now beheld them, your affections Would become tender.</p> <p>Prospero. Dost thou think so?</p> <p>Ariel. Mine would, sir, were I human.</p> <p>Prospero. And mine shall. Hast thou, which art but air, a touch, a feeling, Of their afflictions, and shall not myself One of their kind, that relish all as sharply Passion as they, be kindlier moved than thou art? Though with their high wrongs I am struck to th' Quick, yet with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury Do I take part: the rarer action is In vertue than in vengeance....Go, release them, Ariel: My charms I'll break, their senses I'll restore, And they shall be themselves. (<i>Tempest</i> 5.1.17-30)</p> <p>Prospero's epilogue repeats the moral; this time, however, he begs for the restorative forgiveness of his audience:</p> <p>.....Now I want Spirits to enforce, art to enchant, And my ending is despair, Unless I be relieved by prayer, Which pierces so that it assaults Mercy itself and frees all faults. As you from crimes would pardoned be, Let your indulgence set me free. (<i>Tempest</i> epi. 13-20)</p>

SD # 41. Ecclus. 41.9: Don't curse the day of your birth	
Yes.	Milward (1987):
Four parallels are unmarked:	It were better my mother had not born me. ( <i>Hamlet</i> 3.1.127)
Job 3.2-3: "And Iob cryed out, and said, 3 Let the daye perish, wherein I was borne..."	Let this pernicious hour Stand aye accursed ( <i>Macbeth</i> 4.1.133)
Job 10.18 "Wherefore then hast thou broght me out of the wombe?"	Would thou hadst ne'er been born. ( <i>Othello</i> 4.2.668)
Jeremiah 20.14: "Cursed be the day wherein I was born: & let not the day wherein my mother bare me, be blessed."	Better thou hadst not been born ( <i>Lear</i> 1.1.236)
Matt. 26.24: "...wo be that man, by whome the Sonne of man is betrayed: it had bene good for that man if he had never bene borne."	Carter:
One is marked:	Why raillest thou on thy birth, the heaven, and the earth? ( <i>Romeo &amp; Juliet</i> 3.3.116)
Ecclus. 41.9: "If ye be borne, ye shalbe borne to cursing: if ye dye, the curse shalbe your porcion."	Help! Help! My lady's dead! O, well-a-day, That ever I was born ( <i>Romeo &amp; Juliet</i> 4.4.43)
And one (Ecclus. 23.14) is adjacent a marked verse:	A surprising number of additional occurrences of variation on this theme might be also cited:
"Remember thy father and thy mother when thou art set among great men, lest thou be forgotten in their sight, and so through thy custome become a foole, and wish that thou hadest not bene borne, and curse the day of thy nativitie."	Now cursed be the time of thy nativity! ( <i>1 Henry VI</i> 5.4.27)
Although no students cite Ecclesiasticus 41.9 (marked) or 23.14 (adjacent marked verse), Milward finds four instances of the idea of cursing the day of birth derived from scripture, and Carter adds two others:	The time is out of joint! O cursed spite, That ever I was born to set it right. ( <i>Hamlet</i> 1.5.190)
	O that ever I was born! ( <i>Winter's Tale</i> 5.3.53)
	Would that thou hadst never been born! I knew thou wouldest be his death. ( <i>Troilus</i> 4.2.90)
SD #42. Matt. 4.10: Avaunt, Satan!	
No.	Shaheen (1989):
Shaheen (1987):	False fiend, avoid! ( <i>2 Henry VI</i> 1.4.40)
You are one of those that will not serve God, if the devil bid you. ( <i>Othello</i> 1.1.108-9)	Shaheen (1993):
Milward (1987)	Sathan, avoid, I charge thee tempt me not. ( <i>Comedy of Errors</i> 4.3.48)
Avaunt, you curs! ( <i>Lear</i> 3.6.68)	Avoid then, fiend. ( <i>Comedy</i> 4.3.65)
Hence, and avoid my sight! ( <i>Lear</i> 1.1.126)	Avaunt, thou witch! ( <i>Comedy</i> 4.3.79)
SD #43. Matt. 5.9: Blessed are the peacemakers.	
No.	Pray think us
Shaheen (1989):	Those we profess, peacemakers, friends, and servants ( <i>Henry VIII</i> 3.1.166-67)
What is the matter? Keep the peace here, ho!	.....And each in either side
Gloucester, we have done the deeds of charity, Made peace of enmity, fair love of hate, Between these swelling and wrong-incensed peers. ( <i>Richard III</i> 2.1.50-53)	Give the all hail to thee, and cry, 'be blest For making up this peace!' ( <i>Coriolanus</i> 5.3.139-40)



S.D. #44. Matt. 5.29/Mark 9.47: If your eye offends, pluck it out	
No.	Old fond eyes ....I'll pluck ye out, And cast ye. <span style="float: right;">(<i>Lear</i> 1.4.301-3)</span>
Shaheen (1999):	
With these nails I'll pluck out these false eyes <span style="float: right;">(<i>Comedy of Errors</i> 4.4.104)</span>	Hah! They pluck out mine eyes. <span style="float: right;">(<i>Macbeth</i> 2.2.56)</span>
And pluck out his eyes! <span style="float: right;">(<i>Measure for Measure</i> 4.3.119)</span>	

SD # 45. Matt. 5.333-37: Say 'yea' or 'nay'.	
Indirect (t).Shaheen (1987):	
Swear not. <span style="float: right;">(<i>Lear</i> 3.4.83)</span>	To say aye and no to these particulars Is more than to answer in a catechism <span style="float: right;">(<i>As You Like It</i> 3.2.227-28)</span>
To say 'aye' and 'no' to everything I said! 'Aye' and 'no' too was no good divinity. <span style="float: right;">(<i>Lear</i> 4.6.98-100)</span>	Sir I thank you; by yea and no, I do. <span style="float: right;">(<i>Merry Wives</i> 1.1.87)</span>
Shaheen (1989):	
And that same vengeance doth he hurl on thee For false forswearing and for murther too... <span style="float: right;">(<i>Richard III</i> 1.4.205-11)</span>	And the very yea and the no is, the French doctor my master.... <span style="float: right;">(<i>Merry Wives</i> 1.4.93)</span>
Thine by yea and no (which is as much as to say, as thou usest him), Jack Falstaff. <span style="float: right;">(<i>Henry IV</i> 2.3.142-43)</span>	Carter (233) adds:  'Tis not the many oaths that make the truth, But the plain single vow, that is vow'd true. What is not holy, that we swear not by, But take the Highest to witness. <span style="float: right;">(<i>All's Well</i> 4.2.21- )</span>
Shaheen (1993):	
By yea and nay, sir, then I swore in jest. <span style="float: right;">(<i>Love's Labours Lost</i> 1.1.54)</span>	Milward adds:  Since thou hast sought to make or break or vow <span style="float: right;">(<i>Lear</i> 1.1.161)</span>
I do forswear them... Henceforth my wooing and my mind shall be expressed In russet 'yeas' and honest kersey 'nos'. <span style="float: right;">(<i>Love's Labours Lost</i> 5.2.410-413)</span>	

SD # 46. Matt. 5.44: “Love your enemies.”	
Indirect (t).	
Shaheen (1987):	A virtuous and a Christian-like conclusion— To pray for them that have done scathe to us. ( <i>Richard III</i> 1.3.315-16)
How rarely does it meet with this time’s guise, When man was wish’d to love is enemies! ( <i>Timon</i> 4.3.466)	But those that sought it I could wish more Christian. Be what they will, I heartily forgive ‘em. ( <i>Henry VIII</i> 2.1.64-65)
Are you so gospell’d To pray for this good man, and for his issue, Whose heavy hand hath bowed you to the grave, And beggar’d yourse for ever. ( <i>Macbeth</i> 3.1.87-88)	Love thyself last, cherish those hearts that hate thee. ( <i>Henry VIII</i> 3.2.443)
God’s benison go with you, and with those That would make good of bad, and friends of foes. ( <i>Macbeth</i> 2.4.39-41)	Shaheen (1993):  Farewell, monsieur, I have spoken better of you than you have or will to deserve my hand, but we must do good against evil. ( <i>All’s Well</i> 2.5.52)
La. The devil take thy soul! - Ham. Thou prayest not well. I prithee take they fingers from my throat. ( <i>Hamlet</i> 5.1.281-283)	For a strong parallel marked in the de Vere Bible see I Samuel 24.18: “and said to David, Thou art more righteous then I: For thou hast rendred me good, and I have rendred thee evil.” This marked verse is cited by Carter (128) as the source of All’s Well 2.5.52, thus providing a critical cross-reference to Matt. 5.44.
Shaheen (1989):  Lady, you know the rules of charity, Which renders good for bad, blessings for curses. ( <i>Richard III</i> 1.2.69)  Priests pray for enemies, but princes kill. ( <i>2 Henry VI</i> 5.2.71)	

SD # 47. Matt. 6.19-21: Don’t store up your treasure in heaven.	
Yes.	
Shaheen (1989):	Stritmatter (1999a) also detects the formative influence of the pericope in two sonnets:
Were it not good your Grace could fly to heaven?	Thou, to whom my jewels trifles are ..... Art left the prey of every vulgar theefe.
King. The treasure of everlasting joy. ( <i>2 Henry VI</i> 2.1.17-18)	Thee have I not lockt up in any chest, Save where thou art not though I feele thou art, Within the gentle closure of my breast. (48.5, 8-11)
The treasure of thy heart. ( <i>2 Henry VI</i> 2.1.20)	
Lewalski declares this pericope is “the key scripture text opposing love of this world to the Christian love of God and neighbor” in <i>Merchant of Venice</i> .	So I am as the rich whose blessed key Can bring him to his sweet up-locked treasure ..... So is the time that keepes you as my chest, Or as the ward-robe which the robe doth hide, To make some speciall instant special blest, By new unfolding his imprison’d pride. Blessed are you whose worthinesse gives skope, Being had a triumph, being lackt to hope. (52.1-2, 9-14)
Stritmatter (1997) notes that Iago parodies the pericope:Put money in thy purse....put money in thy purse...put money in thy purse. If thou wilt needs damn thyself, do it a more delicate way than drowning. Make all the money thou canst....Put money enough in your purse. ( <i>Othello</i> 1.3.337-57)	

SD # 48. Matt. 7.3-4/Luke 6.42: Take the mote out of your own eye.	
<p>Yes: de Vere letters.</p> <p>Carter ( 331):</p> <p>I will chide no breather in the world but myself, against whom I know most faults.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(As You Like It 3.2.280-81)</p> <p>Milward (1987):</p> <p>A mote it is to trouble the mind's eye. (Hamlet 1.1.112)</p>	<p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>None, but to lose your eyes. O heaven! That were but a mote in yours. (King John 4.1.90-91)</p> <p>Shaheen (1993):</p> <p>The king your mote did see, but I a beam Do find in each of three. (Love's Labours Lost 4.3.162)</p> <p>I add:</p> <p>Therefore should every soldier in the wars do as every sick man in his bed, wash every mote out of his conscience.... (Henry V 4.1.177-80)</p>
SD #49. Matt. 7.13-14 <sup>300</sup> : Enter at the Strait gate.	
<p>Indirect (t).</p> <p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>Do not, as some ungracious pastors do, Show me the steep and thorny way to heaven Whiles, like a puff'd and reckless libertine Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads And recks not his own rede. (Hamlet 1.3.47-50)</p> <p>I had thought to let in some of all professions that go the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire. (Macbeth 2.3.18-19)</p>	<p>Take the instant way, For honor travels in a strait so narrow, Where one but goes abreast. (Troilus 3.3.154-55)</p> <p>Shaheen (1993):</p> <p>I am for the house with the narrow gate, which I take to be too little for pomp to enter. (All's Well 4.5.50-51)</p> <p>Some that humble themselves may, but the many will be too chill and tender, and they'll before the flow'ry way that leads to the broad gate and the great fire. (All's Well 4.5.53-55)</p>

<sup>300</sup> Significant parallels include Wisdom 2.1-12, Matt. 25.34-41 (marked in de Vere Bible) and I Esdras 8.3 (also marked) which declares that "there be manie created, but fewe shalbe saved."

SD # 50. Matt. 7.15: False prophets are wolves in Sheep's clothing.	
<p>Indirect (t).</p> <p>A variant in the neo-Platonic cluster.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>O Serpent, hid with a flowering face!  .....  Doe feathered raven! Wolvish ravening lamb!  (Romeo &amp; Juliet 3.2.74-76)</p> <p>Better it is to die, better to starve,  Then crave the hire which first we do deserve  Why in this wolvish toga should I stand here.  (Coriolanus 2.3.113-15)</p> <p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>Thee I'll chase hence, thou wolf  In sheep's array.  Out, tawny coats! Out, scarlet hypocrites!  (1 Henry VI 1.3.55-56)</p> <p>Is he a lamb? His skin is surely lent him,  For he's inclined as is the ravenous wolf.  Who cannot steal a shape that means deceit?  (2 Henry VI 3.1.78)</p>	<p>.....This holy fox,  Or wolf, or both, (for he is equal rav'nous as he is subtle,  and as prone to mischief as able to perform it  (Henry VIII 1.1.158-161)</p> <p>Carter (1905):</p> <p>If ye be anything but churchmen's habits...  (Henry VIII 3.1.117)</p> <p>An evil soul producing holy witness  Is like a villain with a smiling cheek  A goodly apple rotten at the heart.  O what a goodly outside falsehood hath!  (Merchant 1.3.98-102)</p> <p>I add:</p> <p>And that deceit should steal such gentle shape  And with a virtuous visor hide deep vice.  (Richard III 2.2.26-27)</p>
SD # 51. Matt. 10.26: There is nothing covered that shall not be disclosed, nor hid that shall not be known.	
<p>Yes: de Vere letters.</p> <p>Not in Shaheen 1987, 1989, 1993.</p> <p>Milward (1987):</p> <p>Time shall unfold what pleated cunning hides (Lear 1.1.283)</p> <p>Close pent up guilts. (Lear 3.3.57)</p> <p>'Twill out, 'twill out. (Othello 5.2.217)</p> <p>Nay, guiltiness will speak (Othello 5.1.109)</p> <p>I will find out where truth is hid... (Hamlet 2.2.157)</p> <p>Milward refers to the idea expressed in Oth. 5.1.109 that  "guiltiness will speak" as "basic in Shakespeare's plays."</p>	<p>In Rape of Lucrece we find the variant that</p> <p>Time's glory is to calm contending kings,  To unmask falsehood and bring truth to light.  (939-40)</p> <p>The idea of the inevitable disclosure of things long hid is  echoed in de Vere's extant correspondence, in highly particular  language reminiscent of the proverb from Lucrece, where we  read that</p> <p>Now time, and truth, have unmasked all difficulties....finis  coronat opus, and then everything will be laid open, every  doubt resolved into a plain sense.  (Fowler 653)</p>

SD #52. Matt. 12.24: Beelzebub, prince of devils.	
No.	Though he be as good a gentleman as the devil is, as Lucifer and Belzebub himself. ( <i>Henry V</i> 4.7.137-38)
Shaheen (1987):	
I'the name of belzebub. ( <i>Macbeth</i> 2.3.4)	Shaheen (1993):
Shaheen (1989):	He holds Belzebub at the stave's end. ( <i>Twelfth Night</i> 5.1.284-85)
Thou art more deep damn'd than prince Lucifer ( <i>King John</i> 4.3.122)	
The prince of fiends. ( <i>Henry V</i> 3.3.16)	

SD #53. Matt. 13.45-46: The Pearl of Great Price	
Indirect (t).	Milward:
Shaheen (1987):	'Tis a great price for a small vice. ( <i>Othello</i> 4.3.70)
Why, she is a pearl, Whose price hath launch'd above a thousand, And turn'd crown'd kings to <i>Merchants</i> . ( <i>Troilus</i> 2.2.81)	This unpriz'd precious maid ( <i>Lear</i> 1.1.262)
....one whose hand Like the base Judean, threw a pearl away Richer than all his tribe. ( <i>Othello</i> 5.2.347)	All critics seem to miss:
Mine eternal jewel Given to the common enemy of man. ( <i>Macbeth</i> 3.1.67-68) <sup>301</sup>	Here, friend, 's another purse: in it a jewel Well worth a poor man's taking ( <i>Lear</i> 4.6.28-30)

S.D. # 54. Matthew 16.17 et alia <sup>302</sup> : Flesh and Blood	
No.Shaheen (1999):	To ears of flesh and blood ( <i>Hamlet</i> 1.5.22)
The flesh and blood ( <i>Taming of the Shrew</i> Induction 2.127-28)	Our flesh and blood ( <i>Lear</i> 3.4.145)
Mock not flesh and blood ( <i>Richard II</i> 3.2.171)	Are you flesh and blood? Have you a working pulse, and are no fairy? ( <i>Pericles</i> 5.1.152-53)
Men are flesh and blood ( <i>Julius Caesar</i> 3.1.67)	

<sup>301</sup> Also in Milward p. 136.

<sup>302</sup> I Corinthians 15.5, Galatians 1.16 and Ephesians 6.12

SD # 55. Matt. 16.25: What shall it profit a man...if he lose his soul?	
<p>No.</p> <p>Milward (1987):</p> <p>By the worth of mine eternal soul. (Othello 3.3.362)</p> <p>To lose't or give't away were such perdition (Othello 3.4.68)</p> <p>Not the world's mass of vanity could make me (Othello 4.2.164)</p> <p>I would not be a villain For the whole space..... (Macbeth 4.3.35)</p>	<p>Let us once lose our oaths too find ourselves Or else we lose ourselves to keep our oaths. (Love's Labours Lost 4.3.358-60)</p> <p>You have too much respect upon the world. They lost it that do but it with much care. (Merchant 1.1.74-75)</p> <p>Shaheen (1993):</p> <p>To sue to live, I find I seek to die, And seeking death find life. (Measure for Measure 3.1.42-43)</p> <p>Virginity, by being once lost, may be ten times found; by being ever kept, it is ever lost. (All's Well That End's Well 1.1.130-32)</p>
SD #56. Matt. 23.23: Things left undone	
<p>No.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>Hath given me some worthy cause to wish Things done undone. (Julius Caesar 4.2.89)</p> <p>Their best conscience Is not to leave't undone, but to Keep't unknown. (Othello 3.3.203-4)</p>	<p>Better to leave undone.... (Antony &amp; Cleopatra 3.1.14)</p> <p>Yet he hath left undone That which shall break his neck or hazard mine. (Coriolanus 4.7.24-25)</p>
S.D. # 57. Matthew 20.28: the Christian "ransom" of one life for another	
<p>No.</p> <p>Shaheen (1999):</p> <p>As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's Son (Richard II 2.1.55-56)</p> <p>So I'll die For thee, O Imogen (Cymbeline 5.1.25-26)</p>	<p>For Imogen's dear life take mine, and though 'Tis not so dear, yet 'tis a life. (Cymbeline 5.4.22-23)</p> <p>And so, great pow'rs, If you will take this audit, take this life. (Cymbeline 5.4.26-27)</p>

SD # 58. Matthew 25:14-29: The Parable of the Talents.	
<p>No.</p> <p>Carter (1905): Well, God give them wisdom that have it: and those that are fools, let them use their talents. (<i>Twelfth Night</i> 1.5.13-14)<sup>303</sup></p> <p>Heaven doth with us, as we with torches do, Not light them for themselves; for if our virtues Did not go forth t us, 'twere all alike As it we had them not. Spirits are not touch'd But to fine issues: nor nature never lends The smallest scruple of her excellence But, like a thrifty Goddess, she determines herself the glory of a creditor. (<i>Measure</i> 1.1.32-40)</p>	<p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>Every one, According to the gift which bounteous nature Hath in him clos'd; whereby he does receive Particular addition. (<i>Macbeth</i> 3.1.96-99)</p> <p>I do return those talents, Doubled with thanks and service. (<i>Timon</i> 1.2.6-7)</p> <p>Shaheen (1993):</p> <p>Is it a world to hide virtues in? (<i>Twelfth Night</i> 1.3.131-32)</p> <p>1 <i>Henry IV</i> 3.3.37 (Shaheen 1989) has been deleted because it does not belong to the same thematic pattern as the above references.</p>
SD #59. Matthew 26.48-49: Kissing Judas.	
<p>No.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>I kiss'd thee ere I kill'd thee. No way but this, Killing myself, to die upon a kiss. (<i>Othello</i> 5.2.358-59)</p> <p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>So Judas kiss'd his master, And cried "all hail!" when as he meant all harm. (3 <i>Henry VI</i> 5.7.33-34)</p>	<p>Judas I am Did they not sometimes cry "All hail" to me? So Judas did to Christ. (<i>Richard II</i> 4.1.169-70)</p> <p>Dum. A Judas! Hol. Not Iscariot, sir! "Judas I am am, ycliped Machabeus." Dum. Judas Machabeus clipt is plain Judas. Ber. I kissing traitor.... (<i>Love's Labours Lost</i> 5.2.595-606)</p> <p>His kisses are Judas's own children (<i>Love's Labors Lost</i> 3.4.9)</p>
SD # 60. Matthew 27:24-25: Pilate washes his hands.	
<p>No.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>A little water clears us of this deed. (<i>Macbeth</i> 2.2.64)</p> <p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>How fain, like Pilate, would I wash my hands Of this most grievous murder. (<i>Richard III</i> 1.4.272-73)</p> <p>Yet, to wash your blood From off my hands, here in the view of men. (<i>Richard II</i> 3.1.5-6)</p>	<p>Though some of you, with Pilate, Wash your hands, Showing an outward pity, yet you Pilates Have delivered me to my sour cross, And water cannot wash away your sin. (<i>Richard II</i> 1.2.239-42)</p> <p>Shaheen (1993): Shaheen also finds two possible echoes of the line "his blood be upon us, and on our children" (27.25):</p> <p>The curse never fell upon our nation till now. (<i>Merchant</i> 3.1.85-86)</p> <p>My deeds upon my head! (<i>Merchant</i> 4.1.206)</p>

<sup>303</sup> In Shaheen (1993) p. 176.

SD #61. Mark 5.9: My name is legion.	
No.  Shaheen (1987):Not in the legions of Of horrid hell can come a devil more damn'd. ( <i>Macbeth</i> 4.3.55-56)  Shaheen (1989):  A legion of foul fiends. ( <i>Richard III</i> 1.4.58)	He might return to vasty Tartar back, And tell the legions. ( <i>Henry V</i> 2.2.123-24)  Shaheen (1993):  Legion himself possess'd him. ( <i>Twelfth Night</i> 3.4.85-86)
SD #62. Mark 10.21 et. alia: Take up the cross.	
Yes.  Shaheen (1989):  And bear with mildness my misfortune's cross ( <i>3 Henry VI</i> 4.4.20)  Our crosses on the way have made it tedious ( <i>Richard III</i> 3.1.4-5)  Where nothing lies but crosses, cares and griefs ( <i>Richard II</i> 2.2.79)  What crosses to ensue. ( <i>2 Henry VI</i> 3.1.55)	Will your lordship lend me a thousand pound? Not a penny, not a penny, you are too impatient to bear crosses ( <i>2 Henry IV</i> 1.2.353)  Shaheen (1993):  Then let us teach our trial patience Because it is a customary cross. ( <i>Midsummer Night's Dream</i> 1.1.152-53)  I should bear no cross if I did bear you, For I think you have no money in your purse. ( <i>As You Like It</i> 2.4.12)  I add:  Cousin of many men, I do not bear these crossings. ( <i>1 Henry IV</i> 2.1.36-37)
SD # 63. Luke 16.20-31: Lazarus and the Beggar.	
No.  Shaheen (1987):  Most lazar-like, with vile and loathsome crust All my smooth body. ( <i>Hamlet</i> 1.5.72-73)  Lazars ( <i>Troilus</i> 2.3.33)  Good night, sweet prince, And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest ( <i>Hamlet</i> 5.2.359-60)  Shaheen (1989):  I think upon hell-fire and Dives that liv'd in purple; for there he is in his robes, burning, burning. ( <i>1 Henry IV</i> 3.3.31-33)  Let him be damn'd like the glutton! Pray God his tongue be hotter. ( <i>2 Henry IV</i> 1.2.34-35)  Lazars. ( <i>Henry V</i> 1.1.15)	As ragged as Lazarus,...where the glutton's dogs lick'd his sores. ( <i>1 Henry IV</i> 3.3.166-68)  He's in Arthur's bosom, if ever man went to Arthur's bosom. ( <i>Henry V</i> 2.3.39)  The son's of Edward sleep in Abraham's bosom ( <i>Richard III</i> 4.3.38)  Sweet peace conduct his sweet soul too the bosom Of good old Abraham! ( <i>Richard II</i> 4.1.103-4)  O father Abram, what these Christians are.( <i>Merchant</i> 1.3.60)  'Tis not so well that I am poor, though many of the rich are damned. ( <i>All's Well that Ends Well</i> 1.3.16-17)  <i>All's Well that Ends Well</i> 3.4.7 is deleted because it does not belong to the same thematic pattern as the above examples.



S.D. # 64. Acts 12:15: An Evil Angel	
<p>No. Shaheen (1999):</p> <p>Like an evil angel (Comedy of Errors 4.3.20)</p> <p>There is no evil angel but love (Love's Labor's Lost 1.2.172-73)</p> <p>Like his ill angel (2 Henry IV 1.2.164)</p> <p>Brutus, as you know, was Caesar's Angel (Julius Caesar 3.2.181)</p>	<p>To which might be added several examples from the Sonnets:</p> <p>The better angel is a man right fair (144.3)</p> <p>My female evil tempteth my better angel from my side (144.6)</p> <p>Whether that my angel be turned fiend (144.9)</p> <p>But live in doubt, till my bad angel fire my good one out (144.14)</p>
SD# 65.	
<p>Romans 6.16-19: The "members of the body" as servants of righteousness or slaves to fleshly desires.</p> <p>Yes.</p> <p>Milward (1987):</p> <p>Passion's slave... (Hamlet 3.2.74)</p> <p>Boundless intemperance in nature is a tyranny... (Macbeth 4.3.66)</p> <p>His soul is enfetter'd to her love.(Othello 2.3.354)</p>	<p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>A man of their infirmity. (Coriolanus 3.1.82)</p> <p>Being unprepared, Our will became the servant to defect Which else should free have wrought (Macbeth 2.1.17-19)</p> <p>Shaheen (1993):</p> <p>Give up your body to that sweet uncleanness As she that he hath stain'd? (Measure for Measure 2.4.54)</p> <p>Sonnet 146 also restates the theme of the soul's eternal war against "rebellious" fleshly desire</p>

SD # 66. Romans 7.18-20: It is not 'I' who sin, but the sin that dwelleth in me.	
<p>Yes (Marked with correction).</p> <p>Carter (1905):</p> <p>Celia. Was't you that did so oft contrive to kill him?</p> <p>Oliver. 'Twas I, but 'tis not I. I do not shame To tell you what I was, since my conversion So sweetly tastes, being the thing I am. (<i>As You Like It</i> 4.2.136-9)</p> <p>There's something in me that reproves my fault, But such a headstrong potent fault it is That it but mocks reproof. (<i>Twelfth Night</i> 3.4.202)</p> <p>Isabella. There is a vice....</p> <p>1<sup>st</sup> Lord. Now, God delay our rebellion; as we are ourselves, how weake we are.</p> <p>2<sup>nd</sup> Lord. Merely our own traitors. And as in the common course of all treasons, we still see them reveal themselves, till they attain their abhorred ends: so he, that in this action contrives against his own nobility in his proper stream o'erflows himself. (<i>All's Well</i>....4.3.18)<sup>304</sup></p> <p>Hamlet. Give me your pardon sir, I have done you wrong...</p> <p>..... Was't Hamlet wrong'd Laertes? Never Hamlet! If Hamlet from himself be ta'en away, And when he's not himself does wrong Laertes, Then Hamlet does it not, Hamlet denies it. Who does it then? His madness. If't be so, Hamlet is of the faction which is wronged. His madness is poor Hamlet's enemy. (<i>Hamlet</i> 4.2.226-39)</p> <p>For which I would not plead, but that I must; For which I must not plead, but that I am At war 'twixt will and not will. (<i>Measure</i> 2.2.29-93)</p>	<p>Doll. What says your Grace? Falstaff. His Grace says that which his flesh rebels against. (<i>2 Henry IV</i> 2.4.357)<sup>305</sup></p> <p>Noble (1935) and Shaheen (1993) add:</p> <p>When once our grace we have forgot, Nothing goes right – we would, and we would not (<i>Measure for Measure</i> 4.4.33-34)</p> <p>Milward (1987 p. 12):</p> <p>His will is not his own (<i>Hamlet</i> 1.3.17)<sup>306</sup></p> <p>Your words and your performances are no kin together (<i>Othello</i> 4.2.184)</p> <p>Westhoven (p. 33) also cites:</p> <p>Our wills and fates do so contrary run, That our devices still are all overthrown, Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own – (<i>Hamlet</i> 3.2.210-212)</p> <p>Battenhouse finds Roman 7.20 the primary pretext for the character of Angelo in <i>Measure for Measure</i>; like the Pharisee Saul, Angelo is "a man self-divided by a law within his members at war with the law of the spirit" (p. 174). Stritmatter (1997) demonstrates the dependence of Sonnet 151 on the conjunction of Romans 7.18-20 and the Genevan marginal note which accompanies it:</p> <p>For thou betraying me, I do betray My nobler part to my gross bodies treason.... (151.5-6)</p> <p>To which might be added:</p> <p>Alas, our frailty is the cause, Not we.... (<i>Twelfth Night</i> 2.2.31)</p>

<sup>304</sup> Carter (233) cites Romans 7.15.

<sup>305</sup> Carter also cites Galatians 5.17.

SD #67. Romans 13.4-6: Heaven ministers correction.	
<p>No.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>But heaven hath pleas'd it so ..... That I must be their scourge and minister. (<i>Hamlet</i> 3.4.173-75)</p> <p>And the high gods, To do you justice, make them ministers Of us. (<i>Antony &amp; Cleopatra</i> 3.6.88)</p> <p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>And therefore by his majesty I swear, Whose far-unworthy deputy I am. (<i>2 Henry VI</i> 3.2.285-86)</p> <p>Wilt thou kill God's officers and the king's? (<i>2 Henry IV</i> 2.1.51)</p> <p>The subjects of his substitute, my father. (<i>2 Henry IV</i> 4.2.28)</p>	<p>Take heed; for he holds vengeance in his hand To hurl upon those heads that break his law. (<i>Richard III</i> 1.4.199-200)</p> <p>O thou whose captain I account myself, ..... Make us thy minsters of chastisement. (<i>Richard II</i> 5.3.108, 113)</p> <p>His Deputy anointed in his sight Hath caused his death, the which is wrongfully, Let heaven revenge, for I may never lift An angry arm against his minister. (<i>Richard II</i> 1.2.38-41)</p> <p>Chastise thee, And minister correction to thy fault. (<i>Richard II</i> 2.3.104-5)</p> <p>Whiles we, God's wrathful agent do correct (<i>King John</i> 2.1.87)</p> <p>Who made thee then a bloody minister? (<i>Richard III</i> 1.4.220)</p>

SD # 68. I Corinthians 6.19: The Body is the Temple of the Soul.	
<p>Part of the neo-Platonism cluster.</p> <p>Yes.</p> <p>Carter (1905):</p> <p>So must my soul, her bark being peel'd away. Her house is sacked, her quiet interrupted, Her mansion batter'd by the enemy; Her sacred temple spotted, spoil'd, corrupted. (<i>Lucrece</i> 1169-72)</p> <p>O! Thou that does inhabit in my breast Leave not the mansion so long tenantless Lest, growing ruinous, the building fall. (<i>Two Gentlemen</i> 5.4.22)</p> <p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>Hath broke ope' The Lord's anointed temple, and stolen hence The life o' the building. (<i>Macbeth</i> 2.3.67-69)</p> <p>Milward (1987):</p> <p>As this temple waxes. (<i>Hamlet</i> 1.2.12)</p>	<p>I add:</p> <p>Besides, this soul's fair temple is defaced... (<i>Lucrece</i> 719)<sup>307</sup></p> <p>Look who comes here, a grave unto a soul Holding th' eternal spirit against her will In the vilde prison of afflicted breath. (<i>King John</i> 3.4.17)<sup>308</sup></p> <p>His pure brain (which some suppose the soul's fair dwelling-house). (<i>King John</i> 5.7.2-4)</p> <p>O, what a mansion have those vices got Which for their habitation chose out thee (<i>Sonnet</i> 95.9-10)<sup>309</sup></p> <p>Now my soul's palace is become a prison, Ah that she would break from hence, that This my body Might in the ground be closed up in rest. (<i>3 Henry VI</i> 2.1. 74-77)</p>

<sup>307</sup> Lever in his essay "Shakespeare's Narrative Poems" in *A New Companion to Shakespeare Studies* cites I Corinthians 3.16.

<sup>308</sup> Carter cites alternate sources Solomon 9.15 and 2 Corinthians 5.2.

<sup>309</sup> Wilson in his *Cambridge Sonnets* glosses the word "mansion" here as an allusion to I Corinthians 6.19

SD #69. I Corinthians 11.3 <sup>310</sup> : The husband is the wife's head.	
<p>No.</p> <p>Shaheen (1993):</p> <p>Thy husband is thy lord, thy life, thy keeper, thy head, thy sovereign. (<i>Taming of the Shrew</i> 5.2.146-47)</p> <p>Man....Lord of the wide world and wild watery seas, .....are masters to their females and their lords. (<i>Comedy of Errors</i> 2.1.20)</p>	<p>That man should be at woman's command, and yet no hurt done! (<i>All's Well</i> 1.3.93)</p> <p>....Can you cut off a man's head?</p> <p>If the man be a bachelor, sir, I can; but if he is a married man, He's his wife's head, and I can never cut off a woman's head. (<i>Measure for Measure</i> 4.2.1-5)</p>
SD #70. I Corinthians 15.52: The Last Trumpet/In the twinkling of an eye.	
<p>No.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>Then, dreadful trumpet, sound the general doom.... (<i>Romeo &amp; Juliet</i> 3.2.67)</p> <p>What's the business That such a hideous trumpet calls to parley The sleepers of the house? (<i>Macbeth</i> 2.3.82-83)</p> <p>She should in ground unsanctified been lodged Till the last trumpet. (<i>Hamlet</i> 5.1.229-30)</p>	<p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>O, let the vile world end, And the premised flames of the last day Knit heaven and earth together! Now let the general trumpet blow his blast.... (<i>2 Henry VI</i> 5.2.39-43)</p> <p>Shaheen (1993):</p> <p>Father, I'll take my leave of the Jew in a twinkling. (<i>Merchant</i> 2.2.167)</p> <p>Milward argues that at <i>Othello</i> 2.3.162 Iago stages a parody of eschatological end times "as it were blowing the trumpet (ringing the bell) and calling on the dead (the sleeping) to rise, thus recalling I Cor. XV.52 and Thess. Iv.16" (1987 78).</p>
SD # 71. II Corinthians 4.16-18: The eye of the mind/The inward-outward man.	
<p>Part of the neo-Platonism cluster.</p> <p>Yes. Carter (1905):</p> <p>Opinion's but a fool, that makes us scan The outward habit by the inward man. (<i>Pericles</i> 2.2.56)</p> <p>Milward (1987):</p> <p>As this temple waxes (<i>Hamlet</i> 1.3.13)</p> <p>Nor the exterior nor the outward man. (<i>Hamlet</i> 2.2.6)</p> <p>Booth:</p> <p>There outward thus with outward praise is crowned But those same tongues that give thee so thine own, In other accents do this praise confound By seeing farther than the eye hath shown They look into the beauty of thy mind. (<i>Sonnet</i> 69)</p>	<p>I add as follows:</p> <p>This is the impostume of much wealth and peace, That inward breaks, and shows no cause without Why the man dies. (<i>Hamlet</i> 4.4.28)</p> <p>Things outward Do draw the inward quality after them. (<i>Antony and Cleopatra</i> 3.13.33-34)</p> <p>Outliving beauty's outward with a mind that doth renew.<sup>311</sup> (<i>Troilus &amp; Cressida</i> 3.2.169)</p> <p>I will believe thou hast a mind that suites with this thy faire and outward character. (<i>Twelfth Night</i> 1.2.102)</p>

<sup>310</sup> Potential parallels include 1 Peter 3.1 and Ephesians 5.22-23.

<sup>311</sup> This a certain reference to II Corinthians 4.16-18. Note that the verb "renew" has even been retained from 4.16 in which "the inward man is renewed daily."

SD #72. II Corinthians 11.14: Satan is an angel of light.	
<p>The final verse in the neo-Platonism cluster.</p> <p>Indirect by neo-Platonism cluster.</p> <p>“One of Shakespeare’s favorite texts from the Bible” -- Milward p. 19.</p> <p>Carter (1905): Let me say Amen betimes, lest the devil cross my prayer: for here he comes in the likeness of a Jew. <i>(Merchant 3.1.21)</i></p> <p>O cunning enemy, that to catch a Saint, With Saints dost bait thy hook! Most dangerous Is that temptation, that doth goad us on To sin in loving virtue. <i>(Measure 2.2.181)</i></p> <p>This outward sainted Deputie is yet a devill; His filth within being cast, he would appeare A pond as deep as hell. <i>(Measure 3.1.86)<sup>312</sup></i></p> <p>O what may man within him hide, Though Angel on the outward side. <i>(Measure 3.2.273)</i></p> <p>And oftentimes, to winne us to our harme, The instruments of Darkeness tell us truths, Win us with honest trifles, to betray’s In deepest consequence. <i>(Macbeth 1.3.123)<sup>313</sup></i></p> <p>Noble (1935):</p> <p>Nay, she is worse, she is the devil’s dam: and here she comes in the bait of a light wench, and, thereof comes that the wenches say, “God damn me!” That’s as much as to say, “God make me a light wench.” It is written, they appear to men like angels of light: light is an effect of fire, and fire will burn. Ergo, light wenches will burn, come not near her. <i>(Comedy of Errors 4.3.50-7)<sup>314</sup></i></p> <p>But then I sight, and with a piece of scripture, Tell them that God bids us do good for evil; And thus I clothe my naked villainy With old odd ends stol’n out of holy writ And seem a saint when most I play the devil. <i>(Richard II 1.3.179)</i></p> <p>The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose. An evil soul producing holy witness Is like a villain with a smiling cheek, A goodly apple rotten at the heart, O, what a goodly outside falsehood hath!</p>	<p>In religion What damned error, but some sober brow Will bless it, and approve it with a text, Hiding the grossness with fair ornament.... .....in a word, The seeming truth, which cunning times put on To entrap the wisest. <i>(Merchant 3.2.57)<sup>315</sup></i></p> <p>The spirit I have seen May be a devil: and the devil hath power T’ assume a pleasing shape. <i>(Hamlet 1.5.635-37)<sup>316</sup></i></p> <p>Milward:</p> <p>Though lewdness court it in the shape of heaven <i>(Hamlet 1.5.54)</i></p> <p>We do sugar o’er The devil himself <i>(Hamlet 3.1.48)</i></p> <p>Angels are bright still, although the brightest fell. <i>(Macbeth 4.3.23)</i></p> <p>When devils will the blackest sins put on,, They do suggest at first with heavenly shows As I do now. <i>(Othello 2.3.351-53)</i></p> <p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>Your ill angel is light, but I hope he that looks upon me will take me without weighing. <i>(2Henry IV 1.2.165-67)</i></p> <p>And seem a saint when most I play the devil. <i>(Richard III 1.3.337)</i></p> <p>O Lewis, stand fast! The devil tempts thee here In likeness of a new-trimmed bride. <i>(King John 3.1.208-9)</i></p> <p>Shaheen (1993):</p> <p>Devil’s soonest tempt, resembling spirits of light. <i>(Love’s Labours Lost 4.3.253)</i></p>

<sup>312</sup> Note that Carter also cross-references SD, Matt. 23.27.

<sup>313</sup> In Milward p. 118; Shaheen p. 161

<sup>314</sup> In Shaheen (1993), p. 63.

<sup>315</sup> In Shaheen (1993) p. 121.

<sup>316</sup> In Milward p. 27; Shaheen p. 100.

( <i>Merchant of Venice</i> 1.3.99-103)	
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S.D. #73. Ephesians 6.12: the Kingdom of Darkness	
<p>No.</p> <p>I charge thee, Sathan, hous'd within this man, To yeild possession to my holy prayers, And to the state of darkness hie thee straight. (<i>Comedy of Errors</i> 4.4.56)</p> <p>The black prince, sir, alias the prince of darkness, alias the devil (<i>All's Well That End's Well</i> 4.5.42-43)</p>	<p>The prince of darkness (<i>Lear</i> 3.4.143)</p> <p>To win us to our harm, The instruments of darkness tell us truths, ....to betray's (<i>Macbeth</i> 1.3.124)</p>

SD #74. Ephesians 6.14-17 et. alia: weapons of faith.	
<p>Yes (Wisdom 5.18/I Thessalonians 5.7-8).</p> <p>Carter (1905):</p> <p>His champions are the prophets and the apostles, His weapons, holy saws of sacred writ. (<i>2 Henry VI</i> 1.3.57)<sup>317</sup></p> <p>We will our youth lead on to higher fields And draw no swords but what are sanctified. (<i>2 Henry IV</i> 4.4.3)<sup>318</sup></p> <p>What, the sword and the word- Do you study them both, master parson? (<i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i> 3.1.44)<sup>319</sup></p>	<p>Noble (1935):</p> <p>What stronger breastplate than a heart Untainted. Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just; And he but naked, though locked up in steel, Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted. (<i>2 Henry VI</i> 3.2.76)<sup>320</sup></p> <p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>Turning the word to sword. (<i>2 Henry IV</i> 4.2.10)<sup>321</sup></p>

<sup>317</sup> Ephesians 2.20; 6.16. Also cited by Noble (p. 125), and by Shaheen (1989 44), who reference Ephesians 6.16. Ephesians 2.20 reads: "buylt upon the fundacion of the Apostles and Prophetes" (G).

<sup>318</sup> Ephesians 6.14-17.

<sup>319</sup> In Shaheen (1993), p. 142.

<sup>320</sup> Ephesians 6.14-17.

<sup>321</sup> Ephesians 6.17.

SD #75. Ephesians 4.22-24: Put off the old man and put on the new.	
Indirect (t).	I add:
Shaheen (1987):	Petruchio is coming in an new hat and an old jerkin. ( <i>Taming of the Shrew</i> 3.2.43)
This is the old man still.  ( <i>Timon</i> 3.6.61)	And old cloak makes a new jerkin ( <i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i> 1.3.18)
Shaheen (1989):	Milward (1987):
Come, my old son, I pray god make thee new.  ( <i>Richard II</i> 5.4.146)	Lest your old robes sit easier than our new ( <i>Macbeth</i> 2.4.38)
Ephesians, my lord, of the old Churh.  ( <i>I Henry IV</i> 2.2.164)	I am nothing changed but in my garments. (Lear 4.6.9) We put fresh garments on him. (Lear 4.7.22)
Yea, at that very moment Consideration like an angel came And whipped the offending Adam out of him.  ( <i>Henry V</i> 1.1.29)	The young lion repents; marry not in ashes and sackcloth, But in new silk and old sack.  ( <i>2 Henry IV</i> 1.2.222)
Shaheen (1993):	Didst thou fall out with a tailor for wearing his new doublet before Easter. With another, for tying his new shoes with an old riband?  ( <i>Romeo &amp; Juliet</i> 3.1.30)
The picture of old Adam, new apparall'd.  ( <i>Comedy of Errors</i> 4.3.14)	
O think on that, And mercy then will breath within your lips Like man new made.  ( <i>Measure</i> 2.2.77-79)	
S.D. # 76. Hebrews 1.14: The Good Angel	
No.	I tell thee, churlish priest, A minist'ring angel shalt my sister be When thou liest howling.  ( <i>Hamlet</i> V 1.240-42)
Shaheen 1999:	
I must still be good angel to thee  ( <i>I Henry IV</i> 3.3.177-78)	Curse his better angel from his side  ( <i>Othello</i> 5.2.208)
Go with me like good angels to my end  ( <i>Henry VIII</i> 2.1.75)	Shaheen (1999 747) explains that one's "worser genius" is one's bad angel:
Angels and ministers of grace defend us! (Hamlet 1.4.39)	Our worser genius...shall never melt Mine honor into lust.  ( <i>The Tempest</i> 4.1.27-28)

SD #77. I Peter 3.7: Woman is the 'weaker vessel'.	
No.	Shaheen (1993):
Shaheen (1987):	Why are our bodies soft, and weak, and smooth? ( <i>Taming of the Shrew</i> 5.2.165)
Woman, being the weaker vessel. ( <i>Romeo &amp; Juliet</i> 1.1.15-16)	Whose weakness, married to thy stronger state... ( <i>Comedy of Errors</i> 2.2.175)
Frailty, thy name is woman ( <i>Hamlet</i> 1.2.146)	His wife's frailty. ( <i>Merry Wives</i> 2.1.234)
Shaheen (1989):	The weaker vessel. ( <i>As You Like It</i> 2.4.6)
You are the weaker vessel ( <i>2 Henry IV</i> 2.4.60)	Alas, our frailty is the cause, not we... ( <i>Twelfth Night</i> 2.2.31) <sup>322</sup>
SD #78. Re v. 12.9: Satan the deceiver.	
Indirect (p).	And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer. ( <i>Henry VIII</i> 3.2.371)
Shaheen (1987):	Mark but my fall, and that that ruined me! Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition. ( <i>Henry VIII</i> 3.2.40-41).
The common enemy of man. ( <i>Macbeth</i> 3.1.67-68)	
Shaheen (1989):	
That old white-bearded satan. ( <i>1 Henry IV</i> 2.4.463)	
SD #79. Rev. 3.5: The name blotted from the book of life <sup>323</sup> .	
Yes. Carter (1905):	The painful warrior famoused for a fight Is from the book of honor rased quite, And all the rest forgot for which he toild. (Sonnet 125)
Blotting <sup>324</sup> your names from books of memory. ( <i>2 Henry VI</i> 1.1.100) <sup>325</sup>	If we consider merely the core concept of the name being "plucked out," "branded" or "wounded," further echoes of the idea suggest themselves:
Shaheen (1989)	How comes it that my name receives a brand? (Sonnet 112)
My name be blotted from the book of life. ( <i>Richard II</i> 1.3.202)	Pluck the name out of his heart. ( <i>Julius Caesar</i> 3.3.27)
Their offenses.... Marked with a blot, damned in the book of heaven. ( <i>Richard II</i> 4.1.236)	O God Horatio, what a wounded name, things standing thus unknown.... ( <i>Hamlet</i> 5.2.344)
I add:	
Whilst I, whom fortune of such triumph bars, Unlooked for joy in what I honor most. .....	

<sup>322</sup> Note the cross-reference to SD #50 above.

<sup>323</sup> See also Psalm 9.5: "thou hast put out their name for ever and ever" (G); Exodus 32.32-33 "I pray thee, rase me out of thy boke, which thou hast written... whoever has sinned against me, I wil put him out of my boke" (G).

<sup>324</sup> The Geneva translation of this verse reads "put out" in place of "blot" -- Shakespeare's preferred verb is found in the Bishop's translation. However, it is worth repeating Noble's cautionary stricture that "Because a passage in Shakespeare can be identified as corresponding with a passage in a particular version, it does not of necessity follow that that has been Shakespeare's immediate source" (62). In this case the evidence allows, or perhaps necessitates, Shakespeare's familiarity with the Bishop's translation, but "blotted" has an obvious literary superiority over "put out" which would undoubtedly have taken precedence in Shakespeare's retentive, esemplastic memory.

<sup>325</sup> Carter cites the also marked verse Malachi 3.16, in which occurs the phrase "book of remembrance." The line is a composite allusion to Malachi 3.16 and Rev. 3.5.



SD #80: Revelations 20.12, The "Book of Life"	
<p>Yes.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987) cites two references to this verse, one to the motif of God's book and another to the motif of the eschatological end times:</p> <p>I have been The book of his good acts, Wherein men have read his fame. <i>(Coriolanus 5.2.14-16)</i></p> <p>Up, up and see The great doom's image! Malcolm, Banquo! As from your graves rise up, And walk like sprites. <i>(Macbeth 2.3.77-79)</i></p> <p>Shaheen (1989) cites two further references to this verse:</p> <p>The very book indeed Where all my sins are writ <i>(Richard II 4.1.274-75)</i></p>	<p>My name be blotted from the book of life! <i>(Richard II 1.3.202)</i></p> <p>Several additional references might also be cited:</p> <p>Let me be unrolled<sup>326</sup> and my name be put in the book of virtue. <i>(Winter's Tale 4.3.131)</i></p> <p>In sight of God and us, your guilt is great; Receive the sentence of the law for sins Such as by God's book are adjudg'd to death <i>(2 Henry VI 2.3.4)<sup>327</sup></i></p> <p>Renowned Rome, whose gratitude Towards her deserved children is enroll'd In Jove's own book. <i>(Coriolanus 3.1.293)</i></p> <p>This good deed Shall raze you out o' the book of trespasses. <i>(Twelfth Night 1.1.33)</i></p>
SD #81. Rev. 21.8/20.10: The lake of fire and brimstone.	
<p>Yes.</p> <p>Milward (1987):</p> <p>To sulphurous and tormenting flames. <i>(Hamlet 1.5.3)</i></p> <p>Roast me in sulfer! <i>(Othello 5.2.273)</i></p> <p>Nero is an Angler in the lake of Darkness <i>(Lear 3.6.8)</i></p> <p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>Fire and Brimstone! <i>(Othello 4.2.34)<sup>328</sup></i></p> <p>She's like a liar gone to burning hell. <i>(Othello 5.2.129)<sup>329</sup></i></p> <p>Now let hot Aetna cool in Sicily And be my heart an ever-burning hell. <i>(Titus 3.1.241-45)</i></p>	<p>If there be devils, would I were a devil, To live and burn in everlasting fire, So I might have your company in hell But to torment you with my bitter tongue. <i>(Titus 5.1.147-150)</i></p> <p>That go the primrose way to th'everlasting bonfire <i>(Macbeth 2.3.18-19)</i></p> <p>That hand shall burn in never-quenching fire.<sup>330</sup> <i>(Richard II 5.5.109)</i></p> <p>Descend to darkness and the burning lake! False fiend, avoid! <i>(2 Henry VI 1.4.39)<sup>331</sup></i></p> <p>Shaheen (1993):</p> <p>Fire and brimstone! <i>(Twelfth Night 2.5.50)</i></p> <p>I always lov'd a great fire, and the master I speak of ever keeps a good fire. But sure he is the prince of the world. <i>(All's Well 4.5.17-49)</i></p>

<sup>326</sup> One suspects here a corruption in F's text; the passage should probably read "let me be enrolled" (cf. *Coriolanus* 3.1.292).

<sup>327</sup> Because Henry's injunction is aimed against the specific crime of witchcraft, Shaheen (1989 51) cites verses on this subject -- Ex. 22.18, Deut. 18.10-12. However, these verses do not mention "God's book" -- a figure apparently peculiar to Rev. 3.5 and Rev. 20.12. Undoubtedly the passage is another composite of Biblical references.

<sup>328</sup> Note that this phraseology is precisely duplicated in Rev. 21.8.

<sup>329</sup> The phrase, "like a liar" associates this utterance undubitably with Rev. 21.8 in which "all liars" are said to be condemned to the lake of hell.

<sup>330</sup> Shaheen cites Mark 9.43 as the preferred proximate source. Carter (1905 89) cites James 2.19, Rev. 16.10 and Rev. 19.10.

<sup>331</sup> Shaheen (1989 46) also cites Rev. 19.20; the phrase "burning lake" occurs in both verses -- and "lake, which burneth with fyre and brimstone" in the marked 21.8.

# APPENDIX C:

## STATISTICAL OBSERVATIONS RELATED TO THE MARKED VERSES IN THE DE VERE BIBLE

By James P. McGill

### Background

Research by R. Stritmatter on the Geneva Bible once owned by the 17th Earl of Oxford, Edward de Vere, has resulted in numerical data comparing verse annotations in that Bible with recognized Biblical references in the works of William Shakespeare. These data reveal numerous Biblical verses that are both annotated in the de Vere Bible and referred to in Shakespeare. In addition, many verses referenced in Shakespeare are, in fact, referenced multiple times. Through analysis of the degree of verse commonalty between de Vere and Shakespeare, and of the distribution of de Vere-marked verses among the various multiples categories, as defined by the Shakespeare references, this paper considers the specific hypothesis that any such verse overlap, or de Vere distribution among multiples categories, may reasonably be ascribed to random chance.

### Analysis

Stritmatter's research, and previous work by other scholars, provide us with the following assumptions for this analysis: The known works of Shakespeare contain approximately 982 unique Biblical references, this number being exclusive of multiple references to the same verse.

The de Vere Bible has 1063 marked verses.

There are approximately 199 Biblical verses that are referenced in Shakespeare and also marked in the de Vere Bible.

A count of verses contained in the New and Old Testaments reveals a total of approximately 30,000 verses. While many verses are rich enough in their language and philosophical content to reasonably provide several reference opportunities to an author, many others are simple lists of names or otherwise essentially devoid of content that might reasonably be referenced in a literary work. For purposes of this analysis, we assume that approximately 1 of every 3 verses in the Old and New Testaments might yield a usable reference. Thus, we estimate a population of approximately 10,000 such potential reference verses, leading to our fourth assumption.

4. There are approximately 10,000 potential reference verses in the combined Old and New Testaments.

We may model the verses in the de Vere Bible as an instance of sampling without replacement. The phrase "without replacement" acknowledges that once a de Vere marked verse is "extracted" (i.e. identified as marked in the de Vere Bible), it is considered removed from a universal population of potential verse references and cannot be extracted a second time. The assumed 10,000 potential Biblical references serve as our universal population of such references. Those verses referenced in Shakespeare are a subset of this universal population. Those verses marked in the de Vere Bible are also a subset and may be treated as a sample extracted, one at a time, from the universal population where each marked verse is considered a "success" if it is also in the Shakespeare subset, and a "failure" otherwise. This situation is well understood in statistical theory and is modeled by a probability distribution known as the Hypergeometric Distribution. Descriptions of this distribution, as well as the equations specifying associated probabilities, may be found in any standard text on Probability and Statistics.

Given the assumptions specified above, we may use the Hypergeometric Distribution to determine the probability that more than N verses would be common to the de Vere Bible and to the works of Shakespeare (i.e. N or more "successes") by random chance. Computation with that distribution yields the following results:

N	Probability that random chance will yield more than N verses in common
100	.6151
110	.2142
120	.0321
130	.0019
140	Approximately zero
150	Approximately zero
160	Approximately zero
170	Approximately zero
180	Approximately zero
190	Approximately zero
200	Approximately zero
210	Approximately zero
220	Approximately zero

Thus, we note that achieving approximately 199 verses in common by random chance is extremely unlikely.

The most subjective of the underlying assumptions is clearly #4 which assumes a population of 10,000 potential Biblical references. It is of interest to observe the effect of varying this assumption on the final results. In addition, it may be argued that the true number of unique Biblical references in Shakespeare is other than the assumed number of 982. An assumption of greater than 10,000 potential verse references will yield probabilities of “greater than N verses in common” that are less than the values provided in the above table, further reducing the likelihood of any given overlap being due to random chance. An assumption of less than 10,000, on the other hand, will increase those probabilities and, thus, lend weight to the hypothesis that the observed overlap is reasonably within the realm of random chance. Along the same line, an assumption of more than 982 unique Biblical verses referenced in Shakespeare will similarly increase the probabilities and lend weight to the hypothesis of random overlap. Computations assuming 7500 potential references and 1200 unique verse references in Shakespeare produce the following results:

N	Probability that random chance will yield more than N verses in common
100	Approximately 100%
110	Approximately 100%
120	Approximately 100%
130	.9998
140	.9957
150	.9547
160	.7799
170	.4461
180	.1513
190	.0277
200	.0026
210	.0001
220	Approximately zero

Even with these assumptions, deliberately conservative with respect to the Stritmatter data, we note that the probability of an overlap of more than 190 verses is less than 3%.

Stritmatter’s research has also categorized the verses-in-common in terms of known multiple references in the works of Shakespeare. Thus, from his results we now understand that there are approximately 450 verses referenced only once in Shakespeare, and that approximately 60 of those are marked in de Vere. Similarly, Approximately 310 verses are referenced twice in Shakespeare and, of those, approximately 75 are marked in de Vere. We may summarize Stritmatter’s results as follows:

# References	# verses in the universal population with that number of references in Shakespeare	# of those verses marked in de Vere
0	10000-remaining items = 9018	1063-remaining items = 864
1	450	60
2	310	75
3	160	35
4	15	4
5	15	7
6	8	7
7	8	5
8	6	4
9	1	0
10	1	0
11	3	0
12	1	1
13	3	1
14	0	0
15	0	0
16	0	0
17	0	0
18	1	0
Totals	10000	1063

If all multiple references are counted, rather than just unique references, the total count of verses referenced in Shakespeare jumps to 1958, as illustrated below:

# References	# verses in the universal population with that number of references in Shakespeare	Total of those verses in Shakespeare			
0	9018	0	x	9018	= 0
1	450	1	x	450	= 450
2	310	2	x	310	= 620
3	160	3	x	160	= 480
4	15	4	x	15	= 60
5	15	5	x	15	= 75
6	8	6	x	8	= 48
7	8	7	x	8	= 56
8	6	8	x	6	= 48
9	1	9	x	1	= 9
10	1	10	x	1	= 10
11	3	11	x	3	= 33
12	1	12	x	1	= 12
13	3	13	x	3	= 39
14	0	14	x	0	= 0
15	0	15	x	0	= 0
16	0	16	x	0	= 0
17	0	17	x	0	= 0
18	1	18	x	1	= 18
Totals	10000				1958

Our universal population of potential verse references contains only unique potential references, not duplicates. We now need to expand this population to allow for the possibility that certain verses may be extracted more than once (as with the Shakespeare multiples - thus, we need to allow for the fact that there exist some verse references that might be selected twice, three times, or even one that might be selected 18 times). We may account for the presence of multiply referenced verses in our universal population by simply expanding it to be the 1958 Shakespeare verses, including the multiples, plus the remaining 9018 verses in the “zero references” category. Our new universal population now contains  $9018 + 1958 = 10976$  verses, the added 976 being duplicate verses representing multiple references. The verse that is referenced in Shakespeare 18 times is now represented as 18 clones of that verse in our expanded population, and similarly for the other multiples.

Assuming random selection from this population of 10,976 verses and assuming that any of them is as likely to be selected as any other, we immediately see that the probability of selecting some particular verse is 1/10976. We may now compute the expected number of singleton verses that should be part of a random selection, the number of double references, triples, etc. If there are 450 singleton verses, each with a probability of selection of 1/10976, then the probability of selecting a singleton is 450 times 1/10976, or 450/10976. Similarly, there are a total of 620 verses in the “doubly referenced” category and, therefore, the probability of selecting one of them is 620/10976. In a random selection of N verses from this population of 10976, the expected number of singletons among those N selected verses would be N times 450/10976. Similarly, the expected number of doubly referenced verses among the N would be N times 620/10976. If we take N to be 1063, the number of verses in the de Vere subset, we may compute the expected number of verses from the various “multiples” categories that would, by random chance, be in such a selection.

The following table illustrates these expected numbers:

# References	Expected number of such verses in a random selection of 1063 verses		Actual number of such verses marked in de Vere	
0	(9018/10976)	X 1063 =	873.37	1063-199=864
1	(450/10976)	X 1063 =	43.58	60
2	(620/10976)	X 1063 =	60.05	75
3	(480/10976)	X 1063 =	46.49	35
4	(60/10976)	X 1063 =	5.81	4
5	(75/10976)	X 1063 =	7.26	7
6	(48/10976)	X 1063 =	4.65	7
7	(56/10976)	X 1063 =	5.42	5
8	(48/10976)	X 1063 =	4.65	4
9	(9/10976)	X 1063 =	0.87	0
10	(10/10976)	X 1063 =	0.97	0
11	(33/10976)	X 1063 =	3.20	0
12	(12/10976)	X 1063 =	1.16	1
13	(39/10976)	X 1063 =	3.78	1
14	(0/10976)	X 1063 =	0.00	0
15	(0/10976)	X 1063 =	0.00	0
16	(0/10976)	X 1063 =	0.00	0
17	(0/10976)	X 1063 =	0.00	0
18	(18/10976)	X 1063 =	1.74	0

We may now ask whether the observed deviations in the de Vere column as compared with the corresponding entries in the “expected number” column may reasonably be attributed to random chance. The statistical distribution known as the Chi Square Distribution furnishes us with a means to answer that question.

With a situation, such as the above, involving expected and actual counts for various categories, the statistic computed by summing the squares of the observed deviations divided by their respective expected numbers has a distribution that is known to be well approximated by the Chi Square Distribution with an appropriate number of degrees of freedom. There are recognized ground rules that must be observed in using the Chi Square approximation as we propose.

1. The “actual number” count for each category should be at least 5
2. The number of categories should be at least 5 but not more than 20

We note that several of our “actual number” counts are, in fact, less than 5. In this circumstance, the correct statistical strategy is to sum several smaller categories into a single larger one. Thus, if we create a single category called “4 or more”, we may reduce our data to 5 distinct categories with the counts for each category exceeding 5.

The new table is illustrated below.

# References	Expected number of such verses in a random selection		Actual number of such verses marked in de Vere of 1063 verses	
0	(9018/10976)	X 1063 =	873.37	1063-199 = 864
1	(450/10976)	X 1063 =	43.58	60
2	(620/10976)	X 1063 =	60.05	75
3	(480/10976)	X 1063 =	46.49	35
4 or more	(408/10976)	X 1063 =	39.51	29

This arrangement of the data is now acceptable for application of the Chi Square approximation. The statistic, described above, is computed as follows:

$$\text{statistic} = ((873.37 - 864)^2 / 873.37) + ((43.58 - 60)^2 / 43.58) + ((60.05 - 75)^2 / 60.05) + ((46.49 - 35)^2 / 46.49) + ((39.51 - 29)^2 / 39.51) = 15.65 .$$

We observe that in specifying any four of the five “actual numbers” the fifth one is constrained to that value that makes the sum of the five equal to 1063. Thus, our actuals would be said to exhibit 4 degrees of freedom. Examination of a tabulation of the Chi Square probabilities for various degrees of freedom, available in any standard statistical reference, reveals that the probability of a Chi Square statistic with 4 degrees of freedom exceeding a value of 13.28 through random chance is .01. The probability of such a computed statistic achieving a value in excess of 15, as occurred above, through random chance is even smaller. Thus, we find, once again, that random chance is not a satisfactory explanation for the relationship of the de Vere multiples counts to those of Shakespeare.

## Conclusion

In deciding whether to accept or reject a hypothesis, normally referred to in statistical decision theory as the “null” hypothesis, the accepted practice is to state a target confidence level for the decision in terms of the probability of incorrectly rejecting the hypothesis. Thus, rejecting a null hypothesis at the 95% confidence level, a common strategy, would imply a 5% chance, or less, of incorrect rejection. A more conservative decision strategy would be to reject at the 99% level of confidence, implying a 1% or less chance of incorrect rejection. Based on the stated assumptions of this paper, our analysis of the magnitude of the commonalty of verses found in de Vere and Shakespeare would cause us to reject, at the 99% level and even beyond, the null hypothesis of random overlap. Even recomputing with the more conservative assumptions of 7500 verses in the universal population and 1200 unique verses in Shakespeare, we would clearly reject at the 95% level and, with more precise calculations, might reject at the 1% level.

Our analysis of the distribution of de Vere verses by multiples category has produced a Chi Square statistic whose magnitude would only occur by random chance less than 1% of the time. Thus, the null hypothesis of the de Vere distribution deviations from expected values being due to random chance is, again, rejected at the 99% level of confidence.

Based on the stated assumptions of this analysis, the results provided in this paper clearly demonstrate that the hypothesis of no more than a random connection between the de Vere and Shakespeare verse sets must be rejected.

James P. McGill



## APPENDIX D: TABLES OF VERSES MARKED IN DE VERE BIBLE WHICH INFLUENCE SHAKESPEARE

TABLE A: Verses Cited by Previous Scholars

### Old Testament

Citation	Theme	Reference	Total number of marked verses
1. Exodus 9.25-26	The plague of hail	Shaheen (1987) 181-82; 1987 182.	2
2. Exodus 22.22	Orphans and Widows	Carter 204; Shaheen (1989) 127.	3
3. Exodus 22.25	Against usury	Shaheen (1993) 114.	4
4. Leviticus 25.36-37	Against usury	Shaheen (1993) 114.	6
5. Deuteronomy 24.19-21	Take care for the impoverished	Carter (437) cites as a source for Lear 3.4.32, "take physic, pomp."	9
6. Deuteronomy 10.18	Orphans and Widows	Shaheen (1987) 57; 127.	10
7. Deuteronomy 32.4	God is true and perfect	Carter 371-2; Noble 167 cites 32.2 as contributing to <i>Merchant</i> 4.1.184-86.	11
8. Numbers 20.7-8	Moses draws water from the rock.	Milward 93; Shaheen (1993) 211-12).	13
9. I Samuel 7.9	The "sucking lamb" as sacrifice.	Shaheen (1989) 52.	14
10. I Samuel 16.7	God looks on the heart, not the exterior man.	Shaheen (1989) 86, 167, 203; Carter, Milward.	15
11. I Samuel 10.1	The Lord's anointed.	Shaheen (1989) 68, 98, 104 etc..	16
12. I Samuel 16.13	The anointment of the child-king David.	Shaheen (1989) 68.	17
13. I Samuel 16.23	David's music heals Saul.	Carter 198, 238, 283 477; Noble 159.	18
14. I Samuel 17.35	I took him by the throat and smote him.	Shaheen (1987) 142.	19
15. I Samuel 21.5	The holy vessel of the female body.	Shaheen (1987) 137.	20
16. I Samuel 24.10-11	The sanctity of the Lord's anointed.	Shaheen (1989) 98, 104, 150, 154.	22
17. I Samuel 24.18	Rendering good for evil	Carter 128 cites this as the source for <i>Richard III</i> : God bids us do good for evil" (1.3.334) <sup>332</sup> .	23
18. I Samuel 25.23, 25	David's handmaiden Abigail.	Shaheen (1989) 37 cites I Sam. 25.24 as the source for <i>1 Henry VI</i> 3.3.42. <sup>333</sup> Noble 138; cites the indistinguishable parallel I Sam. 25.40 as the source for TA 1.1.331-32.	25
19. I Samuel 28.6-7	The "familiar spirit" of Endor	Shaheen (1999), 317, 296-97 (where he cites 28.8)	27
20. I Samuel 31.4, 6	The suicide of Saul and Saul's armour bearer.		29
21. II Samuel 1.14	The sanctity of the Lord's anointed.	Shaheen (see #16 above).	30
22. II Samuel 12.11	Wives taken and ravished "before your eyes."	Milward 85; Parallels cited by Shaheen (1989) 57.	31

<sup>332</sup> Also the preferred proximate source for *All's Well* 2.5.52, incorrectly derived by Shaheen from the related Matt. 5.44. For details please see SD #37.

<sup>333</sup> The annotator marks 25.23 and 25.25, which bracket the key verse 25.24 in which we read the phrase "Let thine handmaide speake to thee" -- apparently the source for *1 Henry VI* 3.3.42: "Let thy humble handmaid speak to thee." Notes Shaheen "if Shakespeare had 1 Samuel in mind in this passage, then his reference was to the Geneva Bible" (1989 37).



23. II Samuel 16.23	The counsel of Achitophel.	Shaheen (1989) 84 compares <i>Richard III</i> 2.2.151-52; <i>2 Henry 4</i> 1.2.35.	32
24. II Samuel 21.19	Goliath's spear like a "weaver's beam."	Shaheen (1989) 30; 1993 145.	33
24b. I Kings 2.28-29	Sanctuary	Milward (1984) 51; <i>Hamlet</i> 4.7.128-29	35
25. I Kings 2.32	Blood on one's own head	Shaheen (1987) 81, 128; Shaheen (1989) 65, 117, 151, 152 189, 201; Shaheen (1993).	36
26. I Kings 4.32	Solomon as a songmaker	Carter 34.	37
27. II Chronicles 18.20-21	Persuading spirits	Shaheen (1989) 141.	39
28. II Chronicles 18.29	Jehosephat battles in disguise	Carter 261.	40
29. Ecclesiastes 5.7	Oppression of the poor	Carter 457.	41
30. Job 31.19-21	The poor at the gate	Shaheen (1989) 58 cites these marked verses as the source for <i>2 Henry VI</i> 4.10.22-23.	44
31. Isaiah 40.2	Double grace	Shaheen (1987) 97.	45
32. Isaiah 53.11	The soul shall be satisfied.	Shaheen (1989) 35, also cites Psalm 63.6. Jeremiah 50.19. etc., sees this as a possible source for <i>1 Henry VI</i> .	46
33. Ezekiel 18.4	All souls are mine	Carter 378.	47
34. Ezekiel 18.21-22	Repentance	Noble 82, 142.	49
35. Ezekiel 18.20-30	The heritability of guilt.	Milward 94.	59
35b. Ezekiel 18.31-32	Confess yourself	Carter 375	61
36. Joel 1.14-15	"Alas the day"	Shaheen (1987) 135.	63
37. Joel 2.13	Rent your heart	Milward 41; Shaheen (1989) 105.	64
38. Joel 3.13	The ripened harvest	Milward 150.	65
39. Hosea 1.10	Numberless as the sand	Carter 159.	66
40. Hosea 8.13	The unweeded garden	Carter 390, Shaheen (1987) 192, Milward 72.	67
41. Zechariah 12.10	The wounded savior.	Milward 191, 203	68
42. Zechariah 13.9	Trial by fire.	Carter 384.	69

#### Apocrypha

43. Wisdom of Solomon 1.12	Prohibition against suicide	Carter 357; Milward 8.	70
44. Wisdom 2.21, 24	Primrose path to destruction	Milward 13, 131.	71
45. Wisdom 5.13	As soon as we are born, we draw towards death...	Shaheen (1989) 79.	72
46. Wisdom 5.18-20	Weapons of salvation	Shaheen (1987) 54.	75
47. Wisdom 11.13	Wherewith a man sinneth he will be punished.	Carter 382, 419.	76
48. Wisdom 12.2	Headstrong liberty is punished.	Carter 44; 414. <i>Comedy of Errors</i> 2.1.15; <i>Measure for Measure</i> 5.1.437.	77
50. Wisdom 5.10	The ship that passeth....the bird that flieth....	Carter 444. <i>Timon</i> 1.1.50-55.	78
51. Wisdom 12.23	The wicked deceived by their own imaginations.	Carter 443. <i>Lear</i> 5.3.171.	79
52. Wisdom 17.3	The wicked scattered abroad and troubled with visions.	Carter 475, 476. <i>Tempest</i> 3.3.96; 3.3.106.	80
53. Ecclesiasticus 5.7	Don't tarry to turn to the lord....	Carter 425, 431.	81
54. Ecclesiasticus 7.10	Don't pray faintly	Shaheen (1989) 118.	82
55. Ecclesiasticus 12.15	Wicked company.	Carter 253.	83
56. Ecclesiasticus 10.7	Against pride.	Carter 480 cites as a source for <i>Henry VIII</i> 1.1.60.	84
57. Ecclesiasticus 10.14	Against pride	Carter 480; Noble 266.	85
58. Ecclesiasticus 12.15	Against "keeping company" with wicked men.	Carter 253 <i>1 Henry IV</i> 3.3.5	86
58b. Ecclesiasticus 12.23	Tormentation of the wicked by their own devices	Carter 443	87

59. Ecclesiasticus 13.1-3 <sup>334</sup>	He that toucheth pitch	Carter 34, Milward 198, Shaheen (1987) 132, 200, Shaheen (1989) 50, 144.	90
59b. Ecclesiasticus 13.22	If a rich man falls...if a poor man falls...	Carter 444.	91
60. Ecclesiasticus 14.1	Blessed is the righteous man	Carter 487.	92
61. Ecclesiasticus 16.7	The rebellion of giants	Milward 48.	93
62. Ecclesiasticus 23.18-19	God sees dark adultery	Stritmatter 1998 based on cross-references and new data from <i>Lucrece</i> .	94
63. Ecclesiasticus 28.1-5	Reciprocal mercy	Carter 177, 197; Noble 168, 185; Shaheen (1989) 180.	99
64. Ecclesiasticus 39.29	Hot coals of vengeance	Carter 106.	100
65. Ecclesiasticus 34.26-27	What availeth washing if the sinner repeats?	Noble 205; Milward 38.	101
67. Esdras 8.31	Sin as moral sickness	Milward 47-48; Carter 377.	102
68. Malachi 3.16	"book of remembrance"	Carter 87.	103

#### New Testament

69. Matthew 5.3	Blessed are the poor in spirit	Milward 176	104
70. Matthew 6.19-21	Treasure in heaven	Shaheen (1989) 47; cf Stritmatter 1998.	107
71. Matthew 25.34	Blessed are those who will "inherit the kingdom."	Noble 1935 177.	108
72. Matthew 25.41	The everlasting fire	Shaheen 1987 69.	109
73. Mark 10.21	Take up the cross	Shaheen (1989) 70, 85, 104, 166; Shaheen (1993).	110
74. Luke 7.8 <sup>335</sup>	A man set under authority.	Shaheen (1989) 171; the source of <i>II Henry IV</i> 5.3.111-12.	111
75. Romans 6.6	Old man/new man	Shaheen (1989) 176.	112
76. Romans 6.12-13	Let the members be servants in righteousness	Shaheen (1987) 76-77.	114
77. Romans 6.16	Give yourselves as servants to obey.	Milward 34.	115
78. Romans 6.19-22	The infirmities of flesh	Shaheen (1987) 192; (1993) 196; Carter 296 cites parallel I Corinthians 12.	119
79. Romans 7.18-20 <sup>336</sup>	It is not "I" who do it, but the sin that dwelleth in me.	See Stritmatter 1997.	120
80. I Corinthians 6.13-15	The body's members	Carter 457; Carter 47.	121
80b. I Corinthians 6.15-20	The body is the temple of the soul.	Carter, 41, 218, ; Shaheen (1999), 629-30; Milward (1987), 12.	127
81. II Corinthians 4.16-18	The outward man perishes, but the inward man is renewed.	Milward 12, 22.	130
82. II Corinthians 5.10	We must appear before the judgement seat of Christ.	Carter 214, 257, 400, 456.	131
83. Philippians 2.15	Let the light of your good deeds shine.	Stritmatter 1993, Shaheen 1993.	132
84. I Peter 1.17	"Pass the time of your dwelling here in fear."	Carter 81.	133
85. I Peter 1.18-19	Christ's blood not like corruptible things.	Shaheen (1989) 80; Milward 133.	135
86. I Thessalonians 4.3-4	The female body as a "vessel."	Shaheen (1987) 137. Cf. I Sam. 21.5 above.	137
87. I Thessalonians 5.5	Children of light.	Shaheen 1989 143.	138
88. <i>Titus</i> 2.11	Grace of God.	Shaheen (1987) 120.	139
89. Hebrews 13.16	Forget not to "distribute"	Lear 4.1.66074, 5.3.20; cited by Milward in Battenhouse 452.	140
90. Revelations 2.10	The crown of life.	Shaheen (1987) 117.	141
91. Revelations 3.5	Name not blotted from the	Shaheen (1989) 100, 114.	142

<sup>334</sup> Eccclus. 13.3, which belongs to the same apocope as the source of this important Shakespearean Bible verse, is marked. Hence the idiom is included on this list.

<sup>335</sup> Not marked in the conventional manner. Like Romans 7.20, this verse has been corrected by the interpolation of the first person pronoun.

<sup>336</sup> Romans 7.20 is corrected by the insertion of the missing pronoun "I" in the Genevan 1570 imprint.

	"book of life."		
92. Revelations 3.17	"Rich...poor"	Carter 410 Measure 3.1.17	143
93. Revelations 3.20	Behold I stand and the door and knock....	Shaheen (1989) 59; (1987) 108.	144
94. Revelations 14.13	"Write,' blessed are the dead'..."	Milward 54; Carter 285.	145
95. Revelations 20.12-13	The book of life.	Shaheen (1989) 115, 170.	146
96. Revelations 20.10/21.8	The burning lake of fire and brimstone.	Shaheen (1987) 134, 170, 69, 111-112; (1989) 46.	147

TABLE B: ADDENDA AND CORRECTIONS

The following marked verses contain wording which constitutes at least as plausible a course for Shakespearean wording or image than that found in Bible verses cited by prior authorities citing alternate Biblical sources:

97. Deuteronomy 10.17	"Lord of lords"	Shaheen (1989) cites exact parallel Rev. 17.14	148
98. II Chronicles 16.12	God as divine doctor.	Carter (273) cites Mark 2.17	149
99. I Samuel 2.7-8	The lord maketh poore and maketh rich: bringeth lowe, and exalteth."	Carter 112 cites Psalm 75.27 Genevan as the source for 3 Henry 6 2.3.37 and 3.3.157. I Samuel 2.7-8 is however an equally plausible source <sup>337</sup> .	
100. I Samuel 15.7	The anointed child king.	3 Henry 6 3.1.76. Shaheen (1989) 68 references this to I Samuel 10.1 et alia.	150
101. I Samuel 14.24 note (I) and 14.41 note ®	The admonition to accept divine omnipotence.	All's Well 2.1.154. Although Carter cites Ezekiel 11.5, Eccles 39.19-20 or Acts 15.18, the cited note is far closer to Shakespeare's wording (see Stritmatter 1997).	152
102. Ezekiel 33.14	"thou shalt <i>die the death</i> "	Wordsworth 10-12 discusses the Biblical origin of this idiom; H5 4.1; MND 1.1; <i>Cymbeline</i> 4.2; <i>Measure</i> 2.2.	153
103. Zechariah 10.3	"Lord of hosts"	Carter (72) cites Isaiah 13.14	154
104. Ecclesiasticus 21.10	Pains of hell.	Other authorities cite Psalm 18.4, but this is an equally plausible source for cited language.	155
105. Ecclesiasticus 38.15	God as divine doctor.	Carter (273) cites Mark 2.17.	156
106. Eccles. 39.28	Heaven's avenging spirits.	Lear 4.2.46; Milward (1987 186) cites Psalm 104; the "spirits created for vengeance" of Eccles. 39.28 are more apt.	157
107. Ecclesiasticus 41.9/c.f. Eccles. 23.14.	Don't curse the day of your birth.	Milward (1987) and Carter (1905) both cite four alternative sites but not this – equally plausible -- one.	158
108. Tobit 12.8-9	Prayer is Good with fasting	Carter 31, 44 etc.	160
109. II Corinthians 8.10-13	Perform those things you have prepared to do.	<i>Hamlet</i> 4.7.117; 5.2.217-224; <i>Measure for Measure</i> 1.2.120-124, 1.4.78-81; Carter (378) identifies alternate sources for <i>Hamlet</i> 4.7.117, none closer than <i>II Corinthians</i> 8.10-13.	164
110. I Thessalonians 5.8	The breastplate of faith and love.	Carter, Noble and Shaheen cite parallels Ephesians 2.20 and 6.14-17, none of which are closer than I Thess. 5.8.	165
111. Philippians 2.14	Few words is good/against gossip.	<i>Henry V</i> 4.8.164; Carter 3.15 cites Luke 4.8 and James 1.26; for <i>Henry V</i> 3.2.37 Carter (304) cites Eccles. 5.1. Phil. 2.15 is at least as close in both cases.	166
112. Revelations 3.19	Those I love, I chasten.	<i>Cymbeline</i> 4.4.101; <i>Othello</i> 5.2.21. On the former, Shaheen, following Carter, cites alternate sources Hebrews 12.6 and Proverbs 3.12; on the latter, Milward cites Hebrews 12.6 etc. Revelations 3.19	167

<sup>337</sup> Cf also Luke 1.52.

		is, however, an equally plausible source.	
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TABLE C: PREDICTION FROM NEW DATA

Additionally, the following marked verses evidence significant parallels to Shakespearean language which are, or may be, inspired by the marked verse.

114. Leviticus 19.9-10, 23.22	Leave the gleanings of the harvest.	As You Like It 3.5.102.
115. Exodus 23.9	Don't oppress the stranger	Merchant 1.3.115-120, 3.3.76-78; Pericles 2.3.76-78; Hamlet 2.1.165-66.
Deuteronomy 15.1-14	Jubilee freeing of slaves	Merchant 4.1-90-100,
116. Deuteronomy 10.18-19	Extend love to "the stranger"	Merchant 1.3.115-120; 3.3.27-31; Pericles 2.3.76-78; Hamlet 2.1.165-66.
117. Deuteronomy 23.17	Against whorekeeping.	Measure 3.2.35-38; Othello 5.2.134 (but see Shaheen 1989 140 for the preferred proximate source.
118. Deuteronomy 24.10-13	The law of bondservants as pledges.	Shrew 1.2.45; Richard II 5.2.44, etc.
119. I Samuel 2.25	The Lord as ultimate judge.	Henry 8 3.1.100; Measure 2.2.76.
120. I Samuel 6.9 note (f)	The wicked attribute all things to chance.	Macbeth 1.3.143
121. I Samuel 12.3 and note ©	The Biblical pattern of the repentant judge.	Henry VII 5.5.23; Lucrece 624-31; Measure 2.1.30; 3.1.267-272.
122. I Samuel 14.24	Victory comes not from armor but from the grace of god.	Richard II 1.3.3-8.
123. I Samuel 16.1 note (a)	Against excessive lamentation	Two Gentlemen 3.1.241; 2 Henry VI 4.4.22; 3 Henry VI 5.4.38; Titus 3.1.219; 3.1.219; Hamlet 1.2.92-108.
124. I Samuel 21.4-5	Kisses compared to "holy bread".	As You Like It 3.4.13. Not the same theme as # 15 above.
125. I Samuel 24.14	"As the old proverb saith..." <sup>338</sup>	Winter's Tale 2.3.95-97.
126. II Samuel 2.18	The fleet-footed roe.	Shrew Ind 2.50; V&A 561.
127. II Samuel 4.11 note (g) and 14.14 note (h).	The OT origins of sanctuary.	Richard III 3.140-65; Errors 5.1.94-96; Hamlet 4.7.128-29
128. II Samuel 16.10 note (f)	David humbles himself before Saul's rod.	Two Gentlemen 1.2.59; Richard II 5.1.33. Shaheen (1987 117) compares Rev. 22.15 and 23.13.
129. I Kings 13.18	"I am a prophet."	All's Well 1.3.56-59; Richard II 2.1.31.
130. II Chronicles 16.9 note (c)	"Turks and Infidels"	Richard III 3.5.41.
131. II Chronicles 16.10	The wicked disdain prophets	3 Henry 6 5.6.57
132. Isaiah 53.4-5	The savior bears the infirmities of man.	Shaheen (1989 163) cites Romans 15.1
133. Isaiah 59.20	The redeemer shall come.	Richard III 2.1.4-6; 2.1.122-126.
134. Ecclesiastes 5.7	God is the highest judge	Henry VII 3.1.99-101 (cf I Sam. 2.25 above).
135. Ezekiel 3.20	The stumbling block.	Cor. 4.5.85; 2 Henry VI 1.2.64.
136. Hosea 9.7	The prophet is a fool; the spiritual man is mad.	12 <sup>th</sup> Night 1.5.145; Lear 5.3.71; 2.4.289.
137. Hosea 10.8-9	The unweeded garden.	Cf. Hosea 10.13 above.
138. Hosea 13.12	Hidden sin.	Pericles 1.1.121; Errors 3.2.14; Much Ado 4.1.37.
139. Hosea 14.8	The body as a tree.	Cymbeline 3.3.58-64.
140. Joel 1.8	Mourn in sackclothe.	Shaheen (1987 158) prefers Matt. 11.21 and 10.13.

<sup>338</sup> Note Oxford's pronounced penchant for proverbs, as seen in the line from his January 3 1576 letter to Burghley: "according to this English proverb that it is my hap to starve like the horse, while the grass doth grow" (Fowler 204).

141. Judith 7.28	Let God "lay not these things to our charge."	John 1.1.256; 2 Henry IV 3.1.134
142. Wisdom 2.22	The mysteries of God.	Lear 5.3.16.
143. Wisdom 2.24	Through the devil's envy, death came into the world.	This marked verse solves the crux of Measure 3.2.19-33; cf. Measure 3.160-66, 2.4.178-187
144. Wisdom 3.10	The wicked punished by their own imaginations.	Hamlet
145. Wisdom 5.13	The hope of the ungodly is "like the dust that is blown away with the wind."	Lear 4.2.29-38.
146. Wisdom 5.16-22	The tempest of the Lord's kingdom.	Richard II 3.3.54-87; Henry V 2.4.90-103; 2.4.102-107.
147. Wisdom 12.1-2	God puts sinner "in remembrance of the things wherein they have offended"	Sonnet 30.
148. Wisdom 12.18	Those ruling show power when they will.	The source kernel, along with Matt. 5.3-5, for Sonnet 94.
150. Wisdom 18.21	Prayer is the weapon of the Godly.	2 Henry 6 1.3.61; Richard II 1.3.72-75.
151. Eccclus. 5.9	"Double tongue."	Much Ado 5.1.170; Love's Labour's Lost 5.2.64; Night 2.2.9; Richard II 3.2.21.
152. Eccclus. 6.4	"laughed to scorn."	Errors 2.2.207; I Henry 6 4.2.19; Macbeth 5.7.12.
153. Eccclus. 7.3	"Sowe not upon the sorowes of unrighteousness, lest that thou reape them seven folde".	2 Henry VI 3.1.381.
154. Eccclus. 10.25	Fear of the lord as the source of virtue.	Shakespeare refers to the fear of God as a normative virtue many times; cf. Richard III 2.1.131, Merry Wives 1.1.38, 1.1.189, Much Ado 2.3.201, 2.3.205, LLL 4.2.152.
155. Eccclus. 13.3	The poor must entreat.	Hamlet 3.1.71; Pericles 2.1.116-17; Much Ado 3.3.107-110.
156. Eccclus. 14.1	"Blessed is the man that hath not fallen by the word of his mouth"	Falstaff: "Blessed are they that have been my friends."
157. Eccclus. 17.20	Alms are as "the apple of the eye."	Both Carter and Milward (162) state that this idiom is Biblical; it occurs at LLL 5.2.475 and MND 3.2.104.
158. Eccclus. 16.9	The sin of being "puffed up" with pride.	Troilus 1.3.316, 2.3.170-78 Timon 4.3.180, Hamlet 4.4.49.
159. Eccclus. 19.4	He that is hasty to give credit sinneth...	Hamlet 1.3.75.
160. Eccclus. 20.17	The hasty fall of the wicked.	Macbeth 1.4.48; 1.7.27; As You Like It 2.1.36.
161. Eccclus. 21.1-3	Flee from the serpent of sin...	Lucrece 362-64
162. Eccclus. 21.9	The flame of hell like sexual union.	Lucrece 636-37.
163. Eccclus. 23.10-13	Do not swear.	Romeo & Juliet 2.2.112
164. Eccclus. 23.16	The fire of adulterous desire.	Lucrece ; 703-6.
165. Eccclus. 23.18-19	The eyes of the Lord.	See Stritmatter 1998.
166. Eccclus. 28.3	Bear no hatred against man.	Romeo & Juliet 2.3.53.
167. Eccclus. 28.5	If he that is but flesh nourishes hatred and asks pardon, who will entreat for his sins?	Measure 2.2.85-87.
168. Eccclus. 29.10-12	Don't let your money rust under a stone.	Venus 767-68.
169 Eccclus. 29.13-14	A man's alms are the source of his reputation.	Pericles 3.142-48
170. Eccclus. 38.10	Cleanse thy heart from wickedness.	Macbeth 5.3.44; Winter's Tale 1.2.238.
171. Eccclus. 39.4	Stumbling Block	Cor. 4.5.85; 2 Henry VI 1.2.64.
172. Eccclus. 39.30	The scorpion as avenger.	Macbeth 3.2.36; Cymbeline 5.5.45; 1 Henry 6.
173. Ecclesiasticus 41.11	The name of the wicked shall be put out.	Sonnet 72; Othello 3.3.155-162.
174. II Esdras 8.1-2	Dust that 'gold cometh of"	The source of Hamlet's phrase 2.1.321) 'Quintessence of Dust'? The verses also seem to be the rhetorical template for Hamlet 5.1.196-99.

175. II Esdras 8.34	"What is man?"	Hamlet 2.2.178. Carter et alia cite Ps 8.4-7, Heb 1.3, I Cor. 9.7 etc.
176. II Esdras 8.42	"They had liberty...[but] condemned his law..."	Measure 1.4.62
177. II Esdras 9.8	"I have kept me holy from the world"	Measure 4.3.113-116
178. II Esdras 9.20	"Peril [in the world] because of the devises that were sprung up."	Richard III 3.6.10-14
179. II Esdras 9.21-22	"I have kept me one grape of the cluster"	Lucrece 215; All's Well 2.2.99-104; Coriolanus 5.1.20-27
180. II Esdras 15.23	"An horrible star" wreaks terrestrial catastrophe.	Apparently the rhetorical template for Lear 1.2211-32), Richard II 2.4.8-14, etc.
181. II Macabees 3.31	"give up the goste"	3 Henry VI 2.3.22 J.C. 5.1.89

#### New Testament

182. Matt. 6.1-4	don't blow your trumpet when you give alms	Carter (319) cites Matt. 6.5-6 for Much Ado 2.1.104-111. These verses seem to be the inspiration for Troilus 4.5.12; see also All's Well 3.5.7
183. Matt. 25.34-45	The works of the faithful and Christ's division of the saved and the damned.	The paradigm for speeches of Aaron in Titus (5.1.125-150) and Richmond in Richard III 5.3.254-269.
184. Luke 9.47-48	He that is least shall be great; the blessedness of being little.	Tempest 3.2.98; All's Well 2.1.140; Henry VIII 4.2.66
185. Romans 6.4	Newness of life.	Cymbeline 4.4.9
186. II Corinthians 9.6-9	He that has given generously, his "benevolence remaineth forever."	Pericles 3.2.43-50
187. Hebrews 13.16	Do not forget to "distribute" -- ie give alms.	Lear 4.1.66-74, 5.3.20-21. Milward in Battenhouse 452 cites this as the source for 5.3.20-21.
188. I Peter 1.13-15	Be sober speech and manner.	Shrew 1.2.132; Much Ado 1.1.171; Merchant 2.5.36 and As You Like It 5.2.76.
189. I Peter 1.14	Be as obedient children.	Cymbeline 2.3.117; Timon 4.1.3; Lear 1.4.255.
190. I Peter 1.17	"Without respect of person"	The phrase "respect of persons" is Biblical in origin. "Is there no respect of place, persons, nor time in you?" TN 2.3.98.
191. I Thessalonians 4.5	Concupiscible lust.	Measure 5.1.98.
192. Revelations 3.18	Anoint thine eyes.	Dream 2.1.261.
193. Revelations 18.5-7	The whore of Babylon.	Henry V 2.3.40-41 (Shaheen cites Rev. 17.5).
194. Revelations 18.6	"the cup yt she hathe filled to you, fil her the double."	Apparently the inspiration for Lear (5.3.299) "All friends shall taste the wages of their virtue, and all foes the cup of their deservings".
195. Revelations 22.11-14	The first and the last <sup>339</sup>	Pericles 5.3.61; King John 2.1.326 etc.

<sup>339</sup> The phrase is from 22.13, which is not marked in the de Vere Bible. However, verses 22.11-12 and 22.14 are marked, indicating the annotator's contiguous notice of the verses bracketing this phrase. The phrase also occurs in the de Vere letters (Fowler 108).

Table D: PSALMS

The following marked Psalms are cited in Shakespeare.

11	"Will rain hot vengeance on offender's heads"	Shaheen (1989) 97.
12	The fire seven times tried this...	Noble 165.
18.18 <sup>340</sup> Genevan	The lord was "my stay"	Noble cites this as one of only two definite citations from the Geneva Psalms
67 Sternhold & Hopkins	Lord have mercy	Sternhold and Hopkins has the title "miserere mei deus". There are many alternate sources. See SD list for a more complete discussion.
30 Sternhold & Hopkins	"gripping grief"....	Shaheen (1987) 81.
59 Sternhold & Hopkins	"The spirits of the wise sit in the clouds and mock us" (2 H IV 2.2.143)	Shaheen (1989) 163.
61 Sternhold & Hopkins	"The king's name is a tower of strength" (Richard III 5.3.12). "Strong as a tower in hope..." (Richard II 1.3.101-02)	Shaheen (1989) 100; 91 etc. Shaheen also Proverbs 18.10
137 Sternhold & Hopkins	Various	Shaheen (1993) 141; Carter 296, 338; Noble 119
139 Sternhold & Hopkins	"Can we outrun the heavens?"	Milward 127 etc.
146 Sternhold & Hopkins	The Lord defends widows and orphans.	Shaheen (1989)

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<sup>340</sup> Psalm 18.20 in the Geneva psalms is underlined.



## APPENDIX E: CONTROL DATA FOR ENGLISH WRITERS

In this appendix are listed, first, those Bible verses of Bacon (Cole 1951), Marlowe (Cornelius 1984), and Spenser (Shaheen 1976) which are marked in the de Vere Bible. A second set of tables lists Bacon, Marlowe, and Spenser diagnostics marked in the de Vere Bible.

For discussion of the definition of Diagnostics please consult chapter ten and/or appendix B.

Verses listed in Cole which are marked in the de Vere Bible.

Verse	Reference	Analysis
1. Exodus 6.4	p. 33 Cole states that IV.390 and V.215 are adaptations of the figure of the wandering stranger from Ex. 6.4 and 2 Cor. 5.1-7.	Apparently a valid hit.
2. Leviticus 25.35-37	p. 166 prohibition of usury	A valid hit.
3. Deuteronomy 15.4	p. 86, 231 "That there be no beggar in Israel."	A valid hit.
4. Deuteronomy 15.7	p. 110 'hardness of heart'	A valid hit.
5. I Samuel 3.13	p. 195 The name Eli.	A valid hit, though there are many alternate sources.
6. I Samuel 11.2	p. 188, 199 The name Israelites	Too general to be of much significance. A false positive.
7. I Samuel 15.23	p. 209, 216 quasi peccatum; Samson	A valid hit.
8. I Samuel 16.11-13	p. 2, 194, 99, 209 Samuel	A valid hit.
9. I Samuel 16.23	p. 197 "David's Harp"	A valid hit.
10. I Samuel 28.6	p. 210 The name Saul	A valid hit.
11. I Samuel 31.1-4	p. 207, 210 The name Saul.	Duplicate=false positive.
12. II Samuel 1.6-16	210 The name Saul	Duplicate=false positive.
13. II Samuel 3.31-39	140, 186, 194 The name Abner	A valid hit.
14. II Samuel 5.1-5	194, 199, 209 Israel or Israelites.	Too general too be of much significance. A duplicate. A false positive.
15. II Samuel 6.6-7	189 The Ark	A valid hit.
16. II Samuel 14.17	121 "We might say, as was said to Solomon, We are glad O King that we give account to you, because you discern what is spoken" (X.170). Cole:"Possibly Bacon meant to allude to David. CF the words of the widow Teknah."	The verse has: "the word of my lord the king shall now be comfortable: for an Angel of God, so is my lord the king to discern good and bad" (2 Kings 14.17, AV). A valid hit.
17. II Samuel 17.23	187 Achitophel	A valid hit.
18. I Kings 12.13-19	155, 208 Rehoboam forsakes the counsel of the old men.	A valid hit.
19. Tobit 4.7, 16	162, 210 reference to "Christian law" (Matt. 7.12 cf's Tobit 4.16.	Not a valid hit.
20. Tobit 4.17	145 "An envious eye" (Id. 8)	The verse has "let not thy eye be envious" (AV). A valid hit.
21. Wisdom 17.1-6	97, 160 idols of the cave.	At best an analogy to the quoted passage. A false positive.
22. Eccclus. 28.3-5	141. Cole lists this as a "see also." The reference is clearly not to Eccclus. 28.3-5 but to Matt. 5.44 or 6.14.	A False positive.
23. Isaiah 44.22	21 Writing for a pardon to K. James, he hopes to "die out of a cloud."	A valid hit.

24. Isaiah 58.5-6	229 Num tandem In short list.	A valid hit.
25. Daniel 9.9	141 "See also" in reference to the theory of divine right. The quoted Bacon passage is about passing over the option for revenge.	A false positive.
26. Hosea 14.3	216 vituli labiorum. in short list	A valid hit.
27. Micah 5.2	168 A clear reference to Matt. 2.6, quoting the prophecy of Micah 5.2.	A false positive.
28. II Macabees 7.18, 32	146 "chanting a quanta patimur" (how much we suffer). II Macabees appears as part of a long "see also" list.	A false positive.
29. Matthew 5.42	166 A passage against usury, on which Cole remarks that "Usury was prohibited in the Mosaic Law (Ex. 22.25, Lev. 25,35-37, Deut. 23.20), and is certainly inconsistent with Matt. 5.42.	A false positive.
30. Matt. 6.2	16, 217, 220 "great hypocrites are the true atheists, who are ever handling holy things without reverencing them." Cole states that this is "based on Christ's censure of those who sound a trumpet before them in the streets and synagogues."	A valid hit.
31. Matt. 6.4	16 <i>Henry VIII</i> was a "great almsgiver in secret." In short list.	A valid hit.
32. Matt. 25.41	194 The devil.	A false positive.
33. Mark 10.21	151, 229 "Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poore, and followe me" in Id. 18.	A valid hit.
34. Romans 6.22	210 "son of god". Romans 6.22 is listed among several other possible sources.	Romans 6.22 reads the plural "sons of God" or "servants unto God" (G) A false positive.
35. I Corinthians 6.20	192 Christ.	A false positive.
36. II Corinthians 4.17	17 "the weight of duty"	The verse reads "the weight of glory." A false positive.
37. II Corinthians 4.18	232 In short list. "In temporalibus".	A valid hit.
38. II Corinthians 8.2	26 "Afflictions are truly called trials" (XIV.312).	The verse (AV) has "a great trial of affliction." A valid hit.
39. II Corinthians 9.7	16 "God almighty loves a cheerful giver."	An embellishment of the verse. A valid hit.
40. Ephesians 2.10	148 An admonition to "good works".	A valid hit.
41. I Thessalonians 4.3-8	197 God.	A false positive.
42. II Timothy 3.5	65, 158, 229 " Having a show of godliness" (VI.460).	A valid hit.
43. Revelations 14.13	81, 220, 224 In short list. "Opera eorum sequuntur eos" (I.723).	A valid hit.
44. Revelations 22.15	125 "A naturall, though corrupt Love, of the Lie it selfe" (377.11).	The verse reads: "whosoever loveth and maketh a lie" (A) or "whosoever loveth or maketh lies" (G). The thought is quite different from Bacon's. A false positive.  A false positive.

False Positives: 17

Valid Hits: 27

Spenser Verses listed in Shaheen (1976) which are marked in the de Vere Bible:

Verse	Reference	Analysis
1. Exodus 22.22	Lx.43. (2-4) Widows and orphans	A valid hit.
2. I Samuel 2.6-7	V.ii.41. (7) "He pulleth down, he setteth up on hy"	A valid hit.
3. I Samuel 2.22, 29	I.iii.18. (5-6) "With whoredome usd, that few did know, And fed her fat with feast of offerings"	A valid hit.
4. I Samuel 16.23	IV.ii.2. (1-2) "Or such as that celestially Psalmist was, that when the wicked feend his Lord tormented."	A valid hit.
5. I Samuel 24.14	II.iii.7. (6); II.viii.15. (9). Actually references to I Samuel 24.15 (G).	A false positive.
6. II Samuel 3.35	VI.i.31. (4-6): "That ere he tasted bread, He would her succour, and alive or dead her foe deliver up into her hand.."	A valid hit.
7. I Samuel 10.4	VI.i.13. (9): "But they that Ladies lockes doe shave away"	A false positive.
8. Isaiah 53.6	VI.viii.36. (8): Like a sheepe astray."	"All we like sheepe have gone astray." A valid hit.
9. Isaiah 58.6	I.i.19.(9): "That soone to loose her wicked bands did her constraine."	"To loose the bands of wickedness." A valid hit.
10. Ezekiel 18.4	I.ix.47. (5): "Is not this law, Let every sinner die?"	A valid hit.
11. Joel 2.13	VI.v.4. (8): "Gan teare her hayre, and all her garments rent."	Shaheen cites I Sam. 4.12, Joel 2.13 and Lev. 10.6, any one of which could be the source. A valid hit.
12. 2 Macabees 6.1-5	"And Proud Antiochus, the which advaunst His cursed hand against God, and on his altars daunst."	A valid hit.
13. Matthew 6.19	II.ii.34.(7-8): "And inly grieve, as doth an hidden moth the inner garment fret."  II.vii.25. (3-4): For feare least Force of Fraud should unaware Break in and spoile the treasure there in gard."	Shaheen cites Matt. 6.19, with Job 13.28, Isa. 50.9 and James 5.2 under his "see also" list. He cites Psalm 39.11 (G): Like as it were a moth fretting a garment." (A false positive).  A valid hit.
14. Matthew 6.20	Lx.38. (1,6.9): "The second was as Almner of the place, the grace of God he layd up still in store, And had he less, yet some he would give to the pore."	A valid hit.
15. Matt. 19.21	Lx.38: same as above.	A valid hit.
16. Matthew 25.35	Lx.38. (2.3): "His office was, the hungry for to feed, And thirsty give to drinke, a worke of grace."	A valid hit.
17. Matthew 25.36	Lx.40 His office was, Poore prisoners to relieve with gracious ayd."	A valid hit.
18. Matthew 25.46	VI.viii.49. (7): "swarmes of damned soules to hell he sends."	Shaheen does not regard this as a valid reference.

		A false positive.
19. Romans 6.12-14	II.xi.2. (1-5): But in a body, which doth freely yeeld His partes to reasons rule obedient, And letteth her that ought the scepter weeld, All happy peade and goodly government Is settled there in sure establishment	A valid hit.
20. Romans 6.19	II.1.52. (6): "For he was flesh: (All flesh doth frailtie breed.)"	Shaheen cites Matt. 26.41: "The flesh is weak." Rom. 6.19; 8.3; I Pet. 1.24 are cross- referenced.
		A valid hit.
21. II Corinthians 4.8-9	I.viii.1. (1-3): "Ay me, how many perils doe enfold The righteous man, to make him daily fall? Were not, that heavenly grace doth him uphold."	Shaheen first compares Prov. 24.16: "A just mann falleth seven tymes, and riseth up agayne."  II Corinthians 4.8-9: We are afflicted on every side, yet are we not in distresse: in povertie, but not overcome of povertie. 9 We are persecuted, but not forsaken: cast down, but we perish not" (G).
		A valid hit.
22. I Thessalonians 5.5	I.v.24.(5) "And can be the children of the faire light."	Spenser cites John 12.36 ("That ye may be the children of the light") and I Thess. 5.5 ("Ye are all the children of light, and the children of the daye").
		A valid hit.
23. II Thessalonians 2.13	I.ix.53. (4-5): "In heavenly mercies has thou not a part? Why shouldst thou then despeire, that chosen art?"	II Thess. 2.13 has: "God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation."
		A valid hit.
24. Revelation 3.5	II.i.32. (3-4): "For which enrolled is your glorious name in heavenly Registers."	Shaheen cites Luke 10.20: Rather rejoyce, because your names are written in heaven." This is definitely the preferred source.
		A false positive.
25. Revelation 18.7	I.iv.8. (3-6): "On which there sate most brave and embellished With royall robes and gorgeous array, A mayden Queene, that shone as Titans ray, In glistening gold, and peerelesse pretious stone.	A valid hit.
26. Revelation 20.12	II.i.32. (3-4): see item #24 above. Shaheen cross references Rev. 20.12 ("boke of life") in addition to Luke 10.20 and the others.  I.ix.42. (4): "Their times in this eternall booke of fate."  Shaheen lists Rev. 20.12 under the "see also" category for this line.	A false positive.
27. Revelation 20.12-13	II.i.59. (3): "But after death the tryall is to come".	Shaheen lists Rev. 20.12-13 and John 5.28- 29 as possible sources for this line.
		A valid hit.
28. Revelation 22.11	II.xii.87. (6-8): "The donghill	Shaheen compares II Peter 2.22 and Rev.

	kind/Delights in filth and foule incontinence: Let Grill be Grill, and have his hoggish mind."	22.11: "He which is filthi, let him be filthie still."  A false positive
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False positives: 5  
Valid hits: 23

Marlowe Verses listed in Cornelius which are marked in the de Vere Bible

Verse	Reference	Analysis
1. I Samuel 16.7	Corn. 61 I Tam. 1.2.161-62	A valid hit. "If outward habit judge the inward man."
2. I Samuel 28.7	Corn. 840A-841A Faustus 1010-14	A valid hit. "they say thou hast a familiar spirit, by whom thou canst accomplish what thou list."
3. II Samuel 18.9	Corn. 2 Dido 1.1.13-14	A false positive; very weak analogy.
4. Ezekiel 18.4	Corn. 747 Faustus 2.1.63-68	A valid hit. "Is not thy soul thine own?...Faustus gives to thee his soul."
5. Joel 2.13	Corn. 632 Edward II 5.1.140	A valid hit. "Well may I rent his name that rends my heart!"
6. Matthew 19.21	Corn. 572 Edward II 1.1.202-204	A valid hit. "Come, follow me, and thou shalt have my guard." (ironic inversion of Bible passage).
7. Matthew 25.41	Corn. 700 Faustus 1.3.72-74	A valid hit. "are damned forver with Lucifer...in hell"
8. Matthew 25.46	Corn. 708 Faustus 1.3.65-74	A false positive. Not a specific reference to this verse.
9. Mark 10.21	Jew of Malta 1.2.108-125	Vague parallel.
10. Romans 6.16		
11. I Corinthians 6.20	Corn. 714 Faustus 1.3.102-3	A valid hit. "Had I as many souls as there be stars, I'd give them all for Mephistophilis."
12. I Peter 1.18-19	Corn. 532; Massacre at Paris 16.40; Corn. 980 Faustus 5.2.162-68	A solid hit. "Shall buy her love even with his dearest blood"; "for Christ's sake, whose blood hath ransomed me."
13. Revelations 2.10	Corn. 54 I Tam. 1.2.22 II Tam. 1.5.2-5, 16 Corn. 103 I Tam. 2.7.29 Corn. 188 II Tam. 1.5.2-5, 16; 1.4.8-13, 23-25	Corn. 54: Very weak parallel. Very weak parallel in which the word "crown" is the sole actual intertextual link; in Corn. 188 the critical phrase from Rev. 2.10, "crown of life," does not occur in Marlowe. Corn. 103 has "sweet fruition of an earthly crown" which may be close enough to justify a valid hit.
14. Revelations 3.5	Corn. 247 II Tam. 3.1.18-19	Strong hit. "As all the world should blot our dignities out of the book of base born infamies."
15. Revelations 3.17	Corn. 348 Jew of Malta 1.1.120-121.	A false positive.
16. Revelations 20.13	Corn. 124 I Tam. 4.2.17	False positive. Weak parallel; would not be counted in this study as Sh. Ref.
17. Revelations 21.8	Corn. 229 II Tam. 2.3.24-37; Corn. 635 Edward II 5.1.152-53	A valid hit. "devils...in chains of quenchess flame, shall lead his soul through Orcus' burning gulf."

False positives: 4  
Valid hits: 10+

Totals:

Shakespeare	158
Bacon	27
Marlowe	10
Spenser	23



## Diagnostics

Bacon Diagnostics Marked in the de Vere Bible (After Cole 1950):

Verse	Comment	Marked in de Vere Bible
1. Genesis 1.1		No.
2. Genesis 2.7		No.
3. Genesis 3.5-7		No.
4. Genesis 3.18-19		No.
5. Genesis 49.9, 14		No.
6. Exodus 4.16		No.
7. Exodus 7.12		No.
8. Leviticus 19.18		No.
9. Deuteronomy 32.21		No.
10. I Samuel 16.11-13		Yes.
11. I Samuel 18.7-8		No.
12. I Samuel 28.16, 19		No.
13. II Samuel 12.26-9		No.
14. I Kings 4.29		No.
15. I Kings 4.33		No.
16. II Kings 9.19, 22		No.
17. II Esdras 2.1-3		No.
18. Job 9.9		No.
19. Job 13.7, 9		No.
20. Job 26.7		No.
21. Job 31.33		No.
22. Job 38.31		No.
23. Psalm 18.2		?
24. Psalm 38.3		No.
25. Psalm 77.70-1		?
26. Psalm 100.7		No.
27. Psalm 115.10		No.
28. Psalm 119.6		No.
29. Psalm 136.1-9		No.
30. Psalm 149.1-8		?
31. Proverbs 3.33-34		No.
32. Proverbs 10.1		No.
33. Proverbs 10.7		No.
34. proverbs 14.23		No.
35. Proverbs 18.2		No.
36. Proverbs 20.27		No.
37. Proverbs 23.23		No.
38. Proverbs 25.2		No.
39. Proverbs 25.26		No.
40. Proverbs 27.5-6		No.
41. Proverbs 27.14		No.
42. Proverbs 28.20		No.
43. Proverbs 28.21		No.
44. Ecclesiastes 1.10-11		No.
45. Ecclesiastes 3.11		No.
46. Ecclesiastes 4.15-16		No.
47. Ecclesiastes 10.1		No.
48. Ecclesiastes 10.13		No.
49. Ecclesiastes 11.4		No.
50. Ecclesiastes 12.11		No.
51. Ecclesiastes 12.12		No.
52. Wisdom 15.4-13		No.
53. Isaiah 9.6		No.
54. Jeremiah 6.16		No.

55. Daniel 12.4		No.
56. Habukkuk 1.15-16		No.
57. Habakuk 2.2		No.
58. Matthew 5.44-6		No.
59. Matthew 6.27		No.
60. Matthew 10.16		No.
61. Matthew 12.30		No.
62. Matthew 13.27-30		No.
63. Matthew 19.8		No.
64. Matthew 22.29		No.
65. Matthew 24.26		No.
66. Matthew 24.35		No.
67. Matthew 25.14-30		No.
68. Mark 7.37		No.
69. Luke 2.29		No.
70. Luke 6.35		No.
71. Luke 10.41-42		No.
72. Luke 18.8		No.
73. Luke 22.38		No.
74. John 5.43		No.
75. John 18.38		No.
76. Acts 7.22		No.
77. Acts 7.24-8		No.
78. Acts 20.35		No.
79. Acts 23.3		No.
80. Romans 1.23-32		No.
81. Romans 9.3		No.
82. Romans 12.1		No.
83. I Corinthians 5.11-12		No.
84. I Corinthians 7.10		No.
85. I Corinthians 7.12		No.
86. I Corinthians 7.40		No.
87. I Corinthians 8.1		Yes.
88. I Corinthians 13.1		No.
89. Colossians 2.4		No.
90. II Thessalonians 2.4		No.
91. I Timothy 1.8		No.
92. I Timothy 4.9		No.
93. I Timothy 6.9-10		No.
94. I Timothy 6.20		No.
95. II Timothy 3.2		Yes.
96. I <i>Titus</i> 1.12-13		No.
97. James 1.20		No.
98. James 1.23-24		No.
99. I Peter 4.12		No.
100. Jude 9		No.
101. Revelations 2.4		No.

2 of 101 Bacon diagnostics are marked in the de Vere Bible.



Marlowe Diagnostics<sup>341</sup> marked in the de Vere Bible (After Cornelius 1984):

Verse	Comment	Marked in de Vere Bible
1. Genesis 2.7		No.
2. Genesis 3.5		No.
3. Numbers 30.3		No.
4. Leviticus 17.11		No.
5. Deuteronomy 4.24-26		No.
6. I Samuel 10.24		No.
7. I Samuel 25.21		No.
8. I Kings 21.10		No.
9. Job 9.29		No.
10. Job 11.8		No.
11. Job 16.19		No.
12. Isaiah 10.5-6		No.
13. Isaiah 10.12-16		No.
14. Isaiah 14.16-17		No.
15. Isaiah 14.12-17		No.
16. Isaiah 44.28-45.5		No.
17. Psalm 16.11		No.
18. Psalm 23.1		?
19. Psalm 34.15-16		No.
20. Psalm 34.1-16		No.
21. Nehemiah 2.4		No.
22. Nehemiah 2.20		No.
23. Wisdom 7.26-30		No.
24. Esther 7.3-4		No.
25. II Macabees 9.1-12		No.
26. II Macabees 9.4-8		No.
27. II Macabees 9.10-12		No.
28. Songs 2.10		No.
29. Songs 4.8		No.
30. Songs 7.11		No.
31. Lamentations 2.4		No.
32. Mark 3.28		No.
33. Mark 3.29		No.
34. Mark 8.36-37		No.
35. Matthew 2.2		No.
36. Matthew 10.28		No.
37. Matthew 25.21		No.
38. Matthew 25.41		Yes.
39. Matthew 25.46		No.
40. Luke 4.29		No.
41. Luke 9.42		No.
42. Luke 10.15		No.
43. Luke 12.19-21		No.
44. Luke 16.23		No.
45. John 19.15		No.
46. Romans 5.10		No.
47. Romans 6.16		Yes.
48. Romans 9.1		No.
49. Romans 11.15		No.
50. Romans 14.8		No.
51. II Corinthians 11.11		No.
52. Ephesians 4.25		No.
53. II Thessalonians 2.12		Yes.
54. I Timothy 5.22		No.

<sup>341</sup> Verses recorded three or more times in Cornelius.

55. Philemon 4.8		No.
56. Hebrews 6.16-17		No.
57. Hebrews 8.1		No.
58. Hebrews 10.30		No.
59. I Peter 1.18-19		Yes.
60. II Peter 2.4		No.
61. II Peter 3.10-11		No.
62. Peter 3.12		No.
63. Peter 3.9		No.
64. James 5.7		No.
65. James 5.11		No.
66. Revelations 2.10		Yes.
67. Revelations 6.2-8		No.
68. Revelations 6.8		No.
69. Revelations 13.3		No.
70. Revelations 13.3-5		No..
71. Revelations 13.13		No.
72. Revelations 19.12		No.
73. Revelations 20.10		No.
74. Revelations 20.13		Yes.

5 of 74 Marlowe Diagnostics are marked in the de Vere Bible.

Spenser Diagnostics marked in the de Vere Bible (after Shaheen 1976):

Verse	Comment	Marked in de Vere Bible
1. Genesis 1.26-27		No.
2. Genesis 2.7		No.
3. Genesis 3.19		No.
4. Exodus 34.30,33,35		No.
5. Joshua 10.24		No.
6. Judges 4.3, 13		No.
7. Psalm 7.15-16		No.
8. Psalm 55.21		No.
9. Psalm 58.4		No.
10. Psalm 90.5-6		No.
11. Psalm 106.38		No.
12. Psalm 140.3		?
13. Psalm 145.9		No.
14. Proverbs 8.14-16		No.
15. Proverbs 26.21		No.
16. Ecclesiastes 4.7		No.
17. Isaiah 8.12-13		No.
18. Isaiah 10.5		No.
19. Isaiah 14.12		No.
20. Isaiah 40.6-8		No.
21. Jeremiah 51.7		No.
22. Lamentations 3.1		No.
23. Ezekiel 34.5-14		No.
24. Daniel 7.7		No.
25. 2 Macabees 9.8		No.
26. II Macabees 13.2		No.
27. Matthew 5.44-45		No.
28. Matthew 6.19		Yes.
29. Mathew 6.28-30		No.
30. Matthew 7.13-14		No.
31. Matthew 24.43		No.
32. Matthew 26.41		No.
33. Mark 14.38		No.

34. Luke 10.34		No.
35. Luke 16.8		No.
36. Luke 18.13		No.
37. John 12.31		No.
38. John 12.36		No.
39. Acts 1.18		No.
40. Romans 3.13		No.
41. Romans 5.12		No.
42. Romans 11.33		No.
43. Ephesians 3.20		No.
44. Ephesians 5.8		No.
45. Ephesians 6.16		No.
46. I Thessalonians 5.5		Yes.
47. I Peter 1.24		No.
48. Revelation 12.3		No.
49. Revelation 12.4		No.
50. Revelation 16.9, 11		No.
51. Revelation 17.3		No.
52. Revelation 17.4		No.
53. Revelation 17.6		Yes.
54. Revelation 18.7		No.
55. Revelation 19.12		No.
56. Revelation 22.1		No.

3 of 56 Spenser Diagnostics are marked in the de Vere Bible.

## APPENDIX F: CONTROL DATA FOR MONTAIGNE AND RABELAIS

These tables list the occurrences of Shakespeare Diagnostics in Montaigne and Rabelais, making use of the Concordances of Dixon & Dawson (1992) and Leake (1981). The comparative test used here is extremely conservative; there is no finding that any of the verses found in Rabelais or Montaigne constitutes a diagnostic for that author. In most cases the usage, where it does occur, appears to be unique in that writer. Thus, positive findings in this section, unlike those in appendix E which rely upon Diagnostics lists for Bacon, Marlowe and Spenser, cannot be compared directly to the numbers listed in appendices A and B for Oxford: the actual number of Rabelais or Montaigne Diagnostics marked in the de Vere Bible, if such a term could be operationalized (which seems doubtful due to the relatively small numbers of Bible references identified in each writer) remains unknown and is probably still near to zero.

Nevertheless, the finding that at least thirteen of the Shakespeare diagnostics appear in Rabelais -- by far the highest number for any of the five controls -- represents a striking qualification to the general conclusion of the uniqueness of these Shakespearean Bible references and invites the need for explanation. Chapter eleven of the dissertation highlights some of the many reasons for concluding that de Vere was deeply influenced by Continental Neo-Platonism -- far more so than most of his English contemporaries. In other chapters I trace some of the reasons, without fully elaborating the thesis, for concluding that Shakespeare was also deeply influenced by this same Renaissance movement. I suggest, therefore, that the primary reason for the surprising degree of overlap between the Rabelais and Shakespeare Bible references is the common influence of this intellectual tradition on both writers.

The French text is *La Bible Qui est Toute La Sainte Esriture du Vieil & du Nouveau Testament*, Geneva 1588. Translation by "Pasteurs & Professeurs de l'Eglise de Geneve." With preface by John Calvin.

	Montaigne	Rabelais
<p>The marriage service.</p> <p>Genesis 2.24</p> <p>Et pourtant l'homme delaissera son pere &amp; sa mere, &amp; adhera à sa femme, &amp; seront une chair.</p> <p>Keywords: adhera, chair.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Nearest parallel:</p> <p>Bien, vous y trouverez le gous de vostre propre chair (I 31 212 A).</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Nearest parallels:</p> <p>La rebellion de la chair (T 31 147 J).</p> <p>Et commendé adhaerer unicquement à son mari (T 30 88).</p>
<p>Die the death.</p> <p>Genesis 2.17</p> <p>Toutefois quant à l'arbre de science de bien &amp; de mal, tu n'en mangeras point: Car dès le iour que tu mangeras d'icelui, tu mourras de mort.</p> <p>Keywords: mourras de mort.</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>M'est interdit de mourir de la mort de mes concitoyens (II 3 359 C).</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>Et, après quelques années, mourut de la mort Roland (P 6 95).</p>
<p>Dust to dust.</p> <p>Genesis 3.19:</p> <p>En la sueur de ton visage tu mangeras le pain, jusqu'à ce que tu retournes en terre: car tu en as esté prins: pource que tu es poudre, aussi retourneras tu en poudre.</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>Tu es venu de poudre et retourneras en poudre (II 12 574 B).</p>	<p>No.</p>

<p>Ecclus. 40.11:</p> <p>Toutes choses qui sont de terre, retournent en terre: &amp; celles qui sont des eaux, retournent en la mer.</p> <p>Keywords: terre, poudre.</p>		
<p>Eve</p> <p>Genesis 3.20</p> <p>Et Adam appela le nom de sa femme Eve: pourcequ'elle a esté la mere de tous vivans.</p> <p>Keywords: Eve</p>	<p>No.</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>Femme du monde, que les Hébreux nomment Ève (T 33 90)</p>
<p>Abel's Blood cries out.</p> <p>Genesis 4.8-15</p> <p>8 Et Cain parla avec Abel son frere. Et comme ils estoient aux champs Cain s'esleva contra Abel son frere, &amp; le tua. 9 Et l'Eternel dit à Cain, où est Abel ton frere? Lequel respondit, Je ne sai: susie la garde de mon frere? Moi? 10 Et Dieu dit, Qu'as tu fait? La voix du sang de ton frere crie de la terre à moi. 11 Maintenant donc tu seras maudit mesme de la part de la terre, laquelle a ouvert sa bouche pour recevoir de ta main le sang de ton frere. 12 Quand tu laboureras la terre, elle ne te rendra plus sa vertu: tu seras aussi vagabond &amp; fugitif sur la terre. 13 Et Cain dit à l'Eternel, ma punition est plus grande que ie ne puis porter. 14 Voici, tu m'as dechassé aujourdhui de dessus ceste terre, &amp; ie serai caché de devant ta face: &amp; serai vagabond &amp; fugitif sur la terre, &amp; adviendra que quiconque me trouvera me tuera. 15 Et l'Eternel lui dit, Pourtant quiconque tuera Cain, sera vengé sept fois au double. Ainsi l'Eternel mit une marque en Cain, afin que quiconque le trouveroit, ne le tuast point.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallels:</p> <p>hazardees et par mer et par terre, le sang et la vie de (II 12 474 A).</p> <p>Justice affamee du sang de l'innocence (II.12.521.C)</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>La terre embue du sang du juste fut certaine annee si tres (P 1.12).</p> <p>Vagans et crians par la terre horriblement (P 2.19)</p>
<p>Bring you on the way.</p> <p>Genesis 18.16</p> <p>Puis ces personnages se leverent de là, &amp; regarderent vers Sodome: &amp; Abraham ce que ie m'en vai faire.</p> <p>Keywords: que ie m'en vai faire</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>Face voir au contraire, je m'en vay faire d'une heureuse fin (II 3 361 A).</p>	<p>No lexical entry for vay.</p>
<p>A lion's whelp</p> <p>Juda est un faon de lion: mon fils tu es revenu de deschirer: il s'est courbé, et gist comme un lion qui est en sa force,</p>	<p>No.</p>	<p>No.</p>

& comme un vieil lion. Qui l'esveillera?  Keywords: un faon de lion.		
God's special protection for widows and orphans.  Deuteronomy 10.18  Faisant droit à l'orphelin & à la vefue, & aimant l'estranger, pour lui donner dequoi estre nourri & vestu.  Keywords: orphelin, veuve.	No.	No.
Earth swallows her own increase  Deuteronomy 11.6  Et ce qu'il a fait à Dathan, & Abiram, enfans d'Eliab, fils de Ruben, comme la terre ouvrit sa bouches, & les engloutit, avec leurs familles, & leurs tentes, & tout ce qui subsistait qui estoit en leur puissance au milieu de tout Israel.  Keywords: la terre ouvrit sa bouches, & les engloutit	No.	Yes.  La terre embue du sang du juste fut certaine année si très (P 1 12).
The shade of death  Job 10.21-22  Devant que de m'en aller d'où ie ne regournerai pulus, assavoir en la terre de tenebres, & d'ombre de mort.  Terre, di ie d'obscurité sus obscurité, comme tenebres qui ne sont qu'ombre de mort, où il n'y a aucun ordre, rien n'y reluit que tenebres.  Keywords: ombre de mort.	No.	No.
Man born of woman  Job 14.1  L'homme né de femme, est de courte vie, & plein d'ennui.  Keywords: l'homme né de femme.	No.	No.  Closest parallel: l'enfant né de femme (G 3 29)
Man formed of clay  Job 33.6  Voci, ie suis pour le Dieu fort selon ta parole: ie suis aussi formé de bouë.  Keywords: formé de bouë.	No.	No.
God judges by the inward heart.  I Samuel 16.7	Yes.  que j'aye juge par les apparences externes (car, pour les... (2.17.661).	Yes.  Voyans au dehors et l'estimans par l'exteriore apparence. (G Pr 15)

Et l'Eternel dit à Samuel, Ne pren point garde à son visage, ni à la hauteur de sa stature, d'autant que ie l'ai reietté: car l'Eternel n'a point esgard à ce à quoi l'homme a esgard. Car l'homme a esgard à ce qui est devant les yeux: mais l'Eternel a esgard au coeur.	Pas tousjours leur avis en visage decouvert et apparent. (II.12.545.A)	
Music heals melancholy.  I Samuel 16.23  Il advenoit doncques que quand le mauvais esprit de Dieu estoit sur Saul, David prenoit le violon, & en iouoit de sa main: & Saul en estoit soulagé, & s'en trouvoit bien: d'autant que le mauvais esprit se partoit de lui.	No.  Closest parallels: avant pris plaisir a un musicien pendant son souper, se fit. (III.6.903.B).  les enfans de coeur prennent grand plaisir a la musique? (I.42.264.A).	No.  Closest parallels:  [nos coeurs esmeus et effrayez] a l'intonation de la musique. (C 25.206);  bon ouyr la voiz et musicque de ces bestes Arcadiques. (C 7 108N).
The Lord's anointed.  I Samuel 10.1/16.13  10.1: Or Samuel avoit prins une phiole d'huile, laquelle il espendit sur la teste d'icelui: puis il le baisa, & lui dit, L'Eternel, ne t'a il pas oinct sur son heritage, pour en estre le conducteur?  16.13: Adonc Samuel print la corne d'huile, & oignit au milieu de ses freres: & depuis ce iour la en apres l'Esprit de l'Eternel saisit David. Or Samuel se leva, & s'en alla en Rama.  Keywords: oinct, oinct de l'Eternel (see below).	No.	No.
Familiar Spirit/Witch of Endor.  I Samuel 28.7-8  Et Saul dit à ses serviteurs, Cherchez moi une femme qui avait un esprit de Python, & ie m'en irai vers elle, & m'enquerrai par elle. Ses serviteurs lui dirent, Voila, il y a une femme en Hendor qui a un esprit de Python. 8 Alors Saul se desguisa, & se vestit d'autres vestemens, & s'en alla, lui & deux hommes avec lui: & ils arriverent de nuict vers ceste femme la: & Saul lui dit, Je te prie, devine moi par l'esprit de Python, & fai monter vers moi celui que ie te dirai.  Keywords: Necromancier, esprit de Python, Spectre.	No.  Necromancier -- No.  Spectre -- No.  Esprit de Python—No.	No.  Necromancier-- No.  Spectre—No.  Esprit de Python—No.
Samuel 1.14: The sanctity of the Lord's anointed.  I Samuel 24.11/II  24.11: Voici, ce iourd'hui tes yeux ont veu que l'eternel t'avoit livré	No.	No.

<p>aviourd'hui en ma main, en la caverne, &amp; m'aon bien dit que ie te tuasse: mais ie t'ai espargné, &amp; ai dit, le n'estendrai point ma main sur mon seigneur: car il est l'Oinct de l'Eternel.</p> <p>Keywords: Oinct de l'Eternel.</p>		
<p>The blood of the sinner falls upon his own head.</p> <p>I Kings 2.32-34</p> <p>22 Et l'Eternel sera retourner sur sa teste le sang qu'il a espandu: car il s'est rué sur deux hommes plus iustes, &amp; meilleurs que lui, &amp; les a tués avec le espee, sans que David mon pere en feust rien, assavoir Abner fils de Ner, chef de l'armee d'Israel: &amp; Hamasa fils de Iether, chef de l'armee de Iuda. 23 Tellement que le sang de ceux-la retournera sur la teste de Ioab, &amp; sur la teste de sa posterité à tousiours: mais ill y aura paix de par l'Eternel, à tousiours, pour David, &amp; pour sa posterité, &amp; pour sa maison, &amp; pour son throne.</p> <p>Keywords: sur sa teste le sang qu'il espandu, sur sa teste le [peche]...</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Sont d'accord non pas le ciel soit sur nostre teste (II 12 563A)</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>[fort moret] sur sa tete rase ce qu'elle vouloit mander (P 24 42).</p>
<p>Chastisement by rods, whips and scourges.</p> <p>I Kings 12.11,14/Psalm 89.32</p> <p>I Kings 12.11: Or mon pere a chargé sur vous un pesant ioug, mais moi ie rendrai vostre ioug encore plus pesant. Mon pere vous a chastiés avec des fouëts, mais moi ie vous chastierai avec des escourgees.</p> <p>Psalm 89.32-33: S'ils violent mes statuts, &amp; ne gardent point mes commandemens: 33 Je visiterai de verge leur transgression, &amp; de playes leur iniquité.</p> <p>Keywords: pesant ioug, fouëts, escourgees</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>Et secoue comme un joug tyrannicque toutes les impressions. (II 12 439 A).</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>Et pouvoir et scavoir le rendre au joug de ton saint vouloir. (G 28 47Z).</p>
<p>The body devoured by worms.</p> <p>Job 21.26/Isaiah 51.8</p> <p>Job 21.26: Ils gisent ensemble en la poudre, &amp; les vers les couvrent.</p> <p>Isaiah 51.8: Car la tige les rongera comme un vestement, &amp; la gerce les devorera comme la laine: mais ma iustice demeurera à tousiours, &amp; mon salut par tous aages.</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>C'est le desjeuner d'un petit ver que le coeur et la vie. (II. 12 462 A).</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>A-il des ascarides, lumbriques et vermes dedans le corps. (T 22 68E).</p>



Keywords: ver, vermes.		
<p>21. The non-heritability of sin.</p> <p>Ezekiel 18.20-30</p> <p>20 L'ame qui pechera sera celle qui mourra: le fils ne portera point l'iniquité du pere, le pere ne portera point l'iniquité du fils: la iustice du iuste sera sur lui, &amp; la meschanceté du meschant sera sur lui. 21 Que si le meschant se destourne de tous ses pechés qu'il aura commis, &amp; garde tous mes statuts, &amp; fait ce qui est iuste &amp; droit, pour vrai il vivra, &amp; ne mourra point. 22 Tous ses forfaits, qu'il aura commis, ne lui seront point ramenteus, ains il vivra pour sa iustice à laquelle il se sera adonné.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>Chacun poise sur le peché de son compagnon (II 2 340 B)</p>	<p>Yes:</p> <p>le peche de nos prier parens (P 8 15G);</p> <p>Comme éterne punition du péché de leurs ancestres (Q 45 47).</p>
<p>The value of repentance.</p> <p>Ezekiel 18.21-22</p> <p>Que s le meschant se destourne de tous ses pechés, qu'il aura commis, &amp; garde tous me statuts, &amp; fait ce qui est iuste &amp; droit, pour vrai il vivra, &amp; ne mourra point.</p> <p>Keywords: destourne de tous ses pechés.</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>La repetence suit de pres le peché, ne semble pas regarder. (III 2 808 B)</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel: Trop énorme eust esté le péché révéler sa confession. (T 19 118N)</p>
<p>Cherubim.</p> <p>Ezekiel 28.16 (etc.)</p> <p>16...dont ie ietterai comme une chose pollue hors de la Montagne de Dieu, &amp; te détruirai, ô Cherubin, qui fers de protection, d'entre les pierres flamboyantes</p> <p>Keyword: Cherubin.</p>	<p>No.</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>5X, e.g. [sacres Decretales escriptes de la main d'un ange Cherubin (Q 49 40).</p>
<p>stony heart.</p> <p>Ezekiel 36.26</p> <p>Et vous donnerai un nouveau coeur, &amp; mettrai dedans vous un esprit nouveau: l'osterai le coeur de pierre hors de vostre chair, &amp; vous donnerai une coeur de chair.</p> <p>Keywords: Le coeur de pierre.</p>	<p>No.</p>	<p>No.</p>
<p>Lucifer</p> <p>Isaiah 14.12</p> <p>Comment tu cheute de cieux, estoile du matin, fille de l'aube du iour? Toi qui affollois les nations, tu es abbatu iusques en terre.</p>	<p>No.</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>Meilleur te seroit astre tombe entre les pattes de Lucifere (C 12 27); le clair Lucifer commençant apparoistre sus terre. (C 27 56).</p>

Keywords: Lucifer, estoile du matin.		
Against vow-breaking  Ecclesiastes 5.3-4  Car comme le songe vient de ce en quoi on s'est beaucoup occupé: ainsi fort la voix des fols de l'abondance des paroles. 4 Quand tu auras voué quelque voeu à Dieu, ne dilaye point de l'accomplir, car il ne prend point de plaisir é fols: accompli donc ce que tu auras voué.  Keywords: accomplie donc ce que tu auras voué.	No.  Closest parallel:  Je l'ay voué à la commodité particuliere de mes parens. (I 0 3 A).	No.  Closest parallel:  Ceaulx et celles qui ont voué jeûner. (PP 9 4).
The pangs of death.  Psalm 18.3-5  18.5: Cordeaux de mort m'avoyent entouré, & torrens de meschans garnemens m'avouent troublé.  Keywords: cordeaux de mort; flots de la mort.	No.	No.
Pains of hell.  Psalm 18.4-6  18.6: Les courdeaux du sepulcre m'avoyent ceint, les laqs de la mort m'avoyent surprin.  Keywords: cordeaux du sepulchre, les filets du Sheol.	No.	No.
Lord have mercy.  Psalm 51.1 (etc.)  3 O Dieu, aye pitié de moi selon ta gratuité, selon la grandeur de tes compassions, efface me forfaits.  Keywords: pitié de moi.	No.	Yes.  et pour Dieu pardonne-nous! (Q 15 45N)
30. Psalm 137  1 Nous nous sommes tenus aupres des fleuves de Babylon, & mesmes y avons pleuré, ayans souvenance de Sion. 2 Nous avons pendu nos violons aux faules au milieu d'icelle. 3 Quand ceux qui nous avoyent emmenés prisonniers, nous ont demandé paroles de cantique, & de les esiouir de nos violons qu nous avions pendus, disans, Chantez nous quelque chose des Cantiques de Sion: nous avons respondu, 4 Comment chanterions nous des Cantiques de l'Eternel en une terre d'estrangers? 5 Si ie t'oublie,	??	??

Ierusalem, que ma dextre s'oublie elle mesme. 6 Que ma langue soit attachee à mon palais, si ie n'ai souvenance de toi: si ie n mets Ierusalem pour le principal chef de ma resiouissance. 7 O Eternel, aye souvenance des enfans d'Edom, lesquels en la iournee de Ierusalem disoyent, Descouvrez, découvrez iusqu'au fondement qui est en icelle. Fille de Babylon, qui t'en vas destruite, ô que bienheureux sera celui qui te rendra la pareille, de ce que tu nous as fait! 9 O que bienheureux sera celui qui empoignera tes petis enfans, & les froissera contre le pierres.		
Sharp tongued slander  Psalm 140.3  Ils assilent leur langue comme un serpent: venin de viperes est sous leurs leures: selah.  Keywords: langue...viperes	No.  Langue: grands cette mesme licence de langue et de contenance que II 17 649 B.  Vipere: Quand elle a mangé de la vipere, chercher incontinent d II 12 598 A.	No.  Langue: par suppression de parolles et taciturnité de langues. C 36 81. Vipere: en l'aulte vous rongeriez comme vipères les costez propres. C 13 32 N.
Four corners of the world  Isaiah 11.12  Et il eslevera l'enseigne parmi les nations, & assemblera les Israelites dechassés, & recueillira des quatre coings de la terre ceux de Iuda qui aouront esté dispersés.  Keywords: des quatre coings de la terre.	No.  Closest parallel:  Et à peine est il deux ou trois coins au monde qu n'ayent. (II 23 683 A).	No.
Prayer and fasting are good together.  Tobit 12.8-9  C'est bonne chose qu'oraison avec iusne, aumosne & iustice. Il vaut mieux avoir peu avec droiture, que beaucoup avec iniustice. Il vaut mieux faire aumosne que de thesaurizer de l'or. 9 Car l'aumosne delivre de mort, & nettoye tout peché. Ceux qui sont aumosnes & iustices seront de longue vie.  Keywords: oraison avec iusne, la priere...et le jeune.	No.  Closest parallel:  avoit escrit contre luy des oraisons tres-poignantes (II 33 732 A).	No.  Closest parallel:  Après l'oraison feut mélodieusement chanté le pseaulme du (G 57 33).  Sont occupéz sinon à contemplation et dévotion, en jeusne (P 34 38).
The swift fall of the proud and wicked.  Ecclus. 10.7, 14/Proverbs 16.18  Proverbs 16.18: L'orgueil va devant l'escrasement: & la hautesse d'esprit devant la ruine.  Ecclus. 10.15: Orgueil est le commencement de peché: & celui qui	Yes.L'orgueil est sa perte et sa corruption (II 12 498 A)	No.  Closest parallel:  en Rome Tarquin, l'orgueilleux, roy dernier de Romains (Q 63 84P)

<p>l'a, iettera a grand randons toute abomination, iusqu'a ce qu'il soit ruiné.</p> <p>Keyword: orgueil.</p>		
<p>The wicked are punished by their own devices.</p> <p>Wisdom 11.13</p> <p>11.13: Afin qu'ils cognussent que l'homme est puni par les choses mesmes, equelles il peche.</p> <p>Keywords: peche</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel: Poise sur le peché de son compagnon (II 2 340 B).</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>comme éterne punition du péché de leurs ancestres (Q 45 47).</p>
<p>Finis Coronat opus/The end crowns the work</p> <p>Ecclus 11.27</p> <p>27 Car il est facile au Seigneur de rendre à l'homme selon ses oeuvres au iour de son trespas. 28 L'affliction d'une heure fait oublier les delices: &amp; en la fin de l'homme est la manifestation de ses faits.</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>Proverb: No.</p> <p>General thought: Yes, viz.: et sa fin principale et perfection, c'est d'estre exactement. (II 5 875 B)</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>Proverb: No.</p> <p>General thought: Yes, viz.: Telle estoir leur definée, &amp; la fut leur fin predestinée (C Pr 73)</p>
<p>He that touches pitch will be defiled.</p> <p>Ecclus 13.1</p> <p>Qui touche à la poix, il en sera taché: &amp; qui communique avec l'orgueilleux, deviendra semblable à lui.</p> <p>Keyword: Poix.</p>	<p>No.</p>	<p>No.</p>
<p>Friends desert the impoverished man of former wealth.</p> <p>Ecclus. 13.23:</p> <p>Quand le riche est ebranlé, il est appuyé par ses amis: mais quand l'homme de basse condition tombe, il est repoussé par ses amis.</p> <p>Keywords: ses amis, l'homme de basse condition.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Consolation en la perte de nos amis que celle que nous (II 8 396 A).</p> <p>Mes amis m'importunent estrangement quand ils me (III 9 970 C).</p>	<p>No.</p>
<p>The omniscient eye of God.</p> <p>Ecclus. 23.25-27:</p> <p>25 L'homme qui se fouruoye de son lict, disant en son coeur, Qui est ce qui me voit? 26 Les tenebres sont autour de moy, &amp; les murailles me cachent, &amp; personne ne me voit. Que craindray ie? Le Souverain n'aura point souvenance de mes pechés. 27 Un tel homme ne craint pour tout que les yeux du Seigneur sont infiniment plus clairs que le soleil?</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>et si Dieu au chef porte des yeux, Les rayones du Soleil sont (II 12 514 A).</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>Argus avoyt cent yeulx pour veoir; cent mains fault a un (G 5 133Z).</p>

Keywords: yeux, soleil.		
<p>Reciprocal mercy.</p> <p>Ecclus. 28.1-4</p> <p>1 Le Seigneur se vengera de celui qui se venge soi meme, &amp; il lui gardera soigneusement ses fautes. 2 Pardonne à ton prochain son mesfait: &amp; quand tu prieras, tes pechés te seront pardonnés. 3 L'homme gardera il son courroux envers l'homme, &amp; demandera guerison au Seigneur? Il n'aura point pitié de l'homme semblable a lui, &amp; demandera pardon de ses pechés. 4 Puis que lui qui n'est que chair, garde son courroux, [&amp; demande pardon à Dieux,] qui est ce qui effacera ses pechés?</p> <p>Keywords: peche, pitie, pardon</p>	No.	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>je vous requiers qu'ayez de moy mercy (G 34 38)</p>
<p>Don't curse the day of your birth.</p> <p>Ecclus. 41.9-11:</p> <p>Les enfans se plaindront d'un meschant pere, pource qu'ils seront deshonorés par lui. 10 Mal heur sur vous, contempteurs de Dieu, qui laissez la Loy du Souverain: car encores que vous multipliez, si perirez vous. 11 Si vous vivez, vous ferez en malediction: si vous mourez, vous ferez en detestation.</p> <p>Keywords, les enfans, se plaindront.</p>	<p>No. Closest parallels:</p> <p>Les enfans:</p> <p>Nou ne sommes qu'enfans au pris d'elles. III 5 857 B.</p> <p>Se plaindront: None.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallels:</p> <p>Les enfans:Demeure ès enfans ce que estoit de perdu ès parents. P 8 20G.</p> <p>Se plaindront: None.</p>
<p>42. Avaunt Satan!</p> <p>Matt. 4.10</p> <p>Adonc Iesus lui di, Va Satan: car il est escrit, Tu adoreras le Seigneur ton Dieu, &amp; à lui seul tu serviras.</p> <p>Keywords: Va, Satan.</p>	No.	No.
<p>Blessed are the peacemakers.</p> <p>Matt. 5.9</p> <p>Bien heureux sont ceux qui procurent la paix: car ils seront appelés enfans de Dieu.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>sainte affection a maintenir la paix et l'estat de leur (II 19 668 A)</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>en la paix du Dieu vivant (P 28 37P)</p>

<p>If your eye offends, pluck it out.</p> <p>Matt. 5.29</p> <p>Que si ton oeil droit te fait chopper, arrache-le, &amp; le iette arriere de toi: car il te vaut mieux qu'un de tes membres perisse, &amp; que ton corps ne soit point ietté en la gehenne.</p> <p>Keywords: si ton oeil droit te fait, chopper, arrache-le.</p>	<p>No.</p>	<p>No.</p>
<p>Don't swear/ Say 'yea' or 'nay'.</p> <p>Matt. 5.33-37</p> <p>33 Derechef vous avez entendu qu'il a esté dit par les anciens, Tu ne te pariureras point, ains tu rendras au Seigneur ce que tu auras promis par iurement. 34 Mais ie vous di, moi, Ne iurez aucunement, ni par le ciel, car c'est le throne de Dieu: 35 Ni par la terre, car c'est le marchepied de ses pieds: ni par Jerusalem, car c'est la ville du grand Roy. 36 Aussi ne iureras tu par ta teste: car tu ne peux faire un cheveu blanc ou noir. 37 Mais vostre parole soit sui, sui: non, non: &amp; ce qui est par dessus est du mal.</p> <p>Keywords: vostre parole....sui, sui; non, non; ne jurez.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Sui, non: No.</p> <p>Closest parallels: Non, non, nous ne sentons rien, nous ne voyons rien. II 12 510 B.</p> <p>Qui semblent, rien est non plus que non est, qu'il n'y a. II 12 526 C.</p> <p>Ne jurez: no.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Sui, non: No lexical data available.</p> <p>Ne jurez: no.</p>
<p>Love your enemies.Matt. 5.44</p> <p>43 Vous avez entendu qu'il a esté dit:Tu aimeras ton prochain, &amp; hairas ton ennemi. 44 Mais ie vous di aimez voz ennemis, benissez ceux qui vous maudissent, faites bien à ceux qui vous haïssent: &amp; priez pour ceux qui vous courent sus, &amp; vous persecutent.</p> <p>Keywords: aimez voz ennemis.</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>leur pointe, outre avoir rendu l'ennemy à leur mercy (I 31 211 C)</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel: ennemis de la croix du Christ (Q 58 61).</p>
<p>Don't store up your treasure on earth.</p> <p>Matt. 6.19-21</p> <p>19 Ne vous amassez point de thresors en la terre, où la tige &amp; la rouillure gaste tout, &amp; là où les larrons percent &amp; desrobbent. 20 Mais amassez vous des thresors au ciel, là où la tigne &amp; la</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>le sacraire des saints Thresors de la doctrine celeste (I 56 324 A).</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel: l'on ne te jugeroit estre garde et tresor de l'immortalité de Tresors (P 8 42G).</p>

rouillure ne gastent rien, & là où les larrons ne percent ni ne desrobent. 21 Car là où est vostre thresor, là aussi sera vostre coeur.		
Take the mote out of your own eye.  Matt. 7.3-4/Luke 6.42  42. Et pourquoi regardes tu le festu qui est en l'oeil de ton frere: et tu n'appercois pas un chevron qui est en ton oeil? 4 Ou comment dis tu a ton frere, Permits que i'oste de ton oeil ce festu, & voici un chevron en ton oeil?  Keywords: le festu, le chevron.	No.	Yes.  Et se glorifiant veoir un festu en l'oeil d'aultruy (T 25 70)
Enter at the straight gate.  Matt. 7.13-14  Entrez par la porte estroite: car c'est la porte large et le chemin spacieux qui mene à perdition & beaucoup y en a qui entrent par icelle. 14 Car la porte est estroite et la chemin estroit qi mene à la vie: & peu y en a qui le trouvent.  Keywords: la porte estroite....mene à la vie; perdition.	No.  Closest parallel: et desvoyé au sentier de perdition, aymer mieux estre (II 12 498 A).	No.  Closest parallel: que tout iroit à mal et perdition, comme depuis advint (Q 39 32P)
False prophets are wolves in sheep's clothing.  Matt. 7.15  Or donnez-vous garde des faux prophetes qui viennent à vous en habit de brebis: et par dedans ce sont loups ravissans.  Keywords: faux prophetes, brebis, loups.	Yes.  s'ils l'attrapent, et condamné pour faux prophete (I 31 208 A).	Yes.  Diables estoent tous capparassonnez de peaulx de loups (Q 13 37N).
There is nothing covered that shall not be disclosed, nor hid that shall not be known.  Matt. 10.26  Ne les craignez donc point, car rien n'est couvert qui ne se descouvre, & rien n'est secret qui ne se cognoisse.  Keywords: rien n'est couvert qui ne se descouvre.	No.  Ou, s'il est couvert, comme on les presentoit anciennement (I 42 259 A).	No.  Closest parallel:  Que croistra sus terre, l'autre ce que en terre sera couvert (Q 45 86).
Beelzebub, prince of devils.  Matt. 12.24	No.	No.

<p>Mais les Pharisiens ayans entendu cela, disoyent, Cestui ci ne iette hors les diables sinon de par Beelzebub prince des diables.</p> <p>Keyword: Beelzebub.</p>		
<p>The pearl of great price.</p> <p>Matt. 13.44--46</p> <p>44 Derechef, le royaume des cieux est semblable à un thresor caché en un champ, que quelcun a trouvé caché. Puis de ioye qu'il en a, il s'en va, &amp; vend tout ce qu'il a, &amp; achetece champ la. 45 Derechef, le royaume des cieux est semblable à un marchand qui cherche des bonnes perles: 46 Lequel ayant trouvé quelque perle de grand prix, s'en est allé, &amp; a vendu tout ce qu'il avoit, &amp; l'a achetee.</p> <p>Keywords: le royaume des cieux; perle de grand prix.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>Grand richesse en or et en perles, et qui n'avoient ny (III 6 909 B)</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>précieusement recamée et labourée de perles (SC 268)</p>
<p>Flesh and blood...</p> <p>Matthew 16.17</p> <p>Et Iesus , mais mon Pere respondant lui dit, Tu es bien heureux, Simon fils de Iona: car la chair &amp; le sang ne te l'a pas revelé, mais mon Pere qui est és cieux.</p> <p>Keywords: la chair &amp; le sang.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>Dieu fier, qu te paisses de chair et dee sang, mange les. (I 30 201 B).</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>Par la chair, je renie! Par le sang, je renague! (T 36 120N).</p>
<p>What shall it profit a man...if he lose his soul?</p> <p>Matt. 16.24</p> <p>16.25: Car quiconque voudra sauver son ame, il la perdra: &amp; quiconque perdra son ame pour l'amour de moi, il la trouvera.</p> <p>Keywords: quiconque perdra son ame...illa trouvera.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>defaillance et cheute de l'ame aussi bien que du corps. (II 12 552 C).</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>car, quand ...mon âme laissera ceste habitation humaine. (P 8 31G).</p>
<p>Things left undone.</p> <p>Matt. 23.23</p> <p>Malheur sur vous, Scribes &amp; Pharisiens hypocrites: car vous dismez la mente, l' Janet &amp; l'e cumin, &amp; delaissez les choses de la Loy, qui sont de plus grande importance, assavoir iugement, misericorde, &amp; loyauté: il faloit faire ces choses-ici, &amp; ne laisser point celle-la.</p> <p>Keywords: il faloit faire ce choses-ici.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>je jugeay qu'il falloit laisser les choses en cet (I 25 142 A).</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>pesant qu'il falloit à un chascun faire droict (P 13 23).</p>
<p>The Christian "ransom" of life for life.</p>	<p>No.</p>	<p>No.</p>



<p>Matt. 10.28</p> <p>Et ne craignez point ceux qui tuent les corps, &amp; ne peuvent tuer l'ame: mais plustost craignez celui qui peut destruire l'ame &amp; le corps en la gehenne.</p> <p>Keywords: qui tuent les corps, &amp; ne peuvent tuer l'ame.</p>	<p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>cette societ�� et jointure du corps et de l'ame, jusques �� (II 17 639 A).</p>	<p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>perturbations, tant du corpse comme de l'��me ( Q 65 33N).</p>
<p>The parable of the talents.</p> <p>Matt. 25.14-29</p> <p>14 Car c'est comme un homme, lequel s'en allant dehors appela ses serviteurs, &amp; leur commit ses biens. 15 Et �� l'un bailla cinq talens, &amp; �� l'autre deux, &amp; �� l'autre un: �� chacun selon sa portee: &amp; incontinents s'en alla dehors. 16 Or celui qui avoit receu les cinq talens, s'en alla, &amp; trafiqua d'iceux: &amp; en fit cinq autres talens. 17 Semblablement aussi celui qui avoit receu les deux, en gagna aussi deux autres. 18 Mais celui qu'en avoit rceu un se partit, &amp; l'enfou��t en terre, &amp; cacha l'argent d son ma��tre. 19 : tu as est�� loyal en peu de choses, ie tt'establirai sur beaucoup: entre en la ioye de ton seigneur. 20 Adonc celui qui avoit receu les cinq talens, disant Seigneur, tu m'as commis cinq talens: voici, i'en ai gagn�� cinq autres par dessus. 21 Et son seigneur lui dit, Cela va bien, bon serviteur &amp; loyal: tu as est�� loyal en peu de chose, ie t'establirai sur beaucoup: entre en lay ioye do ton seigneur. 22 Puis celui qui avoit receu les deux talens, vint, &amp; dit, Seigneur, tu m'as commis deux talens: voici, l'en ai gagn�� deux autres par dessus. 23 Et son seigneur lui dit, Cela va bien, bon serviteur &amp; loyal: tu as est�� loyal en peu de chose, ie t'establirai sur beaucoup: entre en la ioye de ton seigneur. 24 Mais celui qui n'avoir receu qu'un talent vint, &amp; dit, Seigneur, ie cognoissoye quue tu estois homme rude, moissonnant l�� o�� tu n'as point sem��, &amp; assemblant l�� o�� tu n'as point espars. 25 Parquoi craignant, ie m'en suis all��, &amp; ai cach�� ton talent en terre: voici, tu as ce qui est tien. 26 Et son seigneur respondant lui dit, Mauvais serviteur &amp; lasche, tu savois qu ie moissonnoye l�� o�� ie n'ai point sem��, &amp; assembloye l�� o�� ie n'ai point espars. 27 Il te faloit donc bailler mon argent aux banquiers: &amp; estant venu l'eusse receu le mien avec usure. 28 Ostez lui donc le talent, &amp; le donnez ��</p>	<p>No.Closest parallel:</p> <p>Qu' il luy fit delivrer un talent, et se ventast d'avoir. I 24 131 B.</p>	<p>No.Closest parallel:</p> <p>Penses-tu, �� sot �� la grande paye, que valoit un talent d'or? Q 7 79.</p>

celui qui a les dix talens. 29 (Car à chacun qui aura il sera donné, & il en aura tant plus: mais à celui qui n'arien, cela mesmes qu'il a, lui fera osté.		
<p>Kissing Judas.</p> <p>Matt. 26.48-49</p> <p>48 Or celui qui le trahissoit, leur avoit donné un signal, disant, Celui que ie baiseraï, c'est lui: saisissez le. 49 Et incontinent s'approchant de Iesus, il lui dit, M aistre, bien te soit: &amp; le baisa.</p> <p>Keywords: Judas...[baiser].</p>	No.	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel: [Sallades] de responses, d'aureilles de Judas. (Q 60 23).</p>
<p>Pilate washes his hands.</p> <p>Matt. 27.24-25</p> <p>24 Pilate donc voyant qu'il ne profitoit rien, mais que le tumulte s'eslevoit tant plus, print de l'eau, &amp; lava ses mains devant le peuple, disant Je suis innocent du sang de ce iuste ici: vous y adviserez. 25 Et tout le peuple respondant, dit, Son sang soit sur nous, &amp; sur nos enfans.</p> <p>Keywords: lava ses mains, Je suis innocent du sang.</p>	<p>No.Innocent du sang: No.</p> <p>Lava ses mains: faisons de l'eau à laver les mains, il ne se lavoyent du. I 49 297 A.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Innocent du sang: No.</p> <p>Lava ses mains: usitée comme entre nous de présent laver les mains. C 23 21.</p>
<p>My name is legion.</p> <p>Mark 5.9</p> <p>Adonc il l'interroqua, Comment as tu nom? Et il respondit, disant, l'ai nom Legion: car nous sommes plusieurs.</p> <p>Keywords: legion</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>ame, laissant de moy deux filles et un legion de nepveux. (II 3 361 A).</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>de par trente légions de diables, vien! (Q 19 35J).</p>
<p>62. Take up the cross.</p> <p>Mark 10.21</p> <p>Et Iesus ayant ietté l'oeil sur lui, l'aima, &amp; lui dit, Un poinct te defaut: Va, &amp; ven tout ce que tu as, &amp; le donne aux pources &amp; tu auras un thresor au ciel: puis vien t'en, sui moi, ayant chargé la croix..</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>En a eu force qui par devotion ont voulu porter la croix (I 14 60 A).</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>Ne porte croix aulcune sus toy (T 23 75 N).</p>
<p>Lazarus and the beggar.</p> <p>Luke 16.20-31</p> <p>Il y avoit d'autre part un pource nommé Lazare, qui gisoit à la porte e'icelui, estant tout plein d'ulceres. 21. Lesquel desiroit d'estre rassasié des miettes qui tomboyent de la table du rich, &amp; memes les chiens venoyent, &amp; lui lechoyent ses ulceres. 22. Or advint que le pource mourut, &amp; qu'il fut</p>	No.	No.

<p>porté par les Anges au sein d'Abraham: or le riche aussi mourut, &amp; fut enseveli. 23. Et lui estant en enfer, &amp; eslevant ses yeux, comme il estoit és tormens, il vid de loin Abraham &amp; Lazarae au sein d'icelui. 24 Et s'escriant, il dit, Pere Abraham, aye pitié de moi, &amp; envoye Lazare, afin qu'il mouille d'eau le bout de son doigt, &amp; qu'il raffreshisse ma langue: car ie suis griefuement tormenté en ceste flamme. 25. Et Abraham respondit, Fils, souviene-toi que tu as receu tes biens en ta voie, &amp; Lazare semblablement les maux: &amp; maintenant il est consolé, &amp; tu es grièvement tormenté. 26. Et outre tout cela, il y a une grande abisme estable entre vous &amp; nous: tellement que ceus qui veulent passer d'ici vers vous, ne le peuvent: ne de là passer ici. 27. Et il dit, le te prie donc, pere, que tu l'envoyes en la maison de mon pere: 28. Car i'ai cinq freres, afin qu'il leur en atteste: de peur qu'eux aussi ne viennent en ce lieu de torment. 29. Abraham lui respondit, Ils ont Moyse &amp; les Prophetes, qu'ils les escoutent. 30. Mais il dit, Non, pere Abraham: mais si quelcun des morts va vers eux, ils s'amenderont. 31. Et Abraham lui dit, S'ils n'escoutent Moyse &amp; les Prophetes, non plus seront-ils persuadés, quand bien quelcun des morts ressuscitera.</p> <p>Keywords: Lazarus</p>		
<p>An evil angel</p> <p>Acts 12.15</p> <p>Mais ils lui dirent, Tu es folle. Mais elle au contraire affermoit qu'il estoit ainsi: &amp; eux disoyent, C'est son Ange.</p> <p>Keywords: son ange, mal ange.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Son ange, mal ange: No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>Desire d'eestre fait d'un homme ange, il ne fait rien pour. (II 3 354 A).</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>(antithesis of "bon ange").</p> <p>Dévoré à l'heure si mon bon ange ne'm'eust bien inspiré. (P 14 187N).</p>
<p>The 'members of the body' as servants of righteousness or slaves to fleshly desires.</p> <p>Romans 6.16-19</p> <p>16 Ne savez vous pas bien qu'à quiconque vous vous rendez serfs pour obeir, vous estes serfs de celui à qui vous obeïssez, soit de peché à mort, ou d'obeissance à iustice? 17 Or graces à Dieu que vous avez esté serfs du peché: mais vous avez obei de coeur à la forme expresse de doctrine à laquelle vous avez esté attirés. 18 Ayans donc esté affranchis du peché, vous estes faits serfs à iustice. 19 le parle à la</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel: L'indocile liberte de ce membre, s'ingerant si (I 21 102 C).</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel: A l'exemple des membres conspirans contre le ventre (Q 57 55).</p>

façon des hommes, à cause de l'infirmité de votre chair. Ainsi donc que vous avez appliqué vos membres pour servir à souillure & iniquité: ainsi appliquez maintenant vos membres pour servir à iustice, en sainteté.		
It is not 'I' who sin, but the sin that dwelleth in me.  Romans 7.18-20  18 Car ie fai qu'en moi (c'est à dire en ma chair) n'habite point de bien: car le vouloir est bien attaché à moi: mais ie ne trouve point le moyen de parfaire le bien. 19 Car ie ne fai point le bien que ie vueil, ains ie fai le mal que ie ne vueil point. 20 Que si ie fai ce que ie ne vueil point, ce n'est plus moi qui le fai, mais le peché qui habite en moi.  Keywords: que si ie fai ce que ie ne vueil point, ce n'est plus moi qui le fai	??	Lexical entry "moi" not available
Heaven ministers correction.  Romans 13.4-6  Car le prince est serviteur de Dieu pour ton bien, mais si tu fais mal, crain: d'autant qu'il ne porte point l'espee sans cause: car il est serviteur de Dieu, ordonne pour faire iustice en ire, de celui qui fait mal. 5 Et pourtant il faut estre suiets, non point seulement pour l'ire, mais aussi pour la conscience. 6 Car pour ceste cause aussi payez vous les tributs: d'autant qu'iceux sont ministres de Dieu s'employans a cela. 7 Rendez donc à tous ce qui leur est deu: à qui tribut, le tribut, à qui peage, le peage: à qui crainte, la crainte: à qui honneur, l'honneur.  Keywords: Rendez donc à tous ce qui leur est deu.	No.  Rendez:  ne dit point: Ne vous rendez pas aux attraicts de la beauté. (III 10 1015 B)  Deu: No.	No.  Rendez:  Hay, Domine, je vous pry,...que vous rendez nos cloches (G 19 48).  (Possibly a parody of this or other scripture).Deu:  Le répétoient comme `a eux deu par propriété naturelle. (P 26 15).
68. The body is the temple of the soul.  I Corinthians 6.19-21  19 Ne savez vous pas que votre corps est temple du saint Esprit, qui est en vous, lequel vous avez de Dieu, & n'estes point à vous memes? 20 Car vous avez esté achetés par prix: glorifiez donc Dieu en votre corps, & en votre esprit, lesquels appartiennent a Dieu.	No.  Closest parallel: Car ce monde est un temple tres-sainct, dedans lequel...(II 12 447 B).	Yes.  N'est on Domicile de vostre esprit entre fors liberal scavoir (T 48 32G).
69. The husband is the wife's head.  I Corinthians 11.3  Mais ie vueil que vous sachiez que le	No.	No.  Closest parallel: c'est à dire chef de l'armee (Q 37 117P).

<p>chef de tout homme, c'est Christ: &amp; le Chef de la femme, c'est l'homme: &amp; le chef de Christ, c'est Dieu.</p> <p>Keywords: la Chef de la femme...</p>		
<p>The last trumpet/the twinkling of an eye.</p> <p>I Corinthians 15.52</p> <p>En un moment, &amp; en un clin d'oeil, à la dernière trompette: (car la trompette sonnera) &amp; les morts ressusciteront incorruptibles, &amp; nous serons transmués.</p> <p>Keywords: trompette, trompe, les morts.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel: de nos maux que fait un trompette de ville qui crie un (III 13 1079 B).</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>Au juge vif et juge mort, a la trompe, a tirer les fers du four (G 22 60).</p>
<p>The eye of the mind/the inward/outward man.</p> <p>II Corinthians 4.16-18</p> <p>16 Parquoi nous ne nous anonchalissons point: ains combien que nostre homme exterieur se dechee, toutesfois l'interieur est renouvelé de iour en iour. 17 Car nostre legere affliction, qui ne fait que passer, produit en nous un poids eternel d'une gloire excellement excellente: 18 Quand nous ne regardons point aux choses visibles sont pour un temps: mais les invisibles sont eternelles.</p> <p>Keywords: chose visibles....chose invisibles.</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>c'est un vertu, si ce l'est, artificiele et visible (III 5 850 B). Invisibles, il nou les manifeste par les visibles (II 12 447 A).</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>certes ne le veismes, et n'est visible à oeilz corporelz (Q 48 31P)</p>
<p>Satan is an angel of light.</p> <p>II Corinthians 11.14</p> <p>Et ce n'est pas de merveilles: car Satan mesme se desguise en Ange de lumiere.</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>Au lieu de se transformer en anges, ils se transforment en</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>L'ange de Sathan se transfigure en enage de lumiere (T 14 153P).</p>
<p>The kingdom of darkness.</p> <p>Ephesians 6.12</p> <p>12. Car nous n'avons point la luite contre les sang &amp; la chair, mas contre les principautés, contre les puissances, contre les seigneurs du monde, gouverneurs de tenebres de ce siecle, contre les malices spirituelles qui sont es lieux celestes.</p> <p>Keywords: gouverneurs de tenebres de</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel: si terrestre, ignorant et tenebreux, c'est une voix partant. II 12 568 C.</p>	<p>No.</p>

ce siecle.		
<p>Weapons of faith.</p> <p>Eph. 6.14-17 (etc.)</p> <p>14 Soyez donc fermes, ayans vos reins ceints de verité, &amp; estans revestus du halecret de iustice: 15 et ayans le pieds chaussés de la preparation de l'Evangile de paix: 16 prenans sur tout le bouclier de la foy, par lequel vous puissiez esteindre tous les dards enflammés du Malin. 17 Prenez aussi le heaume de salut, &amp; l'espee de l'Esprit, qui est la parole de Dieu.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Nearest parallel: C'est un ourageux glaive qu l'esprit a son possesseur (II 12 461 B)</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Nearest parallel: Acappaye, on nom de Dieu! Desmanche le heaulme, hau! (Q 20 79J).</p>
<p>Put off the old man and put on the new.</p> <p>Ephesians 4.22-24</p> <p>22 Assavoir que vous despouilliez le vieil homme quant à la conversation precedente, lequel se corrompt par les convoitises qui seduisent: 23 Et que vous soyez revestus du nouvel homme, créé selon Dieu en iustice &amp; vraye sainteté.</p> <p>Keywords: le vieil homme</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>(dist frère Jan interrompant). De jeune hermite, vieil diable. (Q 64 26J).</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>sur une rouë, ou à la vieille facon, cloué à un croix? (II 27 701 A)</p>
<p>The Good Angel.</p> <p>Hebrews 1.14</p> <p>Ne sont-ils pas tous esprits administrateurs, envoyés pour servir, pour l'amour de ceux qui doivent recevoir l'heritage de salut.</p> <p>Keywords: bon ange</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>non comme de la conscience d'un ange ou d'un cheval, mais (III 2 806) C.</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>dévoré à l'heure si mon bon ange ne m'eust bien inspiré (P 14 187N).</p>
<p>Woman is the 'weaker vessel'.</p> <p>I Peter 3.7</p> <p>Vous maris, semblablement comportez vous discretement avec icelles comme avec un vaisseau plus fragile, c'est assavoir feminin, leur portant respect, comme ceux qui aussi estes ensemble heritiers de la grace de vie: afin que vos prieres ne soyent point entrerpompues.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel:</p> <p>la protection de nostre vaisseau a la pure conduite du (III 1 799 C).</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel: selon son divin arbitre, que fait un potier ses vaisseaulx (G 40 79Z).</p>
<p>Satan the deceiver.</p> <p>Rev. 12.9</p> <p>Et fut ietté le grand dragon, le serpent ancien, appelé le diable &amp; Satan, qui seduit tout le monde: voire il fut ietté en terre, &amp; ses anges furent iettés avec lui.</p> <p>Keywords: satan.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel: impure et soubmise lor mesmes a la domination de Satan (I 56 324 A).</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>Voy-le-cy! Ho! Ho! Diable Satanas, Leviathan! (Q 33 62 N).</p>

<p>The name blotted from the book of life.</p> <p>Rev. 3.5</p> <p>Qui vaincra, icelui sera vestu de vestemens blancs, &amp; n'effacera point son nom du livre de vie, ainsi ie confesserai son nom devant mon Pere, &amp; devant ses Anges.</p> <p>Keywords: n'effacera point son nom du livre de vie.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallels: de se travailler pour acquerir nom par ses ouvrages (II 16 629 A).</p> <p>Et par une cuysine le Saint livres des sacrez mysteres de (I 56 321 B).</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel: continuellement requerons a Dieu qu'il efface noz peches (P 8 38G).</p>
<p>The book of life.</p> <p>Rev. 20.12: Rev. 20.12</p> <p>Je vi aussi les morts grans &amp; petis se tenans devant Dieu: &amp; les livres furent ouverts: &amp; un autre livre fut ouvert, assavoir le livre de vie: &amp; furent iugés les morts par les choses qui estoient en eux: &amp; fut fait iugement de chacun selon leurs oeuvres.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Closest parallel: et par une cuysine le Saint livre des sacres mysteres (I 56 321 B).</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>De pierres mortes ne sont escriptez en mon livre vie (T 6 11N).</p>
<p>The Lake of fire and brimstone.</p> <p>Rev. 21.8/20.10</p> <p>20.10: Et le diable qui seduisoit, fut ietté en l'estang de feu &amp; de soulfhre, là où est la beste &amp; le faux prophete, &amp; ils seront tormentés iour &amp; nuict és siecles des siecles.</p> <p>21.8: Mais aux timides, &amp; aux incredules, &amp; aux execrables, &amp; aux incredules, &amp; aux meurtriers, &amp; aux paillards, &amp; aux empoisonneurs, &amp; aux idolatres, &amp; à tous menteurs, leur part sera en l'estang ardent de feu &amp; de soulfhre, qui est la mort seconde.</p> <p>Keywords: l'estang de feu &amp; de soulfhre...la mort seconde.</p>	<p>No.</p>	<p>No.</p>

Totals:	Yes	No	NA
Montaigne:	16	63	2
Rabelais	23	55	3

## APPENDIX G: SUMMARY OF ANNOTATIONS

There are five inks and two hands represented in the annotations in the de Vere Bible: Scarlet, Orange, Brown-black, and Grey-black. Hand B is represented in only one annotation, in the single instance of occurrence of ink Five (light brown), that found at Job. The hand appears to be that of a child or a person suffering from some kind of incapacity. Underlinings are identified as V(erse) N(umber) when only the number of the verse has been underlined, as (C)ontinuous when a portion within the verse has been underlined, apparently for emphasis.

A schematic transcript of this data, although incomplete and inaccurate in a few critical respects, and without the text of the relevant passages, may be found at David Kathman's web site ([www.clark.net/tross/ws/oxbib.html](http://www.clark.net/tross/ws/oxbib.html)).

Note to the third printing (February 2003): No effort has been spared in compiling this transcript to remain faithful to the original. I devoted several years to examining the original annotations and underlining in the Bible when available as well as microfilm reproductions, which sometimes fail to reproduce sufficient detail to render an accurate judgement about the extent of certain underlining. Recently, however, Jim Brooks (PhD, statistics), drew my attention to a list of discrepancies between the data contained in the dissertation and those published by Kathman. A review of these discrepancies reveals that the original list published in the dissertation in fact omitted a number of marked verses, particularly underlined notes in the books of Samuel and in Isaiah, Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom. Ironically, some of these omitted items supply intriguing connections to Shakespeare, some noted for the first time in this revised version of the appendix. My comments on note (r) at I Samuel 14.41 were printed by *Notes and Queries* March 2000 even though the item was inadvertently omitted from the dissertation. I thank both Jim Brooks and David Kathman for their respective roles in bringing these items to my attention. Items added to this printing are: I Sam. 14.41 note r; I Samuel 16.23 note g; II Samuel 18.9 note; II Samuel 20.21 note n; II Chronicles 16.3 note c; II Chronicles 16.7 note d; Isaiah 58.5-7 Isaiah 59.20; Wisdom 3.10; Wisdom 5.22; Eccles. 7.17; Eccles. 16.9; II Macabees 10.4; and I Corinthians 16.1, 3-5. It should be noted, however, that Kathman's published transcript is even less accurate than the one originally published in the dissertation: although 18 items are added to the present transcript, Kathman's list is short by almost twice as many items (about 34). Kathman, for example, missed a long series of marked verses in II Macabees: 3.25-40. The present updated transcript is currently the most accurate in print in any medium. Those making use of the de Vere Bible for their own independent purposes are however encouraged to cross check this transcript with original materials or microfilm before making definite conclusions in print about any given marked verse.

<b>Genesis</b>	Total marked verses: 1. Colors: Grey-black only.
18.26 (VN) in Grey-black.	<u>26</u> And the Lord answered, If I shal finde in Sodom fifty righteous within the citie, then wil I spare all the place for their sakes.
<b>Exodus</b>	Total marked verses: 11, plus portions of the argument. Both (VN) and (C). Colors: Orange, grey-black.
Argument: (C) in Grey-black.	<u>And because God loveth them to the end, whome he hath once begonne to love, he punisheth them not according to their desertes, but deals with them in great mercies, and ever with newe benefites labored to overcome their malice: for he stil governed them and gave them his worde &amp; Law, both concerning the maner, of serving him, &amp; also the forme of judgements and civil policie: to the intent that thei shulde not serve God after their owne inventions, but according to that ordre, which his heavenlie wisdom had appointed.</u>
6.4-5 (VN) in Orange.	These verses, in which God acknowledges his covenant and promises redemption from the Egyptian bondage, are the first marked in the Orange sequence, a series concerning economic themes such as the virtue of almsgiving, the protection of the poor and kinless, and the evils of usury.  <u>4</u> Furthermore as I made my covenant wt them to give them the land of their pilgremage, wherein they were strangers: <u>5</u> So I have also heard the groning of ye children of Israel, whome the Egyptians kepe in bondage, & have remembered my covenant.
9.25-26 (VN) in Grey-black.	The seventh of the ten plagues sent upon Egypt by the Lord --hail -- is marked by the annotator.  <u>25</u> And the haile smote through all the land of Egypt all that was in the field, bothe man and beast: also the haile smote all the herbes of the field, and brake to pieces all the trees of the field. <u>26</u> Onely in the land of Goshen (where the children of Israel were) was no haile.  Shakespeare refers six times to the plagues sent upon the Egyptians in Exodus 7-9, twice to the seventh plague marked here by the annotator:  Let heaven engender hail, And poison it in the source, and the first stone Drop in my neck... <span style="float: right;">(Antony &amp; Cleopatra 3.13. 159-61)</span>  The next Caesarion smite, Till by degrees the memory of my womb, Together with the brave Egyptians all,



	By the discandyng of this pelleted storm, Lie graveless. <span style="float: right;">(<i>Antony &amp; Cleopatra</i> 3.13.162-65)</span>
22.22, 25 (VN) in Orange. Black cropped note, [usu]rie.	Admonition to protect the legal rights of the widow and the fatherless child. Against usury.  <u>22</u> Ye shal not trouble any widowe, nor fatherles childe.  <u>25</u> If thou lend money to my people, that is, to the poore with thee, thou shalt not be as an usurer unto him: ye shal not oppresse him with usurie.  Shakespeare Diagnostic #8. Shaheen (1989) cites three references:  To God, the widow's champion and defense <span style="float: right;">(<i>Richard II</i> 1.2.43)</span>  To reave the orphan of his patrimony, To wring the widow from her custom'd right. <span style="float: right;">(<i>2 Henry VI</i> 5.1.187-8)</span>  A widow cries: be husband to me heavens! <span style="float: right;">(<i>King John</i> 3.1.108)</span>  Carter (1905 145, 204) adds two more: New widows howl, new orphans cry, new sorrows Strike heaven on the face. .... <span style="float: right;">(<i>Macbeth</i> 4.3.5)</span>  The widow Constance:  Draw those heaven moving pearls from his poor eyes Which heaven shall take in nature of a fee: Aye, with these crystal beads heaven shall be bribed To do him justice, and revenge on you. <span style="float: right;">(<i>King John</i> 2.1.169)</span>  I add:  QE: Was ever widow had so dear a loss!  Children: Were never orphans had so dear a loss. <span style="float: right;">(<i>Richard III</i> 2.2.77-78)</span>
23.3, 6 (VN) in Orange.	Admonition to protect the legal rights of the poor.  <u>3</u> Thou shalt not esteme a poore man in his cause.  <u>6</u> Thou shalt not overthrow the right of the poore in his sute.
33.4-6 (C) in Brown-black with fleur-de-lis drawings.	Did the annotator read in these verses, about the wearing of "costly rayment" on special occasions, a prefigurement of Ephesians 2.22-24?  4 And when the people heard this evil tidings, they sorowed, & <u>no man put on his best rayment.</u> 5 (For the Lord said to Moses, Say unto ye children of Israel, Ye are a stifnecked people, I will come sodenly upo thee, and consume thee: <u>therefore now put thy costly rayment from thee, that I may knowe what to do unto thee</u> ) 6 <u>So the children of Israel laied their good rayment from them, after Moses came</u> downe from the mount Horeb.

<b>Leviticus</b>	Total marked verses: 6. Colors: Orange, brown.
19.9-10 (VN) in Orange.	The law requiring farmers to leave gleanings for the poor.  <u>9</u> When ye reape the harvest of your land, ye shal not reape everie corner of your field, nether shalt thou gather the glainings of thy harvest. <u>10</u> Thou shalt not gather the grapes of thy vineyarde cleane, nether gather every grape of thy vineyard, but thou shalt leave them for the poore and for ye stranger: I am the Lord your God.
23.22 (VN) in Orange.	Repeats the admonition given in Lev. 19.9-10 to leave gleanings for the poor. Cf. Deuteronomy 24.19-21 below.  <u>22</u> And when you reape the harvest of your land, yu shalt not rid cleane the corners of thy field when yu reapest, nether shalt yu make anie after gathering of thy harvest, but shalt leave them unto the poore and to the stranger: I am ye Lord your God.
25.36-37 (VN) in Orange.	Prohibition against taking usury or lending money for usurious purposes. The marked verses are accompanied by brown ink note, cropped, which reads usu[ry].

	<p><u>36</u> Thou shalt take no usurie of him, nor vantage, but ye shalt feare thy God, that thy brother may live with thee.</p> <p><u>37</u> Thou shalt not give him thy money to usurie, nor lend him thy vitailles, for increase.</p> <p>A source, writes Shaheen (1993 113-114)<sup>342</sup> of Shylock's observation of the legality of lending money at interest to an enemy but not a friend:</p> <p>If thou wilt lend this money, lend it not As to thy friends, for when did friendship take ...barren metal of his friend? But lend it rather to thine enemy, Who if he break, thou mayst with better face Exact the penalty. <span style="float: right;">(<i>Merchant of Venice</i> 1.3.132-37)</span></p> <p>We also read in Sonnet six of "forbidden usury".</p>
<b>Numbers</b>	<p>Total marked verses: 2. Colors: Brown-black</p>
20.7-8 (VN) in Black.	<p>The miracle of water from the rock: the Lord admonishes Moses to take the rod and strike the rock with it.</p> <p><u>7</u> And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, <u>8</u> Take the rod, and gather thou and thy brother Aaron the Congregation together, and speake ye unto the rocke before their eies, &amp; it shal give for the his water, and thou shalt bring them water out of the rocke: so thou shalt give the Congregation, and their beastes drinke.</p> <p>These verses are recognized by Milward (1973 93) and Shaheen (1993 211-212) as the source for Helena's moral that</p> <p>Great floods have flown From simple sources, and great seas have dried When miracles have by the greatest been denied. <span style="float: right;">(<i>All's Well</i> 2.1.139-141)<sup>343</sup></span></p> <p>Shaheen mistakenly believes that the reference to "great seas" which have like "miracles" dried up requires a cross-reference to Exodus 14.16, 21-22, in which "the Lorde causes the sea to run backe...and made the Sea dry land." However, the Genevan note attached to Numbers 20.8-9 states: "where with thou didst miracles in Egypt and didest divide the sea." The word "miracles" does not appear in Exodus 14. This appears, in other words, to be an additional strong corroboration for the theory that Shakespeare was reading a Genevan bible with this note, when Numbers 20.8-9 impressed itself in his memory.</p>
<b>Deuteronomy</b>	<p>Total marked verses: 30. Colors: brown-black, grey-black and orange. Exclusively (VN).</p>
4.29-31 (VN) in Brown-black.	<p>These verses recall the moral underlined in the argument to Exodus in the same ink variant that "god loveth them to the end, whome he hathe once begonne to love". Because of his love, God delivered his chosen people -- though they were the fewest in number of all the peoples -- from bondage in the house of Pharoah.</p> <p><u>29</u> But if from thence thou shalt seke the Lord thy God, thou shalt finde him, if thou seke him with all thine heart, and with all thy soule. <u>30</u> When thou art in tribulacion, and all these things are come upon thee, at the length, if thou returne to the Lord thy God, and be obedient unto his voyce, <u>31</u> (For the Lord thy God is a merciful God) he wil not forsake thee, nether destroye thee nor forget ye covenant of thy fathers, which he sware unto them.</p>
Deuteronomy 7.7-8 (VN) in Brown-black.	<p><u>7</u> The Lord did not set his love upon you, nor chose you, because ye were mo in nomber then anie people: for ye were the fewest of all people: <u>8</u> But because ye Lord loved you, &amp; because he wolde kepe the othe which he had sworne unto your fathers, ye Lord hathe broght you out by a mighty had and delivered you out of ye house of bodage from the hand of Pharaoh King of Egypt.</p>
10.17-19 (VN) in Grey-black.	<p>The impartiality of God's judgement extends even towards the fatherless, the widow and the stranger; his people are admonished to "love ye therefore the stranger: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."</p> <p><u>17</u> For the Lord your God is God of Gods, and Lord of Lords, a great God, mightie, terrible, which accepteth no persones nor takethe rewarde: <u>18</u> Who doeth right unto the fatherles and widowe, and loveth the stranger, giving him fode and rayment. <u>19</u> Love ye therefore the stranger: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.</p>

<sup>342</sup> Along with the also marked Ex. 22.25 and the (unmarked) Deuteronomy 23.19-20.

<sup>343</sup> An alternative, though less preferable source, is Exodus 17.6.

	<p>This is apparently the genesis of the ghost's line in <i>Hamlet</i>:</p> <p>Therefore <i>as a stranger</i> give it welcome (1.5.165)</p> <p>Further reference to the ethic of fair treatment of strangers occurs in <i>Merchant</i>, where Shylock accuses the Christian lords of booting him</p> <p>as you spurn <i>a stranger</i> cur Over your threshold (1.3.115-120)</p> <p>and Antonio explains to Salario that</p> <p>The commodity that <i>strangers</i> have With us in Venice, it if be denied Will much impeach the justice of his state (3.3.27-31)</p> <p>The phrase "lord of lords" from Deuteronomy 10.17 is also echoed in <i>Antony and Cleopatra</i>:</p> <p>Lord lords! (4.8.16)<sup>344</sup></p>
15.1-14 (VN) in orange with orange note "Servants".	<p>The longest continuous series of VN markings in the Old Testament, these verses continue the orange ink theme of economic justice. They mandate a jubilee remittance of debt-bondage every seven years. Elsewhere, in Leviticus 25.1-30, the Jubilee is defined as a period of 49 years. Deut. 15.12 obligates that a Hebrew debt-slave "even in the seventh year... shalt go free from thee."</p> <p><u>1</u> At the terme of seven yeres thou shalt make a fredome.  <u>2</u> And this is the maner of the fredome: everie creditour shal quite the lone of his hand which he hathe lent to his neighbour: he shal not aske it againe of his neighbour, nor of his brother: for the yere of the Lords fredome is proclaimed.  <u>3</u> Of a stranger thou maist require it: but that which thou hast with thy brother, thine hand shal remit:  <u>4</u> Save when there shalbe no poore with thee: for the Lord shal blesse thee in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, for an inheritance to possesse it:  <u>5</u> So that thou hearken unto the voyce of the Lord thy God to observe &amp; do all these comandements, which I commande thee this day.  <u>6</u> For the Lord thy God hathe blessed thee, as he hathe promised thee: &amp; thou shalt lend unto manie nacions, but thou thy selfe shalt not borowe, &amp; thou shalt raigne over manie nacions, and they shal not reigne over thee.  <u>7</u> If one of thy brethren with thee be poore within anie of thy gates in thy land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poore brother:  <u>8</u> But thou shalt open thine hand unto him, and shalt lend him sufficient for his nede which he hathe.  <u>9</u> Beware that there be not a wicked thought in thine heart, to say, The seventh year, the yere of fredome is at hand: therefore it grieveth thee to loke on thy poore brother, and thou givest him noght, &amp; he crie unto the Lord against thee, so that sinne be in thee:  <u>10</u> Thou shalt give him, &amp; let it not grieve thine heart to give unto him: for because of this the Lord thy God shal blesse thee in all thy workes, &amp; in all that thou putttest thine hand to.  <u>11</u> Because there shalbe ever some poore in the land, therfore I comand thee, saying, Thou shalt open thine hand unto thy brother, to thy nedie, and to thy poore in thy land.  <u>12</u> If thy brother an Ebrewe sel him selfe to thee, or an Ebrewesse, and serve thee six yere, even in the seventh yere thou shalt let him go fre from thee.  <u>13</u> And when thou sendest him out fre from thee, thou shalt not let him go away emptie,  <u>14</u> But shalt give him a liberal rewarde of thy shepe, &amp; of thy corne, &amp; of they wine: thou shalt give him of that wherewith the Lord thy God hathe blessed thee.</p> <p>Shylock obliquely refers to this legal provision from Deuteronomy when he deprecatingly contrasts the Christian custom of lifelong heritable slavery with his legal claims to a mere pound of flesh, and sarcastically asks if he should proclaim a "Christian" jubilee:</p> <p>You have among you many a purchas'd slave, Which like your asses, and your dogs and mules, You use in abject and in slavish parts, Because you bought them. Shall I say to you, "Let them be free! Marry them to your heirs!" Why sweat they under burthens? Let their beds Be made as soft as yours, and let their palates Be season'd with such viands?" You will answer, "The slaves are ours....." (4.1.90-98)</p> <p>The connection between these marked verses and this passage from <i>Merchant</i> is analyzed in detail in Stritmatter (2000a).</p>

<sup>344</sup> Shaheen (1989 183) cites alternate sources Rev. 191.6 and 3.6.13.

23.17: Fleur-de-lis drawing in extremely faded indeterminate ink.	<p>Against prostitution.</p> <p>17 There shalbe no whore of ye daughters of Israel, nether shal there be a whorekeeper of the sonnes of Israel.</p> <p>A parallel to this verse<sup>345</sup> occurs in <i>Othello</i>:</p> <p>She turned to folly, and she was <i>a whore</i> (5.2.134)</p> <p>The prohibition against the “whorekeeper” is also satirized in <i>Measure for Measure</i>:</p> <p>The deputy cannot abide a <i>whoremaster</i>: if he be a <i>whoremonger</i>, and comes before him, he were as good go a mile on his errand (3.2.35-38)</p>
24:10-15 (VN) in Orange.	<p>Verses on the proper treatment of a pledge, ie. a person exchanged as security against a loan.</p> <p><u>10</u> When thou shalt aske againe of thy neighbour anie thing lent, thou shalt not go into his house to set his pledge.</p> <p><u>11</u> But thou shalt stand without, and the man that borrowed it of thee, shal bring the pledge out of the dores unto thee.</p> <p><u>12</u> Furthermore if it be a pore bodie, thou shalt not slepe with his pledge.</p> <p><u>13</u> But shalt restore him the pledge when the sunne goeth downe, that he may sleep in his rayment, &amp; blesse thee: &amp; it shal be righteousness unto thee, before the Lord thy God.</p> <p><u>14</u> Thou shalt not oppresse an hired servant that is nedy and pore, nether of thy brethren, nor of the stranger that is in thy land within thy gates.</p> <p><u>15</u> Thou shalt give him his hire for his day, nether shal the sunne go downe upon it: for he is poore, and therewith susteineth his life: lest he crye against thee unto the Lord, and it be sinne unto thee.</p> <p>Shakespeare uses the word “pledge” of a person in <i>Shrew</i>:</p> <p>I am Grumio’s pledge (1.2.45)</p> <p>And <i>Richard II</i></p> <p>I am in parliament pledge for his truth (5.2.44)</p>
24.19-21 (VN) in Orange.	<p>Admonition to leave gleaning for widows, orphans and strangers<sup>346</sup>.</p> <p><u>19</u> When thou cuttest down thine harvest in thy field, &amp; hast forgotten a sheafe in the field, thou shalt not go againe to fet it, but it shalbe for the stranger, for the fatherles, &amp; for the widow: that the Lord thy God may blesse thee in all the workes of thine hands.</p> <p><u>20</u> When thou beatest thine olive tre, thou shalt not go over the boughes againe, but it shalbe for the stranger, for the fatherles, &amp; for the widow: that the Lord thy God may blesse thee in all the workes of thine hands.</p> <p><u>21</u> When thou gatherest thy vineyard, thou shalt not gather the grapes cleane after thee, but thei shalbe for the stranger, for the fatherles and for the widow.</p>
32.4 (VN) in Black-brown.	<p>God’s judgement is perfect.</p> <p><u>4</u> Perfect is the worke of the mighty God: for all his wayes are iudgement. God is true, and without wickednes: iust, &amp; righteous is he.</p> <p>Carter (1905 371) lists this among the sources for <i>Hamlet</i>:</p> <p>In the corrupted currents of this world  Offense’s gilded hand may shove by Justice,  And oft ‘tis seene, the wicked prize itself  Buys out the Law; but ‘tis not so above  There is not shuffling, there the action lies  In his true nature.... (3.3.57-62)</p> <p>The moral reoccurs at R3, in which God</p> <p>Needs to indirect or lawless course  To cut off those that have offended him (1.4.222)</p>

<sup>345</sup> Shaheen (1989 140) states that the proximate source is Deut. 22.21

<sup>346</sup> On the obligation of charity towards widows and orphans, cf. marked verses Exodus 22.22, Lev. 19.9-10, and Lev. 23.22. This religious obligation is also advocated in Psalm 68.5 and 146.9, Isaiah 1.17 and Judith 9.4.

	<p>And in <i>H8</i>:</p> <p>Heaven is above all yet; there sits a judge no king can corrupt</p> <p>(3.1.100).</p> <p>The marked verse falls in the same pericope with Deut. 32.2, one of the two sources for of Portia's famous speech on the quality of mercy (cf. Ecclesiasticus 28.1-5 below).</p>
<b>Joshua</b>	There are no annotations in this book.
<b>Judges</b>	There are no annotations in this book.
<b>First Samuel</b>	<p>First Samuel is the most heavily annotated book in the de Vere Bible. Parts of one hundred and twenty-nine verses, fifteen marginal notes and the Argument are marked in this chapter in (S)carlet; two verses are marked (VN) in the Brown-Black Ink. With the exception of these two (VN) verses, 2.7-8, all the marked verses are in Scarlet and of the (C)ontinuous type, underlining certain portions of the verse for emphasis and not the verse number.</p> <p>This (C)ontinuous style of underlining is found primarily in the books of I &amp; II Samuel, I Chronicles, and II Esdras, almost always in the (S)carlet ink variant.</p> <p>The annotator's pronounced interest in the historical books of the Bible appears to be an expression of the intense <i>historical</i> curiosity which Golding and other de Vere tutors noted in him from an early age. In dedicating his translation of Justin's <i>Histories of Trogus Pompeius</i> (1564) to him, Golding commented that "it is not unknown to others, and I have had experience thereof myself, how earnest a desire Your Honor hath naturally graffed in you to read, peruse, and communicate with others, as well as the histories of ancient times and things done long ago, as also of the present estate of things in our days, and that not without a certain pregnancy of wit and ripeness of understanding." Thomas Twyne in his dedication to his translation of the <i>Breviary of Britain</i> (1573) invites de Vere to bestow on his book "such regard as you are accustomed to do on books of geography, histories, and other good learning, wherein I am privy your Honor taketh singular delight."</p> <p>The (S) ink has, even more than (O), suffered considerable fading.</p>
The argument (C) in Scarlet ink.	<p>The annotator has underlined the principle of the monarch's dependence on God's protection and nurturance and the typology of David as "the true figure of Messiah" who replaced Saul and withstood the dangers of "persecution by open enemies, fained friends and dissembling flatterers" and remains a "paterne and example" for Christians "to behold their state and vocation."</p> <p>.....therefore he gave them a tyrant and an hypocrite to rule over them, that they might learne, <u>that the persone of a King is not sufficient to defend them, except God by his power preserve and kepe them.</u> And therefore he punisheth the ingratitude of his people, &amp; sendeth them continual warres both at home and abroad. <u>And because Saul, whome of nothing God had preferred to the honour of a King,</u> did not acknowledge Gods mercie by the voyce of God put downe from his state, &amp; David the true figure of Messiah.....</p> <p>It is a truism of Shakespeare studies that the bard regards flattery as a vice bordering on sin. As Charlotte Spurgeon notes: "He....turns almost sick when he watches flatterers and sycophants bowing and cringing to the rich and powerful purely in order to get something out of them for themselves....." (1958 195).</p> <p>Perhaps even more significant is the annotator's marking of the Geneva editor's notice of David as the typological prefigurement of Christ. As Peter Milward has observed, Shakespeare's mentality is fundamentally typological. However well-developed as individuals in their own right, the characters of the plays are <i>also</i> modelled upon their typological antecedents from scripture or classical literature. Richard II, for instance "thinks and speaks in terms of Scripture. His fundamental assertion of 'divine right' is derived from the Old Testament ideal of the 'Lord's annointed,' as represented by Saul and David, and fulfilling in Christ himself. In virtue of his sacred kingship, he sees himself as another Christ, and his enemies as the enemies of Christ, in the likeness of Pilate or Judas" (Milward 1973 96).</p>
2.7-8 (VN) in Brown-black.	<p>These verses continue the brown-black ink theme of the majestic power of God.</p> <p><u>7</u> The Lord maketh poore and maketh riche: bringeth low, and exalteth.  <u>8</u> He raiseth up the poore out of the dust, &amp; lifteth up the begger from the donghil, to set them among princes, and to make them inherit the seat of glorie: for the pillars of the earth are the Lords, and he hath set the world upon them.</p> <p>These verses form the Biblical <i>topos</i> for a concept to which Shakespeare frequently alludes -- the pagan figure of <i>fortuna</i> with her "furious fickle wheel...." who brings Bardolph to the gallows for stealing a pyx in <i>H5</i> 3.6. In these Bible verses, however, it is not <i>fortuna</i> but God who "maketh poore and maketh riche....raiseth up the poor out of the dust &amp; lifteth the beggar from the donghil, to set them among princes....."</p>
2.22-25 (C) in	Eli's judgement against his sons for having sexual relations with women at the door of the Tabernacle. The

Scarlet.	<p>underlined moral in 2.25 is about the problem of judging religious disobedience:</p> <p>22 <u>So Eli was very olde, &amp; heard all yt his sonnes did unto all Israel, and how they laye with the women that assembled at the doore of the Tabernacle of the Congregation.</u></p> <p>23 <u>And he said unto them, Why do ye suche things?</u> For of all this people I heare evil reportes of you.</p> <p>24 <u>Do no more, my sonnes, for it is no good reporte that I heare, which is, that ye make the Lords people to trespasse.</u></p> <p>25 <u>If one man sinne against an other, the iudge shal iudge it: but if a man sinne against the Lord, who wil pleade for him? Notwithstanding thei obeied not the voyce of their father, because the Lord wolde slaye them.</u></p>
2.29-30 (C) in scarlet.	<p>God's judgement against the Israelites for honoring their children "above me" and promise that "they that honour me, I wil honour, and they that despise me, shal be despised."</p> <p>29 <u>Wherefore have you</u> kicked against my sacrifice and mine offering, which I commanded in my Tabernacle, <u>and honorest thy children above me,</u> to make your selves fat of the first frutes of all the offerings of Israel my people?</p> <p>30 Wherefore the Lord God of Israel sayth, I said, that hine house and the house of thy father shulde walke before me for ever: <u>but nowe the Lord saith, it shal not be so: for the that honour me, I wil honour, and they that despise me, shal be despised.</u></p>
2.34 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The "sign" that the sons of Eli Hophni and Phineas will die recalls the original punishment of eviction from the garden and mortality given in Gen. 3.</p> <p>34 <u>And this shalbe a signe unto thee, that shal come upon thy two sonnes Hophni and Phineas: in one day the shal dye both.</u></p> <p>This marked verse continues the pronounced thematic interest in the crime and punishment of Hophni and Phineas.</p>
3.13 (C) in scarlet.	<p>13 I have tolde him that I wil judge his house for ever, <u>for the iniquitie wich he knoweth, because his sonnes ran into a slander,</u> and he stayed them not.</p>
4.10-11 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The death of Hophni and Phineas in battle with the Philistims in which thirty thousand Israelite foot soldiers also died.</p> <p>10 And the Philistims fought, and Israel was smitten downe, and fled everie man into his tent: &amp; there was an exceeding great slaughter: <u>for there fel of Israel thirtie thousand fotemen.</u></p> <p>11 And the Arke of God was taken, and ther two sonnes of Eli, <u>Hophni &amp; Phinehas died.</u></p>
4.18 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The death of Eli.</p> <p>18 <u>And when he had made mencion of the Arke of God, Eli fel from his heate backwarde by the side of the gate. &amp; his necke was broken, and he dyed: for he had iudged Israel fortie yeres.</u></p>
5.2-4 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The ark of the covenant is carried into the house of Dagon and he is struck dead.</p> <p>2 Even the Philistims <u>toke the Arke of God,</u> and brought it into the house of <u>Dagon, and set it by Dagon.</u></p> <p>3 And when they of Ashdod rose the next day in the morning, beholde, <u>Dagon was fallen upon</u> his face on the ground before the Arke of the Lord, and they toke up Dagon, and set him in his place again.</p> <p>4 Also they rose up early in the morning the next day, &amp; beholde, <u>Dagon was fallen upon his face on ye ground</u> before the Arke of the Lord, and the head of Dagon and the two palmes of his hands were cut of upon the threshold: only the stumpe of Dagon was left to him.</p>
5.7-10, 12 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The men of Ashdod reject the ark, and are struck with "emerods in their secret parts."</p> <p>7 And when the <u>men of Ashdod</u> sawe this, they said, <u>Let not the Arke</u> of the God of Israel abide wt us: for his hand is sore upon us and upon Dagon our god.</p> <p>8 They sent therefore and gathered all the princes of the Philistims unto them and said, <u>What shal we do with the Arke of the God of Israel?</u> And</p>

	<p>they answered, <u>Let ye Arke of ye God of Israel</u> be caried about unto Gath: &amp; thei caried ye Arke of ye God of Israel about.</p> <p>9 And <u>when they had caried it about</u>, the hand of the Lord was against the citie with a very great destruction, <u>and</u> he smote the men of the citie both smal and great, &amp; they had <u>emerods in their secret partes</u>.</p> <p>10 Therefore they sent the Arke of God to Ekron: &amp; assone as the Arke of God came to Ekron, <u>ye Ekronites cryed out, saying, They have broght the Arke</u> of the God of Israel to us to slay us and our people.</p> <p>11 Therfore they sent, &amp; gathered together all the princes of the Philistims, and said, Send away the Arke of the God of Israel, and let it returne to his owne place, that it slay us not and our people: for there was a destruction &amp; death throughout all the cite, &amp; the hand of God was very sore there.</p> <p>12 And the men that dyed not, were smitten <u>with the emerods</u>: and the crye of the citie went up to heaven.</p>
6.2-4 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The Philistims debate the disposition of the ark and their preists recommend sending it away “with a sinne offered: then shal ye be healed.” The ark is sent away with “five golden emerods and five golden mice” to match the number of the princes of the Philistims.</p> <p>2 <u>And the Philistimes called the Priest &amp; the sothsayers, saying, What shal we do</u> with the Arke of the Lord? Tel us wherewith we shal send it home againe?</p> <p>3 And they said, If you send away the Arke of the God of Israel, send it not away emptie, but give unto it (b) <u>a sinne offering: then shal ye be healed</u>, and it shal be knowen to you, why his hand departeth not from you.</p> <p>4 Then said they, What shalbe the sinne offering, which we shal give unto it? And they answered, <u>Five golden emerods &amp; five golden mice</u>, according to the number of the Princes of the Philistims: for one plague was on you all, and on your princes.</p>
6.3 Note (b) (C) in scarlet.	<p>The annotator seems interested in the implicit relation between moral sickness (sin) and physical disturbance (emerods), and also in the ritual -- external -- representation of the inner ailment in the form of the golden mice and emerods, employed as a mode of healing.</p> <p>b <u>The idolatores confesse there is a true God who punisheth sinne swiftly</u>.</p>
6.9 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The priests propose a test for determining if the plague has been wrought by the God of Israel.</p> <p>9 And <u>take hede, if it go up by the way of his owne coast to Beth-shemesh, it is he that did us this great evil: but if not, we shal knowe then, that it is not</u> his hand that smotte us, <u>but it was</u> a (f) chance that happened us.</p>
6.9 note (f) (C) in scarlet.	<p>The note attached to the underlined conclusion that “it was a chance (f) that happened to us” states this principle:</p> <p>f <u>The wicked attribute almost all things to fortune and to chance wheras in dede there is nothing done with out Gods providence &amp; decreee</u>.</p> <p>The note is echoed by Macbeth, who thereby figures himself as among “the wicked [who] attribute almost all things to fortune and to <i>chance</i>...”:</p> <p>If <i>chance</i> will have me king, why, <i>chance</i> may crown me. (1.3.143 italics added)</p> <p>For a more thorough consideration of the Shakespeare’s treatment of this theme of providence and chance as forces in history, see Stritmatter (1999a).</p>
6.13-14 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The men of Beth-Shemesh, while reaping their wheat harvest in the Valley, are amazed and overjoyed to see the Ark being returned to them.</p> <p>13 Now <u>they of Beth-shemesh were reaping</u> their wheat harvest in the valley, and they lift up their eyes, &amp; spyed the Arke, &amp; reioyced when they saw it.</p> <p>14 <u>And the cart came into the field</u> of Ioshua a Bethshemite, and stode stil there. There was also a great stone, and they clave the wood of the carte and offred the kine for a burnt offering unto the Lord.</p>
6.14 note (h) marked with a parenthesis in scarlet.	<p>The note clarifies that these men are Israelites.</p> <p>To wit, men of Beth-shemesh which were Israelites.</p>
6. 19 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The Men of Beth-Shemesh look into the Ark and are destroyed.</p>

	<p>19 <u>And he smote of the men of Bethshemesh, because they had loked in the Arke of the Lord: he slewe even among the people fiftie thousand men &amp; thre score and ten men</u> and the people lamented, because the Lord had slaine ye people with so great a slaughter.</p>
6.19 note k (C) in scarlet.	k <u>it was not lawful to anie ether to touche or to se it, save onely to Aaron &amp; his sonnes</u> . Nom. 4.15 & 20
7.2 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The ark is deposited in Kiriath-earim, where it remained for twenty years.</p> <p>2 (For while the Arke <u>abode in Kiriath-earmin</u>, yt time was long, <u>for it was twentie yeres</u>) and all the house of Israel lamented after the Lord.</p>
7.5-6 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Samuel gathers all of Israel to Mizpeh for prayer, fasting and repentence.</p> <p>5 <u>And Samuel said, Gather all Israel to Mizpeh, and I wil pray for you unto the Lord.</u></p> <p>6 <u>And they gathered together to Mizpeh, and (d) drewe water and powred it out before the Lord and fasted the same day &amp; said there, We have sinned against the Lord. And Samuel iudged the children of Israel in Mizpeh.</u></p> <p>The underlined note (d) glosses the phrase “drewe water and powred it out before the Lord” with an etymological clarification: “<u>The Chalde text hath that thei drewe water out of their heart: yt is, wept abundantly for their sinnes.</u>”</p> <p>Does this underlining indicate the annotator’s fascination with etymology, translation, and complex meaning structures such as metaphor?</p>
7.9-10 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Samuel takes a “sucking lambe” to offer as a burnt offering to the Lord.</p> <p>9 Then Samuel toke a sucking lame, and offred it altogether for a burnt offering unto the Lord, &amp; <u>Samuel cryed unto the Lord for Israel, and the Lord heard him.</u></p> <p>10 <u>And as Samuel offred the burnt offering, the Philistims came to fight against Israel but the Lord thundred</u> with a great thundre that day upon the Philistims, &amp; scatred them: so they were slain before Israel.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987 52) cites this as the source of 2 <i>Henry IV</i>:</p> <p>Our kinsman is as innocent... As is <i>the sucking lamb</i> or harmless dove (3.1.699-71)</p> <p>Surprisingly, all commentators appear to have overlooked a second distinctive reference to this verse in <i>Macbeth</i>:</p> <p>To offer up a weak, poor, innocent lamb T' appease an angry god (4.3.16-17)</p>
8.4-6 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The gathering of the elders of Israel. Because “thy sonnes walk not in [the old] waies” they propose to chose a king. Samuel is displeased by this.</p> <p>4 Wherefore all <u>the Elders of Israel gathered them together, and came to Samuel</u> unto Ramah.</p> <p>5 And said unto him, Beholde, thou art old, <u>and thy sonnes walke not in thy waies: make us now a King to iudge us likeall nacions.</u></p> <p>6 <u>But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, Give us a King to iudge us: and Samuel prayed unto the Lord.</u></p>
8.19, 21 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The people will not hear Samuel’s warnings against the evils of kingship, so Samuel relents and “rehearsed [the words of the people] in the eares of the Lord.”</p> <p>19 <u>But the people wolde not heare the</u> voyce of Samuel, but did say, <u>Nay, but</u> there shalbe a King over us.</p> <p>20 And we also wil be like all other nacions and our King shal iudge us, &amp; go out before us, and fight our Battels.</p> <p>21 <u>Therefore when Samuel heard all the wordes of the people, he rehearsed them in the ears of the Lord.</u></p>
9.5-8 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Saul, having traveled to the land of Zuph in search of his father’s asses, advises return homeward. Saul and his servant plan to consult the prophet but have no money or offering.</p> <p>5 <u>When they came</u> to the land of Zuph, Saul said unto his servant that was with him, <u>Come and let us returne, lest my father leave they care of asses,</u></p>



	<p><u>and take thought for us.</u></p> <p>6 And he said unto him, <u>Beholde now, in this citie is a man of God,</u> and he is an honorable man: all that he saieth cometh to passe: let us now go thither, if so be that he can shewe us what way we may go.</p> <p>7 Then said Saul to his servant, Wel then let us go: <u>but what shal we bring</u> unto the man? For the bread is spent in our vessels, and there is no present to bring to the Man of God: what have we?</p> <p>8 And the servant answered Saul againe, and said, <u>Beholde, I have found about me</u> the fourth parte of a shekle of silver: that wil I give the man of God, to tel us our way.</p>
9.15-6 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The Lord reveals “secretly” to Samuel that he will send Saul to be annointed king of Israel.</p> <p>15 <u>But the Lord had reveiled to Samuel</u> secretly (a day before Saul came) saying,</p> <p>16 <u>Tomorowe about this time I wil send</u> thee a man out of the land of Beniamin: him shalt thou annoint to be governour over my people Israel, that he may save my people out of the hands of the Philistims: for I have looked upon my people, and their crye is come unto me.</p>
10.5 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Samuel tells David that he will meet a company of musical prophets.</p> <p>5 After that shalt thou come to the hil of God, where is ye garisons of the Philistims: and when thou art come thether to the citie, <u>thou shalt mete a companie of Prophetes coming downe from the hye place with a viole, and a tymbrel, and a pipe, and a harpe before them, and they shall prophecie.</u></p>
11.1-2 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Nahash the Ammonite besieges Jabesh Gilead and makes a covenant to “thruste out all your right eyes, &amp; bring that shame upon all Israel.”</p> <p>1 Then Nahash the Ammonite came up, &amp; besieged Iabesh Gilead: and all the men of Iabesh said unto Nahash, <u>Make a covenant with us, and &amp; will by thy servants.</u></p> <p>2 And <u>Nahash the Ammonite answered them, On this condicion wil I make a covenant with you, that I may thruste out all your (b) right eyes, &amp; bring that shame upon all Israel.</u></p> <p>The attached note (b) explains that “This declareth that ye more neare yt tyrants are to their destruction, the more cruel thei are.”</p> <p>Both the theme and the moral are highly reminiscent of the blinding of king Lear.</p>
12.3 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Both the verse, in which Samuel poses a series of rhetorical questions to illustrate his freedom from corruption -- and the accompanying note (c) are marked.</p> <p>3 Beholde, here I am: <u>beare recorde of me</u> before the Lord and before his Anointed. (c) <u>Whose oxen have I taken? Or whose asse have I taken? Or whome have I hurte? Or of whose hand have I received any bribe,</u> to blind mine eyes therewith, &amp; wil restore it you?</p>
12.3 note (c) (C) in scarlet	<p>c <u>God wolde that this confession shulde be a pattern for all them that have any charge or office.</u></p>
12.6-11 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Samuel reminds the people that the Lord, not Saul, has brought the Israelites to their present salvation, and the people repent.</p> <p>6 <u>Then Samuel said unto the people, it</u> is the Lord that made Moses and Aaron, &amp; that broght your fathers out of the land of Egypt.</p> <p>7 Now <u>therefore stand stil, that I may</u> reason with you before the Lord according to all the righteousness of the Lord, which he shewed to you and to your fathers.</p> <p>8 After <u>that Iacob was come into Egypt,</u> and your fathers cryed unto the Lord, then the Lord <u>sent Moses and Aaron</u> which broght your fathers out of Egypt, and made them dwel in this place.</p> <p>9 <u>And when thei forgate the Lord</u> their God, he solde them into the hand of Sisera captaine of the host of Hazor, and into the hand of the Philistims, &amp; into the hand of the King of Moab, and they foght against them.</p> <p>10 <u>And thei cryed unto the Lord, &amp; said, We have sinned,</u> because we have forsaken the Lord, and have served Baalim and Ashtaroth, <u>Now therefore deliver</u> us out of ye hands of our enemies, &amp; we will serve thee.</p> <p>11 Therefore the Lord <u>sent Ierubbaal and Bedan &amp; Ipthah, &amp; Samuel,</u> and delivered you out of the hands of your enemies on everie side, and ye dwelled sage.</p>
12.14-19 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Samuel calls down a rainstorm upon the wheat harvest as a sign of God’s power, and the people repent for chosing Saul as King.</p>

	<p>14 If <u>ye wil feare the Lord and serve him</u>, and heare his voyce, and not disobey the worde of the Lord, both ye, and the King that reigneth over you, shal followe the Lord your God.</p> <p>15 But <u>if ye wil not obey the voyce of the Lord</u>, but disobey ye Lords mouth, then shal the hand of the Lord be upon you, &amp; on your fathers.</p> <p>16 Now also stand <u>and se this great thing</u> which the Lord wil do before your eyes.</p> <p>17 Is <u>it not now wheate harvest? I will call unto the Lord, and he shal send thundre and raine, that ye may perceive and know that your wickednes is great, which ye have done in the sight of the Lord in asking you a King.</u></p> <p>18 Then <u>Samuel called unto the Lord</u>, and the Lord sent thundre and rain the same day: and all the people feared the Lord &amp; Samuel exceedingly.</p> <p>19 And <u>all the people said</u> unto Samuel, Pray for thy servants unto the Lord thy God: that we dye not: for we have sinned in asking us a King, beside all our other sinnes.</p>
13.5 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Saul and Jonathan make war on the Philistims. The underlined part of the verse indicates the size of their forces as “thirty thousand charets and six thousand horsemen.”</p> <p>5 The Philistims also gathered themselves together to fight with Israel, <u>thirtie thousand charets and six thousand horsemen</u>: for the people was like the sand which is by the seas side in multitude, &amp; came up, and pitched in Michmash Eastwarde from Beth-aven.</p>
13.11, 13-14 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Samuel rebukes Saul for not keeping the commandments and prophetesies the loss of his kingdom.</p> <p>11 <u>And Samuel said, What hast thou done? Then Saul said, Because I saw yt</u> the people was scatred from me, and that thou camest not within ye dayes appointed, and yt the Philistims gathered themselves together to Michmash.</p> <p>12 Therefore said I, The Philistims wil come downe now upon me to Gilgal, and I have not made supplicacion unto the Lord. I was bolde therefore and offred a burnt offering.</p> <p>13 <u>And Samuel said to Saul, Thou hast done foolishly: thou hast not kept the commandement of the Lord thy God</u>, which he commanded thee: for ye Lord had now established thy kingdome upon Israel for ever.</p> <p>14 But <u>now thy kingdome shal not continue</u>: he Lord hathe sought him a man after his owne heart, and ye Lord hathe comanded him to be governour over his people, because thou hast not kept yt which the Lord had commanded thee.</p>
14.1 note (a) (C) in scarlet.	<p>Jonathan invites his armour bearer to accompany him in battle.</p> <p><u>By this example God wold declare to Israel yt the victorie did not consist in multitude or armour, but onely came of his grace.</u></p>
14.13-15 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Jonathan and his armour bearer make a slaughter and strike fear into the hearts of the Philistims.</p> <p>13 <u>So Jonathan went up upon his hands and upon his fete, and his armour bearer</u> after him: and some fel before Jonathan, &amp; his armour bearer slewe others after him.</p> <p>14 <u>So the first slaughter which Jonathan and his armour bearer made, was about twentie men within that compasse</u>, as it were within halfe an acre of land which two oxen plowe.</p> <p>15 And <u>there was a feare in the hoste</u>, and in the field, and among all the people: the garison also, and they that went out to spoile, were afrayed themselves: <u>and the earth trembled: for it was stricken with feare by God.</u></p>
14.15 note (h) (C) in scarlet.	<p>h <u>In yt the insensible creatures trembled for feare of Gods iudgement, he declareth how terrible his vengeance shalbe against his enemies.</u></p>
14.24, 27 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The people hunger, and Jonathan dips his rod into the honey comb to receive sight.</p> <p>24 <u>And at that time the men of Israel were pressed with hunger: for Saul charged the pople with an othe, saying, Cursed be the man that eateth foode til nyght</u>, that I may be avenged of mine enemies: so none of the people tasted anie sustenance.</p> <p>27 <u>But Jonathan heard not when his father</u> charged the people with the othe: wherefore he put forthe the end of the rod that was in his hand, and dipt it in an hony combe, and put his hand to his mouth, and his eyes receyved sight.</p>

14.24 note (l) (C) in scarlet.	<p>1 <u>Suche was his hypocricie &amp; arrogancie, yt he thought to attribute to his policie yt which God had given by the hand of Ionathan.</u></p> <p>The influence of this marked note, along with the unmarked note (r) attached to I Samuel 14.41 on verses from <i>All's Well</i>, among others, has been documented by the present writer in <i>Notes and Queries</i> (Stritmatter 1999b):</p> <p>It is not so with Him that all things knows, As 'tis with us that square our guess by shows; But most it is presumption in us <i>when the help of heaven</i> <i>We count the act of men.</i> (2.1.152-155)</p>
14.37-39 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Saul judges Jonathan for breaking his fast and the conflict is settled by lots.</p> <p>37 <u>So Saul asked of God, saying, Shal I go</u> downe after ye Philistims? Wilt thou deliver them into the hands of Israel? <u>But he answered him not at that time.</u></p> <p>38 <u>And Saul said, All ye chiefe of the people,</u> come ye hither, and knowe, and se by whome this sinne is done this day.</p> <p>39 For as yt Lord liveth, we saveth Israel, <u>thogh it be done by Ionathan my sonne,</u> he shal dye ye death. But none of the all the people answered him.</p> <p>The phrase “dye ye death” which appears in I Sam. 14.39 is a biblical idiom<sup>347</sup> echoed in Shakespeare, including in <i>Midsummer Nights Dream</i>:</p> <p>Either to <i>die the death</i>, or to abjure For ever the society of man. (1.1.65)</p> <p>In <i>Richard II</i>:</p> <p>This and much more, much more than twice all this, Condemns you to <i>the death</i>. (3.1.28-29)</p>
14.41 note r in scarlet (very faded)	<p><u>Cause yt lot to fall on him ut hathe broken ye othes: but he doeth not consider his presumprtion in commanding gthe same othe.</u></p> <p>For the relevance of this underlined note in Shakespeare, which was omitted from previous printings of the dissertation, please see Stritmatter 2000b, “Shakespeare’s Awareness of Some Genevan Marginal Notes of I Samuel,” <i>N&amp;Q</i> March 2000, 97-100.</p>
14.41-43 (C) in scarlet	<p>41 <u>Then Saul said unto the Lord God of Israel, give a perfet lot.</u> And Ionathan &amp; Saul were taken but the people escaped.</p> <p>42 And Saul said, Cast lot betwene me and Ionathan my sonne. <u>And Ionathan was taken.</u></p> <p>43 Then Saul said to Ionathan, <u>Tel me what thou hast done.</u> <u>And Ionathan told him,</u> and said, I tasted a litle hony with the end of ye rod, that was in mine hand, &amp; lo, I must dye.</p>
Chapter 15 argument (C) in scarlet.	<p><u>Saul is commanded to slay Amalek. 9 He spareth Agag &amp; the best things.</u> 19 Samuel reproveth him. 28 Saul is reiected of the Lord and his kingdome given to another 33 <u>Samuel heweth Agag in pieces.</u></p>
15.2-4 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The Lord commands Saul to assemble troops to do battle with Amalek.</p> <p>2 <u>Thus saith the Lord of hostes, I remember what Amalek did to Israel, how</u> they layed in wait for them in the way, as they came up from Egypt.</p> <p>3 <u>Now therefore go, and smite Amalek, &amp; destroye ye all that pertaineth</u> unto them, and have no compassion on them, but slay bothe man and woman, both infant and suckeling, both oxe, and shepe, both camel, and asse.</p> <p>4 And Saul assembled the people, and nombred them in Telaim, <u>two hundreth thousand fotemen, and ten thousand men of Iudah.</u></p>
15.9, 11 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Saul spares Agag and his flocks.</p> <p>9 <u>But Saule and the people spared Agag, &amp; the better shepe, and the oxen,</u> and the fat beastes, and the lambes, and all yt was good, &amp; they wolde not destroye them, but every thing that was vile &amp; noght worthe, that they destroyed.</p> <p>11 <u>Then came the worde of the Lord unto Samuel, saying, It repenteth me yt I</u> have made Saul king: for he is turned from me, &amp; hathe not performed my</p>

<sup>347</sup> Shaheen (1993 93-4) lists the occurrence of the idiom also at Gen 2.17; 20.7; ex. 21.17; Lev. 20.9; Num. 35.16-18; 1 Sam. 14.39, 44; 1 Kings 2.37, 42; 2 Kings 1.4, 6, 16; Jer. 26.8, Ezek. 33.8, 14; Ecclus 14.17; Matt. 15.4, Mark 7.10. etc.

	commandements. And Samuel was moved, & cryed unto the Lord all night.
15.13-15 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Samuel questions the prudence of Saul's sparing Agag's flocks.</p> <p>13 Then Samuel came to Saul, &amp; <u>Saul said unto him, Blessed be yu of the Lord, I have fulfilled the commandement of the Lord.</u></p> <p>14 <u>But Samuel said, what meaneth then yt bleating of the shepe in mine eares,</u> &amp; the lowing of the oxen which I heare?</p> <p>15 And <u>Saul answered, Thei have broght them</u> from the Amalekites: for the people spared the best of the shepe, and of the oxen to sacrifice them unto the Lord thy God. And the remnant have we destroyed.</p>
15.17 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The anointment of the child king David.</p> <p>17 And Samuel said, <u>When thou wast litle in thine owne sight, was thou not</u> made the head of the tribes of Isreal? For the Lord anointed thee King over Isreal.</p>
15.22-26 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Samuel rebukes Saul's justification of burnt offerings; Saul repents and begs for Samuel's assistance but he refuses, saying that "thou hast cast away the word of the Lord, &amp; the Lord hathe cast away thee, that thou shalt not be King over Isreal."</p> <p>22 And Samuel said, <u>Hathe the Lord as great pleasure in burnt offring &amp; Sacrifices, as when the voyce of the Lord is obeied? Beholde, to obey is better then sacrifice, and to hearken is better then the fat of rammes.</u></p> <p>23 <u>For rebellion is as ye sinne of witchcraft, and transgression is wickednes and idolatrie.</u> Because thou hast cast away ye worde of the Lord, therefore he hathe cast away thee from being King.</p> <p>24 <u>Then Saul said unto Samuel, I have sinned:</u> for I have transgressed the commandement of the Lord, &amp; thy wordes, because I feared the people, &amp; obeied their voyce.</p> <p>25 <u>Now therefore, I pray thee, take away</u> my sinne, and turne againe with me, yt I may worship the Lord.</p> <p>26 <u>But Samuel said unto Saul, I wil not returne wt thee: for thou hast cast awaye the worde of the Lord, &amp; the Lorde hathe</u> cast away thee, that thou shalt not be King over Isreal.</p>
15.31, 33 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Samuel and Saul are reconciled and Samuel slays Agag.</p> <p>31 <u>So Samuel turned againe, and followed Saul: And Saul worshiped the Lord.</u></p> <p>33 <u>And Samuel said,</u> As thy sworde hathe made women childeles, so shal thy mother be childeles among other women. <u>And Samuel hewed Agag</u> to pieces before the Lord in Gilgal.</p>
16.1 note (a) (C) in scarlet	<p>Glosses Samuel's lament for Saul in 16.1:</p> <p>a <u>signifying yt we oght not to shewe our selves more pitiful then God, nor to lament them whome he casteth off.</u></p>
16.7 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The Lord instructs Samuel to chose a man not by exterior appearance but by the qaulity of his heart.</p> <p>7 <u>But the Lord said unto Samuel, Loke not on his countenance, nor on ye height</u> of his stature: because I have refused him: for God seeth not as man seeth: for man loketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord beholdeth the heart.</p> <p>Shakespeare diagnostic #13. Carter cites four references to this verse:</p> <p>We know each other's faces; for our hearts, He knows no more of mine than I of yours. <i>(Richard III 3.4.10)</i></p> <p>Hastings. I think there's never a man in Christendom Can lesser hide his love or hate than he For by his face straight shall you know his heart.</p> <p>Stanley. What of his heart perceive you in his face...? <i>(Richard III 3.4.51-55)</i></p> <p>There's no art To find the mind's construction in the face. <i>(Macbeth 1.4.11-12)</i></p>

	<p>You have Angel's faces, but heaven knows your hearts. (<i>Henry VIII</i> 3.1.145)</p> <p>Shaheen (1987) adds:  Will you tell me, Master Shallow, how to choose a man?  Care I for the limb, the thews, the stature, bulk and big  Assemblage of a man? Give me the spirit. (<i>II Henry IV</i> 3.1.257-60)</p> <p>No more can you distinguish of a man  Than of his outward show, which God he knows,  Seldom or never jumpeth with the heart. (<i>Richard III</i> 3.1.9-11)</p> <p>Milward (1987) adds:  For when the outward action doth demonstrate  The native act and fixture of my heart  In complement extern (<i>Othello</i> 1.1.116)</p> <p>To these seven references might be added as many as six more, listed in full the Shakespeare Diagnostics section.</p>
16.13 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Samuel's anointing of David to reign in Saul's place.</p> <p>13 <u>Then Samuel toke the horne of oyle</u>, &amp; anointed him in the middes of his brethren. <u>And the Spirit of the Lord</u> came upon David, from that day forwarde: then Samuel rose up, and went to Ramah.</p> <p>Shakespeare Diagnostic #16.</p> <p>Shaheen (1989 68)<sup>348</sup> compares three passages from the history plays:</p> <p>Thy balm wash'd off wherewith thou wast <i>anointed</i>. (<i>3 Henry VI</i> 3.1.17)</p> <p>I was <i>anointed king</i> (<i>3 Henry VI</i> 3.1.76)</p> <p>Of England's <i>true-anointed lawful king</i>. (<i>3 Henry VI</i> 3.3.29)</p> <p>Shaheen (1993) adds, from the comedies:</p> <p>The <i>anointed sovereign</i> of sighs and groans (<i>Love's Labour's Lost</i> 3.1.184)</p> <p><i>Anointed</i>,....thy royal sweet breath (<i>Love's Labour's Lost</i> 5.2.522-23)</p> <p>To these five might be added as many as three additional references, listed in appendices A-B under diagnostic #16.</p>
16.15-16, 18, 21-23 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Saul's search for a "conning player upon the harp" to heal his disease.</p> <p>15 <u>And Saul's servants said unto him, Beholde now, the evil spirit of God vexeth thee.</u></p> <p>16 <u>Let our Lord therefore comande</u> thy servannts, that are before thee, <u>to seke a man</u> that is a conning player upon the harpe: that when t he evil spirit of God commeth upon thee, he may playe with his hand, &amp; thou maiest be eased.</p> <p>18 Then answered one of his servants, and said, <u>Behold, I have sene a sonne</u> of Ishai, a Bethlehemite, that can playe, &amp; is strong, valiant, &amp; a man of warre &amp; wise in matters, &amp; a comely persone, &amp; the Lord is with him.</p> <p>21 <u>And David came to Saul, and stode</u> before him: and he loved him very wel, <u>and he was his armour bearer.</u></p> <p>22 <u>And Saul sent to Ishai, saying, Let David now remaine with me: for he hathe found favour in my sight.</u></p> <p>23 <u>And so when the evil spirit of God came upon Saul, David toke an harpe</u> and plaied with his hand, &amp; Saul was refreshed, &amp; was eased: <u>for the evil spirit departed from him.</u></p> <p>I Samuel 16.23 is Shakespeare Diagnostic#14. Noble (1935) and Milward (1987) both cite a reference in <i>Richard II</i>:</p>

<sup>348</sup> Shaheen also lists I Sam. 10.1 and 1 Kings 1.33-39.

	<p>This music mads me; let it sound no more. For though it have help madmen to their wits In me it seems will make wise men mad. (5.5.60-62)</p> <p>Carter adds four additional references to the verse:</p> <p>....Naught so stockish, hard and full of rage But music for the time doth change his nature. The man that hath no music in himself, Nor is not mov'd with concord of sweet sounds Is fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils.... (Merchant of Venice 5.1.82-85)</p> <p>Prosperous Ass, that never read so far To know the cause why music was ordainted! Was it not to refresh the mind of man After his studies or his usual pain. (Shrew 3.1.9-12)</p> <p>Let there be no noise made, my gentle friends, Unless some dull and favourable hand Will whisper music to my weary spirit. (1 Henry IV 4.5.1-4)</p> <p>A solemn air, and the best comforter To an unsettle fancy, cure thy brains.... (Tempest 5.1.57-59) To which can be added:</p> <p>Music hath such a power to make bad good (Measure 4.1.14)</p> <p>If they but hear perchance a trumpet sound, Or any air of music touch their ears, You shall perceive them make a mutual stand, Their savage eyes turned to a modest gaze, By the sweet power of music. (Merchant 5.1.75-79)</p>
I Samuel 16.23 note g scarlet.	<u>God wolde yt Saul should receive this benefite as at Davids hand, that his concernation might be yt more evident, for his cruel hate toward him.</u>
17.34-35 (C) in scarlet.	<p>David tells Saul of his exploits slaying the bear and the lion which preyed on his father's flock.</p> <p>34 And David answered unto Saul, Thy servant kept his fathers shepe, <u>and there came a lyon and likewise a beare</u>, and toke a shepe out of the flocke, 35 And I went out after him &amp; smote him, &amp; <u>toke it out of his mouth</u>: and when he arose against me, <u>I caught him</u> by the bearde, and smote him, and slewe him.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987 142) cites a reference in <i>Othello</i>:</p> <p>I took by th' throat the circumcised dog, And smote him—thus. (5.2.355-56)</p> <p>The phrase "I caught him by the beard" is also reflected in <i>Henry V</i>:</p> <p>Go to Constantinople and take the Turk <i>by the beard</i>. (5.2.222)</p>
19.12-13 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Saul's daughter Michal helps David to escape Saul's agents, who have come to murder him, by placing an image in his bed and lowering David out the window on a rope.</p> <p>12 So <u>Michal (c) let David downe</u> through a windowe: and he went, and fled, and escaped. 13 Then <u>Michal toke an image and layed it</u> in the bed, and put a pillowe stuffed with goates heere under the head of it, and covered it with a cloth.</p>
19.12 note (c) (C) in scarlet.	<p>Comments on the support of both Michal and Jonathan for David:</p> <p>c <u>Thus God moved bothe the sonne and daughter of this tyrant to favour David against their father.</u></p> <p>This narrative motif may have been read by de Vere as a typological prefigurement of his own conflicted relationship with Lord Treasurer Cecil and his wife Anne.</p>
19.17 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Saul queries Michal on her motives for "mocking" him by assisting his "enemy" to escape.</p> <p>17 <u>And Saul said unto Michal</u>, Why hast thou mocked me so, and sent away mine enemy, that he is escaped? <u>And Michal answered Saul</u>, he said unto me, Let me go, or els I wil kil thee.</p>
19.20-21 (C) in scarlet.	Saul's men in pursuit of David come upon a troop of prophets led by Samuel, presumably prophesying the election of David. Saul's men "prophesied likewise".

	<p>20 And Saul sent messengers to take David: and when they sawe a companie of Prophets prophecying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them, <u>the Spirit of God fel upon the messengers of Saul,</u> and they also (i) prophecied.</p> <p>21 And when it was told Saul, he sent other messengers, and they <u>prophecied likewise: again Saul sent the third</u> messengers, and they prophecied also.</p>
19.20 note (i) (C) in scarlet.	By prophecy " <u>they changed their mindes and praised God.</u> "
20.20-22 (C) in scarket.	<p>Jonathan instructs David in hiding that he will use arrows shot against the rock of Ezel as a sign, whether David should attempt to return to Saul's court, or flee for his life.</p> <p>20 And <u>I wil shoote thre arrowes on ye side</u> thereof, as though I shot at a marke.</p> <p>21 And after I will send a boy, saying, go seke the arrows. If <u>I say unto the boy, Se, the arrowes are on this side thee, bring them: then come thou: for it is wel</u> with thee and no hurt, and the Lord liveth.</p> <p>22 <u>But if I say thus unto the boy: Beholde, the arrowes are beyond thee,</u> go thy way: for the Lord hathe sent thee away.</p>
21.4 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Abimelech tells David in exile that "there is halowed bread, if the yong men have kept them selves, at least from women."</p> <p>4 And the Priest answered David, &amp; said, There is not commune breat under mine hand, <u>but there is halowed bread, if the yong men have kept themselves, at least from the women.</u></p> <p>Shaheen (1987 137) cites this verse<sup>349</sup> as the source of lines from <i>Othello</i>:</p> <p>...No, as I am a Christian. If to preserve this vessel for my lord From any other foul unlawful touch Be not the strumpet, I am none. (4.2.82-85)</p> <p>A second, even more apparent reference to the marked verse, though apparently overlooked by prior students, occurs in <i>As You Like It</i>:</p> <p>His kissing is as full of <i>sanctity</i> as the touch of <i>holy bread</i>. (3.4.13).</p>
21.12-13 (C) in scarlet.	<p>David, having fled from Nob to Achish, fears for his life and counterfeits madness.</p> <p>12 <u>And David considered these wordes,</u> &amp; was sore afraid of Achish the King of Gath.</p> <p>13 <u>And he changed his behaviour before them, and fained him selfe mad in their hands, &amp; scabaled on the dores of the gate,</u> and let his spetle fall down upon his beard.</p> <p>One recalls that Hamlet, like David in this marked passage, counterfeits madness, as does Edgar In <i>Lear</i>.</p>
22.1-2 (C) in scarlet.	<p>David gathers all the disaffected men with him in the cave of Adullam.</p> <p>1 David therefore departed thence, and saved him selfe <u>in the cave of Adullam;</u> and when his brethren and all his fathers house heard it, they went downe thither to him.</p> <p>2 <u>And there gathered</u> unto him all men that were in trouble <u>and all men that were in det, &amp; all those that were vexed in minde,</u> and he was their prince, and there were with him about foure hundreth men.</p>
22.18 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Saul orders Doeg to slaughter the priests.</p> <p>18 Then <u>the King said to Doeg, Turne thou</u> and fall upon ye Priests. And Doeg the Edomite turned, and ran upon the Priests, and <u>slewe that same day four score and five persons</u> that did weare a linen Ephod</p>
24.3-5 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Saul pursues David in the cave with his armed men; instead of killing him, David cuts of the lappe of his garment.</p> <p>3 <u>Then Saul toke three thousand chosen men</u> out of all Israel, and went to seke David and his men upon the rockes among the wild goates.</p> <p>4 <u>And he came to the shepecoates</u> by the way where there was a cave and Saul went in to do his easement: <u>and David</u> and his men <u>sate</u> in the</p>

<sup>349</sup> Along with (also marked) I Thessalonian 4.3-4

	<p>inward partes of the cave.</p> <p>5 <u>And the men of David said</u> unto him, Se the day is come, whereof the Lord said unto thee, Beholde, I wil deliver thine enemie into thine hand, and thou shalt do to him as it shal seme good to thee. <u>Then David arose and cut of the lappe of Sauls garment prively.</u></p>
24.10-11 (C) in scarlet.	<p>David reiterates the implied moral of 24.5 that “I wil not lay my hand on my master: for he is the Lords Anointed.”</p> <p>10 <u>And David said to Saul, Wherefore</u> givest thou an eare to mens wordes, that say, <u>Beholde, David seketh evil against thee?</u></p> <p>11 Beholde, <u>this day thine eyes have sene</u>, that the Lord had delivered the this day into mine hand in the cave and some bade me kil thee, but I had compassion on thee, and said, <u>I wil not</u> lay mine hand on my master: for he is the Lord's Anointed.</p> <p>I Samuel 24.11 is Shakespeare Diagnostic #17.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987) cites two references:</p> <p>Most sacraligious murder hath broke ope' The <i>Lord's anointed temple</i>. (Macbeth 2.3.72)</p> <p>I would not see thy cruel nails Pluck out his poor old eyes; nor thy fierce sister In <i>his anointed flesh</i> stick boarish fangs. (Lear 3.8.56-58)</p> <p>Shaheen (1989) adds three more:</p> <p>You stand against <i>anointed majesty</i> (1 Henry IV 4.3.40)</p> <p>The King before the Douglas' rage Stooped <i>his anointed head</i> as low as death (2 Henry IV 4.3.40)</p> <p>Let not the heavens hear these tell-tale Women Rail on <i>the Lord's anointed</i> (Richard III 4.4.150)</p> <p>To which can be added:</p> <p>Comest though because <i>the anointed king</i> is thence? (Richard II 4.1.127)</p> <p>If I could find examples Of thousands that had struck <i>anointed kings</i> And flourished after, I'd do it. (Winter's Tale 1.2.358)</p>
24.14 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The significant concept of the "old proverb".</p> <p>14 According <u>as the olde proverb saith, Wickedness procedeth from the wicked</u>, but my hand be not upon thee</p> <p>Shakespeare repeats the idiom in <i>Winter's Tale</i> when Paulina tells Leontes of Perdita:</p> <p>It is yours, And might the lay <i>the old proverb</i> to your charge, So like you, 'tis the worse.... (2.3.95-97)</p> <p>It appears, furthermore, that Paulina's "old proverb" is merely a variant on the underlined sententia of I Sam. 24.14. She means that Perdita, like a wicked child which has issued from a wicked father, is marked by Leontes's evil.</p> <p>Shakespeare also uses the closely related phrase, the "the old saying," at least four times:</p> <p>The <i>old saying</i> is, black men are pearls (TGV 5.2.11)</p> <p>Shall I come upon thee with <i>an old saying</i>? (LLL 4.2.121)</p> <p>The <i>old saying</i> is no heresy, Hanging and wiving goes by destiny (Merchant 2.9.82)</p> <p>The <i>old saying</i> is, the third pays for all (Twelfth Night 5.1.40).</p>



	<p>And if we enlarge our understanding just a bit, we will hear further echos of this idea in Shakespeare:</p> <p>‘While the grass grows’ – <i>the proverb</i> is somewhat <i>musty</i>... (Hamlet 3.2.359)</p> <p>The <i>ancient proverb</i> will be well effected; ‘a staff is quickly found to beat a dog’ (2 Hen. VI, 3.1.170)</p> <p><i>The old proverb</i> is very well parted between you..... (Merchant 2.2.158)</p> <p>(these last three examples added to the third printing, Feb. 2003)</p>
24.18-20 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Saul praises David's righteousness.</p> <p>18 And <u>said to David, Thou art more righteous than I</u>, for thou hast rendred me good, and I have rendred thee bad.</p> <p>19 <u>And thou hast shewed this day</u>, that thou hast dealt well with me: forasmuche as when the Lord had closed me in thine hands, thou killedst me not.</p> <p>20 For <u>who shal finde his enemy</u>, and let him departe fre Wherefore the Lord rendre thee good for that whou hast done unto me this day.</p> <p>The final verse prefigures Matt. 5.9 ‘blessed are the peacemakers’ and 5.44 ‘love your enemies.’</p> <p>A number of Shakespeare’s supposed references to these proverbial New Testament idioms are actually closer to the underlined words here, viz.: You know no rules of charity, which <i>renders good for bad</i>. (Richard III 1.2.69)</p>
25.18, 23, 25 (C) in scarlet.	<p>David encounters the wife of “churlish Nabal,” Abigail, bringing an ass laden with wine, corn, raisins and figs. She appeals to David as his “handmayd” to disregard her husband’s foolishness.</p> <p>18 <u>Then Abigail made haste, and toke two hundreth cakes, and two bottles of wine, and five shepe ready dressed, &amp; five measure of wine, and five shepe ready dressed, &amp; five measures of parched corne, and an hundreth frailes of raisins, and two hundreth of figges</u>, and laded them on asses.</p> <p>23 <u>And when Abigail sawe David, she hasted and lighted of her asse, &amp; fel before David on her face, and bowed herself to the ground.</u></p> <p>24 And fel at his fete, &amp; said, Oh, my lord, I have committed the iniquitie, and I pray thee, let thine handmaid speak to thee, &amp; heare thou the wordes of thine handmayd.</p> <p>25 <u>Let not my lord, I pray thee, regarde this wicked man Nabal: for as his name is, so is he: Nabal is his name, and foly is with him;</u> but I thine handmayd sawe not the yong men of my lord whome thou sentest.</p> <p>Shaheen (1989 37), noting that “if Shakespeare had 1 Samuel in mind in this passage, then his reference was to the Geneva Bible,” since other versions use variant wordings, cites a reference to 1 Sam. 25.24 in <i>1 Henry VI</i>:</p> <p>Let thy <i>humble handmaid</i> speak to thee. (3.3.42)</p> <p>Noble (1935 138) -- citing 1 Samuel 25.40 -- finds another reference to Abigail in <i>Titus Andronicus</i>:</p> <p>She will be a <i>handmaid</i> to his desires, A loving nurse, a mother to his youth. (1.1.55)</p> <p>A completely different type of reference to the marked verses of 1 Samuel 25 occurs in <i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i>. The underlined verse 1 Samuel 25.25 specifies the pun on Abigail’s husband’s name, which means “foolish”:</p> <p>Let not my lord, I pray thee, regarde this wicked man Nabal: for as his name is, so is he: Nabal is his name, and foly is with him.....</p> <p>The diction of the passage, and Abigail’s punstering wit, is imitated by Nym in <i>Merry Wives</i>, whose name literally means “name.”</p> <p>Nym. And this is true....He loves your wife: there’s the short and the long. <i>My name is Corporal Nym</i>: I speak, and I avouch; ‘tis true, <i>my name is Nym</i>, and Falstaff loves your wife. (2.1.127-135)</p>
26.12 (C) in scarlet.	<p>David and Abishai come upon Saul and his men encamped at night in a “deade slepe” and David forbids Abishai to slay Saul. Instead, David takes the spear and the pot of water from next to the sleeping Saul’s head and escapes with them as trophies of his courage and forbearance in not slaying Saul. This continues the motif marked at 1 Samuel 24.3-5 and 24.10-11.</p>

	<p>12 <u>So David toke the speare and the pot of water from Sauls head, and they gate away, and no man sawe it,</u> nor marked, nether did they awake, but thei were all aslepe: for the Lord had sent a deade slepe upon them.</p>
27.1 note (a) (C) in scarlet.	<p>David flees to the Philistims.</p> <p>a <u>David distrusteth Gods protection, &amp; therefore fleeth unto ye idolaters, who were enemies to God's people.</u></p> <p>An intriguing note recording that even David on occasion lacked faith in "God's protection."</p>
28.6-7 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Saul seeks counsel from the witch of Endor that "hathe a familiar spirite" and asks her (I Samuel 28.11-13) to conjure up the spirit of Samuel. At I Samuel 28.14 Saul says that he saw "gods ascending up out of the earth."</p> <p>6 <u>Therefore Saul asked counsel of the Lord, and Lord answered him not,</u> nether by dreames, nor by Urim, nor yet by Prophetes.</p> <p>7 <u>Then said Saul unto his servants, Seke me a woman that hathe a familiar spirit, that I may go to her,</u> and aske of her. And his servants said to him, beholde, there is a woman at En-dor, that hathe a familiar spirit.</p> <p>Shakespeare Diagnostic # 15.</p> <p>Carter (1905) and Shaheen (1987) both find two references to the "familiar spirits" of I Samuel 28.7-8:</p> <p>Now, ye <i>familiar spirits</i>, that are cull'd Out of the powerful regions under the earth Help me this once! (1 Henry IV 5.3.10-12)</p> <p>He has a <i>familiar</i> under his tongue. (2 Henry IV 4.7.107-8)</p> <p>To these might be added three additional references to the idea of spirits conjured from subterannean regions:</p> <p>This they have promised, to show your highness <i>A spirit raised from underground</i> (2 Henry IV 1.2.79)</p> <p><i>Raising up wicked spirits from underground.</i> (2 Henry IV 2.1.174)</p> <p><i>Call spirits from the vasty deep.</i> (1 Henry IV 3.1.55)</p> <p>The witch of Endor is associated directly with Oxford in the dedicatory sonnet written to him by Henry Lok in his translation of <i>Ecclesiastes</i> (1597) -- perhaps because theatrical production, especially history plays, was thought of as a kind of "conjuring" of the dead spirits to new life.</p> <p>If Endor's widow had power to raise A perfect body of true temperature, I would conjure you by your wonted praise, Awhile my song to hear, and truth endure... (Chiljan 89)</p>
I Samuel 31.4-6 (C) in Scarlet.	<p>Saul kills himself by falling upon his own sword.</p> <p>4 Then said Saul unto his armour bearer, Drawe oute thy sworde, and thrust me through therewith, lest the uncircumcised come and thrust me through and mocke me: but his armour bearer wolde not, for he was sore afrayed. <u>Therefore Saul toke a sworde and fel upon it.</u></p> <p>5 <u>And when his armour bearer sawe that Saul was dead, he fel likewise upon his sworde, and dyed with him.</u></p> <p>6 <u>So Saul dyed, and his thre sonnes, and his armour bearer,</u> and all his men that same day together.</p>
<b>II Samuel</b>	<p>Except for II Samuel 22.14-17 and 24.13, which are marked (VN) in black as well as (C) in scarlet, all the annotations in the chapter are of the continuous type in scarlet ink.</p> <p>Parts of seventy-two verses (including the introduction to chapter 21) and fifteen notes are underlined in this chapter.</p>
The argument (C) in scarlet.	<p><u>.....also his great troubles &amp; dangers, which he susteined bothe within his house and without: what horrible and dangerous insurrections, uprores, and reasons were wrought againt him, partly be false conselers, fained friends &amp; flatterers, &amp; partely by some of his owne children and people: and how by God's assistance he overcame all difficulties, &amp; enjoyed his kingdome in rest and peace. In the persone of David the Scripture setteth forth Christ Iesus the chief King,</u> who came of David according to the flesh....</p>
1.12, 14 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The Amelakite recounts to David his part in Saul's death; the people mourn.</p>

	<p>12 And <u>they mourned &amp; wept, &amp; fasted until even, for Saul and for Jonathan</u> his sonne, &amp; for the people of ye Lord, &amp; for the house of Israel, because they were slain with the sworde.</p> <p>14 And David said unto him, <u>How wast yu not afraied, to put for the thine hand to destroy the Anointed of the Lord?</u></p> <p>II Samuel 1.14 is clustered with I Samuel 24.11 to comprise Shakespeare Diagnostic #17.</p>
1.20 (C) in scarlet.	<p>David forbids anyone to announce or “publish” news of Saul’s death among the Philistines, lest his enemies should take comfort</p> <p>20 Tel <u>it not in Gath, nor publish it</u> in the stretes of Ashkelon, lest ye daughters of the uncircumcised triumphe.</p>
1.22-24, 26 (C) in scarlet.	<p>David laments for Saul and for Jonathan.</p> <p>22 <u>The bowe of Jonathan never turned backe</u>, nether did the sworde of Saul returne empty from the blood of the slaine, and from the fat of the mighty.</p> <p>23 Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives, &amp; <u>in their deathes they were not devided: they were faster than egles, they were stronger than lions.</u></p> <p>24 Ye daughters of Israel, <u>wepe for Saul, which clothed you in skarlet, with pleasures, and hanged ornaments of golde upon your apparel.</u></p> <p>25 How were the mighty slaine in the middes of the battel? O Jonathan, thou wast slaine in thine high places.</p> <p>26 <u>Wo is me for thee, my brother Jonathan: very kinde hast thou bene unto me: thy love to me was wonderful passing the love of women:</u> how are the mighty overthrowen, and the weapons of warre destroyed?</p>
2.18 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Asahel is as swift as the wild roe.</p> <p>18 And there were thre sonnes of Zerviah there, Ioab, and Abishai, and Asahel. And <u>Asahel was as light on foote as a wilde roe.</u></p> <p>The underlined passage is echoed twice in Shakespeare:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">As swift As breathed stags, aye, <i>fleeter than the roe.</i> (Shrew Ind. 2.50)</p> <p>Or as <i>the fleet-footed roe</i> that’s tired with chasing. (Venus &amp; Adonis 561)</p>
2.30-31 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Asahel dies with nineteen of David’s men in a Battle against Benjamin and Abner in which three hundred and threescore of the latter’s men are killed.</p> <p>30 Ioab also returned back from Abner: and when he had gathered all the people together, <u>there lacked of Davids servants nintene men &amp; Asahel.</u></p> <p>31 But the servants of David had smitten of Beniamin, &amp; of Abners men, so that <u>thre hundreth &amp; threscore men dyed.</u></p>
3.2-5 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The annotator underlines the names of the sons of David: Amnon, Chileab, Absalom, Adoniah, and Ithream.</p> <p>2 And unto David were children borne in Hebron: <u>and his eldest sonne was Amnon</u> of Ahinoam the Isreelite,</p> <p>3 And his second was <u>Chileab</u> of <u>Abigail</u> the wife of Nabal the Carmelite: and the third, <u>Absalom</u> the sonne of Maacah the daughter of Talmi the King of Geshur.</p> <p>4 And the fourth, <u>Adoniah</u>, the sonne of Aggith, and the fift, Shephaciah ye son of Abital,</p> <p>5 And the sixt, <u>Ithream</u> by Eglah Davids wife: these were born to David in Hebron.</p>
3.23-24 (C) in scarlet.	<p>23 When <u>Ioab</u>, and all the host that was with him, were come, men tolde Ioab, saying Abner the sonne of Ner came to the King, and he hathe sent him away, and is gone in peace.</p> <p>24 Then <u>Ioab came to the King</u>, &amp; said, What hast thou done? Behold, Abner came unto thee, why hast yu sent him away, and he is departed?</p>
3.31-35, 38 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Abner dies and David mourns because “there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel” (38).</p> <p>31 And David said to <u>Ioab, and to all the people that were with him, Rent your clothes, and put on Sackecloth,</u> and mo urne before Abner: <u>and King David himself followed the beare.</u></p> <p>32 And when thei had buryed Abner in Hebron, the King lift up his voyce,</p>

	<p>&amp; wept beside ye sepulchre of Abner, &amp; all the people wept.</p> <p>33 <u>And the King lamented over Abner, and said, Dyed Abner as a foole dyeth?</u></p> <p>34 <u>Thine hands were not bounde, nor thy feete tyed in fetters of brass:</u> but as a man falleth before wicked men so didest thou fall. And all the people wept againe for him.</p> <p>35 <u>Afterwarde all the people came to</u> cause David eat meat while it was yet day, but David sware, saying, So do God to me &amp; more also, <u>if I taste bread, or oght els til the sunne be downe.</u></p> <p>38 <u>And the King said unto his servants, Knew ye not, that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?</u></p>
4.9-11 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The captains of two of David's bands, named Rechab and Baanah, slay the crippled child of Jonathan on his bed. Thinking that David will rejoyce at their cruel deed, they announce it to him. David instead expresses his outrage at such a senseless crime and instead of offering a reward wonders: "Shall I not now therefore require his blood at your hand, and take you from the earth?"</p> <p>9 <u>Then David answered Rechab and Baanah his brother,</u> ye sonnes of Rimmon the Beerothite, &amp; said unto them, As the Lord liveth, who hath delivered my soule out of all adversitie.</p> <p>10 <u>When one tolde me,</u> and said that Saul was dead, (thinking to have broght good tidings) <u>I toke him and slewe him in Ziklag,</u> who thought I wolde have given him a rewarde for his tidings.</p> <p>11 <u>How much more, when wicked men have slayne a righteous persone in his owne house, &amp; upon his bed? Shal I not now therefore require his blood at your hand, and take you from the earth?</u></p>
4.11 note (g) (C) in scarlet.	<p>The underlined note relates the episode to the 16<sup>th</sup> century custom of sanctuary.</p> <p><u>g Forasmuche as neither ye example of him that slew Saul, nor duetie to their master, nor ye innocencie of the persone, nor reverence of ye place, nor time did move them, they deserved most grievous punishment.</u></p>
5.4 (C) in scarlet.	<p>States the age of David at the start of his reign as thirty and the length of his reign at forty years.</p> <p>4 <u>David was thirty yere old when he began to reigne: &amp; he reigned forty yere.</u></p>
6.6-7 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Uzzah places his hand on the Ark of the Covenant and arouses God's wrath. God smites him and he dies. This annotation recalls the previous series of I Samuel 5-7, in which the transfer of the Ark from the Philistines to Kiriath-iarim and its ritual dangers were carefully noted.</p> <p>6 <u>And when he came to Nachons threshing floore, Uzzah put his hand to the Arke of God, &amp; helde it: for the oxen did shake it.</u></p> <p>7 <u>And the Lord was very wroth with Uzzah, &amp; God smote him in the same place for his faute, and there he dyed by the Arke of God.</u></p>
6.14 (C) in Scarlet.	<p>David danced before the lord.</p> <p>14 <u>And David danced before the Lord</u> with all his might, and was girded with a linen Ephod.</p> <p>This annotation recalls de Vere's marking of David's musical soothing of Saul at I Samuel 16.23. De Vere was of course (Ogburn 1984 598) a skilled dancer.</p>
10.3-4 (C) in scarlet.	<p>After the death of Ammon, David's messengers are "villainously entreated" -- their beards chopped off and their garments slashed -- by Hanun, king of Ammon.</p> <p>3 <u>And the princes of the children of Ammon said unto Hanun their lord,</u> Thinkest thou that David doeth honour thy father, that he hath sent comforters to thee? Hath not David rather sent his servants unto them, to search the citie, and to spie it out, and to overthrowe it?</p> <p>4 <u>Wherefore Hanun toke Davids servants,</u> and shaved of the halfe of their bearde, &amp; cut of their garments in the middle, even to their buttockes, &amp; sent them away.</p>
11.11 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Uriah's answer to David's question "why didest thou not go down to thine own house?"</p> <p>11 <u>Then Uriah answered David, The Arke of Israel,</u> and Iudah dwel in tents: &amp; my lord Ioab and the servants of my lord abide in the open fields: <u>shal I then</u> go into mine house to eat and drinke, and lie with my wife? By thy life, and by the life of thy soule, I wil not do this thing.</p>

11.11 note (f) (C) in scarlet.	f <u>Hereby God wolde touche David's conscience, yt seing yt fidelitie &amp; religion of his servant, he wold declare himself so forgetfull of God &amp; iniurious to his servant.</u>
12.9-11 (C) in scarlet.	<p>God's prophet Nathan tells David that because he has killed Uriah "the sworde shall never depart from thine house."</p> <p>9 Wherefore hast thou despised the commandement of the Lord, to do evil in his sight? <u>Thou has killed Uriah the Hittite with the sworde, and hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slaine him with the sworde of the children of Ammon.</u></p> <p>10 <u>Now therefore the sword shal never departe from thine house, because thou hast despised me,</u> and taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite to be thy wife,</p> <p>11 Thus saith the Lord, <u>beholde, I wil raise up evil against thee out of thine owne house, &amp; wil take thy wives before thine eyes, &amp; give them unto thy neighbour, &amp; he shal lye with thy wives in the sight of this sunne.</u></p> <p>Peter Milward (1987 85) cites these verses as an inspiration for Iago's speech:</p> <p>I know our country disposition well:  In Venice they do <i>let [God] see the pranks</i>  <i>They dare not show their husbands;</i> their best conscience  Is not to leave't undone, but keep't unknown. (Othello 3.3.202)</p> <p>Two further references to these verses have apparently escaped prior notice by other students:  Let them...<i>ravish your wives and daughters before your faces</i>  (2 Henry 6 4.8.28-31)<sup>350</sup></p> <p>And Coriolanus:</p> <p>You have holp to <i>ravish your own daughters</i>  And  To melt the city leads upon your pates,  To see your <i>wives dishonor'd to your noses.</i> (4.6.80-83)</p>
12.31 (C) in scarlet.	<p>David's harsh treatment of the citizens of the city of Ammon.</p> <p>31 And <u>he caryed away the people that was therein, &amp; put them under sawes, and under yrone harowes, &amp; under axes of yron, &amp; cast them into the tyle kylne;</u> even thus did he with all the cities of the children of Ammon. Then David and all the people returned unto Ierusalem.</p>
12.31 note (t) (C) in scarlet.	t <u>Signifying yt as thei were malicious enemies of God he put them to cruel death.</u>
13.28 note (m)	<p>Glossing Absalom's command to slay Amnon:</p> <p>m <u>Suche is the pride of ye wicked masters, that in all their wicked commandements they thinke to be obeyed.</u></p>
14.14 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The subtle woman of Tekoah approaches David on behalf of Joab to affect reconciliation between the King and Absalom, who slew Amnon in chapter 13.</p> <p>14 For we must needs dye, &amp; we are as water spilt on the ground, which can not be gathered up again: <u>nether doeth God spare anie persone, yet doeth he appoint meanes, not to cast out from him, him that is expelled.</u></p>
14.14 note (h) (C) in scarlet.	<p>The underlined note echos the thought underlined above in note (g) at I Sam. 4.11. God "<u>appoint(s) meanes, not to cast out from him, him that is expelled...</u>" to the doctrine of sanctuary: "<u>God hathe provided ways (as sanctuary) to save them yt times, which man iudgeth worthy death.</u>"</p> <p>The importance of the custom of sanctuary, here underlined in de Vere's Geneva Bible, is reflected numerous times in Shakespeare, perhaps most potently in Claudius' wicked line to Laertes:</p> <p><i>No place should murder sanctuarize</i>  Revenge should know no bounds. (Hamlet 4.7.128-29)<sup>351</sup></p>

<sup>350</sup> Shaheen (1989 57) compares the homily against willful disobedience, part 3: "What are the forceable oppression of matrons and mens wives, and the violating the deflowering of virgins and maides, which are most rife with rebels?" The homily also says that rebels "abuse by force other mens wives, and daughters, and ravish virgins and maydens, most shamefully, abominably and damnably." Although the verb *ravish* does appear in the homily, the idea that this will take place "before your eyes" reflects the wording (and idea) of II Samuel 12, "before thine eyes," not found in the homily. II Samuel 12.11 is a distinctly preferable proximate source for 2 Henry 6 4.8.28-31.

	<p>In <i>Comedy of Errors</i>, the Abbess, defending Antipholus of Syracuse from his outraged wife and sister-in-law, commends the necessity of sanctuary privilege:</p> <p>He took <i>this place for sanctuary</i>,  And it shall privilege him from your hand  Till I have brought him to his wits again. (5.1.94-96)</p> <p>The ideas and even the specific language of the underlined verse are apparently echoed in <i>Richard III</i> when the Cardinal and Buckingham debate the religious precedents for sanctuary for prince Edward:</p> <p>Card. ....<i>God in heaven forbid</i>  <i>We should infringe the holy privilege</i>  <i>Of blessed sanctuary!</i> Not for all this land  Would I be guilty of so deep a sin.</p> <p>Buck. You are too senseless-obstinate, my lord,  Too ceremonious and traditional.  Weigh it but with the grossness of this age,  <i>You break not sanctuary in seizing him.</i>  The benefit thereof is always granted  To those who dealings have <i>deserv'd place</i>  And those who have the wit to <i>claim the place</i>.  The prince hath neither claimed it nor deserved it,  And therefore, in mine opinion, cannot have it.  Then taking him from thence that is not there  You break no privilege nor charter there.  Of have I heard of sanctuary men,  But sanctuary children never till now. (3.1.40-56)</p>
14.17-19 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The subtle woman praises David as “an Angel of the God in hearing of good &amp; bad.”</p> <p>17 Therefore thine handmaid said, the worde of lord the King shal now be comfortable: <u>for my lord the King is even as an Angel of God in hearing of good &amp; bad</u>; herefore the Lord thy God be with thee.</p> <p>18 <u>Then the king answered, and said unto the woman, Hide not from me, I pray thee</u>, the thing that I shal aske of thee. And the woman said, let my Lord ye King now speake.</p> <p>19 And the King said, <u>Is not the hand of Ioab with thee in all this? Then the woman answered, &amp; said, As thy soul liveth, my lord the King, I wil not turne to the right hand nor to the left from oght that my lord the King hath spoken: for even thy servant Ioab bade me, &amp; he put all these wordes in the mouthe of thine handmaid.</u></p>
16.10 note (f) (C) in scarlet.	<p>f <u>David felt yt this was the iudgement of God for his sinne, &amp; therefore humbleth himself to this rod.</u></p> <p>The influence of this marginal note in <i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i> is unmistakable:</p> <p>And presently all <i>humbled</i> kiss the rod. (1.2.59)<sup>352</sup></p> <p>And in <i>Richard II</i>:</p> <p>Wilt thou...  Take correction mildly, <i>kiss the rod</i>,  And fawn on rage with <i>base humility</i> (5.1.33)</p>
16.21-23 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Ahitophel advises Absalom to have sexual relations with David's concubines and he does so “in the sight of all Israel.”</p> <p>21 <u>And Ahitophel said unto Absalom, Go in to thy fathers concubines</u>, which he hath left to kepe the house: and when all Israel shal heare, that thou art abhorred of thy father, the hands of all that are with thee shalbe strong.</p> <p>22 <u>So they spred Absalom a tent</u> upon the top of the house, and Absalom went in to his fathers concubines in the sight of all Israel.</p> <p>23 <u>And the counsel of Ahitophel which he counseled in those dayes, was like as one had asked counsel at the oracle of God: so was all the counsel of Ahitophel bothe with David and with Absalom.</u></p>

<sup>351</sup> Milward (1984 51) cites I Kings 2.28-29, in which Joab takes sanctuary at the tabernacle but is slain by Benaiah on command of King Solomon. These verses are also marked in the de Vere Bible.

<sup>352</sup> “Kiss the rod” is proverbial (Tilley R156) and also occurs at Psalm 2.9,12

17.1 Note (a) (C) in scarlet.	a <u>The wicked are so greedy to execute their malice, that they leave no occasion, that may further the same.</u>
17.5-6 (C) in scarlet.	Hushai asks Absalom whether he should follow Ahitophel's advice.  5 <u>Then said Absalom, Call now Hushai the Archite also, and let us heare likewise what he sayeth.</u> 6 <u>So when Hushai came to Absalom, Absalom spake to him, saying, Ahitophel hath spoken thus: shal we do after his saying, or no? Tel thou.</u>
17.7 note (c) (C) in scarlet.	c <u>Hushai sheweth himself faithful to David, in that he reproveth this wicked counsel and purpose.</u>
17.13 (C) in scarlet.	13 <u>Moreover if he be gotten into a citie, then shal all the men of Israel bring ropes to that citie, and we wil drawe it into the river, until there be not one smale stone found there.</u>
17.17-19 (C) in scarlet.	Jonathan and Ahimaz are hidden in a well covered with a cloth with ground corn spread upon it.  17 Now <u>Jonathan and Ahimaz abode</u> by En-rogel (for they might not be sene to come into the citie) <u>and a maid went,</u> and tolde them, <u>and they went</u> and shewed king David. 18 <u>Nevertheless a young man saw them, and tolde it to Absalom: therefore they bothe departed quickly, &amp; came to a mans house in Bahurim, who had a well in his court, into the which they went downe.</u> 19 <u>And the wife toke and spread a covering over the welles mouth, and spred ground corne thereon, that the thing shulde not be knowne</u>
17.23 (C) in scarlet.	The death by suicide of Ahitophel, who hangs himself.  23 Now <u>when Ahitophel sawe that his counsel was not followed, he sadled his asse, and arose, and he went home unto his citie, and put his housholde in ordre, and (m) hanged him selfe, and dyed, and was buryed in his fathers grave.</u>
17.23 note (m) (C) in scarlet.	m <u>Gods iuste vengeance even in this life is powred on them wch are enemies, traitours, or persecuters of his Church.</u>
18.9 (C) in scarlet with scarlet fleur-des-lys drawing.	The death of Absalom showe head is caught by branches of a great oak while he rides a mule. Also marked with a fleur-des-lis.  9 Now Absalom met the servants of David, and Absalom rode upon a mule, <u>and the mule came under a great thicke oke: and his head caught holde of the oke,</u> and he was taken up betwene the heaven and the earthe: & the mule that was under him went away.
18.9 note scarlet	<u>This is a terrible example of Gods vengeance against them that are rebles or disobedient to their parents.</u>
20.9-10 (C) in scarlet.	Joab's betrayal of Amasa. Joab seizes Amasa by the beard to kiss him, and stabs him, asking "art thou in health, my brother?"  9 <u>And Ioab said to Amasa, Art thou in health, my brother? &amp; Ioab toke Amasa by the beard</u> with the right hand to kiss him. 10 <u>But Amasa toke no hede to ye sworde that was in Ioabs hand: for there with he smote him</u> in the fifth rib, and shed out his bowels to the ground, & smote him not the seconde time: so he dyed, then Ioab & Abishai his brother followed after Sheba the son of Bichri.
20.21 note n	<u>Hearing his faute tolde him he gave place to reason and required onely him that was autor of the treason.</u>
20.21-22 (C) in scarlet.	The killing of Sheba the son of Bichri, enemy to David, by cutting off his head.  21 The matter is not so, but a man of mount Ephraim (sheba the sonne of Bichri by name) hath lift up his hand against the King, even against David: deliver us him onely, & I wil departe from the citie. <u>And the woman said unto Ioab, Beholde, his head shalbe throwen to thee over the wall.</u> 22 <u>Then the woman went unto all ye people with her wisdom, and thei cut of ye head of Sheba the sonne of Bichri, &amp; cast it to Ioab: then he blew the trumpet, and thei retired from the citie, every man to his tent: and Ioab returned to Ierusalem unto the King.</u>
20.23-26 (C) in scarlet.	The names of David's chief men are underlined: Joab, Banaiah, Asdoram, Sheia, Zadok, Abiathar and Ira.  23 <u>Then Ioab</u> was over all the hoste of Israel, <u>and Banaiah</u> the sonne of

	<p>Iehoiada over the Cherethites &amp; over the Pelethites,  24 And <u>Adoram</u> over the tribute, and <u>Ioshaphat</u> the sonne of Ahilud the recorder,  25 And <u>Sheia was</u> scribe, and <u>Zadock</u> and <u>Abiathar</u> the Priests  26 And also <u>Ira</u> the Iairite was chief about David</p>
21: The argument (C) in scarlet.	<p>1 <u>Thre deare yeres</u> 9 <u>The vengeance of the sinnes of Saul lighteth on his seven sonnes, which are hanged.</u> 15  Foure great battels, which David had against the Philistims.</p>
21.16, 19 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The giant size of the military implements of the Philistims is noted in these verses.</p> <p>16 Then Ishi-benob which was of the sonnes of Haraphah (<u>the head of whose speare wayed thre hundreth shekels of brasse</u>) even being girded with a new sworde, thoght to have slaine David.</p> <p>19 And there was yet another battel in Gob with the Philistims, where Elhanah the sonne of Iaare-oregim, a Bethlehemite slewe Goliath the Gittite: <u>the staffe of whose speare was a like a weaver's beame.</u></p> <p>In the second, the annotator underlines the curious analogy comparing the staff of Goliath's spear to "a weaver's beam"<sup>353</sup></p> <p>This measurement is cited in jest by Falstaff in <i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i>:</p> <p>...I fear not Goliath with a weaver's beam,  because I know life also is a shuttle. (5.1.22)<sup>354</sup></p>
21.20 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Just as he has noted the huge size of the Philistine spears, the annotator now underlines the "great stature" of Goliath.</p> <p>20 Afterwarde there was also a great battel in Gath, where was a man of a <u>great stature, and had on everie hand six fingers, and on everie foote six toes,</u> four and twentie in number: who was also the sonne of Haraphah.</p> <p>Apparently Goliath's massive size is one of the precedents in Falstaff's mind when he tells Shallow, in 2 <i>Henry IV</i>, how little he cares for the "stature, bulk and big assemblage of a man":</p> <p>Will you tell me, Master Shallow, how to choose a man?  Care I for the limb, the thews, the stature, bulk and big  Assemblage of a man? Give me the spirit. (3.1.157-60)</p> <p>Falstaff's moral recalls that David was himself chosen by God earlier in the marked narrative in the de Vere Bible (I Samuel 16.7) not for any imposing or martial "outward appearance," but because God looked on his heart, just as Falstaff cares for the spirit. Hence the passage is cited by Shaheen and other scholars as a reference to the also marked I Samuel 16.7.</p>
23.8-9,11 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The names of David's "mighty men."</p> <p>8 <u>These be the names of the mighty men whome David had. He that sate in ye seate of wisdom being chiefe of the princes, was Adino of Ezni, he slewe eight hundreth at one time</u></p> <p>9 And after him was <u>Eleazar the sonne</u> of Dodo, the sonne of Ahohi, one of the thre worthies with David, when thei defied the Philistims fathered there to battel, when the men of Israel were gone up.</p> <p>11 After him was <u>Shammah the sonne of Age</u> the Hararite: for the Philistims assembled at a town, where was a piece of a field ful of lentils, and the people fled from the Philistims.</p>
23.13-17 (C) in scarlet. Verses 14-17 are also marked (VN) in black ink.	<p>David in the hold at the cave of Adullam thirsts for water but when offered drink from the well of Bethlehem refuses, saying "Is not this the blood of the men yt went in ieopardy of their lives?"</p> <p>13 <u>Afterward thre of the thirty captains went downe, and came to David in ye harvest time unto the cave of Adullam &amp; the hoste of the Philistims pitched in the valley of Rephaim.</u></p> <p>14 <u>And David was then in an holde,</u> and the garison of the Philistims was then in Beth-lehem, which is by the gate.</p> <p>15 <u>And David longed, and said, Oh,</u> yt one wolde give me to drinke of the water of the well of Beh-lehem, which is by the gate.</p>

<sup>353</sup> The same measurement is duplicated at I Sam. 17.7, I Chron. 11.23 and 20.5.

<sup>354</sup> Not in Q1. By my count, only nine of the thirty-four Bible references cited by Shaheen (1993 132-146) in this play occur in Q1.



	<p><u>16</u> Then the thre mighty brake into the hoste of the Philistims, and drewe water out of ye well of Bethlehem that was by the gate, and toke &amp; broght it to David, <u>who wolde not drinke thereof</u>, but powred it for an offering unto the Lord,</p> <p><u>17</u> And said, O Lord, be it far from me, yt I shulde do this. Is not this the blood of the men yt went in ieopardy of their lives? Therefore he wolde not drinke it. These things did these thre mighty men.</p>
24.2 Note (c) (C) in scarlet.	<p>Considers the implications of David's taking a census of the people:.</p> <p>c <u>Because he did this to trie his power and so to trust therein, it offended God</u>, els it was lawful to nomber yt people, Exo. 30.12, Nomb. 1.2.</p>
24.13 (VN) BB	<p><u>13</u> So God came to David, and shewed him, and said unto him, Wilt thou that seven yere in famine come upon thee in thy land, or wilt thou flee thre moneths before thine enemies, they following thee, or that there be thre daies pestilence in thy land? Now advise thee, and see, what answer I shal give to him that sent me.</p>

<b>I Kings</b>	<p>Except for I Kings 8.33, marked in grey-black ink, and I Kings 14.22 and 15.25, 26, 30, 33 and 34, marked (VN) in brown-black ink, all annotations in I Kings are (C) in the scarlet ink.</p> <p>Parts of fifty-eight verses, three notes, and the argument are underlined in this chapter.</p>
Argument (C) in scarlet.	<p>The argument explains that David and Solomon's kingdoms were preserved only by God's protection "(<u>who then favoreth them when his worde is truly set foorth, vertue esteemed, vice punished, and concorde mainteined</u>)..."</p>
1.51-52 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Adoniah takes refuge at the horns of the altar. Solomon declares that "if he shewe him selfe a worthy man, there shal not an heere of him fall to the earth."</p> <p>51 <u>And one tolde Salomon, saying, Beholde, Adoniah doeth feare King Salomon</u>: for lo, he hath caught holde on the hornes of the altar, saying, Let King Salomon sweare unto me this day, that he wil not slaye his servant with the sword.</p> <p>52 <u>The Salomon said, It he wil shewe him selfe a worthy man there shal not an heere of him fall to the earth</u>, but if wickednes be found in him, he shal dye.</p> <p>The idiom "not a hair" occurs five times in Shakespeare: "There's <i>not a hair</i> on's head but 'tis a Valentine" (<i>TG</i> 3.1.192); "God may finish it when he will, 'tis <i>not a white hair</i> a miss yet" (<i>2 Henry 4</i>, 1.2.27); "There is <i>not a white hair</i> on your face but should have his effect of gravity (<i>2 Henry 4</i> 1.2.128); "All the best parts bound together/Weighted <i>not a hair</i> of his" (<i>Henry 8</i>, 32.2259); "And <i>not a hair</i> upon a soldiers head/Which will not prove a whip" (<i>Cor.</i> 4.6.133).</p>
2.8-9 (C) in scarlet.	<p>David, preparing for death, condemns Shimei the son of Gera to death for cursing him at 2 Sam. 16.5.</p> <p>8 And beholde, with thee <u>is Shimei</u> the sonne of Gera the sonne of Iemini, of Bahurim, <u>which cursed me with an horrible curse in the day when I went to Mahanaim</u>: but he came downe to meete me at Iorden, and I sware to him by the Lord, saying: I wil not slaye thee with the sworde.</p> <p>9 <u>But thou shalt not count him innocent: for thou art a wise man, &amp; knowest what thou oghtest to do unto him, therefore</u> thou shalt cause his hoare head to go downe to the grave with blood.</p>
2.13 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Adoniah the son of Haggith comes to visit the newly installed king Solomon.</p> <p>13 And <u>Adoniah the sonne of Haggith</u> came to Bath-sheba the mother of Salomon: and he said, <u>Comcest thou peaceably? And he said, Yea.</u></p>
2.16-20 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Bathsheba appeals to Solomon on behalf of Adoniah to take Abishag the Shunamite woman as wife.</p> <p>16 <u>Now therefore</u> I ask thee one request, refuse me not. And she said unto him, Say on.</p> <p>17 <u>And he said, Speake, I pray thee, unto</u> Salomon the King (for he wil not say thee naye) that he give me Abishag ye Shunamite to wife.</p> <p>18 <u>And Bath-sheba said</u>, Wel, I wil speake for thee unto the King.</p> <p>19 <u>Bath-sheba therefore went unto King Salomon, to speake unto him for Adoniah: and the King rose to meete her and bowed downe unto her</u>, and sat downe on his throne: and he caused a seat to be set for the Kings mother, and she sate at his right hand.</p> <p>20 Then she said, <u>I desire a smale request</u> of thee, say me not naye. Then ye King said unto her, <u>Aske on, my mother: for I wil not say thee naye.</u></p>

2.28-32 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Joab takes refuge on the horns of the altar; Benaiah, with Solomon's approval, slays Joab. Solomon says that "the Lord shal bring his blood upon his own head: for he smote two men more righteous and better than he."</p> <p>SD #18.</p> <p>28 <u>Then tidings came to Ioab: (for Ioab had turned after Adoniah, but he turned not after Absalom) and Ioab fled unto the Tabernacle of the Lord, &amp; caught holde on the hornes of the altar.</u></p> <p>29 <u>And it was told King Salomon, that Ioab was fled unto the Tabernacle of the Lord, and beholde, he is by the altar. Then Salomon sent Benaiah the sonne of Iehoida, saying, Go, fall upon him.</u></p> <p>30 <u>And Benaiah came to the Tabernacle of the Lord, &amp; said unto him, Thus saith the King, Come out. And he said, Nay, but I wil dye here. Then Benaiah broght the King worde againe, saying, Thus said Ioab, and thus he answered me.</u></p> <p>31 <u>And the King said unto him, Do as he hath saide, and smite him, and burve him, that thou maiest take away the blood, which Ioab shed causeles, from me and from the house of my father.</u></p> <p>32 <u>And the Lord shal bring his blood upon his own head: for he smote two men more righteous and better then he, &amp; slewe them with the sworde, and my father David knew not: to wit, Abner the sonne of Ner, capitaine of the hoste of Israel, and Amasa the sonne of Iether capitaine of the hoste of Iudah.</u></p> <p>Milward (1984 51) cites this as a source for Claudius' cynical allusion against sanctuary:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">No place should murder sanctuarize Revenge should know no bounds. <i>(Hamlet 4.7128-29)</i></p>
2.39-40 notes (s) and (t) (C) in scarlet.	<p>s <u>Thus God appointeth yt waies and meanes to bring his iudgements upon ye wicked.</u></p> <p>t <u>His covetous minde moved rather to venture his life, than to lose his worldely profit, which he had by his servants.</u></p>
3.5,7,9 (C) in scarlet.	<p>God appears to Solomon in a dream and Solomon says that he is stil a child.</p> <p>5 <u>In Gibeon the Lord appeared to Salomon in a dream by night: and God said, Aske what I shal give thee.</u></p> <p>7 <u>And now, o Lord, my God, thou hast made they servant King in stead of David my father: and I am but a yong child and know not how to go out and in.</u></p> <p>9 <u>Give therefore unto thy servant an understanding heart, to iudge thy people, that I may discerne betwene good and bad: for who is able to iudge this thy mighty people.</u></p>
3.16 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The first verse of the pericope of Solomon's famous judgement:</p> <p>16 <u>Then came two harlottes unto the king and stode before him.</u></p>
4.22, 23, 26, 32 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The numbers and quantities of Solomon's kitchen supplies, his army, and the his songs and proverbs are all underlined, viz:</p> <p>22 <u>And Salomons vitales for one day were thirtie measure of fine floure, and threscore measures of meale:</u></p> <p>23 <u>Ten fat oxen, and twentie oxen of pastures, and an hundreth shepe,</u> beside hartes, and buckes, and bugles, and fat soule.</p> <p>26 <u>And Salomon had fortie thousand stalles of horses for his charets, and twelve thousand horsemen.</u></p> <p>32 <u>And Salomon spake thre thousand proverbes, and his songs were a thousand and five.</u></p> <p>Carter (1905 34) cites the latter verse as a possible source<sup>355</sup> of <i>LLL</i>:</p> <p>To see great Hercules whipping a gig And profound Solomon turning a jig <span style="float: right;">(4.3.165)</span></p>

<sup>355</sup> Carter also cites 2 Chron. 1.12 and 9.22.

5. 4 note (a) (C) in scarlet.	<p>Solomon resolves to build the temple.</p> <p>a <u>He declareth yt he was bounde to set for the Gods glorie, forasmuche as ye Lord had sent him rest and peace.</u></p>
5. 13-16 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The annotator underlines the numbers of workmen, trees, and beasts of burden required for the building of the temple.</p> <p>13 And King Salomon raised a summe out of all Israel, &amp; the summe was <u>thirty thousand men.</u></p> <p>14 Whom he sent to Lebanon, <u>ten thousand a month by course</u>; they were a moneth in Lebanon, &amp; two moneths at home. And Adoniram was over the summe.</p> <p>15 And Salomon had <u>seventie thousand that bare burdens, &amp; foure score thousand</u> masons in the mountaine.</p> <p>16 Besides the princes, whom Salomon appointed over the worke, even <u>thre thousand and three hundreth</u>, we ruled ye people that wrought in the worke.</p> <p>An underlined sidenote glosses the phrase we ruled ye people that wrought in the work” as meaning “<u>masters of the worke.</u>”</p>
6.7 (C) in scarlet.	<p>7 And when the house was buylt, it was buylt of stone perfit, before it was <u>brought, so that there was nether hammer, nor axe, nor any toole of yron heard in the house, while it was in buylding.</u></p> <p>Is this one of de Vere’s primary metaphors for the meaning of a “work”?</p>
8.33: This verse is marked (VN) in the rare grey-black variant, also used for the note at 8.63	<p>Solomon declares to God that the temple shall be a haven for the people of Israel, even when they are overthrown by their enemies, to “confesse thy name and pray and make supplication unto thee.”</p> <p><u>33</u> When thy people Israel shalbe overthrown before the enemy, because they have sinned against thee, and turne againe to thee, and confesse thy Name and pray and make supplicacion unto thee in this house.</p>
8.63 (C) in scarlet. Cropped marginal note in GB reads “Oxen 22000/Shepe 1220000”.	<p>Noterecords the number of sacrificial oxen and sheep dedicated to God by Solomon.</p> <p>The number of sheep is in error, adding both an extra 2000 to the text’s figure of 120000 and an additional cipher.<sup>356</sup> The numbers are also underlined (C) in scarlet in the verse itself.</p> <p>63 And Salomon offred a sacrifice of peace offrings which he offred unto the Lord, to wit, <u>two and twentie thousand beeves, and an hundreth and twentie thousand shepe</u>: so the King and all the chilrden of Israel dedicated the house of the Lord.</p>
12.3-8, 11 (C) in scarlet.	<p>After Rehoboam succeeds Solomon, his neighbor Ieroboam complains that “thy father made our yoke grievous” and pleads for lighter treatment. Rehoboam’s elders counsel leniency, but he follows the advice of the young men and replies that “wheras my father did burden you with a grievous yoke, I wil yet make your yoke heavier: my father hathe chastised you with rods, but I will correct you with scourges.”</p> <p>3 Then thei sent &amp; called him: and Ieroboam &amp; all the Congregacion of Israel came, and <u>spake unto Rehoboam</u>, saying,</p> <p>4 <u>Thy father made our yoke grievous</u>: now therefore make thou the Grievous servitude of thy father, &amp; his sore yoke which he put upon us, lighter, &amp; we wil serve thee.</p> <p>5 And he said unto them, <u>Depart ye</u> for thre dayes, then come againe to me. And the people departed.</p> <p>6 <u>And King Rehoboam toke counsel</u> wt the olde men that had stande before Salomon his father, while he yet lived, said, What counsel give ye, that I may make an answer to this people?</p> <p>7 <u>And thei spake unto him</u>, saying, If yu be a servant unto this people this day, and serve them, &amp; answer them, &amp; speake kinde wordes to them, thei wil be thy servants for ever.</p> <p>8 <u>But he forsoke the counsel that olde</u> men had given him, &amp; asked counsel of the yong men, yt had been brought up with him, and waited on him.</p> <p>9 And he said unto them, What counsel give ye, yt we may answer this people, which have spoken to me, saying, Make the yoke, which thy</p>

<sup>356</sup> 11/12/02: thanks to Terry Ross for pointing out the second curious error in the annotator’s record of the arithmetic placeholders. As Alan Nelson has observed, Oxford acknowledges making a similar error in one of the tin mining documents; it seems to have been a characteristic failing which, while it might not account for his legendary prodigality, certainly stands as a convenient symbol for his financial difficulties. Thinking that you have over a million sheep when you only have 120,000 is not an effective business practice. For the evident reverberations of this sort of error, the reader may wish to consult any Shakespeare concordance under the word “cipher.”

	<p>father did put upon us, lighter?</p> <p>10 Then the yong men that were brought up with him, spake unto him, saying, Thus shalt thou say unto this people, that have spoken unto thee, and said, Thy father hathe made our yoke hevie, but make thou it lighter unto us: even thus shalt thou say unto them, My least parte shalbe bigger then my fathers loynes.</p> <p>11 Now <u>wheras my father did burden</u> you with a grievous yoke, I wil yet make your yoke hevaier: my father hathe chastised you with rods, but I wil correct you with scourges.</p>
12.9 note (c) (C) in scarlet.	<p>c <u>there is no thing harder to them, yt are in autoritie, than to bridel their affections to followe good counsel.</u></p> <p>Kings 12.11, "my father hathe chastised you with rods, but I wil correct you with scourges," is SD #19.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987) cites:</p> <p>You have been <i>a scourge</i> to her enemies, You have been <i>a rod</i> to her friends. <span style="float: right;">(<i>Coriolanus</i> 2.3.91-92)</span></p> <p>Shaheen (1989) cites:</p> <p>Whipped and <i>scourged with rods</i>, nettled and stung. <span style="float: right;">(<i>1Henry IV</i> 1.3.239)</span></p> <p>Make me not believe that thou art only mark'd For the hot vengeance and <i>the rod</i> of heaven To punish my misreadings. <span style="float: right;">(<i>1Henry IV</i> 3.2.10-11)</span></p> <p>The king hath wasted <i>all his rods</i> On late <i>offenders</i> <span style="float: right;">(<i>2Henry IV</i> 4.1.213-14)</span></p> <p>And Shaheen (1993) adds:</p> <p>I'll whip thee <i>with a rod</i>. <span style="float: right;">(<i>Midsummer Nights Dream</i> 3.2.410)</span></p>
13.4-6 (C) in scarlet.	<p>A prophet reproves Jeroboam and takes refuge at the altar. Jeroboam's hand is smitten and the altar "clave asunder."</p> <p>4 <u>And when the King had heard</u> the saying of the man of God, which he had cryed against the altar in Beth-el, <u>Ieroboam stretched out his hand</u> from ye altar, saying, Lay holde on him: but his hand which he put for the against him, dried up, &amp; he colde not pull it in again to him.</p> <p>5 <u>The altar also clave asundre</u>, and the ashes fel out from the altar, according to the signe, which the man of God had given by the comandement of the Lord.</p> <p>6 <u>Then the King answered</u>, and said unto the man of God, I beseche thee, pray unto the Lord thy God, and make intercession for me, that mine hand may be restored unto me. And the man of God besoght the Lord, and the Kings hand was restored, and became as it was afore.</p>
13.13-14, 18 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Jeroboam and his sons go in search of a prophet with whom they eat.</p> <p>13 <u>And he said unto his sonnes</u>, Sadle me the asse. Who saddled him the asse, &amp; he rode thereon,</p> <p>14 <u>And went after the man of God</u>, and founde him sitting under an oke: &amp; he said unto him, Art thou the man of God yt camest from Iudah? And he said, Yea.</p> <p>18 <u>And he said unto him</u>, I am a Prophet also as thou art, &amp; an Angel spake unto me by ye worde of the Lord, saying, Bring him againe with thee into thine owne house, that he may eat bread and drinke water: but he lied unto him.</p>
14.1 note (a) (C) in scarlet.	<p>The glossator condemns Jeroboam's deceit:</p> <p>a <u>His owne conscience bare him witnes</u>, yt ye prophet of God wolde not satisfie his affections wch was a wicked man.</p>
14.3-7 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Jeroboam's wife travels to Shiloh, disguised, to see if her husband will be king over the Israelites.</p> <p>3 <u>And take</u> with thee ten loaves and craknels, and a bottel of hony, and go to him: he shal tel thee what shal become of the yong man.</p> <p>4 <u>And Ieroboams wife did so, and arose</u>, and went to Shiloh, and came to the house of Ahiiiah: but Ahiiiah colde not se, for his sight was decayed for his age.</p>

	<p>5 <u>Then the Lord said</u> unto Ahiah, Beholde, the wife of Ieroboam cometh to aske a thing of thee for her sonne, for he is sicke: thus and thus shalt thou say unto her: <u>for when she cometh in</u>, she shal feine herselfe to be another.</p> <p>6 <u>Therefore when Ahiah heard</u> the sounde of her fete as she came in at the dore, he said, Come, in, thou wife of Ieroboam: why finest thou thus thy selfe to be another? I am sent to thee with heavy tidings.</p> <p>7 <u>Go, tel Ieroboam</u>, Thus saith the yt Lord God of Israel, Forasmuche as I have exalted thee from amont the people, and have made thee prince over my people, Israel.</p>
14.13 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Israel shall mourn Jeroboam and his descendents will harm “because in him there is founde some goodnes toward not come to ye Lord God of Israel.”</p> <p>13 And all Israel shal mourne for him, and bury him: for he onely of Ieroboam shal come to the grave, <u>because in him there is founde some goodnes</u> toward ye Lord God of Israel, which shal destroy ye house of Ieroboam in that day: what? Yea, even now.</p>
14.22: (VN) in brown-black.	<p>Judah “wroght wickedness in the sight of the Lord.”</p> <p><u>22</u> And Iudah wroght wickednes in the sight of the Lord and they provoked him more with their sinnes, which thei had committed, then all that which their fathers had done.</p>
15.11-13 (C) in scarlet.	<p>David’s son Asa puts away Idols and rejects his mother Maachah for her idol-worship.</p> <p>11 <u>And Asa did right</u> in the eyes of the Lord, as did David his father.</p> <p>12 <u>And he toke away</u> the Sodomites out of the land, &amp; put away all the idoles that his fathers had made.</p> <p>13 And he put downe Maachah his mother also from her estate, because she had made an idole in a grove: &amp; Asa destroyed her idoles, &amp; burnt them by ye broke Kidron.</p>
15.25-26 (VN) in brown-black.	<p>Nadab the son of Jeroboam begins to reign over Israel and reigns for two years. He “did evil in the sight of the Lord.”</p> <p><u>25</u> And Nadab the sonne of Ieroboam began to reigne over Israel the sccond yere of the reigne of Asa King of Iudah, and reigned over Israel two yere.</p> <p><u>26</u> And he did evil in the sight of the Lord, walking in the way of his father, &amp; in his sinne wherewith he made Israel to sinne.</p>
15.30, 33-34. (VN) in brown-black.	<p>Baasha slays Asa King of Judah, and Judah is destroyed “because of the sinnes of Ieroboam.” However, the triumphant Baasha also “did evil in the sight of the Lord, walking in ye way of Ieroboam”.</p> <p><u>30</u> Because of the sinnes of Ieroboam wc he committed, &amp; wherewith he made Israel to sinne, by his provocation, wherewith he provoked the Lord God of Israel.</p> <p><u>33</u> In ye third yere of Asa King of Iudah, began Baasha the sonne of Ahiah to reigne over all Israel in Tirzah, and reigned four &amp; twentie yeres.</p> <p><u>34</u> And he did evil in the sight of the Lord, walking in ye way of Ieroboam, and in his sinne, wherewith he made Israel to sinne.</p>

<b>II Kings</b>	Only three verses are marked in this chapter, (VN) in the grey-black ink variant.
4.8-10 (VN) in GB.	<p>Elisha is entertained by the Shunamite woman who prepares for him “a litle chamber....with....a bed and a table &amp; a stole, and a candlestick.”</p> <p><u>8</u> And on a time Elisha came to Shunen, &amp; there a woman of great estimation constrained him to eat bread: and as he passed by, he turned in thether to eat bread.</p> <p><u>9</u> And she said unto her housband, Beholde, I knowe now, that this is a holie man of God that passeth by us continually.</p> <p><u>10</u> Let us make him a litle chamber, I pray thee, with walles, and let us set him there a bed and a table &amp; a stole, and a candlesticke, that he may turne in thether when he commeth to us.</p>

<b>I Chronicles</b>	Only one verse is marked (VN) in the brown-black in variant, in I Chronicles.
21.8 (VN) in Brown-black.	<p>David prays to God to remit his sin.</p> <p><u>8</u> Then David said unto God, I have sinned greatly, because I have done this thing: but now, I beseeche thee, remove the iniquitie of thy servant: for I have done very foolishly.</p>

<b>II Chronicles</b>	The scarlet (C) underlining resumes in this book. Of the twenty one underlined verses and notes, only two are marked (VN) in the brown-black ink.
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	Many marked verses in this chapter are thematically parallel to those marked in I Kings concerning the conflict between idolatry and monotheism.
15.12-13 (C) in scarlet.	Asa and the prophets, having cleansed the country of idols, make a covenant with God and vow to seek him.  12 <u>And they made a covenant to seke</u> the Lord God of their fathers, with all their heart, and with all their soul. 13 <u>And whosoever wil not seke</u> the Lord God of Israel, shal be slaine, whether he were small or great, man or woman.
15.16 (C) in scarlet.	An exact parallel to also marked verses I Kings 15.11-13. Asa deposes his mother Maachah for idolatry.  16 <u>And King Asa deposed Maachah his mother from her regencie, because she had made an idole in a grove: and Asa brake downe her idole, &amp; stamped it, and burnt it at the broke Kidron.</u>
15.19 (C) in scarlet.	19 <u>And there was no warre unto the five and Thirtieth yere of the reign of Asa.</u>  The chapter ends on this emphatic note, stressing the beneficent consequence of Asa's fidelity to God, underlined by the annotator.
16.3 note d scarlet; underlining, "markes to remainder of note.	<u>He thoght to repulse his adversaire by by an unlawfull meanes, ut is, by seeking helpe of infedeles,</u> as they yt seke ye Turkes amitie, thinking thereby to make themselves more strong.
16.7 note d scarlet; underling, "markes to remainder of note.	<u>Thus in stead of turning to God, by repentance,</u> he disained the admonition of ye Prophet, and punished him, as the wicked do when they be tolde of their fautes.  Another striking example of the annotator's preoccupation with the issues of prophecy and political power.
16.7-10 (C) in scarlet.	Hanani the seer comes to warn Asa of the danger of depending upon the King of Aram instead of God and is punished for his presumption.  7 <u>And at that same time Hanani the Seer came to Asa King of Iudah, and said unto him, Because thou hast rested upon the King of Aram, and not rested in the Lord thy God,</u> therefore is the hoste of the King of Aram escaped out of thine hand. 8 <u>The Ethiopians and Lubims,</u> were they not a greate hoste with charets and horsemen, exceding many? <u>Yet because</u> thou hast rested upon the King of Aram, and not rested in the Lord thy God, therefore is the hoste of the King of Aram escaped out of thine hand. 9 <u>For the eies of the Lord beholde all the earth to shewe him selfe strong with them, that are of perfite heart toward him: thou hast then done foolishly in this;</u> therefore from henceforthe thou shalt have warres. 10 <u>Then Asa was wroth with the Seer,</u> & put him into a prison: for he was displeased with him, because of this thing. And Asa oppressed certaine of the people at the same time.
16.12 (C) in scarlet.	12 <u>And Asa in the nine and thirtieth yere of his reign was diseased in his fete, and his disease was extreme: yet he sought not the Lord in his disease, but to the Phisicians.</u>  The underlined verse runs parallel to Mark 2.17, in which Jesus says: "the whole have not nede of ye physician, but the sicke." Carter (273) cites Mark 2.17 as a source for <i>2 Henry 4</i> :  Poins. Marry, <i>the immortal part needes a Physician</i> , but that move note him: though he be sicke it dies not.  The same sentiment recurs in <i>Macbeth</i> :  More needs she <i>the divine</i> than <i>the physician</i> (5.1.82)  In <i>Twelfth Night</i> :  For the love of God, a surgeon! (5.1.196)  And in <i>Lear</i> , where the contrast between the surgeon who heals the body and the healing which comes from God is implicit: Let me have surgeons! I am cut to the brains. (4.6.196)

18.19-21 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The Lord resolves to persuade Ahab to go to Ramoth Gilead by means of a “false spirit in the mouthe of all his Prophetes” which “shalt persuade.”</p> <p>19 And the Lord said, <u>Who shal persuade Ahab King of Israel, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth Gilead?</u> And one spake and said thus, and another said that.</p> <p>20 <u>Then there came forth a spirit, and stode before the Lord, and said, I wil persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherein?</u></p> <p>21 <u>And he said, I wil go out, and be a false spirit in the mouthe of all his Prophetes. And he said, Thou shalt persuade, and shalt also prevaile: go forth and do so.</u></p> <p>Shakespeare refers three times to the “persuading spirits” of II Chronicles:</p> <p>In <i>Henry IV</i>, as Shaheen (1989 141)<sup>357</sup> recognizes:</p> <p>Well, God give thee <i>the sprit of persuasion</i> and to him the ears of profiting, that what thou speakest may move and what he hears may be believed.</p> <p>(2.152-54)</p> <p>In the <i>Tempest</i>:</p> <p>He’s a <i>spirit of persuasion</i>, only Professes to persuade. (2.1.235)</p> <p>And in <i>I Henry IV</i>, although Carter (260) suggests the proximate reference is to the power of the apostles (Acts 2.4, 41) to speak in tongues:</p> <p>Better consider what you have to do, That I have not <i>the gift of tongue</i>, Can lift your blood up with <i>persuasion</i>. (5.2.76-79)</p>
18.29 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Aab tells Jehosaphat that he will disguise himself before entering into battle.</p> <p>29 <u>And the King of Israel said unto Iehoshaphat, I wil chance my selfe, and entre into the battel: but put thou on thine apparel. So the King of Israel changed him selfe, and they went into the battle.</u></p> <p>Carter (261) compares this obscure incident<sup>358</sup> to the episode of <i>I Henry IV</i> in which Douglass mistakes the fallen Blunt for Henry IV:</p> <p>Hot. This, Douglas? No, I know this face full well. A gallant knight he was, his name was Blunt, <i>Semblably furnished like the King himself.</i></p> <p>*****</p> <p>The king hath many <i>marching in his coats</i> (5.3.18-25)</p>
18.29 note (f) (C) in scarlet.	<p>The marked note glosses the significance of Iehoshaphat’s deceit:</p> <p>f <u>Thus ye wicked thinke by their owne subtiltie to escape Gods iudgementes, which he threatened by his worde.</u></p>
18.31 note (t) (C) in scarlet.	<p>Jehosephat confesses his crime before God.</p> <p>t <u>He cryed to the Lord by acknowledging his faute in going with this wicked King to warre against the worde of the Lord by his propeht, and also by desiring mercie foree the same.</u></p>
28.10, 13: (VN) in brown-black.	<p><u>10</u> And now ye purpose to kepe under the children of Iudah and Ierusalem, as servants and handmaides unto you: but are not you suche, that sinnes are with you before the Lord your God.</p> <p><u>13</u> And said unto them, Bring not in the captives hether: for this shalbe a sinne upon us against the Lord: ye entend to adde more to our sinnes and to our trespasse, thogh our trespasse be great, &amp; the fearce wrath of God is against Israel.</p>
Ezra	No verses are marked in the book of Ezra.

<sup>357</sup> Shaheen’s statement the the compared passages “are at best analogies” even though there are “no similar passages in Shakespeare’s secular sources” (141) seems unreasonably strict. Moreover, he proposes no alternative source for the idea of a “persuading spirit.”

<sup>358</sup> Citing the exact parallel to II Chronicles 18.29, I Kings 32.30.

	However, the annotator's close attention to the book is indicated in the correction in brown-black ink to Ezra 10.6, in which the compositor has inadvertently duplicated the phrase "of the".
<b>Nehemiah</b>	The only verse marked in Nehemiah underlines in brown-black ink of half of the word " <u>burden</u> " in 5.10.
5.10 (C) in brown-black.	10 For even I, my brethren, and my servants do lend them money & corne: I pray you, let us leave of this <u>burden</u> .
<b>Ester</b>	One verse, Ester 9.22, is marked (VN) in the brown-black ink and with a cropped note in the same ink, reading Al[mes]. The verse marks the origin of Purim on which the Jews were "to send presents everie man to his neighbor, and giftes to the poore."
9.22 (VN) in brown-black with cropped noete Al[mes].	<u>22</u> According to the dayes where in ye Lewes rested from their enemies, and the moneth which was turned unto them from sorow to ioye, and from mourning into a ioyful day, to kepe them the dayes of feasting, and ioye, and to send presents everie man to his neighbour, and giftes to the poore.
<b>Job</b>	The only significant paleographical anomoly in the de Vere Bible occurs at the heading of Job 9; a second hand, writing a unique orange-brown ink, has written "my" and "then Job." This is the only definite evidence for a second hand -- hand "B" -- in the Bible.  Of the eleven marked verses in the book, the majority (seven) are in orange, but the brown-black variant is represented as well.
7.3 (C) in BB	Job declares that he has inherited "moneths of vanitie, and painful nights."  3 So have I had as an inheritance <u>the moneths of vanitie, and paineful nights</u> have bene appointed unto me.
Chapter 9: The words "My..[illegible]" and "Then Job" written in light brown ink in hand B.	
15.34: The cropped note in BB alongside this verse predicting destruction for "houses of bribes" reads "[bri]bes".	34 For the congregacion of the hypocrite shalbe desolate, & fyre shal devoure the houses of bribes.
31.16-22: (VN) in O.	Job declares his innocence and swears that if he has done wrong "let mine arme fall from my shulder, & mine arm be broken from the bone." The only continuous marked sequence in Job.  <u>16</u> If I restrained the poore of their desire, or have caused the eyes of the widowe to faile, <u>17</u> Or have eaten my morsels alone, & ye fatherles hathe not eaten therof, <u>18</u> (For from my youth he hathe growen up with me as with a father, & from my mothers wombe I have bene a guide unto her) <u>19</u> If I have sene anie perish, for want of clothing, or any poore without covering, <u>20</u> If his loines have not blessed, me because he was warmed with the fleece of my shepe, <u>21</u> If I have lift up mine hand against ye fatherles, when I sawe that I might helpe him in the gate. <u>22</u> Let mine arme fall from my shulder, & mine arme be broken from the bone.
32.8: (C) in BB and with a fleur-de-lis in the same color.	Elihu defends his speaking:  8 <u>Surely there is a spirit in man, but the</u> inspiracion of the ye Almightye giveth understanding.  The attached note, not underlined, clarifies the meaning that "it is a special gift of God that man hathe understanding, and cometh neither of nature nor by age."  For a very close, biblically inspired, parallel to this thought, see <i>II Henry IV</i> where Falstaff explains:  I am only old in judgement and understanding <sup>359</sup> . (1.2.191-92)

<sup>359</sup> Shaheen (1987 157-58) cites Job 12.12: "Among the ancient is wisdom, and in the length of dayes is understanding" (G); "Among old persons there is wisdom, and in age is understanding" (B) or 1 Corinthians 14.20: "In understanding be of a ripe age."



	The thought is also echoed in <i>All's Well That Ends Well</i> :  Methinks in thee some blessed spirit doth speak His powerful sound within an organ weak. (2.1.178-79)
33.27: (VN) in BB	<u>27</u> He loketh upon men, and if one say, I have sinned, and perverted righteousness, and it did not profit me,
35.6: (VN) in BB	Still speaking, Elihu maintains that a man who sins does no harm to God but only, by implication, himself or other men.  <u>6</u> If thou sinnest, what doest yu against him, yea, when thy sinnes be many, what doest thou unto him.

<b>Genevan Psalms</b>	Only three passages, two of them marginal notes, are marked in the Genevan psalms.  For discussion of psalms marked in the 1569 Sternhold and Hopkins (STC 2440a) bound with the de Vere Bible, see below.
18.20: (C) in BB.	The annotator underlines the line " <u>The Lord rewarded me according to my righteousness...</u> " Of the two instances noted by Noble (1935) in which Shakespeare definitely followed wording not found in the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter, one was Psalm 18.18 in which the Genevan reads "the Lorde was my stay." This specific wording adjacent to the marked line in the de Vere Genevan psalms is followed in 2 <i>Henry VI</i>  Give up thy staff, Henry will to himself Protector be; and God shall be my hope, My stay, my guide and lantern to my feet. (2.3.24-26)
Psalm 37. Two notes attached to Psalm 37, (c) and (t), are underlined:	<u>c As the hope of the dailight causeth us not to be offended with the darkenes of ye night: so oght we paciently to trust that God wil cleare our cause and restore us to our right.</u>  This underlined note is the first instance of a theme which will emerge with particular emphasis as one continues with verses marked in the prophets and the apocrypha of the de Vere Bible: that God will clear or – as Micah 7.9 puts it – "bring to light" the just but suffering servant who trusts patiently to his will.  t <u>These thre points are required of the faithful, yt they shal be godlie, that Gods law be in their heart, &amp; that their life be upright.</u>

<b>Proverbs</b>	As in the Genevan psalms, the pattern of annotation in Proverbs is quite light.  One verse only is marked (VN) in orange, with a marginal note added in Black ink inserting the parenthetical remark "(give unto the poor)". The insertion forms a new logical antecedent to the clause "so shall thy barnes be filled..." Unlike the alteration at Eccclus. 14.13, there is no apparent textual basis for this emendation.
3.10: (VN) in O. A BB note following 3.9 reads "give unto the poore)".	9 Honour ye Lord with thy riches, and with the first frutes of all thine increase. 10 So shal thy barnes be filled with abundance, and thy presses shall burst with new wine.  The marked verse is strongly reminiscent of Ceres's <i>Tempest</i> prayer:  Earth's increase, foison plenty, Barns and garners never empty; Vines with clustering bunches growing, Plants with goodly burthen bowing; Spring come to you at the farthest, At the very end of harvest. (4.1.110-115)

<b>Ecclesiastes</b>	Only one verse is marked in this chapter (VN) in Orange ink. Another is corrected in BB
5.7: Marked (VN) in O, an orange cropped note reads "Poo[re]".	<u>7</u> If in a country ye seest the oppression of ye poore, & the defrauding of iudgement & justice, be not astonied at ye matter: for he yt is higher then ye highest, regardeth, & there be higher then they.  The metaphor of God as the highest judge, capable of overturning the corrupt rulings of temporal powers, is one of profound influence in Shakespeare, manifest for example in the <i>H8</i> passage previously cited in relation to Deuteronomy 32.4:  Is this your Christian counsel? Out upon ye! <i>Heaven is above</i> all yet; there sits <i>a judge</i> That no king can corrupt. (3.1.99-101)

	Ecclesiastes 5.3-4 which stress the obligation of fulfilling vows, is the Shakespeare's most prominent reference to Ecclesiastes. See SD #26.
12.4 correction in BB>	The Genevan text is here missing footnote letter (g) and the annotator has supplied it. One of several typographical corrections to the text which indicate the annotator's close attention to typographical detail and concern for accuracy.  4 And the dores shal be shut without by the base sounds of the grinding, & he shal rise up at the voyce of the birde: & all the daughters of singing shal be abased.

<b>Song of Solomon</b>	There are no annotations in Song of Solomon.
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<b>Isaiah</b>	Of the forty-three marked verses and five notes seven are marked in O (VN) and two in Sc. (C); the remaining thirty-four marked verses and five notes are in BB (VN).
2.6: (VN) in BB.	6 Surely thou hast forsaken thy people, the house of Iaakob, because thei are ful of the East maners, and are sorcerers as the Philistims, and abunde with strange children.
11.10: (C) in BB.	10 And in that day the roote of Ishai, weh shal stand up for a signe unto the people, the nacions shal seke unto it, & his rest shal be glorious.
25.4: (VN) in O.	4 For thou hast bene a strength unto the poore, even a strength to the nedie in his trouble, a refuge against the tempest, a shadowe against the heate: for "the blast of the mightie is like a storm against the wall."  This verse continues the emphasis evident in all the O-marked verses on the virtue of charity.
27.9: (C) in BB.	9 By this therefore shal the iniquitie of Iaakob be purged, and this is all the frute, the taking away of his sinne. When he shal make all the stones of the altars as chalke stones, broken in pieces, that the groves and images may not stand up.  The first mention of the "unweeded garden" motif noticeable in annotations in subsequent prophetic books
29.19-20: Alongside these two verses are two cropped notes in black ink reading "Poo[re]" and "Sin[ne]".	19 The meke in the Lord shal receive ioye againe, and the poore men shal reioyce in the holie one of Israel. 20 For the cruel man shal cease, and the scorneful shalbe consumed: and all that hasted to iniquitie, shalbe cut off.  Isaiah 29 is probably the source of the name "Ariel" in which it is the Hebrew word translated as "Altar". The Geneva Bible glosses it as signifying "Lion of God" and explains that the altar "seemed to devour the sacrifice yt was offered to God" just as a lion devours its prey.  Ann Pasternak Slater (1972) has devoted an entire article to the manifold influences of this one chapter of Isaiah on the <i>Tempest</i> . However, even Pasternak has overlooked perhaps the most significant influence of Isaiah 29 on the <i>Tempest</i> : Isaiah's enfolding of his vision within the "wordes of a boke that is sealed" – ie an esoteric or hidden book -- constitutes a primary inspiration for Prospero's own apocalyptic "drowning" of his book "deeper than ever plummet did sound" (see chapter 30 for discussion of this theme).
40.2: (C) in BB.	2 speake comfortably to Ierusalem, & crye unto her, that her warrefare is accomplished, <u>that her iniquitie is pardoned</u> : for she hath received of the Lords hand double for all her sinnes.  According to Carter (359) and Shaheen (1987 97) the marked verse, and the accompanying note (c), which glosses "double for all her sinnes" as "Meaning, sufficient....& ful correction, or double grace, where as she deserved double punishment," is the inspiration for Laertes wisdom that <i>A double blessing is a double grace.</i> (Hamlet 1.3.53)  The admonition to "speak comfortably," furthermore, appears in <i>Richard II</i> :  For God's sake, speak comfortable words (2.2.76)  In <i>Richard III</i> Dorset fulfills the commandment of Isaiah when he comforts the Duchest after the "accomplished warfare" of Richard's depredations: <i>Comfort, dear mother</i> , God is much displeased... Tis called ungrateful With dull unwillingness to repay a debt Which with a bounteous hand was kindly lent. (2.2.89-93)
43.3,11,14,15, 25: (C) in BB.	God asserts his ontological immanence and love.  3 For I am the Lord thy God, the holy one of Israel, thy Saviour, I gave Egypt for thy ransome, Ethiopia, and Sheba for thee.

	<p>11 <u>I even I, am y Lord, &amp; beside me there</u> is no Savior.</p> <p>14 <u>Thus saith the Lord your redemer</u>, yt holy one of Israel, For your sake I have sent to Babel, and broght it downe: they are all fugitives and the the Chaldeans crye in the shippes.</p> <p>15 <u>I am the Lord your holy one, creator of Israel, your King.</u></p> <p>25 <u>I, even I, am he that putteth awaie thine iniquities for mine owne sake, &amp; wil not remember thy sinnes.</u></p> <p>These marked verses strongly recall God's words at Exodus 3.14: "I am that I am," used by Shakespeare in Sonnet 121.</p> <p>Several cropped notes, reading si&lt;nne&gt;, a&lt; &gt; and a&lt; &gt;.</p>
44.21-24 (C) in BB	<p>God declares that he has not forgotten Israel, has put away her transgression, and will redeem her.</p> <p>21 Remembre these (o Iaakob &amp; Israel) for thou art my servant: <u>o Israel forget me not.</u></p> <p>22 <u>I have put awaie thy transgressions</u> like a cloude, and thy sinnes, as a mist: turne unto me, for I have redeemed thee.</p> <p>23 Rejoyce, ye heavens: for the Lord hathe done it: shoute, ye lower partes of the earth: brast for the into praises, ye mountaines, o forest and everie tre therein: <u>for the Lord hathe redeemed Iaakob and wilbe glorified in Israel.</u></p> <p>24 <u>Thus saith the Lord thy redemer</u> &amp; he that formed thee from the wombe, I am the Lord, that made all things, that spread out the heavens alone, &amp; stretched oute the earth by myself.</p> <p>The repeated reference to redemption, and God's reference to himself as a redeemer, are echoed twice – though the proximate reference in the second example is to the redeemer Jesus -- in <i>Richard III</i>:</p> <p>I every day expect an embassage From my redeemer to redeem me hence. (2.1.4)</p> <p>And defaced the precious image of our dear redeemer. (2.1.123)</p>
45.13, 17, 21, 22: (C) in BB.	<p>The emphasis on God's omnipotence and redeeming power continues.</p> <p>13 <u>I have raised him up in righteousness</u>, &amp; I wil direct all his waies: he shal buylde my citie, and he shal let go my captives, not for price nor reward, saith ye Lord of hostes.</p> <p>17 <u>But Israel shalbe saved in the Lord</u>, wt an everlasting salvacion: ye shal not be ashamed nor confounded worlde without end.</p> <p>21 Tel ye and bring them, &amp; let them take counsel together, who hathe declared this from the beginning? Or hathe tolde it out of olde? Have not I ye Lord? <u>&amp; there is none other God beside me, a iust God, &amp; a Saviour: there is none beside me.</u></p> <p>22 <u>Loke unto me</u>, and ye shal be saved: all the ends of the earth shal be saved: for I am God, and there is none other.</p>
46.4: (C) in BB	<p>4 Therefore unto olde age, I the same even will beare you until ye hore heeres: <u>I have made you: I will aso beare you, and I wil carve you &amp; wil deliver you</u></p>
53.4-6	<p>4 <u>Surely he hathe borne our infirmities &amp; caried our sorowes</u>: yet we did iudge him, as plagued, and smitten of God, &amp; humbled.</p> <p>5 <u>But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was broken for our iniquities</u>: the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and <u>with his stripes we are healed</u>.</p> <p>6 All we like shepe have gone astraie: we have turned everie one to his owne way, and <u>the Lord hathe layed upon him ye iniquitie of us all.</u></p> <p>The underlined phrase "he hathe borne our infirmities" anticipates the frequent NT idiom of "infirmity" meaning "sin," as in Romans 15.1: "We which are strong, ought to beare the infirmities of the weak."</p> <p>The idiom occurs frequently in Shakespeare:</p>

	<p>... Brutus hath riv'd my heart: A friend should <i>bear his friend's infirmities</i> But Brutus makes mine greater than they are. (JC 4.3.86-88)<sup>360</sup></p> <p>Assuming man's infirmities To glad your ears, and please your eyes (Pericles 1.pro.3-4)</p> <p>These fisher's tell <i>the infirmities of men</i>. (Pericles 2.1.53)</p> <p>Mistress Quickley mistakes "conformities" for "infirmities":</p> <p>You cannot one <i>bear with another's conformities</i>... one must bear, and that must be you.... (2 Henry 4 2.4.57-59)<sup>361</sup></p>
53.11-12: (C) in BB.	<p>Continues the righteous servant motif.</p> <p>11 He shal se of the travaile of his soule, &amp; shalbe satisfied: <u>by his knowledge shal my righteous servant iustifiy manie</u>: for he shal beare their iniquities.</p> <p>12 Therefore wil I give him a portion with the great, and he shal devide the spoyle with the strong, because he hathe powred out his soule unto death: &amp; he was counted with the transgressors, and <u>he bare the sinne of many, and praied for the trespassers</u>.</p> <p>The underlined phrase "by his knowledge my righteous servant shal iustify many" is ironically inverted by Jachimo:</p> <p>More particulars must justify my knowledge (Cymbeline 2.4.79-80)</p>
54.7-8, 10 (C) in Scarlet.	<p>7 For a little while have I forsaken thee, but with great compassion wil I gather thee.</p> <p>8 <u>For a moment, in mine anger, I hid my face</u> from thee for a little season, buit wt everlasting mercie have I had compassion on thee, saith the Lord thy redemer.</p> <p>10 <u>For the mountaines shal remove and</u> the hilles shal fall deowne: but my mercie shal not depart from thee, neither shal the cojvenant of my peace fall away, saith the Lord, that hathe compassion on thee.</p>
58.5-7 Orange (VN)	<p><u>5</u> Is it such a fast, that I have chosen ut a man should afflict his soule for a day, and bowe downe his head, as a bullerush, and lie down in a sackcloth and ashes? Wilt thou call this fasting, or an acceptable day to the Lord?</p> <p><u>6</u> Is not this the fasting, that I have chosen, to loose the bands of wickedness, to take of the heavy burdens, &amp; to let the opporssed go fre, and that ye break every yoke.</p> <p><u>7</u> Is it not to deale thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poore that wander, unto thine house? When thou seest the naked, that hou cover him, and hide not thy self from thine owne flesh.</p> <p>These verses are noted for the first time in the 3<sup>rd</sup> printing (see note p. 350 above). I thank David Kathman for accurately noting the VN underlining previously missed by the present researcher. Their possible significance for Shakespeare remains a matter for discussion.</p>
59.12: (VN) in BB with note "sinne".	<u>12</u> For our trespasses are manie before thee, and our sinnes testifie against us: for our trespasses are with us, and we knowe our iniquities.
59.20 scarlet (C)	<u>20</u> <u>And the Redemer shal come unto Zion, and unto</u> them that turne from iniquity in Iaakob, saith the Lord.
64.5-7,9: (VN) in BB with cropped note in BB <sin>ne The prophet prays for God's mercy.	<p><u>5</u> Thou didest mete him, that reioyced in thee, and did iustely: they remembered thee in thy wayes: beholde, thou art angrie, for we have sinned: yet in them is continuance, and we shal be saved.</p> <p><u>6</u> But we have been as an uncleane thing, &amp; all our righteousness is as filthy cloutes, &amp; we all do fade like a leafe, and our iniquities like the winde have taken us away.</p> <p><u>7</u> And there is none that calleth upon thy Name, nether that stirreth up him self to take holde of thee: for thou hast consumed us because of our iniquities.</p> <p><u>9</u> Be not angrie, o Lord, above measure, nether remember iniquitie for ever: lo, we beseche thee beholde, we are all thy people.</p> <p>The analogy of sin compared to the wind is echoed in <i>Pericles</i>:</p> <p>For vice repeated is <i>like the wandering wind</i>, Blows dust in others' eyes to spread itself. (1.1.96)</p>
66.2: (VN) in Orange ink.	<p><u>2</u> For all these things hathe mine hand made, and al these things have bene, saith the Lord: &amp; to him wil I loke, even to him, that is poore, and of a contrite spirit &amp; trembleth at my wordes.</p> <p>Note (l) attached to Isaiah 66.24 glosses the phrase "their worme shal not dye" as "meaning continual torment"</p>

<sup>360</sup> Shaheen (1987) cites Romans 15.1.

<sup>361</sup> Shaheen (1989 163) cites Romans 15.1.

	of conscience which shal ever gnaw them.
<b>Jeremiah</b>	<p>Of thirteen marked verses in this chapter, two are of the GB type, one Sc. and the rest BB. There are two marginal notes in BB.</p> <p>The marked verses continue the emphasis so prominent in Isaiah on God's omnipotence and mercy for his chosen people, despite their "iniquities."</p>
14.7,10,20: (VN) in BB.	<p>The prophet once more acknowledges the "iniquities" of the people.</p> <p>The cropped note "Sin[nne]" marks Jeremiah 14.20.</p> <p><u>7</u> Lord, thogh our iniquities testifie against us, deale with us according to thy Name: for our rebellions are manie, we sinned against thee.</p> <p><u>10</u> Thus saith the Lord unto this people, Thus have they delited to wandre: they have not refrained their feete, therefore the Lord hathe no delite in them, but he wil now remember their iniquitie, and visit their sinnes</p> <p><u>20</u> We acknowledge, o Lord, our wickednes &amp; the iniquitie of our fathers: for we have sinned against thee.</p>
31.34: (C) in Sc.	<p>34 And thei shal teach nomore everie man his neighbour and everie man his brother, saying, Knowe the Lord: for they shal all knowe me from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord: <u>for I wil forgive their iniquitie, and wil remember their sinnes no more.</u></p> <p>The greatest-least antithesis, which also occurs frequently in the NT, is echoed twice in Shakespeare:</p> <p>She as far surpasseth Sycorax <i>as greatest</i> does <i>least</i>. (<i>Tempest</i> 3.2.111)</p> <p>I am <i>the greatest</i>, able to do <i>least</i>, Yet most suspected (<i>Romeo. &amp; Juliet</i>. 5.3.223)</p>
33.7-8 (C) in GB	<p><u>7</u> <u>And I wil cause the captivitie of Iudah,</u> and the captivitie of Israel to returne, &amp; wil buylde them as at the first.</p> <p><u>8</u> <u>And I wil cleanse them from all their iniquitie,</u> whereby they have sinned against me: yea, I wil pardone all their iniquities, whereby thei have sinned against me, and whereby thei have rebelled against me.</p>
36.3: (C) in BB	<p><u>3</u> <u>It maie be that the house of Iudah wil</u> heare of all the evil, which I determined to do unto them that thei may returne everie man from his evil waie, that I maie forgive their iniquitie and their sinnes.</p>
46.27-28(C) in BB.	<p><u>27</u> <u>But feare not thou, o my servant</u> Iakob, &amp; be not thou afraied, o Israel: for behold, I wil deliver thee from a farre country, &amp; thy sede from the land of their captivitie, and Iakob shal returne and be in rest, &amp; prosperitie, and none shal make him afraid.</p> <p><u>28</u> <u>But fear thou not, o Iakob my servant,</u> saith the Lord: for I am with thee, and I wil utterly destroy all the nations, whether I have driven thee: but I wil not utterly destroythee, but correct thee by iudgement, and not utterly cut thee of.</p> <p>Like Suffolk in <i>2 Henry 6</i>, Shakespeare seems to have believed that "true nobility is exempt from fear" (4.1.129). Variation on the imperative "fear not!", both transitive and intransitive, occurs over thirty-five times in the canon, including when the Duchess admonishes Gloucester in <i>2 Henry VI</i> in terms which strongly recall biblical inspiration and the marked passage of Jeremiah:</p> <p>But fear thou not, until thy foot be snar'd Nor never seek prevention of thy foes. (2.4.56-57)</p>
50.7, 14: (VN) in BB.	<p>Jeremiah prophesies the destruction of Babylon and deliverance of Israel.</p> <p><u>7</u> All that found them, have devoured them, and their enemies said, we offend not because they have sinned against ye Lord, the habitation of iustice, even the Lord, the hope of their fathers.</p> <p><u>14</u> Put your selves in araye against babel round about: all ye that bend ye bowe, shoote at her, spare no arrowes: for she hathe sinned against the Lord.</p>
50.20, 29. Verse 20 is marked (C) BB and with a note "Mercy" in the same ink, 29 (VN)	<p><u>20</u> <u>In those dayes, and at that time, saith</u> the Lord, the iniquitie of Israel shalbe soght for, and there shal be none: and ye sinnes of Iudah, &amp; they shal not be found: for I wil be merciful unto them, whom I reserve.</p>

in BB.	<u>29</u> Call up the archers against Babel: all ye that bend the bowe, besiege it rounde about: let none thereof escape: recompence her according to her worke, and according to all that she hathe done, do unto her: for she hathe bene proude against the Lord, even against the holy one of Israel.

<b>Lamentations</b>	There are no annotations in Lamentations.
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<b>Ezekiel</b>	There are forty-three marked verses, all (VN), in this chapter; two are in the orange ink and the remainder in black-brown. There are two marginal notes, both reading “usury” – one in orange and the other in brown-black ink.
3.18-21: (VN) in BB.	<p>The Geneva chapter heading glosses these verses as “the office of true ministers.” The prophet admonishes these “true ministers” to “warne the wicked” lest he “die in his iniquitie.” In verse 20 God warns that if a righteous man strays from his righteousness, “I will lay a stumbling block before him, &amp; he shal die.”</p> <p><u>18</u> When I shal say unto ye wicked, Thou shalt surely dye, and thou givest not him warning, nor speakest to admonish the wicked of his wicked way, that he may live, the same wicked man shal dye in his iniquitie: but his blood wil I require at thine hand.</p> <p><u>19</u> Yet if thou warne the wicked, and he turne not from his wickednes, nor from his wicked way, he shal dye in his iniquitie, but thou hast delivered thy soule.</p> <p><u>20</u> Likewise if a righteous man turne from his righteousness, and commit iniquitie, I wil lay a stumbling block before him, &amp; he shal dye, because thou hast not given him warning: he shal dye in his sinne, and his righteous dedes, which he hathe done, shal not be remembred: but his blood wil I require at thine hand.</p> <p><u>21</u> Nevertheles, if thou admonish that righteous man, that the righteous sinne not, &amp; that he doeth not sinne, he shal live because he is admonished: also thou hast delivered thy soule.</p> <p>Reference to the biblical “stumbling block” <sup>362</sup> is echoed in 2 <i>Henry VI</i>:</p> <p>Were I am man, a duke, and next of blood, I would remove these <i>tedious stumbling-blocks</i> (1.2.64)</p>
16.49: (VN) in O.	<p>The verse prophesies that Babylon, like Sodom, will be destroyed for her “pride, fulnes of bread, and abundance of idleness....nether did she strengthen the hand of the poore and nedie.”</p> <p><u>49</u> Beholde, this was yt iniquitie of thy sister Sodom, Pride, fulnes of bread, and abundance of idlenes was in her, and in her daughters: nether did she strenthen the hand of the poore and nedie. Carter (273), Noble (67), Milward and Shaheen (1987 34) each note this as the source of Hamlet’s line:</p> <p>‘A took my father <i>grossly, full of bread</i> (3.3.80)</p> <p>One of the six verses cited in Shaheen (1987) as diagnostics from the tragedies indicating Shakespeare’s primary reliance on the Geneva Bible. Clarifies Shaheen: “Only the Geneva has ‘fulnes of bread’ at Ezekiel 16.49. All other versions have ‘fulnes of meat’.”</p>
18.4: (VN) in BB.	<p><u>4</u> Beholde, all soules are mine, both the soule of the father, and also the soule of the sonne are mine: yt soule that sinneth, it shall die.</p> <p>Carter (378) cites this as a source for <i>Hamlet</i>:</p> <p>Where the offense is, let the great axe fall. (4.5.216)</p>
18.7: (VN) in O. Alongside this verse is written in the same orange ink the cropped note “[us]ury”.	<p>In the orange ink charity series. The verse affirms that the saved person “hathe given his bread to the hungrie, &amp; hathe covered the naked with a garment.”</p> <p><u>7</u> Nether hathe oppressed any, but hathe restored the pledge to his dettour: he that hathe spoiled none by violence, but hathe given his bread to the hungrie, &amp; hathe covered the naked with a garment.</p>
18.8: Alongside this verse in O, reads the cropped note “[us]ury”.	<p><u>8</u> And hathe not given for the upon usurie, nether hathe taken any increase, but hathe withdrawen his hand from iniquitie, and hathe executed true iudgement betwene man and man.</p>
18.17: Alongside this verse in BB is the note “usuery.”	<p><u>17</u> Nether hathe withdrawen his hand from the afflicted, nor received usurie nor increase but hathe executed my iudgements, &amp; hathe walked in my statutes, he shal not due in the iniquitie of his father, but he shal surely live.</p>

<sup>362</sup> Cf. also Eccclus. 39.4 below.

<p>18.20-28, 30-32: (VN) in BB. Verses 26 and 28 are double marked, with the first line of each verse also underlined (C) in BB.</p>	<p>God warns the wicked to “returne from all his sinnes yt he hathe committed” and promises that contrary to Exodus 20.5 “the sonne shall not beare the iniquitie of the father.”</p> <p>SD #s 21 and 22.</p> <p><u>20</u> The same soule that sinneth, shal dye: the sonne shal not beare the iniquitie of the father, nether shal the father beare the iniquitie of the sonne, but the righteousnes of ye righteous shalbe upon him, and the wickednes of the wicked shalbe upon him self.</p> <p><u>21</u> But if the wicked returne from all his sinnes that he hathe committed, and kepe all my statutes, and do yt which is lawful &amp; right, he shal surely live, &amp; shal not dye.</p> <p><u>22</u> All his transgressions which he hathe committed, thei shal not be mencioned unto him, but in his righteousnes that he hathe done, he shal live.</p> <p><u>23</u> Have I anie desire that the wicked shulde dye, saith the Lord God? Or shal he not live, if he returne from his waies?</p> <p><u>24</u> But if the righteous turne awaie from his righteounes, and commit iniquitie, &amp; do according to all ye abominacions, that the wicked man doeth, shal he live? All his righteousnes that he hathe done, shal not be mencioned, but in his transgression that he hathe committed, &amp; in his sinne that he hathe sinned, in them shal he dye.</p> <p><u>25</u> Yet ye saie, the waie of the Lord is not equal: heare now, o house of Israel. Is not my waie equal? Or are not your waies unequal?</p> <p><u>26</u> For when a righteous man turneth awaie from his righteousnes, and committeth iniquitie, he shal even dye for ye same, he shal even dye for his iniquitie, that he hathe done.</p> <p><u>27</u> Againe when the wicked turneth away from his wickednes that he hathe committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shal save his soule alive.</p> <p><u>28</u> Because he considereth, &amp; turneth awaie from all his transgressions that he hathe committed, he shal surely live and shal not dye.</p> <p><u>30</u> Therefore I wil iudge you, o house of Israel, everie one according to his waies, saith the Lord God: returne therefore and cause others to turne awaie from all your transgressions: so iniquitie shal not be your destruction.</p> <p><u>31</u> Cast away from you all your transgressions, whereby ye have transgressed &amp; make you a new heart &amp; a new spirit: for why wil ye dye, o house of Israel?</p> <p><u>32</u> For I desire not the death of him that dyeth, saith the Lord God: cause therefore one another to returne, and live ye.</p> <p>A prominent and frequently iterated Shakespearean Bible reference.</p>
<p>20.43-44 (C) in BB.</p>	<p><u>43</u> And there shal ye remember your wayes, and all your workes, wherin ye have bene defiled, &amp; ye shal iudge your selves worthy to be cut of, for all your evils, that ye have committed.</p> <p><u>44</u> And ye shal knowe, that I am ye Lord, when I have respect unto you for my Names sake, &amp; not after your wicked waies, nor according to your corrupt workes, o ye house of Israel, saith ye Lord God.</p>
<p>24.23: (VN) in BB.</p>	<p><u>23</u> And your tyre shalbe upon your heads, &amp; your shoes upon your fete: ye shal not mourne nor wepe, but ye shal pine away for your iniquities, &amp; mourne one towards another.</p>
<p>28.15-16, 18: (VN) in BB.</p>	<p>SD # 23.</p> <p><u>15</u> Thou was perfite in thy waies from the day that thou wast created, til iniquitie was found in thee.</p> <p><u>16</u> By the multitude of thy merchandise, thei have filled the middes of thee wt crueltie, and thou hast sinned: therfore I will cast thee as prophane out of mountaine of God: I will destroy thee, o covering Cherub from the middes of the stones of fyre.</p> <p><u>18</u> Thou hast defiled thy sanctification by the multitude of thy iniquities, &amp; by the iniquitie of thy merchandise: therefore I will bring for the a fyre from the middes of thee, which shal devoure thee: &amp; I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth.</p>
<p>33.8-16, 18-19: (VN) in BB</p>	<p>Repeats the warning of Ezekiel 18.20-32 to warn the wicked to turn from his ways and affirms that those who follow the commandments, even if the wicked do not turn from their ways, deliver their own souls from damnation.</p> <p><u>8</u> When I shal say unto the wicked, O wicked man, thou shalt dye the death, if thou doest not speake, and admonish the wicked of his way, that wicked man shal dye for his iniquitie, but his blood wil I require at thine hand.</p> <p><u>9</u> Nevertheles, if thou warne the wicked of his way, to turne from it, if he do not turne from his way, he shal dye for his iniquitie, but thou has delivered thy soul.</p> <p><u>10</u> Therefore, o thou sonne of man, speake unto the house of Israel, Thus ye speake and say, If our transgressions &amp; our sinnes be upon us, and we are consumed because of them, how should we then live?</p> <p><u>11</u> Say unto them, as I live, saith ye Lord God, I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turne from his way and live: turne you, turne you from your evil wayes, for why wil ye dye, o ye house of Israel?</p> <p><u>12</u> Therefore thou sonne of man, say unto the children of thy people, The righteousnes of the righteous shal</p>

	<p>not deliver him in the day of his transgression, nor the wickednes of the wicked shal cause him to fall therein, in the day that he returneth from his wickednes, nether shal the righteous live for his righteousness in the day that he sinneth.</p> <p><u>13</u> When he shal say unto the righteous, that he shal surely live, if he trust to his owne righteousness, and commit iniquitie, all his righteousness shalbe no more remembred, but for his iniquitie that he hathe committed, he shal dye for the same.</p> <p><u>14</u> Againe When I shal say unto the wicked, Thou shalt dye ye death, if he turne from his sinne, &amp; do that which is lawful and right.</p> <p><u>15</u> To wit, if the wicked restore the pledge, and give againe that he had robbed, and walke in the statutes of life, without committing iniquitie, he shal surely live, and not dye.</p> <p><u>16</u> None of his sinnes that he hathe committed, shal be mencioned unto him: because he hathe done that, which is lawful, &amp; right he shal surely live.</p> <p><u>18</u> When the righteous turneth from his righteousness, and do that which is lawful, and right, he shall live thereby.</p> <p><u>19</u> But if the wicked returne from his wickednes, and do that which is lawful, and right, he shal live thereby.</p>
36.25 (C) in BB:	<p>25 <u>Then wil I powre cleane water upon</u> you, and ye shallbe cleane, yea, from all your filthines, and from all your idoles I will clense you.</p> <p>26 A new heart also wil I give you, &amp; a new spirit will put within you, &amp; I wil take away the stonie heart out of your bodye, and I wil give you an heart of flesh.</p> <p>The phrase "stonie heart" in Ezekiel 36.26 is Shakespeare Diagnostic #24.</p> <p>Milward (1987) cites two references:</p> <p>She shall not live; no, <i>my heart</i> is turned to <i>stone</i>. (Othello 4.1.190)</p> <p>Thou dost <i>stone my heart</i> (Othello 5.2.63)</p> <p>Shaheen (1989) adds two more:</p> <p>Whom thou hast whetted on <i>thy stony heart</i>. (2 Henry IV 4.5.107)</p> <p><i>My heart is turn'd to stone</i>; and while 'tis mine, It shall be <i>stony</i>. (2 Henry VI 5.2.50-51)</p>
36.29, 33	<p>29 <u>I wil also deliver you from all your filthiness</u> and I wil call for corne, and wil increase it, and lay no famine upon you.</p> <p>33 Thus saith the Lord God, <u>what time as I shal have clensed you from all your iniquities</u>, I wil cause you to dwel in the cities, and the desolate places shal be buylded.</p> <p>The marked emphasis on the ritual cleansing of sins with water is reminiscent of de Vere's office of the Ewery (Barrell 1945) and the experience recorded in Sonnet 109, viz.:</p> <p>[I] myself bring water for my stain (109.8)</p> <p>Which duplicates the divine promise underlined in Ezekiel 36.2; "stain" echoes "filthiness" and "iniquity" The Ewery officer, who normally brings water to cleanse the stains of others, must in the Sonnet bear it for <i>himself</i>.</p>
37.23: (C) in BB.	<p>This marked verse continues the imagery of cleansing by water noted in the previous chapter.</p> <p>23 Neither shal they be polluted anie more with their abominations, nor with anie of their transgressions: <u>but I will save them out of all their dwelling places, wherein they have sinned, and wil clense</u> them: so shal they be my people, and I wilbe their God.</p>

<b>Daniel</b>	Of the four verses marked (VN) in Daniel, one is in Orange, the other BB.
4.24: Below the usual (VN) in O, the annotator has inscribed a row of three dots. The significance of this icon is not clear.	<p>Daniel says to Nebuchad-nezzar: "Wherefore, o King, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, &amp; break of thy sinnes by righteousness, &amp; thine iniquities by mercie toward the poore: lo, let there be an healing of thine errorr."</p> <p>22 That they shal drive thee from men, &amp; thy dwelling shalbe with the beastes of the field: they shal make thee to eat grasse as the oxen, &amp; thei shal wet thee with the dewe of heaven, &amp; seven times shal passe over thee, til thou know, that the moste high beareth rule over the kingdome of men, and giveth it to whome soever he wil.</p>



	<p>23 Where as they said, that one shulde leave the stumpe of ye rootes, thy kingdome shal remaine unto thee: after that, thou shalt knowe, that the heavens have the rule.</p> <p>24 Wherefore, o King, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, &amp; breake of thy sinnes by righteousnes, &amp; thine iniquities by mercie toward the poore: lo, let there be an healing of thine errour.</p> <p>Shakespeare puns on Nebuchadnezzar being driven to “eat grass as the Oxen” (Daniel 4.22, 28-29) in proximate verses:</p> <p>I am not great Nebuchadnezzar, sir, I have not much skill in grace<sup>363</sup> (4.5.20-21)</p>
9.8-9, 24: (C) in BB.	<p>8 <u>Lord, unto us appertaineth open shame</u>, to our Kings, to our princes, and to our fathers, because we have sinned against the.</p> <p>9 <u>Yet compassion and forgiveness is in ye</u> Lord our God, albiet we have rebelled against thee.</p> <p>24 <u>Seventie wekes are determined upon</u> thy people and upon thine holie citie, to finish ye wickeness, and to seale up the sinnes, and to reconcile the iniquitie, and to bring in everlasting righteousnes, and to seale up the vision and prophecie, and to anoint the most Holie.</p>
<b>Hosea</b>	Twenty six verses are marked in Hosea, all in the BB ink type, using both the (C) and (VN) methods.
1.7	7 <u>Yet I wil have mercie upon the house</u> of Iudah, and wil save them by the Lord their God, and wil not save them by bowe, nor by sworde nor by battel, but horses, nor by horsemen.
1.10	<p>10 Yet the number of the children of Israel shalbe as the sand of the sea, which can no be measured nor tolde: <u>and in the place where it was said unto them</u>, Ye are not people, it shal be said unto them, Ye are the sonnes of the living God.</p> <p>The annotator here marks the extraordinary idea that a place in the text where Israel was forsaken and condemned by the Lord, can literally be erased and rewritten with a promise of his devotion.</p>
2.19-20:	<p>God uses the metaphor of marriage to explain his relationship to is chosen people.</p> <p>19 <u>And I wil marie thee unto me for ever</u>: yea, I wil marie thee unto me in righteousnes, and in iudgement, and in mercie &amp; in compassion.</p> <p>20 <u>I will even marie thee unto me in</u> faithfulness, and thou shalt knowe the Lord.</p>
4.7 (VN) in BB.	7 As they were increased, so they sinned against me: therfore wil I change their glorie into shame.
4.15 VN in BB.	15 Thogh thou, Israel, playe the harlot, yet let not Iudah sinne: come not ye unto Gilgal, nether go ye up to Bethaven, nor swear, the Lord liveth.
6.1 (C) in BB.	1 <u>Come, &amp; let us returne to ye Lord</u> : for he hathe spoiled, and he wil heale us: he hathe wounded us, and he wil binde us up.
7.13 (C) in BB	13 Wo unto them: for they have fled away from: destruction shalbe unto them, because they have transgressed against me: <u>thogh I have redeemed them</u> , yet they have spoken lies against me.
8.13 (VN) in BB.	13 They sacrifice flesh for the sacrificeds of mine offerings, & eat it but the Lord accepteth them not: now will they remember their iniquity, and visite their sinnes: they shall returne to Egypt.
9.7 (VN) in BB.	<p>The prophet announces that the “dayes of visitation” and “recompense” have come:</p> <p>7 The dayes of visitation are come: the dayes of recompense are come: Israel shal know it: the Prophet is a foole; the spiritual man is mad, for the multitude of thie iniquitie.</p> <p>This marked verse is echoed by Feste in <i>Twelfth Night</i> when he defends Toby’s drunkenness to Olivia:</p> <p>He is but mad yet, Madonna; and <i>the fool</i> shall look to the <i>madman</i></p> <p>(1.5.145)</p> <p>In <i>Lear</i>, Goneril reverses the sentiment:</p> <p><i>Jesters</i> do oft prove <i>prophets</i>!</p> <p>(5.3.71)</p>

<sup>363</sup> So F. The Riverside text obliterates the pun by amending the word to “grass.”

	<p>While Lear himself mourns to his alienated fool:</p> <p><i>Oh, fool, I shall go mad.</i> (2.4.289)</p>
9.9 VN in BB	<p>2 They are depely set: they are corrupt as in the daies of Gibeah: therefore he wil remember their iniquitie, he wil visite their sinnes.</p>
10.8-9: (VN) in BB	<p>The “unweeded garden” motif:</p> <p>8 The hie places also of Aven shalbe destroyed, even ye sinne of Israel: ye thorne and the thistle shal growe upon their altars, and they shal say to the mountaines, Cover us, &amp; to the hilles, Fall upon us.</p> <p>9 O Israel, thou hast sinned from the daies of Gibeah: there they stode: the battel in Gibeah against the children of iniquitie did not touche them.</p> <p>Hankins observes that “the ‘unweeded garden’ is one of Shakespeare’s most vivid images and appears in various forms throughout his work” (189), among them Hamlet’s own prophetic denunciation of the world as a garden turned to wasteland:</p> <p>How weary, stale, flate, and unprofitable Seem to me all the uses of this world! Fie on’t! Oh, fie, fie! ‘Tis an unweeded garden, That grows to seed; Things rank and gross in nature Possess it merely. (1.2.129-137)</p> <p>In <i>Richard II</i> also, the image of the unweeded garden explicitly serves as a microcosmic “model” for a disturbed social fabric:</p> <p>Why should we in the compass of a pale Keep law and form and due proportion, Showing, as in a model, our firm estate, When our sea-walled garden, the whole land, Is full of weeds, her fairest flowers chok’d up, Her fruit-trees all unprun’d, her hedges ruined, Her knots disorder’d, and her wholesome herbs Swarming with caterpillars? (3.3.40-47)</p>
10.13: (VN) in BB	<p>Continues the unweeded garden sequence but with imagery specifically linked by previous scholars to Shakespeare:</p> <p>13 But you have plowed wickedness: ye have reaped iniquity: you have eaten the fruit of lies: because yu did not trust in thine owne waies, &amp; in the multitude of thy strong men.</p> <p>Milward (1987 72) finds a reference in <i>Othello</i>:</p> <p>If we plant nettles or sow lettuce (1.3.325)</p> <p>Shaheen (1987 192) cites another possible reference<sup>364</sup> in <i>Coriolanus</i>: In soothing them nourish ‘gainst our senate The cockle of rebellion, insolence, sedition, Which we ourselves have ploughed for, sow’d and Scattered..... (3.1.69-72)</p> <p>And Carter (390) cites the garden imagery of Hosea 10.12 as a source for Iago’s theology of virtue:</p> <p>Virtue? A fig! ‘tis in ourselves that we are thus, or thus. Our bodies are our gardens, to the which our wills are gardeners. (<i>Othello</i> 1.3.320)</p>
11.8-9: (C) in BB	<p>8 <u>Howe shal I give thee up, Ephraim?</u> How shal I deliver thee Israel? How shal I make thee, as Admah? How shal I set thee, as Zeboim? Mine heart is turned within me: my repentings are rouled together.</p> <p>9 <u>I will not execute the fierceness of my wrath:</u> I wil not returne to destroy Ephraim: for I am God, and not man, the holy one in the middes of thee, &amp; I wil not entre into the citie.</p>
13.4, 9: (C) in BB	<p>These verses continue the pattern established above of direct discourse from God asserting his power and mercy.</p> <p>4 <u>Yet I am the Lord thy God from ye</u> land of Egypt, and thou shalt know no God but me: for there is no Saviour beside me.</p> <p>9 <u>O Israel, one hathe destroyed thee,</u> but in me is thine helpe.</p>

<sup>364</sup> Shaheen also cites, as his preferred “source,” North’s Plutarch.

13.12: (VN) in BB	<p><u>12</u> The iniquity of Ephraim is bounde up: his sinne is hid.</p> <p>The idea of hidden sin is echoed in <i>Pericles</i>:</p> <p>How <i>courtesy would seem to cover sin</i>, When that is done is like an hypocrite (1.1.121)</p> <p>In <i>Comedy of Errors</i>:</p> <p><i>Teach sin the carriage of a holy saint</i>; Be secret false. (3.2.14)</p> <p>And in <i>Much Ado</i>:</p> <p>O, what authority and show of truth Can <i>cunning sin cover itself</i> withal! (4.1.37)</p>
14:1-5 (C) in BB	<p>God promises to heal the rebellion of Israel if they return to him.</p> <p>1 <u>Israel, returne</u> unto the Lord thy God: for thou hast fallen by thine iniquitie. 2 <u>Take unto you wordes</u>, and turne to the Lord, and say unto him, take away all iniquitie, and receive us graciously: so wil we render ye calves of our lippes. 3 <u>Asshur shal not save us</u>, nether wil we ride upon horses: nether wil we say anie more to the worke of our hands, Ye are our gods: for in thee the fatherles findeth mercie. 4 <u>I wil heale their</u> rebellion: I wil love them frely: for mine anger is turned away from him. 5 <u>I wil be as the dewe</u> unto Israel: he shal growe as the lillie and fasten his rootes as the trees of Lebanon.</p>
14.6, 8 (C) in BB	<p>God speaks of himself metaphorically as a tree which can nourish and protect Israel:</p> <p>6 <u>His branches shal</u> spread and his beautie shalbe as the olive tre, and his smell as Lebanon. 7 They that dwell under his shadow, shal return: they shal revive as ye corne &amp; florish as the vine: the scent thereof shalbe as the wine of Lebanon. 8 Ephraim shall say, What have I to do anie more with idoles? I have heard him, and loked upon him: <u>I am like a grene fyre tree: upon me is thy frute found.</u></p> <p>This underlined imagery appears to be<sup>365</sup> the inspiration for a passage in <i>Cymbeline</i>:</p> <p>Cymbeline loved me, And when I a soldier was the theme, my name Was not far off. Then <i>was I as a tree</i> <i>Whose boughs did bend with fruit</i>; but in one night, A storm or robbery (call it what you will) Shook down my mellow hangings, nay, my leaves, And left me bare with weather. (3.3.58-64)</p>
<b>Joel</b>	The seven verses marked in Joel are of the (C) type in the brown-black ink, except for 3.13 which is of the (VN) type in the brown-black ink.
1.8 (C) in BB	<p>One of two Joel verses underlined <i>in toto</i>:</p> <p>8 <u>Mourne like a virgine girded with sackcloth for the housband of her youth.</u></p> <p>The biblical image of the “sackcloth” displayed as an outward token of mourning is twice echoed (comically inverted) in Shakespeare:</p> <p>He swears never to wash his face, nor cut his hairs; <i>he puts on sackcloth</i>, and to sea (<i>Pericles</i> 4.4.29)</p> <p>The young lion repents: marry, not <i>in ashes and sackcloth</i>, but in new silk and old sack.</p>

<sup>365</sup> Shaheen (1968 299) sees the *Cymbeline* passage as inspired by scripture and cites alternative sources Psalm 1.3 “He shalbe like a tree planted by the rivers of waters, that will bring forth herr fruit in due season.” or Jeremiah 17.8: “He shall be as a tree that is planted by the water....neither shall cease from yeelding fruit.” Only Jeremiah 17.8, like Hosea 14.9, mentions “fruit” in association with the tree image.

	(2 <i>Henry 4</i> 1.2.222) <sup>366</sup>
1.14 (C) in BB	<p><u>14</u> Sanctify you a fast: call a solemne assemblie, gather the Elders, &amp; all the inhabitants of the land into the House of the Lord your God, and cry unto the Lord.</p> <p>15 Alas: for the day, for the day of the Lord is at hand, and it cometh as a destruction from the Almighty.</p> <p>Shaheen cites two references to Joel 1.15:</p> <p>Alas, the heavy day! (<i>Othello</i> 4.1.42)</p> <p>Do not weep, do not weep. Alas the day! (<i>Othello</i> 4.1.124)</p> <p>To which must be added:</p> <p>Alas the day! (<i>Merry Wives</i> 3.5.39)</p>
2.13-15 (C) in BB:	<p>Continues Joel's theme of the preparations necessary for the day of repentance.</p> <p><u>13</u> And rent your heart, and not your clothes: and turne unto the Lord your God, for he is gracious, and merciful, slowe to angre, and of great kindnes, &amp; repenteth him of evil.</p> <p><u>14</u> Who knoweth if he wil return and repent &amp; leave a blessing behinde him, even a meat offering, &amp; a drinke offering unto the Lord your God.</p> <p><u>15</u> Blowe the trumpet in Zion, sanctifie a fast, call a solemne assemblie.</p> <p>Both Milward (1987 41) and Shaheen (1987 105) cite Joel 2.13 as the source of Hamlet's appeal to Gertrude to undertake repentance:</p> <p>Leave wringing of <i>your hands</i>. Peace, sit you down, and let me <i>wring your heart</i></p> <p>(3.4.34-35)</p> <p>The verse is also echoed in <i>1 Henry VI</i>:</p> <p>France should have torn and <i>rent my very heart</i>.</p> <p>(1.1.126)</p>
2.27 (C) in BB	<p>27 Ye shal also know, that I am in the middes of Israel, and that I am the Lord your God and none other, and my people shal never be ashamed.</p>
3.13: (VN) in BB	<p><u>13</u> Put in your sieths, for the harvest is ripe: come, get you down, for the winepress is ful: yea, the winepresses runne over, for their wickedness is great.</p> <p>Milward (1987 150) cites a line from <i>Macbeth</i>:</p> <p>Macbeth Is <i>ripe for shaking</i>, and the pow'rs above Put on their instruments. (4.3.236)</p> <p>Carter (126) also cites a reference in <i>Richard III</i>:</p> <p>If heaven have any grievous plague in store Exceeding those that I can wish upon thee, O let them keepe it, <i>till thy sinnes be ripe</i> And then hurl down their indignation On thee, the troubler of the poor world's peace!(1.3.217-21)</p> <p>Another echo can be detected in <i>King John</i>:</p> <p>Sal. His <i>passion is so ripe</i>, it needs must break.</p> <p>Pem. And when it breakes, I fear, will issue thence The foule corruption of a sweet child's death. (4.2.79)</p>
<b>Amos</b>	The four marked (VN) verses and four marginal notes in this book are all in the brown black ink.
3.2 (VN) in BB	<p><u>2</u> You onely have I knowen of all the families of the earth: therefore I wil visite you for all your iniquities.</p>

<sup>366</sup> Shaheen (1987 158) cites as a preferred proximate source Matt. 11.21 and Luke 10.13. This marked verse in Joel is, however, a distinct parallel.

5.12 (VN) in BB. Three marginal notes read: “Poo[re],” “Sinne” “Poor”.	This verse is noticably similar to a number which are marked in the orange ink usually used to note verses on economic injustice.  <u>12</u> For I knowe your manifold transgressions, & your mightie sinnes: they afflict the iust, thei take rewards, and thei oppresse the poor in the gate.
6.3 (VN) in BB.	<u>3</u> Ye that put farre away the evil day, and approche to the seat of iniquitie?
8.4 Cropped marginal note [poo]re.	4 Heare this, o ye that swallow up the poore, that ye may make the nedie of the land to faile.
9.8,10 (VN) in BB.	<u>8</u> Beholde, the eyes of the Lord God are upon the sinful kingdome, & I wil destroy it cleane out of the earth, Nevertheles I wil not utterly destroy ye house of Iaakob, saith the Lord. <u>10</u> But all the sinners of my people shal dye by the sworde, which say, The evil shal not come, nor hasten for us.

<b>Obadiah</b>	There are no verses marked in Obadiah.
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<b>Jonah</b>	There are no verses marked in Jonah.
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<b>Micah</b>	The eight verses marked in Micah are all in the brown black ink and predominantly of the (C) type, although Micah 7.9 is marked both (C) and (VN) and 7.19 (VN) and the (C) underlining of 4.6-7 covers the verse numbers.
4.6-7 (VNC) in BB.	<u>6</u> <u>At the same</u> day, saith the Lord, will I gather her that is cast out, & her that I have afflicted. <u>7</u> <u>And I wil make</u> her that halted, a remnant, & her that was cast farre of, a mightie nacion: and the Lord shal reign over them in Mount Zion, from hence forth even for ever.  The reference to “her that halted” is duplicated below in the also marked Zephaniah 3.19. These verses may have seemed significant to de Vere because of his laming c. 1583 at the hands of agents of Thomas Knyvet, the jealous uncle of Anne Vavasour, his mistress mother of his son Edward Vere (see Ward 1928 227-234).  The event is apparently referred to in the Sonnets where we read that the author has been “made lame by fortune’s dearest spite” (37.3) and admits that if one should “speak of my lameness” then “straight away I halt” (89.3).
5.2-3 (C) in BB.	Micah prophesies that out of the destruction of Jerusalem will arise a remnant nation which shall become mighty.  2 And thou Beth-leem Ephrathah art litle to be among the thousands of Iudah, yet out of thee shal he come forth unto me, that shal be the ruler in Israel: whose goings for the have bene from the beginning & from everlasting. 3 <u>Therefore wil he give</u> them up, until the time that she which shall beare, shall travail: then the remnant of their brethren shal returne unto the children of Israel.”  The Geneva note (b) cross references Matt. 2.6.  The annotator seems interested in the implicit typological prophecy, apparently prefiguring the birth of Christ, that out of the “least” of the tribes of Israel would rise up a mighty nation. The theme of the “smallest nation” is also marked....
7.9 The verse is double marked, both (VN) and (C) in BB, as if marked by the annotator on two separate readings:	<u>9</u> I wil beare the wrath of the Lord because I have sinned against him, until he pleade my cause, and execute iudgement for me: then wil <u>he bring me for the to the light, &amp; I shal se his righteousness.</u>  The thematic importance of this verse is discussed in the body of the present dissertation.
7.18-19 (C, VN) in BB	<u>18</u> <u>Who is a God like unto thee,</u> that taketh away iniquitie, & passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage? He reteineth not his wrath for ever, because mercie pleaseth him. <u>19</u> He wil turn againe, & have compassion upon us: he wil subdue our iniquities, & cast all their sinnes into ye bottome of the sea.  The imagery recalls of Shakespeare’s penchant for hyperbole; he very frequently alludes to “the bottom,” as when Oxford himself refers to his consideration of “murdering” Thomas Bedingfield’s translation of <i>Cardanus Comforte</i> in the “waste-bottoms of my chests” or writes of burying his “hopes in the deep abyss and bottom of despair” (Fowler 540).  If the sins to which the prophet refers are, as they frequently seem too be in Shakespeare, “sealed up” in a book (see discussion of Rev. 21.8 below), then the image also evokes the action of Prospero when he casts his “book” in disgust “deeper than ever plummet did sound” into the deepest bottom of oblivion.

	The idea is patterned with many variations: Shakespeare also uses the phrase “so deep a sin” twice ( <i>Richard III</i> 1.4.220; 3.1.43), and Laertes in his grief wants to condemn “conscience and grace to <i>the profoundest pit</i> ” (4.5.131-133).
<b>Nahum</b>	Three verses are marked, all in BB, in this book.
1.2-3: (VN) in BB.	<u>2</u> God is ielous, and the Lord reuengeth: the Lord reuengeth: even the Lord of angre, the Lord will take vengeance on his aduersaries, and he reserveth wrath for his enemies. <u>3</u> The Lord is slowe to anger, but he is great in power and wil not surely clear the wicked: the Lorde hathe his way in the whirlwinde, and in the storrme, and the cloudes are the dust of his fete.
1.12 Like Micah 7.9, this is double marked in BB.	<u>12</u> Thus saith the Lord, thogh they be quiet, & also manie, yet thus shal they be cut of when he shal passe by: thogh <u>I have afflicted thee, I will afflict</u> thee no more.
<b>Habukuk</b>	Three verses are marked in this chapter also, all in BB.
1.12 (C) in BB	<u>12</u> <u>Art not thou of olde ô</u> Lord my God mine holy one? <u>We shal not dye:</u> O Lord, thou hast ordeined them for iudgement, and of God, thou hast established them for correction.
2.10: (VN) in BB	<u>10</u> Thou hast consulted shame to thine owne house, by destroying manie people, and hast sinned against thine own soule.  The verse is echoed in <i>Richard II</i> :  O God defend my soul from such <i>deep sin</i> ! (1.1.187)  In 2 <i>Henry IV</i> :  Self love, my leige, is not so vile a sin as self-neglecting (2.4.74)  Shakespeare’s awareness of the unmarked but much more idiosyncratic adjacent verse Habukuk 2.11, in which we read that “the stone shal crye out of the ye wall” is evidenced, according to Milward (1987 127), in <i>Macbeth</i> :  Here not my steps, which way they walk, for fear The <i>very stones</i> prate of my whereabouts (2.1.56-58)
3.2 (C) in BB	<u>2</u> O Lord, I have heard thy voice, and I was afraide: o Lord, revive thy worke in the middes of thy people, in ye middes of ye <u>veres make it knowne: in wrath remember mercie.</u>
<b>Zephaniah</b>	Eight verses are marked in the BB ink, one in VN, the other seven in one continuous set in the variant Verse Number/Continuous (VNC) style in which both number and a short portion of the verse are underlined.
1.17: (VN) in BB.	And I wil bring distres upon men, that thei shal walke like blinde men, because thei have sinned against the Lord, and their blood shal be powered out as dust, & their flesh as the dongue.
3.14-20 (VNC) in BB.	The prophet instructs Israel to rejoice.  <u>14</u> <u>Reioyce, o</u> daughter Zion: be ye ioyful, o Israel: be glad & reioyce with all thine heart, o daughter Ierusalem. <u>15</u> <u>The Lord</u> hathe taken away thy iudgements: he hathe cast out thine enemye: the King of Israel, even the Lord is in the middes of thee: thou shalt se no more evil. <u>16</u> <u>In that date it shalbe</u> said to Ierusalem, heare thou not, o Zion: let not thine hands be faint. <u>17</u> <u>The Lord thy</u> God in ye middes of thee is mightie: he wil save, he wil reioyce over thee with ioye: he wil quiet him self in his love: he wil reioyce over thee with ioye. <u>18</u> <u>After a</u> certeine time wil I gather the afflicted that were of thee, & them that bare the reproche for it. <u>19</u> <u>Beholde,</u> at yt time I wil bruise all that afflict thee, & I wil save her yt halteth, & gather her that was cast out, I will get them praise & fame in all ye lands of their shame. <u>20</u> <u>At that time</u> wil I bring you againe, & then wil I gather you: for I wil give you a name & a praise among all people of the earth, when I turne back your captivitie before your eyes, saith the Lord.  The reference to those that “halt” -- also occurring in the marked verse Micah 4.7--again recalls de Vere’s lamed condition for most of the remainder of his life.
<b>Haggai</b>	There are no marked verses in Haggai.
<b>Zechariah</b>	Twelve verses are marked, all in the BB ink variant in (C).
1.3 (C) in BB.	<u>3</u> <u>Therefore say thou unto them,</u> Thus saith the Lord of hostes, turn ye unto me, saith the Lord of hostes, and I wil turne unto you, saith the Lord of hostes.  The unusual Biblical phrase, “Lord of hosts,” which reoccurs and is directly underlined below in Zech. 10.3, is

	<p>echoed in <i>I Henry VI</i>:</p> <p>The battles of <i>the Lord of Hosts</i> be fought (1.1.31)</p> <p>Carter traces (72) this to the alternate Biblical source Isa. 13.14.</p>
3.4 (C) in BB.	<p>4 And he answered and spake unto those that stoode before him, saying, <u>Take away the filthy garments from him. And unto him he said, Beholde, I have caused thine iniquitie to departe from thee,</u> &amp; I wil clothe thee with change of raiment.</p> <p>Again the imagery of cleansing recalls de Vere's ceremonial office of the Ewrie as well as the "wayward water-bearer" of Sonnet 109.</p>
8.3 (C) in BB.	<p>3 Thus saith the Lord, I will returne unto Zion, and wil dwell in the middes of Ierusalem, and Ierusalem shalbe called a citie of trueth, and the Mountaine of the Lorde of hostes, and holie Mountaine.</p> <p>The annotator's emphasis on the act of God's locution is interesting.</p> <p>Also the phrase "Lord of hostes," noted above at Zechariah 1.3, recurs here.</p>
8.8 (C) in BB.	<p>8 <u>And I will bring them,</u> and they shal dwel in the middes of Ierusalem, and they shalbe my people, and I wil be their God in trueth and in righteousness.</p>
9.11-12 (C) in BB.	<p>11 Thou also shalt be saved through the blood of thy covenant I have losed thy prisoners out of the pit wherein is no water.</p> <p>12 <u>Turne you to the strong holde,</u> ye prisoners of hope: even today do I declare, that I wil render the double unto thee.</p>
10.3 (C) in BB.	<p>3 My wrath was kindled against ye shepherds &amp; I did visite the goats: <u>but yt lord of hostes wil visite his flock the</u> house of Iudah, &amp; wil make them as his beautiful horse in the battel.</p> <p>As noted above, this is an instance in which de Vere underlines a precise Biblical phrase – "the lord of hosts" cited by Shakespeare.</p>
10.6,8 (C) in BB.	<p>6 <u>And I will strengthen</u> the house of Iudah, and I wil preserve the house of Ioseph, and I wil bring them againe, for I pitie them: and they shalbe as thogh I had not cast them of: for I am the Lord, their God, and wil heare them.</p> <p>8 I will hisse for them, and gather them: <u>for I have redemed them;</u> and they shal encrease, as they have encreased.</p>
12.10 (C) in BB.	<p>10 <u>And I wil powre upon the house of</u> David, and upon the inhabitants of Ierusalem the Spirit of grace and of compassion, &amp; they shal loke upon me, whome they have perced, and they shal lament for him, as one mourneth for his onelie sonne, and be sorie for him as one is sorie for his first borne.</p> <p>Milward (1987 191, 203) finds two echoes of the idea of lamentation for the piercing of God's suffering servant in <i>Lear</i>, citing Zechariah 12.10 as a source:</p> <p>Edg. And my heart breaks at it (4.6.146)<sup>367</sup></p> <p>Kent. Break heart, I prithee, break!<sup>368</sup> (5.3.314)</p> <p>The idea of God pouring forth blessings upon his chosen people underlined in the verse is also echoed frequently in Shakespeare viz.:</p> <p>From your sacred vials pour your graces upon my daughter's head! (<i>Winter's Tale</i> 5.3.122)</p> <p>The benediction of these covering heavens Fall on their heads like dew! (<i>Cymbeline</i> 5.5.351)</p>
13.1 (C) in BB.	<p>1 <u>In that day there shalbe a fountaine,</u> opened to the house of David, and to the inhabitants of Ierusalem, for sinne &amp; for unclennes.</p>
13.9 (C) in BB.	<p>9 <u>And I wil bring that third parte thorow</u> the fyre, &amp; wil fine them as ye</p>

<sup>367</sup> Milward lists a large number of alternative cross-references to this line, including: Ps. 51.17, 69.20 147.3; Jer. 23.9

<sup>368</sup> Again, Milward also considers John 19.34, Jer. 23.9 and Luke 2.35.

	silver is fined, & wil trye them as golde is tried: they shal call on my Name, & I wil heare them: I wil say, It is my people, and they shal say, The Lord is my God.
<b>Malachi</b>	Two verses are marked in Malachi, both in BB (C).
3.16-17 (C) in BB.	<p>16 <u>Then I spake they that feared the Lord</u>, everie one to his neighbour, &amp; ye Lord hearkened &amp; heard it, &amp; in a boke of remembrance was writen before him for them that feared ye Lord, &amp; that thoght upon his Name.</p> <p>17 <u>And they shalbe to me</u>, saith he Lord of hosts, in that day that I shal do this, for a flocke, &amp; I wil spare them, as a man spareth his owne sonne that serveth him.</p> <p>This is the last marked verse in de Vere's Old Testament. It anticipates several Shakespearean themes, the most important of them perhaps being that of the "boke of remembrance," a concept which Carter at least (87) recognizes as a reference to the marked Malachi verse in one of two occurrences in Shakespeare:</p> <p>Blotting your names from books of memory<sup>369</sup> (1.1.100)</p> <p>But the verse is also undoubtedly the inspiration for a related passage in 2 <i>Henry VI</i>:</p> <p>I'll note you in my book of memory, To scourge you for this apprehension (2.4.101)</p> <p>Remembrance is, of course, of theme fundamental to Shakespeare, as we recall from the memorializing character of Sonnet 30:</p> <p>When to the sessions of sweet silent thought I summon up remembrance of things past. (30.1-2)</p> <p>In de Vere's extant correspondence we also find this as a strong theme. In de Vere's letter to Robert Cecil we read the writer's promise that for Cecil's assistance in his legal negotiations with the crown, his thanks shall be "sealed up in an eternal remembrance to yourself" (Fowler 593). In one striking echo of Sonnet 30 in his tin mining memorandum (Huntington EL 2337) Oxford desires "to put her Majesty <i>in remembrance of what was past</i>."</p>
<b>I Esdras</b>	There are no marked verses in I Esdras.
<b>II Esdras</b>	A total of sixty-one verses or parts of verses are marked, all but four of them in chapters VIII and IX.
8.1-3 (C) in scarlet.	<p>Marked verses are exclusively of the (C) type, primarily in the Scarlet ink. Verses 8.50, 14.16, 15.5 and 15.3 are marked (C) in BB. A scarlet ink note at 8.20 reads "a godly p[raier]"; a BB note at 9.7 and pointing hand icon at 15.5.</p> <p>Esdras' theory of election compares the few souls who will be saved to the "litle dust that gold cometh of."</p> <p>Is the origin of Hamlet's idea of "a quintessence of dust"?</p> <p>The Geneva note cross references Matt. 20.16: "So the last shal be first, and the first last, for manie are called, but fewe chosen."</p> <p>1 And he answered me, saying, <u>The most High made this worlde for manie, but the worlde to come for fewe.</u></p> <p>2 <u>I will tel thee a similitude</u>, o Esdras, <u>As when thou askest the earth</u>, it shal say unto thee, that it giveth mucche earthlie matter to make pottes, but <u>litle dust that golde cometh of</u>, so is it with the worke of this worlde.</p> <p>3 <u>There be manie created, but fewe</u> shalbe saved.</p> <p>The association between gold and dust also seems a favorite image for Shakespeare:</p> <p>Golden lads and girls all must As chimney sweepers come to dust (Cymbeline 4.2.263)</p> <p>By the merit of vile gold, dross, dust, Purchase corrupted pardon (John 4.4.469)</p>
8.6 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The prophet prays for God to "give seed unto our heart."</p> <p>4 Then answered I, and said, then swallow up the wit, o my soule, and</p>

<sup>369</sup> This would appear to be a composite allusion to both the also marked Rev. 3.5 (in which we read of a name being "blotted" or "put out" from God's book) and on Malachi 3.16. See chapter twenty-two.



	<p>devour understanding.</p> <p>5 For thou hast promised to heare, and thou wilt prophecie: for thou hast no longer space, but the life given thee.</p> <p>6 O Lord, <u>if thou suffer not thy servant, that we may intreat thee, that thou maist give sede unto our heart, and prepare our understanding, that there may come fruite of it, whereby everie one which is corrupt, may live, who can set him self for man?</u></p>
8.7-12 (C) in scarlet.	<p>The prophet elaborates the concept of man as a “work” fashioned and nourished by God in the womb. The first two words of every verse are underlined.</p> <p>7 <u>For</u> thou are alone, and we are one workemanship of thine hands, as thou hast said.</p> <p>8 <u>For when</u> the bodie is facioned now in the wombe, &amp; thou hast given it members, thy creature is preserved by fyre &amp; water, and the worke, created by thee, doeth suffer nine months the creature, which is facioned in it.</p> <p>9 <u>But the</u> thing that conteineth, and that which is contained, shal bothe be preserved, and when time is come, the wombe, being preserved, delivereth ye things that grew in it.</p> <p>10 <u>For</u> thou hast commanded the members, even the breasts, to give milke unto the fruite appointed to the breates.</p> <p>11 <u>That</u> the thing, which is created, may be nourished for a time, til thou disposest it to thy mercie.</p> <p>12 <u>Thou</u> bringest it up with thy righteousnes, and nuturest it in thy Law, &amp; reformest it with thy iudgement.</p>
8.20-36: The “godly praier” of the prophet. Marked (C) in Sc. with a scarlet note, “A Godly p<raier>” and a fleur-de-lis icon in Sc.	<p>20 <u>O Lord that livest for ever, which</u> beholdest from above that which is above, and in the ayre,</p> <p>21 <u>Whose throne is inestimable, &amp; his glorie incomprehensible, before whome</u> the hoste of the Angels stand with trembling,</p> <p>22 Whose keping is turned in winde and fyre, <u>whose worde is true,</u> and sayings sted fast, <u>whose commandement is strong,</u> and <u>government terrible,</u></p> <p>23 <u>Whose look dryeth up ye depths, and wrath</u> maketh the mountaines to melt away as the thing beareth witnes.</p> <p>24 <u>Heare the prayer of thy servant,</u> and receive into thine eares the petition of thy creature.</p> <p>25 <u>For while I live,</u> I wil speake, and so long as I have understanding, I wil answer.</p> <p>26 <u>Loke not upon the sinnes of thy servant, rather than thy faithful servants.</u></p> <p>27 <u>Have not respect unto the wicked dedes of men,</u> rather then to them yt have thy testimonies in afflictions.</p> <p>28 <u>Thinke not upon those that have</u> walked fainedly before thee, but remember them that reverence thy wil.</p> <p>29 Let <u>it not be thy wil to destroye them</u> which have lived like beasts, but loke upon them that have clearly taught thy Law.</p> <p>30 <u>Take not displeasure with them,</u> we appeare worse then beasts, but love them that always put their trust in thy righteousness and glorie.</p> <p>31 <u>For we and our fathers have all the same sickness:</u> but because of us that are sinners thou shalt be called merciful.</p> <p>32 <u>If therefore thou wilt have mercie upon us,</u> thou shalt be called merciful towards us which have no workes of righteounes.</p> <p>33 <u>For the righteous, which had laid up manie good workes, let them receive the rewarde of their owne dedes.</u></p> <p>34 <u>But what is man, that thou shuldest take displeasure at him? Or what is this</u> moral generacion, that thou shuldest be grieved towards it?</p> <p>35 <u>For verely there is no man amonge</u> them that be borne, but he hathe done wickedly, nor anie that doeth confesse thee, which hathe not done amisse.</p> <p>36 For this, o Lord, thy righteousness and thy goodness shalbe praised, <u>if thou be merciful unto them, which have not the substance of good works.</u></p> <p>Some part of every verse of the prayer is underlined. The theme is that God should spare the sinning nation because of the good works of his suffering servant, a potent idea for the author “Shakespeare” in an Anglican England beset by the threat of counter-reformation or Spanish invasion.</p> <p>The prophet asks in the underlined verse 8.34: “what is man, that thou shuldest take displeasure at him? Or what is this mortal generacion, that thou shuldest be grieved towards it?” Hamlet’s answer, that man <i>is a work of God</i> -- and therefore human works are ultimately of divine inspiration and patterned inevitably on the divine – is implicit in the entire underlined passage.</p>

<p>8.37-45, 47-54, 56, 60-61, 63: (C) in Scarlet, excepting 8.50 which is (C) in BB.</p>	<p>God's answer to the prophet. He reiterates that not all will be saved but "the righteous, which have laid up manie good workes, let them receive the rewarde of their own dedes" (8.33).</p> <p>37 <u>Then answered he me</u>, and said, Some things hast thou spoken aright, and according unto thy wordes it shalbe.</p> <p>38 <u>For I wil not verely consider the workes of them, before the death, before ye iudgement, before destruction:</u></p> <p>39 <u>But I wil reioyce in the waves of the righteous, and I wil remember the pilgrimage, the salvation and the rewarde, that they shal have.</u></p> <p>40 Like as I have spoken now, so shal it come to passe.</p> <p>41 <u>For as the housband man soweth much sede upon the grounde, &amp; planteth many trees, and yet always the thing that is sowed, cometh not up in time, nether: yet doeth all that is planted take roote, so nether shal thei all that are broght into the worlde, be saved.</u></p> <p>42 I answered then &amp; said, <u>If I have found grace, let me speak.</u></p> <p>43 <u>Like as the housband mans sede perisheth</u>, if it come not up, and receive not raine in due season, or it if be destroyed with to muche raine,</p> <p>44 <u>So perisheth man, which is created with thine hands, &amp; thou art called his paterne, because he is created to thine image, for whose sake thou hast made all things, and likened him unto the housbandmans sede.</u></p> <p>45 <u>Be not wroth with us, o Lord, but spare thy people, &amp; have mercie upon thine inheritance: for thou wilt be merciful unto thy creature.</u></p> <p>46 Then answer he me, and said, The things present are for the present, and the things to come for suche as be to come.</p> <p>47 <u>For thou art farre of, that thou shuldest love my creature above me: but I have oft times drawn nere unto thee and unto it, but never to ye unrighteous.</u></p> <p>48 <u>In this also thou art marvelous before the Highest.</u></p> <p>49 <u>In that thou hast humbled thy self, as it becometh thee, and hast not iudged thy self worthie to boast thy self greatly among the righteous.</u></p> <p>50 <u>For many miseries &amp; calamities remaine for them that shal live in the latter time, because thei shal walke in great pride.</u></p> <p>51 But learn thou for thy self, and seke out the glorie for suche as be like thee.</p> <p>52 <u>For unto you is paradise opened: the tre of life is planted: the time to come is prepared, plenteousnes made ready, ye citie is buylded, and the rest is prepared, perfite goodnes and absolute wisdom.</u></p> <p>53 <u>The roote of evil is sealed up from you: ye weakenes and moth is destroyed from you, and into hell fleeth corruption to be forgotten.</u></p> <p>54 <u>Sorowes are vanished away, and in the end is shewed the treasure of immortalitie.</u></p> <p>55 Therefore ask no more questions concerning the multitude of them that perish.</p> <p>56 <u>For when thei had libertie, the despised the most High: they contemned his Law &amp; forsoke his wayes.</u></p> <p>57 Moreover, they have troden down his righteous,</p> <p>58 Saying in their heart, that there was no God, thogh they knew that they shulde dye.</p> <p>59 For as the thing that I have spoken of, is made readie for you: so is thirst and peine prepared for them: for God wolde not that man shulde perish.</p> <p>60 <u>But they, after that they were created, have defiled the Name of him yt made them, &amp; are unthankful unto him, which prepared life for them.</u></p> <p>61 <u>Therefore my iudgement is now at hand.</u></p> <p>62 These things have I not shewed unto all men, but unto thee, and to a few like thee: then I answered, and said.</p> <p>63 <u>which thou art determined to do in the last time, but in what time, thou shalt not shewe me.</u></p>
<p>9.3-4, 6-8, 13, 20-22: (C) in scarlet. The word "works" is written in BB ink in the gutter alongside 9.7.</p>	<p>Prophecies of "earthquake" and "uproar". The faithful will be saved by "works".</p> <p>3 <u>Therefore when there shalbe sene an erthquake in ye worlde, and an uproare of the people,</u></p> <p>4 <u>Then shalt yu understand</u> yt ye most High spake of those things, from the daies yt were before yu, even from ye beginning.</p> <p>5 For as all that is made in the worlde, hathe a beginning and an end, and the end is manifest.</p> <p>6 <u>So the times also of the most High have plaine beginnings in wonders and signes and end in effect and miracles.</u></p> <p>7 <u>And everie one that shal escape safe, &amp; shalbe delivered by his workes, and by the faith wherein ye have believed,</u></p>

	<p>8 <u>Shalbe preserved from the said perils and shal se my salvacion in my land, and within my borders: <u>for I have kept me holy from the worlde.</u></u></p> <p>13 <u>And therefore be thou no more careful, to know how the ungodlie shalbe punished, but inquire how the righteous shalbe saved, and whose the worlde is, and for whome it is, and when.</u></p> <p>20 <u>So I considered the worlde, &amp; beholde, there was peril, because of the devises, that were sprung up into it.</u></p> <p>21 <u>Yet when I sawe it, I spared it greatly, and have kept me one grape of the cluster, and a plant out of a great people.</u></p> <p>22 <u>Let therefore the multitude perish, which are borne in vaine: and let my grape be kept, and my plant, which I have dressed with great labour.</u></p>
14.16-17 (C) in scarlet.	<p>16 <u>For the weaker that the worlde is by reason of age, the more shal the evil be increased upon them that dwell therein</u></p> <p>17 <u>For the trueth is fled farre away, &amp; lies are at hand: for now hasteth the vision to come, that thou hast sene.</u></p>
15.5-6 (C) in BB and with a row of dots in margin.	<p>5 Beholde, saith the Lord, I wil bring plagues upon all the worlde, <u>the sworde, famine, death and destruction.</u></p> <p>6 Because that iniquitie hathe fully polluted all the earth, and their wicked works are fulfilled.</p>
15.13: (C), a row of dots, and a pointing hand, all in BB ink.	<p>13 <u>The plowemen that till the grounde, shall mourne: for their sedes shal faile thorowe the blasting and haile, and by <u>an horrible starre.</u></u></p>
<b>Tobit</b>	The ten verses marked in Tobit are all in the orange ink, VN and all concern almsgiving and Tobit's reputation as a pious patron and given of alms. The word "envious" is written at the top of the left column above 4.8.
1.3 (VN) in Orange.	<p><u>3</u> I Tobit have walked all my live long in the way of truth and justice, and I did manie things liberally to the brethren, which were of my nation, and came with me to Nineve into the land of the Assyrians.</p> <p>The first-person pronoun singular is unusual in the Old Testament.</p>
4.7-11 (VN) in Orange.	<p>Almsgiving.</p> <p><u>7</u> Give almes of thy substance, and when thou givest almes, let not thine eye be envious, nether turne thy face from any poore, lest that God turn his face from thee.</p> <p><u>8</u> Give almes according to thy substance: if thou have but a litle, be not afraide to give a litle almes.</p> <p><u>9</u> For thou laiest up a good store for they self against the day of necessitie,</p> <p><u>10</u> Because almes doeth deliver from death, &amp; suffreth not to come into darkenes.</p> <p><u>11</u> For almes is a good gift before the most High to all them which use it.</p>
4.16-17 (VN) in Orange.	<p><u>16</u> Give of thy bread to the hungry, &amp; of thy garments to them that are naked, &amp; of all thine abundance give almes, &amp; let not thine eye be envious, when thou givest almes.</p> <p><u>17</u> Powre out thy bread on the buryal of the iuste, but give nothing too the wicked.</p>
12.8-9 (VN) in Orange.	<p><u>8</u> Prayer is good with fasting, and almes, &amp; righteousness. A litle with righteounes is better then muche with unrighteousnes: it is better to give almes then to laye up golde.</p> <p><u>9</u> For almes doeth deliver from death, and doeth purge all sinne. Those which exercise almes and righteounes, shalbe filled with life.</p> <p>The topos, prayer with fasting is Shakespeare Diagnostic #33. Milward and Carter conventionally cite other Biblical sources for this topos; <sup>370</sup> none of these verses, however, is closer in wording to the cited Shakespearean references than the marked Tobit 12.8-9:</p> <p>Carter (1905):</p> <p>Ferd. You shall <i>fast a week</i> with bran and water.  Costard. I had rather <i>pray a month</i> with mutton and porridge.  <i>(Love's Labour's Lost 1.2.302-5)</i></p> <p>You have not stomach having broke your fast,  But we, that know what 'tis to <i>fast and pray</i>,  Are penitent for your default today.  <i>(Comedy of Errors 1.2.50-52)</i></p> <p>Milward (1987 89):</p>

<sup>370</sup> I Corinthians 7.5 ("For a time, that ye may give yourselves to **fastyng** and prayer"), Mark 9.29 ("By praier and fasting") or Matt. 17.21 ("How be it this kine goeth not out, but by prayer and fasting").

	<p>A sequester from <i>fasting and prayer</i>, Much castigation, exercise devout. (Othello 3.4.41)</p> <p>To which should be added:</p> <p><i>I fasted and pray'd</i> for their intelligence: thus... (Cymbeline 4.2.347)</p> <p>With <i>true prayers</i>....  <i>Prayers</i> from preserved souls  <i>From fasting maids</i> whose minds are dedicate  To nothing temporal. (Measure for Measure 2.2.151-53)</p>
<b>Judeth</b>	<p>Only one verse is marked in this book, (VN) in BB.</p> <p>Judith is the ultimate source of the name Holofernes, used in <i>Love's Labour's Lost</i>.</p>
7.28 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>28</u> We take to witnes against you the heaven and the earth, &amp; our God and Lord of our fathers, which punisheth us, according to our sinnes &amp; the sinnes of our fathers, that he lay not these things to our charge.</p> <p>The verse is echoed in <i>King John</i>:</p> <p>Heaven <i>lay not my transgression to my charge</i>. (1.1.256)  And also in <i>II Henry IV</i>:</p> <p>But mightier <i>crimes are laid unto your charge</i>. (3.4.25)</p>
<b>Esther</b>	There are no marks in this book.
<b>The Wisdome of Salomon</b>	Thirty-five verses are marked in this book, all (VN) in BB. There are, additionally, four marginal notes in BB.
1.2-4 (VN) in BB	<p><u>2</u> Love righteousnes, ye that be Iudges of the earth, thinke reverently of the Lord &amp; seke him in simplicitie of heart.</p> <p><u>3</u> For he wil be founde of them that tempte him not, &amp; appeareth unto suche as be not unfaithful to him.</p> <p><u>4</u> For wicked thoughts separate from God: and his power when it is tried, reproveth the unwise.</p>
1.6-11 (VN) in BB	<p>The first marked cluster in a thematic group involving speech and speech acts. The annotator is evidently deeply concerned with questions of gossip, slander, vows, swearing and other speech act classifications.</p> <p><u>6</u> For the spirit of wisdome is loving and will not absolve him that blasphemeth with his lippes: for God is a witnes of his reines, and a true beholder of his heart, and an hearer of the tongue.</p> <p><u>7</u> For the spirit of the Lord filleth all the worlde: and the same that mainteineth all things, hathe knowledge of ye voyce.</p> <p><u>8</u> Therefore he that speaketh unrighteous things can not be hid: neither shall the judgement of reproche let him escape.</p> <p><u>9</u> For inquisition shalbe made for the thoghtes of the ungodlie, and the sounde of his words shal come unto God for the correction of his iniquities.</p> <p><u>10</u> For the eare of ielousie heareth all things, and the noyce of the grudgings shal not be hid.</p> <p><u>11</u> Therefore beware of murmuring, which profiteth nothing, &amp; refraine your tongue from sclander: for there is not worde so secret, that shal go for noght, &amp; the mouth that speaketh lies slaieth the soule.</p> <p>The marked verse 1.10 is echoed in <i>Titus Andronicus</i>:</p> <p>Here grow no <i>damned grudges</i>, here are no storms,  <i>No noise</i>. (1.1.154)</p> <p>And in the <i>Tempest</i>:</p> <p>Remember I have done thee worthy service,  Told thee no lies, made no mistakings, served  <i>Without grudge or grumblings</i>; though didst promise  To bate me a full year. (1.2.247-50)</p> <p>On the profound influence on Shakespeare of the idea of Wisdom 1.11 that "there is no worde so secrete, that it shal go for noght," see chapter twenty-eight above.</p>
1.12 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>12</u> Seke not death in the errour of your life: destroye not your selves thorow the workes of your owne hands.</p> <p>Both Carter (357) and Milward (8) cite this verse as a scriptural inspiration for Hamlet's lines:</p>

	Or that the Everlasting had not fixt <i>His cannon 'gainst self slaughter.</i> (1.2.131-32) <sup>371</sup>
1.15 (VN) in BB	<u>15</u> For righteousnes is immortal, but unrighteousnes bringeth death.
2.21-22 (VN) in BB	<p>Wisdom 2.1-24 is the “prayer of the ungodly,” Shakespeare’s most important site of reference in Wisdom. Shaheen (1987) lists the following references to the prayer: <i>Hamlet</i> 3.1.77-79 (2.1); <i>Macbeth</i> 5.5.24 (2.5); <i>Hamlet</i> 1.3.47-50 (2.7-8); <i>Macbeth</i> 2.3.18-19 (2.7-8); Shaheen (1989) <i>John</i> 3.4.108 (2.1) and <i>John</i> 3.1.344-45 (2.3); Shaheen (1993) <i>All’s Well</i> 4.5.53-55 (2.7-8). The prayer also appears to be a significant pretext for Sonnet 60, although Booth (239-240) does not cite it.</p> <p>The annotator has marked the prayer’s coda, verses 21-24, in which the narrator steps out of direct discourse to comment on the prayer:</p> <p><u>21</u> Suche things do they imagine, and go astraye: for their owne wickednes hathe blinded them.  <u>22</u> And they do not understand the mysteries of God, nether hope for ye rewarde of righteousnes, nor can discern the honour of the soules that are fauteles.</p> <p>Even though the marking of such verses indirectly or cognitively marks the preceding direct discourse text of the prayer itself, these references are not included in the numerical tabulations of the present document.</p> <p>The marked verses are not themselves cited in prior literature on Shakespeare’s Bible references. Echoes of them do, however, occur in Shakespeare -- for example of the idea of divine “mystery”:</p> <p>Those <i>mysteries</i> which <i>heaven</i> will not have earth to know (Coriolanus 4.2.35)</p> <p>And take upon’s <i>the mystery of things</i>  As if we were <i>god’s spies</i> (Lear 5.3.16)</p>
2.23 (VN) in BB	<p>A prominent echo of Gen. 1.27 and 3.2:</p> <p><u>23</u> For God created man without corruption, and made him after the image of his owne likenes.</p> <p>The marked verse is echoed in <i>Henry VIII</i>:</p> <p>How can man then  (The image of his maker) hope to win by it? (3.2.441-442)<sup>372</sup></p> <p>The verse also appears to be the in background of Hamlet’s sardonic criticism of the players:</p> <p>O there be players that I have seen play -- and heard others praise, and that highly -- not to speak it profanely, that neither having th’ accent of Christians, nor the gait o Christian, pagan, nor man, have so strutted and bellowed, that I have though some of nature’s journeymen had made men, and not made them well, they imitated humanity so abominably. (Hamlet 3.2.28-34)</p>
2.24 (VN) in BB	<p><u>24</u> Nevertheles, thorow envy of the devil came death into the worlde: and they that holde of his side, prove it.</p> <p>The marked verse echoes the thought of Gen. 3.2 and anticipates Romans XX in which we read that “as by one manne sinne, entred into ye world, &amp; deathe by sinne, and so death went over all men...”</p> <p>Strikingly, it also provides the solution for a crux in <i>Measure for Measure</i>, in which the theological principle that death came into the world through the agency of “the cunning enemy” (2.2.179) Satan is a prominent leitmotif:</p> <p>Duke. Fie, sirrah! A Bawd, a wicked bawd.  Canst thou believe thy living is a life,  So stinkingly depending. Do men, go mend.  Pompey. Indeed, it does stink in some sort, sir, but  Yet, sir, I would prove</p> <p>Duke. Nay, if the devil had given the proofs for sin,  Thou wilt prove this. Take him to prison, officer;  Correction and instruction must both work  Ere this rude beast will profit. (3.2.19-33)</p>

<sup>371</sup> Milward also cites Exod. 20.13, but remarks that the line “more particularly” seems to refer to Wisdom 1.12; Carter cites both verses as well as a marginal note in the Genevan II Macabees 14.41. The phrase “the everlasting” apparently derives from Baruch (Carter 357).

<sup>372</sup> Shaheen (1987 207) derives the passage from Gen. 1.26; however, the marked Wisdom verse is an equally probable source.

	The Duke's answer to Pompey presumes that those of the devil's party may – as they are said to do in Wisdom 2.24 – give the “proofs for sin.” Wisdom 2.24 is the only possible Biblical pretext for the sentiment. The passage strikingly illustrates the principle of prediction from new data.
3.10 (VN) in BB	10 But the ungodly shalbe punished according to their imaginacions: for they have despised the righteous, and forsaken the Lord.
3.19 (VN) in BB	19 For horrible is the end of the wicked generation.  The topos "ends" becomes extremely important in annotations in the apocrypha.
4.20 (VN) in BB	20 So they being afraied, shal remember their sinnes, & their owne wickedness shal come before them to convince them.  An idea repeated emphatically in annotations. See Wisdom 11.13, SD #35
5.13-14 (VN) in BB	13 Even so we, assone as we were borne, we beggane to drawe to our end, & have shewed no token of vertue, but are consumed in our own wickedness. 14 For the hope of the ungodlie is like <i>the dust that is blowne away with ye winde</i> , and like a thinne foam that is scattered abroad with the storme, and as the smoke, which is dispersed with the winde. And as the remembrance of him passeth, that tarieth but for a day. (emphasis added)  Shaheen (1989) lists Wisdom 5.13 as the source of a line from <i>Romeo &amp; Juliet</i> :  Well, we were born to die (3.4.4)  Wisdom 5.14 is also the “text” -- at least in part <sup>373</sup> – from which Albany cites his “wisdom” against his ungodly wife Goneril:  Alb. O, Goneril, You are not worth <i>the dust which the rude wind</i> <i>Blows in your face</i> . I fear your disposition. That nature, which contemns its origin,  Cannot be border'd certain in itself; She that herself will sliver and disbranch From her material sap, perforce must wither And come to deadly use.  Gon. No more, <i>the text</i> is foolish.  Albany. <i>Wisdom</i> and goodness to the vile seem vile. (Lear 4.2.29-38: emphasis added)  Shakespeare also recapitulates the figurative and imagistic structure of the marked verses – specifically the sentiment that “assone as we were borne, we beganne to drawe to our end” -- from Wisdom in Sonnet 60:  Like as the waves make towards the pibbled shore, So do our minutes hasten to their end, Each changing place with that which goes before, In sequent toil all forwards do contend. <i>Nativity</i> , once in the main of light, <i>Crawls to maturity</i> , wherewith being crowned. (60.1-6)
5.20-21: (VN) in BB	20 He wil sharpen his fierce wrath for a sworde, and the worlde shal fight with him against the unwise. 21 And a mightie windw whal stand up against them, and like a storme shal scatter them abroad. Thus iniquitie shal bring all the earth to a wildernes, and wickenes shal overthrowe the thrones of the mightie.
5.22 (VN) in BB	22 And a mightie winde shal stand up against them, and like a storme shall scatter them aborad. This iniquitie shal bring all the earth to a wilderness, and wickedness shal overthrowe the thrones of the mightie.  Supplied for the first time to the 3 <sup>rd</sup> printing. Thanks to David Kathman for noting this is marked. The vers reminds me very much of the atmosphere of <i>The Tempest</i> .
10.8: (C) in BB.	8 For all suche as regarded not wisdom, had not onely this hurt, that they knew not the things which were good, but also left behinde them unto men a memorial of their foolishnes, so that in ye things wherein they <u>sinned</u> , they can not lie hid.
10.13: (C) in BB.	13 When the righteous was solde, she forsoke him not but delivered him from <u>sinne</u> : she went downe with him into the dongeon.
11.8 (VN) in BB.	8 For when they were tried and chastised with mercie, they knewe how the ungodlie were iudged and punished in wrath.

<sup>373</sup> For a long list of possible influences on this passage, see Carter (1905) 440. Doubtless the passage assimilates several Bible verses to its own unique compositional structure.

	<p>The juxtaposition of wrath and mercy is a prominent motif in the de Vere Bible annotations, occurring also in marked verses Habukuk 3.2 and Rev. 3.19. The motif occurs frequently in Shakespeare, viz:</p> <p>I must be <i>their scourge and minister</i> (Ham. 4.2.178)</p> <p>I must be <i>cruel, only to be kind</i> (Ham. 4.2.178)</p>
11.13 (VN) in BB and (C) in BB.	<p><u>13</u> Because of the foolish devices of their wickednes wherewith they were deceived, and worshiped serpents, that had not the use of reason, &amp; vile beasts, yu sendidst a multitude of unreasonable beastes upon them for a vengeance, yt they might knowe that wherewith a man <u>sinneth</u>, by the same also shal he be punished.</p> <p>Listed as Shakespeare diagnostic #35, the verse expresses a more abstract version of the thought found in SD #18. Taken together, these form a prominent Shakespearean leitmotif. Carter (1905) finds four references to the verse:</p> <p>Judicious punishment! 'Twas this flesh begot these Pelican daughters. (Lear 3.4.76)</p> <p>The treacherous instrument is in thy hand, Unbated and envenomed. The foul practice Hath turn'd itself on me.... (Hamlet 5.2.325)</p> <p>Yet 'tis greater skill In a true hate to pray they have their will The very devils cannot plague them better. (Cymbeline 3.5.33-35)</p> <p>I told ye all, When we first put this dangerous stone a-rolling, 'Twould fall upon ourselves (Henry VIII 5.2.137)</p> <p>Milward (1987) adds three more:</p> <p>Bloody instructions, which, being taught, Return to plague th' inventor. This even handed justice Commends th' ingredients of our poison'd chalice To our own lips. (Macbeth 1.7.9-12)</p> <p>The Gods are just, and of our pleasant vices Make instruments to scourge us.... (Lear 5.3.172)</p> <p>Purposes mistook, fallen on the inventor's heads. (Hamlet 5.2.398)</p>
12.1-2 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>1</u> For thine incorruptible spirit is in all things. <u>2</u> Therefore thou chastnest them measurably that go wrong, and warnest them by putting them in remembrance of the things wherein they have offended, that leaving wickedness they may beleve in thee, o Lord.</p> <p>The phrase, "putting them in remembrance" evokes numerous Shakespearean echoes. Bartlett lists seventy-two occurrences of the word "remembrance" in Shakespeare, among them: "I summon up remembrance of things past" (Sonnet 30.2); "keep this remembrance for thy Julia's sake" (T. G. V. 2.2.5); "By our remembrances of days foregone./Such were our faults (All's Well 1.3.140); "My remembrance is very free and clear from any image of offense" (T.N. 3.4.248); "Writ in remembrance more than things long past" (Rich. II 2.1.14); "All this from thy remembrance brutish wrath Sinfully pluck'd" (Rich. II 2.1.118).</p> <p>Biblical parallels are also numerous, viz.: Malachi 3.16 (marked in the de Vere Bible), Hebrews 10:32, 2 Peter 1.12-13, 1.15. For a complete list in the KJ Authorized translation see Strong (n.d.: 837).</p>
12.11 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>11</u> For it was a cursed sede from the beginning: yet hast thou not spared them when they sinned, because thou feared any man.</p>
12.18-19 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>18</u> But thou ruling the power, iudgest with equitie, &amp; governest us with great favour: for thou maist showe thy power when thou wilt <u>19</u> But suche workes now hast yu taught thy people, that a man shulde be iust and loving, and hast made thy children to be of a good hope: for thou givest repentance to sinners.</p> <p>This these marked verses, as discussed in detail above in chapter eighteen, form the inspiration for Sonnet 94:</p> <p>They that <i>have the power</i> to hurt and will do none Who do not do the thing they most do <i>show</i> Who moving others are themselves as stone: Unmoved, cold, and to temptation slow.... (94.1-4)</p>
12.23 (VN) in	<p><u>23</u> Wherefore thou hast tormented the wicked that have lived a dissolute life by their owne imaginations.</p>

BB.	
14.30 (VN) in BB:	<u>30</u> For it is not the power of them by whome they sweare, but the vengeance of them that sinne, which punisheth alwayes the offence of the ungodlie.
15.2 (VN) in BB.	<u>2</u> Thogh we sinne, yet are we thine: for we knowe thy power: but we sinne not, knowing that we are counted thine.
17.3 (VN) in BB.	<u>3</u> And while they thoght to be hid in their darke sinnes, thei were scattered abroad in the darke covering of forgetfulness, fearing horribly and troubled with visions.  Carter (1905 475-76) finds two references to this marked verse in the <i>Tempest</i> :  Oh, it is monstrous, monstrous! Methought the billows spoke and told me of it; The wind did sing it to me; and the thunder, That deep and dreadful organ-pipe, pronounced The name of Prosper: it did bass my trespass. (3.3.96-100)  Their great guilt Like poison given to work a great time after Now 'gins to bite the spirits. (3.3.106)
18.21 marked by note in BB: <the wea>pon of <the god>ly is Praier.	<u>21</u> For the blameles man made haste, & defended them, and toke the weapons of his ministracion, even prayer, & the reconciliation by the perfume, & set him self against the wrath, and so broght ye miserie to an end, declaring that he was thy servant.

<b>Ecclesiasticus</b>	One hundred and one verses are marked in Ecclesiasticus, in black-brown and orange ink variants. Some verses marked in orange contain corrections in black-brown.  The book has been identified by both Noble (1935) and Shaheen (1988) as one exerting a singular influence on Shakespeare. As Noble writes, "Job and Ecclesiasticus seem to have attracted his [special] attention....As for Ecclesiasticus, it served Constance in her welcome of death, Portia in her great Court speech, Hamlet's uncle in his reproof of his nephew's mourning, and is apparent in numbers of other places....it is almost impossible to conclude that Job and Ecclesiasticus were not his favorite books--it is an argument that he sometimes read the volume containing them. A man does not have special favorites in book he has not read but only heard. My own impression is that the wisdom of Ecclesiasticus appealed to Shakespeare" (1935 43). Again, considering the question of the mode of transmission of Shakespeare's Bible knowledge (oral versus written), Shaheen comments that Ecclesiasticus offers the best evidence for Shakespeare's reading knowledge of the Bible: "Not only did Shakespeare quote directly from it -- 'who so toucheth pitch, shall be defiled withall' -- but he constantly expressed thoughts bearing remarkable resemblance to the son of Sirach. A story one would be of no account, but we meet them in all sorts of plays, from the earliest right up to <i>Measure for Measure</i> , and even later. Only one conclusion is possible. Ecclesiasticus was a book read by Shakespeare" (35). Shaheen concurs in identifying Ecclesiasticus as a litmus test for Shakespeare's reading knowledge of the Bible: "It was only natural, then, that he should read and echo the Bible in his plays, he being especially fond of its 'Wisdom Books,' particularly Job and Ecclesiasticus."
3.14: The annotator corrects the spelling of misprint (BB) to "fail"	14 And if his understanding faile, have patience with him, & despise him not when thou art in thy ful strength.
5.3-7 marked (VN) in BB.	<u>3</u> Nether say thou, [How have I had strength?] or who wil bring me under for my workes? For God the avenger wil revenge the wrong done by thee. <u>4</u> And say not, I have sinned, and what evil hath come unto me?For the Almightye is a pacient rewarder, but he wil not leave thee unpunished. <u>5</u> Because thy sinne is forgiven, be not without feare, to heape sinne upon sinne. <u>6</u> And say not, The mercie of God is great: he wil forgive my manifolde sinnes: for mercie & wrath come from him & his indignacion cometh downe upon sinners. <u>7</u> Make no tarying to turne unto the Lord and put not of from day to day: for suddenly shal the wrath of the Lord breake forth, & in thy securitie thou shalt be destroyed, and thou shal perish in time of vengeance.  The suddenness of divine retribution is frequently alluded to in Shakespeare, particularly in <i>Lear</i> , viz:  If that the heavens do not their visible spirits Send quickly down to tame these vile offences... (Lear 4.2.46-47)  This shows you are above, You Justicers, that these <i>our nether crimes</i> So <i>speedily can venge!</i> (Lear 4.2.79-81)
5.9 (VN) in BB.	<u>9</u> Be not caryed about with everie winde, and go not into everie way: for so doeth the sinner that hathe a double tongue.



	<p>The striking locution, "double tongue," is echoed four times in the Shakespeare canon:</p> <p>There's <i>a double tongue</i>; there's two tongues (Much Ado 5.1.170)</p> <p>You have <i>a double tongue</i> within your mask (Love's Labour's Lost 5.2.64)</p> <p>You spotted snakes with <i>a double tongue</i> (A Midsummer Night's Dream 2.2.9)</p> <p>Whose double tongue may with a mortal touch Throw death upon thy sovereign's enemies. (Richard II 3.2.21)</p>
6.4 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>4</u> For a wicked soule destroyeth him y<sup>t</sup> hathe it, and maketh him to be laughed to scorn of his enemies, [and bringeth him to the porcion of the ungodlie]</p> <p>Noble (1935 254) notes that the idiom "laughed to scorn" is probably Biblical in origin. It occurs four times in the plays:</p> <p>Whilst man and master <i>laugh my woes to scorn</i> (Comedy of Errors 2.2.207)</p> <p>Thou antic death, which <i>laugh'st us here to scorn</i> (I Henry VI 4.2.19)</p> <p>Be bloody, bold, and resolute; <i>laugh to scorn</i>, the power of man (Macbeth 3.5.30)</p> <p>But words I smile at, weapons <i>laugh to scorn</i>, Brandished by man that's of a woman born (Macbeth 5.7.12)</p>
7.1-3 (VN) in BB.	<p>A variation on the familiar Biblical proverb, as you sow, so shall ye reap.</p> <p><u>1</u> Do no evil: so shal no harme come unto thee.  <u>2</u> Depart from the thing that is wicked and sinne shal turne away from thee.  <u>3</u> My sonne, sowe not upon the forowes of unrighteousness, lest that thou reape them sevenfolde.</p>
7.10 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>10</u> Be not faint hearted, when thou makest thy praier, nether slacke in giving of almes.</p> <p>Shaheen (1989 118) compares <i>Richard II</i>:</p> <p>He prays but faintly (5.3.103)</p>
7.16 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>16</u> Nomber not thy self in the multitude of the wicked, but remember that vengeance will not slacke. Humble thy minde greatly: for the vengeance of the wicked is fyre and wormes.</p>
7.17 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>17</u> Humble thuy mind greatly: for the vengeance of the wicked is like fyre and wormes.</p>
7.32 (VN) in O.	<p><u>32</u> Stretche thine hand unto the poor, y<sup>t</sup> thy blessing, [and reconciliation] may be accomplished.</p>
8.10 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>10</u> Kindle not the coles of sinners, [when thou rebukest them, ] lest thou be burnt in the fyre flames [of their sinnes.]</p>
9.13-14 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>13</u> Desire not the honour [and riches] of a sinner: for thou knowest not what shalbe his end.  <u>14</u> Delite not in the thing that the ungodlie have pleasure in, but remember that they shal not be found iust unto their grave.</p>
10.7 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>7</u> Pride is hateful before God and man, &amp; by bothe doeth one commit iniquitie.</p>
10.14 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>14</u> For pride is the original of sinne, &amp; he that hathe it, shal powre out abominacion, til at last he be overthrown: therefore the Lord bringeth the persuasions [of the wicked] to dishonour, and destroyeth them in the end.</p> <p>SD #34.</p> <p>Pride is the sin most often condemned in Shakespeare. Noble notes the specific influence of Ecclesiasticus 10.14 in <i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i>:</p> <p>Speed. Item, she is proud.  Launce. Out with that too: it was Eve's legacy, and cannot be ta'en from her. (3.1.344-46)</p> <p>Explains Noble:</p> <p>The point of Launce's remark lies in Ecclus. X.14: "for pride is the original of sinne." Since Eve was the original sinner, and since it was her pride, as according to Ecclus. X. 14, that caused her to sin, therefore pride is part and parcel of female human nature. (266)</p> <p>To this citation Carter (1905 332, 480) adds two further apparent references to Ecclus. 10.7 and Ecclus 10.14:</p> <p>Who cries out <i>in pride</i>  That can therein tax any private party? (As You Like It 2.2.70-71)</p>

	<p>What heaven hath given him, let some graver eye Pierce into that, but <i>I can see his pride</i> Peep through each part of him. (Henry VIII 1.1.66-69)</p> <p>For an unmarked cross reference on the same theme, see SD #25.</p>
10.25 with a fleur-de-lis and a row of dots in BB.	<p><u>25</u> The great man and the iudge and the man of autoritie, are honorable, yet is there none of them greater, then he yt feareth the Lord.</p> <p>Shakespeare refers very many times to fear of God as a normative virtue.</p>
10.29 with a row of dots and a typographical misprint has been corrected.	<p><u>29</u> My sonne, get thy self praise by mekenes, &amp; esteme thy self as yu deservest. The virtue of religious meekness is echoed several times in Shakespeare:</p> <p>God bless thee; and <i>put meekness in thy mind!</i> (Richard II 2.2.107)</p> <p>Love and <i>meekness</i>, lord, become a churchman better than ambition (Henry VIII 5.3.62)</p>
10.30 (VN) BB.	<p><u>30</u> Who wil counte him iust that sinneth against him self? Or honor him, that dishonoreth his owne soule?</p> <p>Is this the inspiration for the Dauphin's moral to Charles VI?</p> <p>Self -love, my liege, is not so vile a sin as self-neglecting (Henry V 2.4.74)?</p> <p>In <i>All's Well</i> we also read of "self-love, which is the most inhibited sin in the canon" (1.1.144-45). For a discussion of possible alternate influences on this thought, see Shaheen (1993 206).</p>
11.9 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>9</u> Strive not for a matter that thou hast not to do with, and sit not in the iudgement of sinners.</p>
11.16 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>16</u> Errour and darkenes are appointed for sinners, and they that exalte themselves in evil, waxe olde in evil. 11.21 (VN) in BB and with a marginal note "continue":</p>
11.21 (VN) in BB with note "continue" in BB.	<p><u>21</u> Marveil not at the workes of sinners, but trust in the Lord, and abide in thy labour, for it is an easie thing in ye sight of the Lord suddenly to make a poore man riche.</p> <p>The conclusion of the marked pericope, Ecclus. 11.27, states the moral that "in the end, a man's works are discovered." One abides in one's labour, in other words, in expectation of the "discovery" of one's works. The thought is very close to one of Shakespeare's favoured proverbs, "the end crowns the work," discussed below as SD #36.</p> <p>Shaheen (1989 161) cites Ecclus. 11.27 as the source of <i>Henry IV</i> 2.2.47: "Let the end try the man."</p>
12.3-4 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>3</u> He can not have good that continueth in evil, and giveth no almes: [for the moste High hateth the sinners, and hath mercie upon them that repent.]</p> <p><u>4</u> Give unto suche as feare God, and receive not a sinner.</p>
12.6-7 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>6</u> For the moste High hateth the wicked, and wil repay vengeance unto the ungodlie and kepeth them against the day of horrible vengeance.</p> <p><u>7</u> Give unto the good, and receive not the sinner.</p>
12.14-15 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>14</u> Binde not two sinnes together: for there shal not one be unpunished.</p> <p><u>15</u> Who wil have pitie of the charmer, yt is stinged of the serpent? Or of all suche as come nere the beastes? So is it with him that kepeth companie with a wicked man, and wrappeth him self in his sinnes.</p>
13.3 (VN) in O.	<p>1 He that toucheth pitch, shalbe defiled with it: and he that is familiar with the proude, shal be like unto him.</p> <p>2 Burthen not thy self above thy power, whiles thou livest, and companie not with one that is mightier, and richer then thy self: for how agre the kettel and the earthen pot together? For if the one be smitten against the other, it shal be broken.</p> <p><u>3</u> The riche dealeth unrighteously, and threatneth with all but ye poore being oppressed must intreat: if the riche have done wrong, he must yet in entreated: but if the poore have done it, he shal straight waies be threatned.</p> <p>The marked verse continues the thought inaugurated in Ecclus. 13.1, which warns against touching "pitch" -- ie social climbing. Ecclus 13.1 is one of Shakespeare's most often cited bible references, identified as SD #38 in the present report. As many as eight references to this verse are cited by prior authorities:</p> <p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>So I shall turn <i>her virtue</i> into <i>pitch</i> (Othello 2.3.360)</p> <p>Thou art a soldier, therefore seldom rich,</p>

	<p>It comes in charity to thee, for all thy living Is 'mongst the dead, and all the lands thou hast Lie in a <i>pitched field</i>. (Timon 1.2.224-25)</p> <p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>Convers'd with such As, like to <i>pitch</i>, defile nobility (2 Henry IV 2.1.191)</p> <p>This <i>pitch</i> (as ancient writers do report) <i>doth defile</i>, so doth The company thou keepest. (1 Henry IV 2.4.412-13)</p> <p>Shaheen (1993):</p> <p><i>Pitch that defiles</i>. (Love's Labour's Lost 4.3.3)</p> <p>They that <i>touch pitch will be defil'd</i> (Much Ado 3.3.57)</p> <p>To which Noble (1935) adds:</p> <p>When saucy trusting of the cozen'd thoughts Defiles the <i>pitchy night</i>. (All's Well 4.4.23-24)</p> <p>And Carter (1905):</p> <p>I am <i>betrayed by keeping company</i> With men like you, men of inconstancy. (Love's Labour's Lost 4.3.174)</p> <p>The thought of the marked verse is also very close to that found in Ecclus. 13.22, in the same chapter, which constitutes SD #39.</p> <p>The verse appears to be directly alluded to in <i>Much Ado</i>:</p> <p>Thou shouldst rather ask if it were possible any villainy should be so rich; for when rich villains have need of poor ones, poor ones may make what price they will. (3.3.107-110)</p> <p>And in <i>Pericles</i>:</p> <p>.....The fishes live in the sea ..... As men do a-land; the great ones eat up the little ones: I can compare our rich misers to nothing so fitly as to a whale; 'a plays and tumbles, driving the poor fry before him, and at last devours them all in a mouthful... (2.1.30-35)</p> <p>Here's a fish hangs in the net, Like a poor man's right in law. (2.1.116-17)</p> <p>A fourth echo occurs in <i>Troilus</i>:</p> <p>.....supple knees Feed arrogance and are the poor man's fees. (3.3.48-49)</p>
14.1 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>1</u> Blessed is the man that hathe not fallen by [the worde of] his mouthe, and is not tormented with the sorowe of sinne.</p> <p>A precursor of Christ's beatitudes in the sermon on the mount, this seems as likely as any other beatitude to be the source of Falstaff's comic line: "Blessed are those who have been my friends" (2 Henry IV 5.3.144).</p>
14.13: VN in O and the text is altered (in BB) to read "give unto the poore".	<p><u>13</u> Do good unto thy friend before thou dye, &amp; according to thine habilitie stretch out thine hand, and give him.</p>
15.20 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>20</u> He hathe commanded no man to do ungodlie, nether hathe he given any man license to sinne: [for he desireth not a multitude of infidels, and unprofitable children.]</p>
16.6-8 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>6</u> In the congregacion of the ungodlie shal a fyre be kindeled, and among unfaithful people shal the wrath be seton fyre.</p> <p><u>7</u> He spared not the olde gyants, which were rebellious, trusting to their ownestrength,</p> <p><u>8</u> Nether spared he where as Lot dwelt, those whome he abhorred for their pride. He had not pitie on the people that were destroyed, and puffed up in their sins.</p>

	<p>Milward (1987 48) detects Ecclus. 16.7 as the source <i>for Hamlet</i>:</p> <p>Cla. How comes it, Laertes, that <i>thy rebellion</i> Looks so <i>giant-like</i>? (4.5.121)</p>
16.9 (VN) in BB	<p>9 He had no pitie upon the people that were destroyed, and puffed up in their sinnes.</p> <p>Again I thank David Kathman for pointing out to me that this verse is marked in the de Vere Bible. The concept of being “puffed up” with pride is a commonplace in Shakespeare, possibly derived from this marked verse; the reader may consult his or her own Concordance for verification of this claim.</p>
16.13 (VN) in BB.	<p>13 The ungodlie shal not escape with his spoile, and the pacience of th godlie shal not be delayed.</p>
17.18 (VN) in BB.	<p>18 None of their unrighteousness is hid from him, but all their sinnes are before the Lord.</p>
17.20 (VN) in BB.	<p>20 The almes of a man, is as a thing sealed up before him, and he kepeth the good dedes of man as the apple of the eye, and giveth repentance to their sonnes, and daughters.</p> <p>The phrase “apple of the eye,” Biblical in origin according to both Carter and Milward (1987 162) occurs twice in Shakespeare:</p> <p>And laugh upon <i>the apple of her eye</i> (LLL 5.2.475)</p> <p>Hit with cupid's archery, sink in the <i>apple of his eye</i> (MND 3.2.104)</p>
17.23-24 (VN) in BB.	<p>23 Returne then unto the Lord, &amp; forsake thy sinnes make thy prayer before his face and take away the offence.</p> <p>24 Turne againe unto the most High: for he wil bring thee from darkenes to wholesome light: forsake thine unrighteousnes, and hate greatly all abominacion.</p>
19.4-5 (VN) in BB.	<p>4 He that his hastie to give credit, is light minded, and he that erreth, sinneth against his owne soule.</p> <p>5 Whoso reioyceth in wickednes, shal be punished: [he that hateth to be reformed, his life shalbe shortened, and he that abhorreth babling of wordes, quencheth wickedness:] but he that resisteth pleasures, crowneth his owne soule.</p> <p>Ecclus. 19.4 is a close parallel to the famous advice of Polonius to the prodigal Laertes:</p> <p>Neither a borrower nor a lender be; For loan oft loses both itself and friend, And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry. (1.3.75)</p>
19.22 (VN) in BB.	<p>22 The knowledge of wickedness is not wisdom, nether is there prudencie where as the counsel of sinners is: but it is even execrable malice: and the fole is voide of wisdom.</p>
20.17 (VN) in BB.	<p>17 The fall on a pavement is verie sudden: so shal the fall of the wicked come hastily.</p> <p>This marked verse seems closely related to the Shakespeare favorite, Proverbs 16.8, discussed in SD 25.</p>
21.1-3 (VN) in BB.	<p>1 My sonne, hast thou sinned? Do so no more, but pray for the fore sinnes [that they may be forgive thee.]</p> <p>2 Flee from sinne, as from a serpent: for if thou comest to nere it, it wil bite thee: the teeth therof are as the teeth of a lyon, to slaye the soules of men.</p> <p>3 All iniquitie is as a two edged sworde, the woundes whereof can not be healed.</p>
21.9-10 (VN) in BB.	<p>9 The congregacion of the wicked is like towe wrapped together: their end is a flame of fyre to destroye them.</p> <p>10 The way of sinners is made plaine with stones, but at the end thereof is hel, [darkenes and paines.]</p> <p>The “pains of hell,” a theme cited five times in Shaheen (1987, 1989, 1993), constitutes SD #28. Thought by Shaheen to be a reference to Psalm 18.4, Ecclus. 21.10 constitutes a viable alternative source for the following Shakespearean Bible references:</p> <p>Shaheen (1987):</p> <p>Though I do hate him as I do hell pains. (Othello 1.1.155)</p> <p>With such a hell of pain and world of change (Troilus and Cressida 4.1.58)</p> <p>Shaheen (1989):</p> <p>And plague injustice with the pains of hell. (Richard 2 3.1.34)</p> <p>Let hell want pains enough to torture me! (King John 4.3.138)</p> <p>Shaheen (1993):</p> <p>I would it were hell pains for thy sake. (All's Well that Ends Well 2.3.232)</p>

	<p>The association between the "flame" of hell and the hat of sexual passion found in Ecclus. 21.9 also appears in <i>Lucrece</i>:</p> <p>O how are they wrapped in with infamies, That from their own misdeeds askance their eyes! (636-37)</p>
23.8 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>8</u> The sinners shalbe taken by his owne lippes: for ye evil speaker and the proude do offend by them.</p> <p>Another in the series of marked verses concerning normative speech.</p>
23.10 with a drawing of an ear and a note which reads "swearing":	<p><u>10</u> For as a servant which is oft punished, can not be without some skarre, so he that sweareth and nameth God continually, shal not be fauteles.</p>
23.11- 13 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>11</u> A man that useth much swearing, shalbe filled with wickednes, and the plague shal never go from his house: when he shal offend, his faute shalbe upon him, and if he knowledg not his not sinne, he maketh a double offence: and if he sweare in vaine, he shal not be innocent, but his house shalbe ful of plagues.</p> <p><u>12</u> There is a worde which is clothed wt death: God grante that it not be founde in the heritage of Iacob: but they that feare God, eschewe all suche, &amp; are not wrapped in sinne.</p> <p><u>13</u> Use not thy mouth to ignorante rashnes: for therein is the occasion of sinne.</p> <p>This prohibition against swearing is reflected in <i>Romeo and Juliet</i>, in which Capulet's rash mouth symbolizes the failure of his paternal authority and prefigures the descent of his house into destruction:</p> <p>Juliet. Do not swear at all. (2.2.1120)<sup>374</sup></p>
23.16, 18-19 (VN) in BB).	<p><u>16</u> There are two sorts [of men] that abounde in sinne, and the third bringeth wrath [and destruction:] a minde hote as fyre, that can not be quenched til it be consumed: an adulterous man that giveth his bodie no rest, til he have kindled a fyre.</p> <p><u>18</u> A man that breaketh wedlocke, and thinketh thus in his heart, Who seeith me? I am compassed about with darkenes: the walles cover me: no bodie seeth me: whome nede I feare? The moste High wil not remember my sinnes.</p> <p><u>19</u> Such a man onely feareth the eyes of men, &amp; knoweth not that the eyes of the Lord are ten thousand times brighter then the sunne, beholding all ye the waies of men, [&amp; ye ground of the deepe,] and considereth the moste secret partes.</p> <p>The idea of these verses that God sees all things, even those which sinful humans attempt to hide from him in dark obscurity, is among the most stable and recurrent Biblical motifs in Shakespeare. It has several proximate origins, among them this sequence of marked verses in the de Vere Bible. For further details on this important link between Shakespeare and the de Vere Bible annotations please see SD #39, and my <i>Notes and Queries</i> article, "A New Biblical Source for Shakespeare's Concept of 'All Seeing Heaven'" (Stritmatter 1999b).</p> <p>Ecclus. 23.16, like Ecclus. 23. 18-19, is echoed in <i>Lucrece</i>:</p> <p>Thy heat of lust, fond Paris did incur This load of wrath that burning Troy doth bear, Thye eye kindled the fire that burneth here, And here in Troy, for trespass of thine eye, The sire, the son, the dame and daughter die<sup>375</sup>. (1473-77)</p>
27.10 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>10</u> As the lyon waiteth for the beast, so doeth sinne upon them that do evil.</p>
27.21 includes a typographical correction.	<p><u>21</u> As for woundes, they may be bounde up againe, and an evil worde may be reconciled: but whoso bewrayeth the secrets of a friend, hath lost all his credit.</p>
28.1-5 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>1</u> He that seketh vengeance, shal finde vengeance of the Lord, and he wil surely kepe his sinnes.</p> <p><u>2</u> Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done to thee, so shal thy sinnes be forgiven thee also, when thou praieest.</p> <p><u>3</u> Shulde a man beare hatred against man, &amp; desire forgiveness of the Lord?</p> <p><u>4</u> He wil shewe no mercie to a man, w<sup>c</sup> is like him self: and will be ask forgiveness of his owne sinnes?</p> <p><u>5</u> If he that is but flesh, nourishe hatred, [and aske pardone of God,] who wil intreate for his sinnes?</p> <p>The entire sequence of marked verses, cited eight times in Shakespeare, makes up SD # 40, viz.:</p> <p>Carter (1905):</p> <p>For, as thou urgest justice, be assured</p>

<sup>374</sup> Shaheen (1987 76) cites the Homily against swearing and perjury: He should not need to sweare at all....When they should not sweare." Or Matthew 5.34 "swear not at all". See Shakespeare Diagnostic #45.

<sup>375</sup> *Die* here refers to the moral death of sinner, denied the salvation of eternal life.

	<p>Thou shal have justice more than thou desirest. (Merchant 4.3.316)</p> <p>Bol. I pardon him, as God shall pardon me.</p> <p>Dutch. O happy vantage of a kneeling knee! Yet I am sick with fear, speak it again, Twice saying 'pardon doth not pardon twain But makes one pardon strong. (Richard II 5.3.131-136)</p> <p>Noble (1935) and Shaheen (1989, 1993) add two further citations:</p> <p>The mercy that was quick in us but late, By your own counsel is suppress'd and kill'd, You must not dare, for shame, to talk of mercy. (Henry V 2.2.79-83)</p> <p>We do pray for mercy, And that same prayer doth teach us all to render The deeds of mercy. (Merchant 4.1.198-200)</p> <p>Although Shaheen (1989) cites Matt. 18.35<sup>376</sup>, the thought is closely parallel:</p> <p>Buck. Sir Thomas Lovell, I as free forgive you As I would be forgiven: I forgive all. (Henry VIII 2.1.82-84)</p> <p>Carter, also comparing alternative New Testament sources<sup>377</sup>, cites:</p> <p>Ah countrymen, if when you make your prayers God should be so obdurate as yourselves, How would it fare with your departed souls? (2 Henry VI 4.7.121-23)</p> <p>In addition there are two references to these marked verses, previously undetected by other scholars, in the <i>Tempest</i>:</p> <p>Ariel. ....your charm so strongly works them, That if you now beheld them, <i>your affections</i> <i>Would become tender.</i></p> <p>Prospero. Does thou think so, spirit?</p> <p>Ariel. Mine would, sir, were I human.</p> <p>Prosper. And mine shall. Hast thou, which art but air, a touch, a feeling Of their afflictions, <i>and shall not myself</i> <i>One of their kind, that relish all as sharply,</i> <i>Passion as they, be kindlier mov'd than thou art?</i> (5.1.17-24)</p> <p>Now I want Spirits to enforce, art to enchant, And my ending is despair Unless I be relieved by prayer, Which pierces so that it assaults Mercy itself and frees all faults. <i>As you from crimes would pardoned be,</i> <i>Let your indulgence set me free.</i> (epi. 13-20)</p> <p>In addition, the special, and also previously undetected influence of Ecclus. 28.3 may be detected in <i>Romeo &amp; Juliet</i>:</p> <p><i>I bear no hatred, blessed man.</i> (2.3.53)</p>
28.8 (VN) in BB.	<p>8 Beware of strife, and thou shalt make thy sinnes fewer: for an angrie man kindleth strife.</p>
29.9-14 (VN) in O.	<p>9 Helpe the poore for the commandments sake, and turne him not away, because of his povertie 10 Lese thy money for thy brothers &amp; neighbours sake, and let it not rust under a stone to thy destruction. 11 Bestowe the treasure after the commandement of the most High, and it shal bring thee more profite then</p>

<sup>376</sup> So likewise shal mine heavenlie father do unto you, except ye forgive from your hearts, eche one to his brother their trespasses.

<sup>377</sup> Carter cites Matt. 5.7: Blessed are the merciful: for thei shal obtaine mercie; Luke 11.4: And forgive us our sinnes: for even as we forgive everie man that is indetted to us: and lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evil; James 2.13: For there shalbe iudgement merciles to him that sheweth no mercie, & mercie reioyceth against iudgement. Ecclus. 28.1-4 is clearly a more favorable source for the cited passage.

	<p>golde.</p> <p><u>12</u> Lay up thine almes in thy secret chambers, and it shal kepe thee from all affliction.</p> <p><u>13</u> [A mans almes is as a purse with him, &amp; shal kepe a mans favour as the apple of the eye, and afterwarde shal it arise, and paye everie man his reward upon his head.]</p> <p><u>14</u> It shal fight for thee against thine enemies, better then the shield of a strong man, or speare of the mightie.</p> <p>The admonition of Ecclus. 29.10 not to store up treasure "under a stone" lest it "rust," but instead to employ it for the sake of kinsmen and neighbors, is reflected in <i>Venus and Adonis</i>:</p> <p>Foul cankering <i>rust</i> the <i>hidden treasure</i> frets, But <i>gold that's put to use more gold begets</i>. (767-68)</p> <p>Both marked verse and Shakespearean proverb also recall the moral of de Vere's 1573 preface to <i>Cardanus Comforte</i>, in which we read the question: "what doth avail a mass of gold to be continually imprisoned in your bags, and never to be employed to your use?" (Barrell 1946 62)</p> <p>The moral that generosity in almsgiving establishes the reputation of a person, found in Ecclus. 29.13-14, is repeated in <i>Pericles</i>:</p> <p>Your honour has through Ephesus poured forth Your charity, and hundreds call themselves Your creatures, who by you have been restore'd And not your knowledge, your personal pain, But even Your purse, still open, hath built Lord Cerimon Such strong renown as time shall ne'er decay. (3.2.43)</p>
34.20 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>20</u> The moste High doeth not alowe the offerings of the wicked, nether is he pacified for sinne by the multitude of sacrifice.</p>
34.26-27 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>26</u> He that washeth him self because of a dead bodie, &amp; toucheth it againe, what availeth his washing?</p> <p><u>27</u> So is it with a man that fasteth for his sinnes, and committeth them againe: who wil heare his prayer? Or what doeth his fasting helpe him?</p> <p>Noble (1935 205) and Milward (1987 38) each detect the influence of these two marked verses on Claudius's realization that divine forgiveness is conditional on inward repentance:</p> <p>May one be pardoned and retain the offense? (<i>Hamlet</i> 3.3.36-56)</p>
35.2-3 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>2</u> He that is thankfull to them yt have wel deserved, offreth fine floure: &amp; he that giveth almes, sacrificeth praise.</p> <p><u>3</u> To departe from evil is a thankful thing to ye Lord, &amp; to forsake unrighteousnes, is a reconciling unto him.</p>
38.9-10 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>10</u> My sonne, faile not in thy sickenes, but praye unto the Lord, &amp; he wil make thee whole.</p> <p><u>11</u> Leave off from sinne, and order thine hands aright, and cense thine heart from all wickednes.</p> <p>Ecclus. 38.10 is echoed in <i>Macbeth</i>:</p> <p>With some sweet oblivious antidote Cleanse the stuffed bosom of that perilous stuff which Weighs upon the heart. (5.3.44)</p>
38.15 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>15</u> He that sinneth before his maker, let him fall into the hands of the physicion.</p> <p>Although Carter (273) cites Mark 2.17, this marked verse in Ecclesiasticus seems an equally plausible source for lines from <i>II Henry IV</i>:</p> <p>Marry, the immortal part needs a physician, but that moves him not: though that be sick it dies not. (2.2.103)</p>
39.5 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>5</u> He wil give his heart to resorte early unto the Lord that made him, and to praye before the moste High, and wil open his mouth in prayer, and praie for his sinnes.</p>
39.24-30 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>24</u> As his waies are plaine and right unto the iust, so are they stumbling blockes to the wicked</p> <p><u>25</u> For they good, are good things created from the beginning, &amp; evil things for the sinners.</p> <p><u>26</u> The principal things for the whole use of mans life is water, fyre and yron, and salt, and meale, wheate and hony, &amp; milke, the blood of the grape, &amp; oyle, and clothing.</p> <p><u>27</u> All these things are for good to the godlie: but to the sinners they are turned unto evil.</p> <p><u>28</u> There be spirites that are created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on sure strokes: in the time of destruction they shewe for the their power, &amp; accomplish the wrath of him that made them.</p> <p><u>29</u> Fyre, and haile, and famine, and death all these are created for vengeance.</p> <p><u>30</u> The teeth of the wilde beasts, and the scorpions, and the serpents, and ye sworde execute vengeance for the destruction of the wicked.</p> <p>Milward (1987 186) cites psalm 104 – "which maketh the spirits his messengers, and a flaming fire his</p>

	<p>ministers" -- as the source for this passage from <i>Lear</i>, in which divine "avenging spirits" are brought into play:</p> <p>Alb. If that the heavens do not their visible spirits Send quickly down to tame these vile offences, It will come, Humanity must perforce prey on itself, Like monsters of the deep. (4.2.46-50)</p> <p>The "spirits created for vengeance" of Ecclus. 39.28 seem to be a more plausible a source of inspiration for Albany's words</p>
40.8-10 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>8</u> Suche things come unto all flesh, both man and beast, but seven folde the ungodlie: <u>9</u> Moreover, death &amp; blood, and strife, &amp; sworde, oppression, famine, destruction and punishment. <u>10</u> These things are all created for the wicked, and for their sakes came the flood also.</p>
40.12-14 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>12</u> All bribes and unrighteousnes shal be put awaye: but faithfulness shal endure for ever. <u>13</u> The substance of the ungodlie shalbe dried up like a river, &amp; they shal make a sound like a great thonder in the raine. <u>14</u> When he openeth his hand, he reioyceth: but all the transgressours shal come to naught.</p>
40.24 (VN) in O.	<p><u>24</u> Friends and helpe are good in the time of trouble, but almes shal deliver more then them bothe.</p>
41.8-11 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>8</u> Wo be unto you, o ye ungodlie, which have forsaken the Lawe of the moste high God: for thogh you increase, yet shal you perish. <u>9</u> If ye be borne, ye shalbe borne to cursing: if ye dye, the curse shalbe your porcion. <u>10</u> All that is of the earth, shal turne to earth againe: so the ungodlie go from the curse to destruction. <u>11</u> Thogh men mourne for their bodie, yet the wicked name of the ungodlie shalbe put out. <u>12</u> Have regarde to thy name: for that shal continue with thee above a thousand treasures of golde.</p> <p>The prohibition against cursing the day of one's birth found in Ecclus. 41.9 occurs also at Ecclus. 23.14, Job 3.3-6, Jeremiah 20.14-18 and Matt. 26.24. Milward, citing alternate sources Job, Jeremiah and Matthew, finds four instances of the idea in Shakespeare; Carter finds two more:</p> <p>Milward (1987):</p> <p>It were better my mother had not born me (Hamlet 3.1.127)</p> <p>Let this pernicious hour Stand aye accursed (Macbeth 4.1.133)</p> <p>Would thou hadst ne'er been born. (Othello 4.2.668)</p> <p>Better thou hadst not been born (Lear 1.1.236)</p> <p>Carter:</p> <p>Why raillest thou on thy birth, the heaven, and the earth? (Romeo 3.3.116)</p> <p>Help! Help! My lady's dead! O, well-a-day, That ever I was born. (Romeo 4.4.43)</p> <p>A surprising number of additional occurrences of variation on this theme could also be cited:</p> <p>Now cursed be the time of thy nativity! (1 Henry VI 5.4.27)</p> <p>The time is out of joint! O cursed spite, That ever I was born to set it right. (Hamlet 1.5.190)</p> <p>O that ever I was born! (Winter's Tale 5.3.53)</p> <p>Would that thou hadst never been born! (Troilus &amp; Cressida 4.2.90)</p> <p>With six documented references to this motif and four additional ones cited for the first time in the present study, this motif is classified as SD # 41.</p> <p>Ecclesiasticus 41.10 -- "all that is of the earth, shal turne to earth again" -- is echoed in Sonnet 74: "the earth can have but earth, which is his due."</p> <p>The distinction between the death of the body and the "putting out" of the name marked in Ecclesiasticus 41.11 is the -- previously undetected -- leitmotif of Sonnet 72, as discussed in the body of this dissertation.</p>



	<p>Ecclus. 41.12, although not marked, extends the thought of 41.11 by admonishing the reader to "have regarde to thy name: for that shal continue with thee above a thousand treasures of golde." This verse is apparently the source<sup>378</sup> for Iago's declaration that "Good name in man and woman" is the "immediate jewel of their souls":</p> <p><i>Good name</i> in man and woman, dear my lord, Is <i>the immediate jewel</i> of their souls. Who steals <i>my purse</i>, steals trash; 'tis something, Nothing; 'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands; But he that filches from me <i>my good name</i> Robs me of that which not enriches him And makes me poor indeed. (Othello 3.3.155-62)</p> <p>The verse is also echoed in <i>Richard II</i>:</p> <p>The purest treasure mortal times afford Is spotless reputation. That away, Men are but gilded loam or painted clay. (Richard II 1.1.177)</p>
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<b>Baruch</b>	Twelve verses, all in BB ink, are marked (VN) in Baruch. There are, additionally, three marginal notes, in the same ink, at 1.13 ("Sinne"), 1.17 (cropped: "[sin]ne") and 6.27 ("poore").
1.13 (VN) in BB with a marginal note reading "sinne"	<u>13</u> Pray for us also unto the Lord our God (for we have sinned against the Lord our God, and unto this day the furie of the Lord and his wrath is not turned from us)
1.17 (VN), a cropped marginal note, "<sin>ne."	<u>17</u> Because we have * sinned before the Lord our God.
2.5 (VN) in BB.	<u>5</u> Thus they are broght beneth and not above, because we have sinned against the Lord our God, and have not heard his voyce.
2.12 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>12</u> O Lord our God, we have sinned: we have done wickedly: we have offended in all thine ordinances.</p> <p>The idea of God's "ordinance" is echoed in twice <i>Richard III</i>:</p> <p>Either thou wilt die, by God's just ordinance, Ere from this war thou turn a conqueror, Or I with grief and extreme age shall perish. (4.4.183-185)</p> <p>By God's fair ordinance conjoin together. (4.2.145)</p>
2.33 (VN) in BB.	<u>33</u> Then shal they turne them from their hard backes, and from their evil workes: for they shal remember the way of their fathers, which sinned before the Lord.
3.2, 4-7 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>2</u> Heare, o Lord, that have mercie: for yu are merciful, and have pitie upon us, because we have sinned before thee.</p> <p><u>4</u> O lord almightie, the God of Israel, heare now the praier of the dead Israelites, and of their children, which have sinned before thee, and not hearkened unto ye voyce of yt their God, wherefore these plagues hang upon us.</p> <p><u>5</u> Remember not the wickednes of our fathers, but thinke upon thy power, &amp; thy Name at this time.</p> <p><u>6</u> For thou art the Lord our God, and thee, o Lord, wil we praise.</p> <p><u>7</u> And for this cause hast thou put thy feare in our hearts, that we shulde call upon thy Name, and praise thee in our captivite: for we have considered in our mindes all the wickednes of our fathers, that sinned before thee.</p>
6.1 (VN) in BB.	<u>1</u> Because of the sinnes, that ye have committed against God, ye shalbe led away captives unto Babylon, but Nabuchodonosor, King of the Babylonians.
6.27 with a marginal note in BB reading "poore".	<u>27</u> As for the things that are offred unto them, their Priests sell them, and abuse them: likewise also the women lay up of the same: but unto the poore & sicke they give nothing.

	There are no markings in The Song of the Thre Holie Children, The Historie of Susanna, The Historie of Bel and of the Dragon, or I Macabees.
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<b>II Macabees</b>	All marked verses in II Macabees are of the (VN) type in the O(range) ink variant, except for the pointing hand at 3.1 which is in the BB ink type.
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<sup>378</sup> For a thorough discussion of alternative sources for this Shakespearean motif, please see appendix K.

	Sixty-five verses are marked; fleur-de-lis icons in (O) occur at 6.18 and 7.1 and a pointing hand (BB) at 3.1
3.1 is marked by a pointing hand in BB.	1 What time as the holy citie was inhabited with all peace, and when the Lawes were very wel kept, because of the godlines of Onias ye hie Priest, and hatred of wickednes
3.24-40 (VN) in O and with an orange fleur-de-lis.	<p><u>24</u> All power, shewed a great vision, so that all they which presumed to come with him, were astonished at the power of God, and fell into feare, and trembling.</p> <p><u>25</u> For there appeared unto them an horse with a terrible man sitting upo him, moste richely barbed, and he ranne sincerely, and smote at Heliodorus with his fore fete, and it semed that he that sate upon the horse, had harnes of golde.</p> <p><u>26</u> Moreover, there appeared two yong men notable in strength: excellent in beautie, and comelie in apparel, which stode by him on ether side, and scourged him continually, and gave him manie sore stripes.</p> <p><u>27</u> And Heliodorus fel suddenly unto the grounde, and was covered wt greate darkenes: but they that were with him, toke him up, and put him in a litter.</p> <p><u>28</u> Thus he that came with so great companie, and manie souldiers into the said treasurie, was borne out: for he could not help him self with his weapons.</p> <p><u>29</u> So they did knowe the power of God manifestly, but he was domme by the power of God, and lay destitute of all hope and helth.</p> <p><u>30</u> And they praised the Lord that had honored his own place: for the Temple which a litle afore was ful of feare and trouble, when the almightie Lord appeared, was filled with ioye and gladnes.</p> <p><u>31</u> Then streight waies certeine of Heliodorus friends prayed Onias, that he wolde call upon the moste High to grant him his life, which lay readie to give up the goste.</p> <p><u>32</u> So the hie Priest, considering that the King might suspect that the Iewes had done Heliodorus some evil, he offered a sacrifice for the helth of the man.</p> <p><u>33</u> Now when the hie Priest had made his prayer, the same yong men in the same clothing appeared &amp; stode beside Heliodorus, saying, Give Onias the hie Priest great thanks: for his sake hathe the Lord granted thee thy life.</p> <p><u>34</u> And seing that thou hast bene scourged from heaven, declare unto all men the mightie power of God: and when they had spoken these wordes, they appeared no more.</p> <p><u>35</u> So Heliodorus offred unto the Lord sacrifice, and made great vowes unto him, which had granted him his life, &amp; thanked Onias, and went againe with his hoste to the King.</p> <p><u>36</u> Then testified he unto everie man of the great workes of God that he had sene with his eyes.</p> <p><u>37</u> And when the King asked Heliodorus, who were mete to be sent yet once againe to Ierusalem, he said,</p> <p><u>38</u> If thou hast anie enemye, or traitor, send him thether, and thou shalt receive him wel scourged, if he escape with his life: for in that place, no doubte, there is a special power of God.</p> <p><u>39</u> For he that dwelleth in heaven, hathe his eye on that place, &amp; defendeth it, and he beatest and destroyeth them that come to hurt it.</p> <p><u>40</u> This came to passe concerning Heliodorus, and the keping of the treasurie.</p>
6.13-15 (VN) in O.	<p><u>13</u> For it is a token of his great goodnes not to suffer sinners long to continue, but straight waies to punish them.</p> <p><u>14</u> For the Lord doeth not long waite for us, as for other nacions, whome he punisheth when thei are come to the fulnes of their sins.</p> <p><u>15</u> But thus he dealeth with us, that our sinnes shulde no be heaped up to the ful, so that afterwarde he shulde punish us.</p> <p>The imminence of the divine wrath for those who have come "to the fulness of their sins" is reflected in a number of Shakespearean passages:</p> <p>O, let them keep it <i>till thy sins be ripe!</i> (Richard III 1.3.219)</p> <p>Ere foul sin <i>gathering head</i> Shall <i>break into</i> corruption (Richard II 3.1.76)</p> <p>Put we our quarrel to the will of heaven; Who, <i>when they see the hour's ripe on earth,</i> Will rain hot vengeance on offender's heads. (Richard II 1.2.6-8)</p>
6.18 an orange fleur de lis.	<u>18</u> Eleazar then one of the principal scribes, an aged man, and of a welfavoured countenance, was constrained to open his mouth and to eate swines flesh
6.21-28 (VN) in orange.	<p><u>21</u> But thei that had charge of this wicked banquet, for that olde friendship of the man, toke him aside prively, and prayed him, that he wolde take such flesh, as was lawful for him to use, and as the wolde propeare him self, &amp; dissemble as thogh he had eate of ye things appointed by the King, even the flesh of the sacrifice,</p> <p><u>22</u> That in so doing he might be delivered from death, and that for the olde friendship than was among them, he wolde receive this favour.</p> <p><u>23</u> But he began to consider discretely, and as became his age, and the excelencie of his ancient yeres, and the honour of his gray heeres, whereunto he was come, and his moste honest conversation from his childehode, but chiefly ye holie Law made and given by God: therefore he answered consequently, and willed them straight waies to send him to the grave.</p> <p><u>24</u> For it becometh not our age, said he, to dissemble, whereby manie yong persones might thinke, that Eleazar being four score yere olde and ten were now gone to another religion,</p> <p><u>25</u> And so through mine hypocrisie (for a litle time of a transitorie life) they might be deceived by me, and I</p>

	<p>shulde procure malediction, and reproche to mine olde age.</p> <p><u>26</u> For though I were now delivered from the torment of men, yet colde I not escape the hand of the Almightie, nether alive nor dead.</p> <p><u>27</u> Wherefore I wil now change this life manfully, and wil shewe my self such as mine age requireth.</p> <p><u>28</u> And so wil leave a notable example for such as be yong, to dye willingly and courageously for the honorable &amp; holie Lawes. And when he had saied these words, immediately he went to torment.</p>
7.1-33 (VN) in O with an orange fleur-de-lis.	<p><u>1</u> It came to passe also that seven brethren, with their mother, were taken to be compelled by the King against ye Law, to taste swines flesh, and were tormented with scourges and whippes.</p> <p><u>2</u> But one of them, which spake first, said thus. What sekest thou? And what wouldest thou knowe of us? We are readie to dye, rather then to transgresse the Lawes of our fathers.</p> <p><u>3</u> Then was the King angrie, and comanded to heat pannes and cauldrons, which were incontinently made hote.</p> <p><u>4</u> And he commanded the tongue of him that spake first, to be cut out, and to slay him, and to cut of the utmost partes of his bodie in the sight of other brethren and his mother.</p> <p><u>5</u> Now when he was thus mangled in all his members, he commanded him to be broght alive to the fyre and to frye him in the panne: and while the smoke for a long time smoked out of the panne, the other brethren with their mother, exhorted one another to dye courageously, saying in this maner,</p> <p><u>6</u> The Lord God doth regarde us, and in dede taken pleasure in us, as Moyses declared in the song wherein he testified openly, saying, That God will take pleasure in his servantes.</p> <p><u>7</u> So when the first was dead after this maner, they broght the seconde to make him a mocking stocke: and when they had pulled the swinne with the heere over his head, they asked him, if he wolde eat, or he were punished in all the members of the bodie.</p> <p><u>8</u> But he answered in his owne langage, &amp; said, No. Wherefore he was tormented forthe with like the first.</p> <p><u>9</u> And when he was at the last breth, he said, Thou murtharar takest this present life from us, but the King of the worlde wil raise us up, which dye for his Lawes, in the resurrection of everlasting life.</p> <p><u>10</u> After him was the thirde had in derision, and when they demanded his tongue, he put it out incontinently, and stretched for the his hands boldly,</p> <p><u>11</u> And spake manfully, These have I had from the heaven, but now for the Law of God, I despise them, and trust that I shal receive them of him againe.</p> <p><u>12</u> In so much that the King and they which were with him, marvelled at the yong mans courage, as at one that nothing regarded the paines.</p> <p><u>13</u> Now when he was dead also, they vexed and tormented the fourth in like maner.</p> <p><u>14</u> And when he was not readie to dye, he said thus, It is better that we shulde change this which we might hope for of men, and wait for our hope from God, yt we may be raised up againe by him, as for thee, thou shal have no resurrection to life.</p> <p><u>15</u> Afterwarde they broght the fift also and tormented him,</p> <p><u>16</u> Who loked uppon the King, and said, Thou hast power among men, and though thou be a mortal man, thou doest what thou wilt: but thinke not, that God hathe forsaken our nacion.</p> <p><u>17</u> But abide a while, and yu shalt se this great power, how he wil torment thee and thy sede.</p> <p><u>18</u> After him also they broght the sixt, who being at the point of death, said, Deceive not thy self foolishly: for we suffer these things, we are worthie to be wondred at for our own sakes, because we have offended our God.</p> <p><u>19</u> But thinke not thou, which undertaketh to fight against God, yt thou shalt be unpunished.</p> <p><u>20</u> But the mother was marvellous above all other, &amp; worthie of honorable memorie: for when she sawe her seven sonnes slaine with in this space of one day, she suffred it with a good wil, because of the hope that she had in the Lord.</p> <p><u>21</u> Yea, she exhorted everie one of them in her owne langage, &amp; being ful of courage and wisdom, stirred up her womanlie affections with a manlie stomacke, and said unto them,</p> <p><u>22</u> I can not tel how ye came into my wombe: for I nether gave you breth nor life: it is not I that set in order the members of your bodie,</p> <p><u>23</u> but douteles the Creator of the worlde, which formed the birth of man, and founde out the beginning of all things, wil also of his owne mercie give you breth and life againe, as ye now regarde not your owne selves, for his Lawes sake.</p> <p><u>24</u> Now Antiochus thinking himself despised, and considering the iniurious wordes, while the yongest was yet alive, he did exhorte him not onely with wordes, but swore also unto him by another yt he wolde make him riche &amp; wealthie, if he wolde forsake the Lawes of his fathers, and that he wolde take him as a friend, &amp; give him offices.</p> <p><u>25</u> But when the yong man wolde in no case hearken unto him, the King called his mother, and exhorted that she wolde counsel the yong man to save his life.</p> <p><u>26</u> And when he had exhorted her with manie wordes, she promised him that she wolde counsel her son.</p> <p><u>27</u> So she turned her unto him, laughing the cruel tyrant to scorne, and spake in her owne langage, O my sonne, have pitie upon me, that bare thee nine monthes in my wombe, and gave thee sucke thre yeres, and nourished thee, and toke care for thee unto this age, and broght thee up.</p> <p><u>28</u> I beseeche thee, my sonne, loke upon the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and consider that God made them of things that were not, and so was mankinde made likewise.</p> <p><u>29</u> Feare not this hangman, but shewe thy self worthie such brethren by suffering death, that I may receive thee in mercie with thy brethren.</p> <p><u>30</u> While she was yet speaking these wordes, the yong man said, Whome wait ye for? I wil not obey the Kings commandement: but I wil obey yt commandement of the Lawe that was given unto our fathers by Moyses.</p>

	<p><u>31</u> And thou that imaginest all mischief against the Hebrewes, shalt not escape the hand of God.</p> <p><u>32</u> For we suffer these things, because of our sinnes,</p> <p><u>33</u> But thogh the living Lord be angry with us a little while for our chastening and correction, yt wil he be reconciled with his own servants.</p>
104.4 (VN) BB	<p><u>5</u> When that was done, they fel downe flat upon the grounde, and besogth the Lord, that they might come no more into suche troubles: but if they sinned anie more against him, that he him self wolde chasten them with mercie, &amp; that they might not be deliverd to the blasphemous, and barbarous nations.</p> <p>Added for the first time to the third printing.</p>

New Testament	
Matthew	Twenty verses, all but one (VN) in O(range), are marked in this chapter of the de Vere Bible. Matthew 26.9 is marked VN in BB.
5.3 (VN) in O.	<p><u>3</u> Blessed are the poore in spirit, for theirs is the kingdome of heaven.</p> <p>Booth (1978 306) notes that the phrase "heaven's graces" in Sonnet 94 echoes the beatitudes; in his earlier book he refers to the "obvious relevance of the Sermon on the Mount" (1969 156) to Sonnet 94 The Sonnet is, in fact, structurally a beatitude for those</p> <p>....that have the power to hurt and will do none Who do not do the thing they most do show. Who, moving others, are themselves cold And to temptation slow They rightly do inherit heaven's graces And husband nature's riches from expense.</p> <p>Matt. 5.3 and 5.5 -- Blessed are the meke for they shall inherit the earth (G) -- are both implicated, along with Wisdom 12.18 (see above commentary) in the linguistic interweaving which produces the Sonnet.</p> <p>Milward (1987 176) cites the influence of this verse in <i>Lear</i>:</p> <p>The art... That can make vile things precious (3.3.70).</p>
5.42 (VN) in O.	<p><u>42</u> Give to him that asketh, and from him yt wolde borow of thee, turne not away.</p>
6.1-4 (VN) in O.	<p><u>1</u> Take hede that ye give not your almes before men, to be sene of them, or els ye shal have no rewarde of your father which is in heaven.</p> <p><u>2</u> Therefore when thou givest thine almes, thou shalt not make a trumpet to be blown before thee, as the hypocrites do in the Synagogues and in the streets, to be praised of men. Verely I say unto you, they have their rewarde.</p> <p><u>3</u> But when thou doest thine almes, let not thy left hand knowe what thy right hand doeth,</p> <p><u>4</u> That thyne almes may be in secret, &amp; thy Father that seeth in secret, he wil rewarde thee openly.</p> <p>The admonition not to blow one's trumpet while giving alms is cynically inverted in <i>Troilus and Cressida</i>, a play which is substantially concerned with the competing theological doctrines of salvation by grace or by works:</p> <p>Blow, trumpet, there's my purse! (4.5.16)</p> <p>Benedick, bragging to Beatrice, also moralizes against the theme in <i>Much Ado</i>:</p> <p>If a man do not erect in this age his own tomb ere he dies, he shall live no longer in monument than the bell rings and the widow weeps....if Don Worm, his conscience, find no impediment to the contrary,--to be the trumpet of his own virtues, as I am to myself. So much for praising myself, who, I myself will bear witness, is praiseworthy. (5.2.82-93)</p> <p>Carter (319), although cited Matt. 6.5-6, finds reference to the same doctrine earlier in <i>Much Ado</i>:</p> <p>Marg. ....I have many ill qualities. Balth. Which is one? Marg. I say my prayers aloud. Balth. I love you the better; the hearers may say Amen. (2.1.107-111)</p>
6.19-21 (VN) in O.	<p><u>19</u> Lay not up treasures for your selves upon the earth, where the mothe &amp; canker corrupt, &amp; where theves digge through, and steale.</p> <p><u>20</u> But lay up treasures for yourselves in heaven, where nether the mothe nor canker corrupteth, and where theves nether digge through, nor steale.</p> <p><u>21</u> For where your treasure is, there wil your heart be also.</p>

	This pericope, SD #47, exhibits extensive influence in the Shakespeare canon and forms the inspiration for two Sonnets -- 48 and 52; this influence is discussed in detail in the attached article, "The Heavenly Treasure of Sonnets 48 and 52."
10.42 (VN) in O.	<u>42</u> And whosoever shal give unto one of these litle ones to drinke a cup of colde water onely, in the name of a Disciple, verely I say unto you, he shal not lose his reward.
19.21 (VN) in O.	<u>21</u> Iesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfite, go, sel that thou hast, & give it to thee poore, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come and followe me. A very close parallel to the also marked (SD #63) Mark 10.21.
25.34-45 (VN) in O.	<p><u>34</u> Then shal the King say to them on his right hand, Come ye blessed of my Father: inherite ye yt kingdome prepared for you from ye fundacions of ye worlde.</p> <p><u>35</u> For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I thirsted, and ye gave me drinke: I was a stranger, and ye lodged me:</p> <p><u>36</u> I was naked, and ye clothed me, I was sicke, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me.</p> <p><u>37</u> Then shal the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, and fed thee? Or a thirst, and gave thee drinke?</p> <p><u>38</u> And when sawe we thee a stranger, and lodged thee? Or naked, and clothed thee?</p> <p><u>39</u> Or when saw we thee sicke, or in prison, and came unto thee?</p> <p><u>40</u> And the king shal answer and say unto them, Verely, I say unto you, in as muche as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it to me.</p> <p><u>41</u> Then shal he say unto them on the left hand, Departe from me ye cursed, into everlasting fyre which is prepared for the devil, and his angels.</p> <p><u>42</u> For I was an hungred, &amp; ye gave me no meat: I thirsted, &amp; ye gave me no drinke.</p> <p><u>43</u> I was a stranger, and ye lodged me not: I was naked, and ye clothed me not: sike, and in prison, and ye visited me not.</p> <p><u>44</u> Then shal they also answer him, saying, Lord, when sawe we thee an hungred or a thirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sicke, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee.</p> <p><u>45</u> Then shal he answer them, &amp; say, Verely I say unto you, in as muche as ye did it not unto the least of these, ye did it not to me.</p> <p>The "works of the faithful". Noble (1935 1977) cites Matt. 25.34 as the source of a line from <i>Henry V</i> which was, revealingly, apparently omitted from the 1623 folio text because of its profanity:</p> <p>Prince. God knows whether those that bawl out the ruins of thy linen shall <i>inherit his kingdom</i>. (2.2.26-28)</p> <p>The image of "everlasting fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels" (Matt. 25.41) has also left a profound imprint in Shakespeare's eschatological imagination. Shaheen (1987 69) sees it as the source for lines from <i>Titus Andronicus</i>:</p> <p>If there be devils, would I were a devil, To live and <i>burn in everlasting fire</i>, So I might have your company in hell, But to torment you with my bitter tongue. (5.1.147-50)</p> <p>Another parallel occurs in <i>Macbeth</i> in the Devil Porter's speech parodying Christ's judgement:</p> <p>I had though to have let in some of all profession that go the primrose way to <i>th' everlasting bonfire</i>. (2.3.18-19)<sup>379</sup></p> <p>A third parallel is found in <i>All's Well</i>:</p> <p>I am for the house with the narrow gate, which I take to be too little for pomp to enter. Some that humble themselves may, but the many will be too chill and tender, and they'll be fore the flowery way that leads to the broad gate and <i>the great fire</i>. (4.5.47-51)<sup>380</sup></p> <p>The verse is also echoed in Falstaff's parody of Biblical eschatology:</p> <p>O! Thou art a perpetual triumph, <i>an everlasting bonfire-light</i>. (1 <i>Henry IV</i> 3.3.46)</p> <p>The entire sequence of marked verses forms the rhetorical template for two major speeches in the Shakespeare canon. First Richmond's oration to his soldiers in <i>Richard III</i>:</p> <p>If you do sweat to put a tyrant down,</p>

<sup>379</sup> Shaheen cites parallel language at Revelations 20.10: "And the devil yt deceived the, was cast into a lake of fyre & brimstone." However, the Porter's intent to "let in some of all professions" seems like a clear parody of Matthew 25's judgement scene.

<sup>380</sup> Shaheen (1993 217-18) cites alternative sources Matt. 7.13 (which has the phrase "the wide gate, and broad way that leadeth to destruction"), Matt. 18.8 and Wisdom 2.7-8.

	<p>If you do sleep in peace, the tyrant being slain,          If you do fight against your country's foes,          Your country's fat shall pay your pains the hire;          If you do fight in safegaurd of your wives,          Your wives shall welcome home the conquerors;          If you do free your children from the sword,          Your children's children quits it in your age.          Then in the name of God and all these rights,          Advance your standards, draw your willing swords.          For me, the ransom of my bold attempt          Shall be this cold corpse on the earth's cold face;          But if I thrive, the gain of my attempt,  <i>The least of you</i> shall share this part thereof. (5.3.255-268)</p> <p>Not only does Richmond's speech echo the syntactical arrangement of Matth 25.30-46, but the concluding phrase "the least of you" is carried over from Matt. 25.45.</p> <p>Aaron, in a speech appealing to virtues very different from those of Richmond, also takes Matt. 25.30-46 as his rhetorical template:</p> <p>Even now I curse the day-- and yet I think          Few come within the compass of my curse --          Where I did not some notorious ill:          As kill a man, or else devise his death,          Ravish a maid, or plot the way to do it,          Accuse some innocent, and forswear myself,          Set deadly enmity between two friends,          Make poor men's cattle break their necks,          Set fire on barns and haystacks in the night,          And bid the owners quench them with their tears.          *****          If their be devils, would I were a devil,          To live and <i>burn in everlasting fire</i>,          So I might have your company in hell. (Titus Andronicus 5.1.125-150)</p>
26.19 (VN) in BB.	19 And the disciples did as Iesus had given them charge, and made ready the passover.

Mark	Only one verse is marked, (VN) in O(range) ink, in this chapter of the de Vere Bible.
10.21 (VN) in O.	<p>21 And Iesus behelde him, and loved him, and said unto him, One thing is lacking unto thee, Go &amp; sell all that thou hast, and give to the poore, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come followe me, and take up the crosse.</p> <p>Mark 10.21, SD # 62, includes the admonition of Jesus to "come followe me, and take up the cross." The image of taking up, or bearing the cross, is one of Shakespeare's most stable and oft-iterated biblical images, being cited as many as eight times in the canon, among them the statement of the Lord Chief Justice when Falstaff asks for a loan of 1000 pounds:</p> <p>Not a penny, not a penny, you are too impatient <i>to bear crosses</i>.          (2 Henry IV 1.2.353)</p> <p>Touchstone's rebuke to Celia when she asks him to "bear with me":</p> <p>I should <i>bear no crosses</i> if I did <i>bear you</i>,          For I think you have <i>no money</i> in your purse. (As You Like It 2.4.12-13)<sup>381</sup></p> <p>For additional references to this verse, including two in the Sonnets, please see SD 62.</p>

Luke	In this chapter, two verses are marked (VN) in BB and a third verse has been corrected, or more accurately, altered, by the annotator.
7.8 adds first person pronoun, a "correction" based on a	<p>8 For I likewise &lt;I&gt; am a man set under authoritie; and have under me souldiers, and I say unto one, Go, and he goeth, and to another, Come, and he cometh and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it.</p> <p>The verse is cited by Shaheen (1989 171) as the source for a line from <i>II Henry IV</i>:</p>

<sup>381</sup> Parallel references occur at Luke 14.27 (bear), Matt. 6.24 (take up) and 10.38 (take up), Mark 8.34 (take up) and Luke 9.23 (take up). Because Shakespeare prefers the verb "bear" (Luke 14.27) to Mark 10.21's "take up," Shaheen identifies Luke 14.27 as the preferred source for 3 HVI 4.4.20, 2 Henry IV 1.2.253 and As You Like It 2.4.12. However, the context of the latter two references is economic anxiety, and the joining of the idea of bearing the cross with this theme is peculiar to Mark 10.21.

misreading.	I am, sir, under the King, in some authority. (5.3.11-112)
9.47-48 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>47</u> When Iesus sawe the thoughts of their hearts, he toke a litle childe, and set him by him.</p> <p><u>48</u> And said unto them, Whosoever receiveth this litle childe in my Name, receiveth me: and whosoever shal receive me, receiveth him that sent me: for he that is least among you all, he shal be great.</p> <p>The juxtaposition between the greatest and the least marked in these verses occurs in <i>The Tempest</i>:</p> <p>She as far surpasseth Sycorax as <i>great'st</i> does <i>least</i> (3.2.98-99)</p> <p>The thought that greatest things are accomplished by "the least" is reflected in <i>All's Well</i>:</p> <p>Hel. He that of <i>greatest works</i> is finisher  Oft does them by <i>weakest minister</i>  So holy writ in babes hath judgement shown. (2.1.140)<sup>382</sup></p>

<b>John</b>	There are no marked verses in the Gospel of John.
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<b>Acts</b>	Only one verse, (VN) in BB, is marked in this chapter.
<i>Acts</i> 13.6 (VN) in BB.	<u>6</u> So when they had gone throughout the yle unto Paphus, they found a certeine sorcerer, a false Prophet, being a Iewe, named Bariesus

<b>Romans</b>	Twelve verses are marked, (VN) in BB, in this chapter. Additionally one verse, Romans 7.20, has been corrected by the insertion of the first person pronoun "I" which is missing from the text of STC 2106.
6.3-4 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>3</u> Knowe ye not, that all we which have been baptized into Iesus Christ have ben baptized into his death?</p> <p><u>4</u> We are buryed then wt him by baptisme into his death, yt like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glorie of the Father, so we also shulde walke in newnes of life.</p> <p>The phrase "newness of life" is echoed ironically in <i>Cymbeline</i>:</p> <p><i>Newness</i> of Cloten's <i>death</i> (4.4.9)</p>
6.6 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>6</u> Knowing this, that our olde man is crucified with him, that the bodie of sinne might be destroyed, that henceforthe we should not serve sinne. Shaheen (1989 176) suggests this as a possible inspiration for Hal's conversion to <i>Henry V</i>:</p> <p>The breath no sooner left his father's body,  But that <i>his wildness, mortified in him,</i>  <i>Seem'd to die too</i> (1.1.25-27)</p> <p>In <i>Timon</i> the sentiment is reversed, but the language closer to the marked verse:</p> <p>This is <i>the old</i> man <i>still</i> (3.6.61)</p> <p>In <i>Troilus and Cressida</i>, Nestor is humorously figured as the archetypal old man of the pagans:</p> <p><i>'Tis the old</i>  <i>Nestor</i> -- Let me embrace thee, good old chronicle,  That has for so long walked hand in hand with time (4.5.201)</p> <p>The influence is perhaps most evident in <i>Richard II</i>:</p> <p>Come, my <i>old son</i>, I pray God make thee <i>new</i>. (5.3.146)</p>
6.12-13 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>12</u> Let not sinne reigne therefore in your mortal bodie, that ye shuld obey it in the lusts therof.</p> <p><u>13</u> Nether give ye your membes as weapons of unrighteousness unto sinne: but give your selves unto God, as they that are alive from the dead, and give your membes as weapons of righteousness unto God.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987 76-77) compares <i>Romeo and Juliet</i>:</p> <p>Two such opposed kings encamp them still  In man as well as herbs, grace and rude will;  And where the worser is predominant,  Full soon the canker eats up that plant. (2.3.27-30)</p>

<sup>382</sup> Shaheen (1993 210-11) cites 1 Corinthians 1.27, Matthew 21.16 and Psalm 8.2.

	<p>Reference to the same two verses apparently occurs in <i>Othello</i>:</p> <p>Something sure of state....  Hath puddled his clear spirit; and in such cases  Men's natures wrangle with inferior things,  Though great ones are their object. 'Tis even so;  For <i>let our finger ache</i>, and it <i>endues</i>  <i>Our other, healthful members</i> even to a sense  Of pain. Nay, we must think men are not gods. (3.4.141-148)</p> <p>Enobarbus subtly interweaves the language of Romans 6.6 and Roman 6.13 in his speech consoling Antony for the death of Fulvia:</p> <p>Why, sir, give the gods a thankful sacrifice. When it pleaseth their dieties to take the wife of a man from him, it shows to man the tailors of the earth; comforting therein, that when <i>old robes</i> are worn out, there are <i>members to make them new</i>....  (<i>Antony &amp; Cleopatra</i> 1.2.158-62)</p>
6.16 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>16</u> Know ye not, that to whomsoever ye give yourselves as servants to obey, his servants ye are to whome ye obey, whether it be of sinne unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?</p> <p>Milward (1987 34) detects in this verse the inspiring concept behind Hamlet's phrase "passion's slave."</p>
6.19-22 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>19</u> I speake after the maner of man, because of the infirmitie of your flesh: for as ye have given your membresservants to uncleannes &amp; to iniquitie, to commit iniquitie, so now give your membres servants unto righteousness in holines.</p> <p><u>20</u> For when ye were the servants of sinne, ye were freed from righteousness. What frute had ye th in those things, whereof ye are now ashamed? For the end of those things is death.</p> <p><u>21</u> What frute had ye then in those things, whereof ye are now ashamed? For the end of those things is death.</p> <p><u>22</u> But now being freed from sinne, and made servants unto God, ye have your frute in holiness, and the end, everlasting life.</p> <p>SD #65.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987 192) compares Brutus' line in <i>Coriolanus</i>:</p> <p>You speak a 'th' people  As if you were a god, to punish; not  A man of <i>their infirmity</i>. (3.1.82)</p> <p>Shaheen (1993 196) compares Angelo's line in <i>Measure for Measure</i><sup>383</sup>:</p> <p>Give up your body to such <i>sweet uncleannes</i>. (2.4.54)</p> <p>The phrase "manner of man" occurs with variations suggesting its inspiration in Romans 6.19 as many as six times in the canon, including, from <i>Love's Labour's Lost</i>:</p> <p>For the manner, -- it is the manner of a man to speak to a woman. (1.1.212)</p> <p>Carter cites an alternate Biblical source<sup>384</sup> for the same phrase in <i>As You Like It</i>:</p> <p>Is he of God's making? What <i>manner of man</i>? (3.2.206)</p>
72.0 Romans 7.20 is marked by the insertion of a missing first person pronoun, correcting the erroneous text of STC 2106.	<p>20 Now if &lt;I&gt; do that I wolde not, it is no more I that do it, but the sinne yt dwelleth in me.</p> <p>Romans 7.18-20 are SD # 67. The following citations have been noticed by prior scholars:</p> <p>Carter (1905):</p> <p>Celia Was't you that did so oft contrive to kill him?</p> <p>Oliver. 'Twas I, but 'tis not I. I do not shame  To tell you what I was, since my conversion  So sweetly tastes, being the thing I am. (As You Like It 4.2.136-39)</p> <p>There's something in me that reproves my fault,  But such a headstrong potent fault it is  That it but mocks reproof. (Twelfth Night 3.4.202)</p>

<sup>383</sup> Shaheen also compares Romans 1.24: God gave them up...unto uncleannes, to defile their own bodies."

<sup>384</sup> 2 Kings 1.7: "And he said unto them, What manner of man was he?"



	<p>Isabella. There is a vice...</p> <p>*****</p> <p>For which I would not plead, but that I must; For which I must not plead, but that I am At war 'twixt will and not will. <span style="float: right;">(<i>Measure for Measure</i> 2.2.29-93)</span></p> <p>1<sup>st</sup> Lord. Now, God delay our rebellion; as we are ourselves, how weak we are.</p> <p>2<sup>nd</sup> Lord. Merely our own traitors. And as in the common course of all treasons, we still see them reveal themselves, till they attain their abhorred ends: so he, that in this action contrives against his own nobility in his proper stream o'erflows himself. <span style="float: right;">(<i>All's Well That Ends Well</i> 4.3.18)<sup>385</sup></span></p> <p>Hamlet. Give me your pardon, sir, I have done you wrong....</p> <p>*****</p> <p>Was't Hamlet wrong'd Laertes? Never Hamlet! If Hamlet from himself be ta'en away, And when he's not himself does wrong laertes, Then Hamlet does it not, Hamlet denies it Who does it then? His madness. If't be so, Hamlet is on the faction which is wronged. His madness is poor Hamlet's enemy. <span style="float: right;">(<i>Hamlet</i> 4.2.226-39)</span></p> <p>Doll. What says your Grace?</p> <p>Falstaff. His Grace say that which his flesh rebels against. <span style="float: right;">(<i>2 Henry IV</i> 2.4.357)</span></p> <p>Noble and Shaheen add:</p> <p>When once our grace we have forgot, Nothing goes right-- we would, and we would not. <span style="float: right;">(<i>Measure for Measure</i> 4.4.33-34)</span></p> <p>Milward (1987 12) adds:</p> <p>His will is not his own. <span style="float: right;">(<i>Hamlet</i> 1.3.17)</span></p> <p>Your words and your performances are no kin together. (<i>Othello</i> 4.2.184)</p> <p>Westhoven (33) also cites:</p> <p>Our wills and fates do so contrary run, That our devices still are all overthrown, Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own <span style="float: right;">(<i>Hamlet</i> 3.2.210-212)</span></p> <p>According to Roy Battenhouse, Romans 7.20 is a primary pretext for the character of Angelo in <i>Measure for Measure</i>; like the Pharisee Saul, Angelo is a man "self-divided by a law within his members at war with the law of the spirit" (174).</p> <p>In my <i>Notes and Queries</i> article I point out that Sonnet 151 is "an elaborate paraphrase" of Romans 7.20 which also reflects the distinctive wording of the Geneva marginal note printed next to the verse, viz.:</p> <p>For thou betraying me, I do betray My nobler part to my gross bodie's treason... <span style="float: right;">(151.5-6)</span></p> <p>To which might be added:</p> <p>Alas, our frailty is the cause, Not we.... <span style="float: right;">(<i>Twelfth Night</i> 2.2.31)</span></p> <p>Discussion of central importance of these verses in Shakespeare, and the influence of the Geneva marginal note adjoining the corrected text in Sonnet 151, forms the subject of my <i>Notes and Queries</i> article, "The Influence of a Genevan Marginal Note on Sonnet 151" (Stritmatter 1997).</p>
15.25-26 (VN) in BB:	<p><u>25</u> But now go I to Ierusalem, to minister unto the Saintes.</p> <p><u>26</u> For it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia, to make a certeine distribution unto the poore saintes we are at Ierusalem.</p>

<sup>385</sup> Carter cites Romans 7.15.

<b>I Corinthians</b>	A total of eighteen verses are marked in this chapter, nine of them (VN) in BB and nine (VN) in O.
6.9-11 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>9</u> Knowe ye not that the unrighteous shal not inherite the kingdme of God? Be not deceived: nether fornicatours, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor wantons, nor bouggerers,</p> <p><u>10</u> Nor theves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor railers nor extorcioners shal inherite the kingdom of God.</p> <p><u>11</u> And such were some of you: but ye are washed, but are sanctified, but ye are iustified in the Name of the Lord Iesus, and by the Spirit of our God.</p>
6.15-20 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>15</u> Knowe ye not, that your bodies are the membres of Christ? Shal I then take the membres of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid.</p> <p><u>16</u> Do ye not knowe, that he which coupleth him self with an harlot, is one bodie? For two, saith he, shalbe one flesh.</p> <p><u>17</u> But he that is ioyned unto ye Lord, is one spirit.</p> <p><u>18</u> Flee fornication: everie sinne that a man doeth, is without the bodie: but he that committeth fornication, sinneth against his owne bodie.</p> <p><u>19</u> Know ye not, that your bodie is the temple of the holie Gost, which is in you, whom ye have of God? And ye are not your owne.</p> <p><u>20</u> For ye are boght for a price: therefore glorifie God in your bodie, and in your spirit: for they are Gods.</p> <p>This sequence of marked verses in which Paul articulates the Christian Platonism comparing the body to the temple of the soul is another series which exhibits a profound and pervasive influence in Shakespeare. In my notes on SD #69, I list nine occurrences of reference to this verse in Shakespeare, four of them noted by prior scholars.</p> <p>Carter (1905) finds two:</p> <p>So must <i>my soul</i>, her bark being peel'd away.  <i>Her house</i> is sacked, her quiet interrupted,  <i>Her mansion</i> batt'r'd by the enemy;  <i>Her sacred temple</i> spotted, spoiled, corrupted. (Lucrece 1169-)</p> <p>O! <i>Thou that does inhabit</i> in my breast  Leave not the <i>mansion</i> to long tenantless  Lest, growing ruinous, the building fall. (Two Gentlemen 5.4.22)</p> <p>Shaheen (1987) finds another in <i>Macbeth</i>:</p> <p>Most sacriligious murder  Hath broke ope'  The Lord's anointed <i>temple</i><sup>386</sup>, and stolen hence  The <i>life o' the building</i> (2.3.67-70)</p> <p>Milward (1987), finally, also finds a reference in <i>Hamlet</i>:</p> <p>As <i>this temple</i> waxes (1.2.12)</p> <p>To these several more may certainly be added, among them</p> <p>Besides, this <i>soul's fair temple</i> is defaced (Lucrece 719)</p> <p>A complete list is given under SD #69.</p>
16.1 (VN) Orange.	<u>1</u> Concerning the fathering for the Saintes, as I have ordained in the Churches of Galacia, so do ye also.
16.3-5 (VN) Orange.	<p><u>3</u> And when I am come, whosoever ye shal allowe by letters, them wil I send to bring your liberalitie unto Ierusalem.</p> <p><u>4</u> And if it be mete that I go also, they shal go with me.</p> <p><u>5</u> Now I will come unto you, after I have gone through Macedonia (for I wil pass through Macedonia)</p>

<b>II Corinthians</b>	Thirty seven verses are marked in this chapter, nine (VN) in BB, one (C) in BB and the remaining twenty-seven (VN) in O. A marginal note in (O)range at 9.1 reads "Almes".
4.8-11 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>8</u> We are afflicted on everie side, yet are we not in distresse, in povertie, but not overcome of povertie.</p> <p><u>9</u> We are persecuted, but not forsaken: cast downe, but we perish not.</p> <p><u>10</u> Everie where we beare about in our bodie the dying of ye Lord Iesus, that the life of Iesus might also be</p>

<sup>386</sup> Note the double reference to I Corinthians 6.19 and I Samuel 24.11 in this passage.

	<p>made manifest in our bodies.</p> <p><u>11</u> For we which live, are alwayes delivered unto death for Iesus sake, that the life also of Iesus might be made manifest in our mortal flesh</p>
4.13-14 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>13</u> And because we have the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written, I beleved, &amp; therefore have I spoken, we also beleve, and therefore speake,</p> <p><u>14</u> Knowing yt he which hath raised up the Lord Iesus, shal raise us up also by Iesus, and shal set us with you.</p>
4.16-18(VN) and (VNC) in BB.	<p><u>16</u> Therefore we faint not, but thogh our outwarde man perish, yet the inwarde man is renewed daily. For our light affliction which is but for a moment, causeth unto us a farre moste excellent &amp; an eternal waight of glorie:</p> <p><u>17</u> For our light affliction whbich is but for a moment, causeth unto us a farre moste excellent &amp; an eternal waight of glorie.</p> <p><u>18</u> While we loke not on the things wc are sene, but on yt things which are not sene: for the things which are sene, are temporal: but the things which are not sene, are eternal.</p> <p>These verses -- like I Corinthian 6.19-21 -- belong the "Platonic" series discussed in some detail in chapter 11. Like the other groupings in this series, these constitute a distinct and numerically prominent Shakespeare Diagnostic (#71). Although only four cases of the influence of these verses are cited by previous authorities, research indicates that the actual number is as high as eight.</p> <p>Carter (1905) finds a reference in <i>Pericles</i>:</p> <p>Opinion's but a fool, that makes us scan The <i>outward habit</i> by the <i>inward man</i> (2.2.56)</p> <p>Milward finds two more, both from <i>Hamlet</i>:</p> <p>As this temple waxes (1.3.13)</p> <p>Nor <i>the exterior</i> nor the <i>inward man</i> (2.2.6)</p> <p>Booth (1976) finds one the Sonnets:</p> <p>There <i>outward thus</i> with <i>outward praise</i> is crowned. But those same tongues that give thee so thine own, In other accents do this praise confound By <i>seeing farther than eye hath shown</i> They look into the beauty of thy mind. (Sonnet 69)</p> <p>Several additional references to the same series have unaccountably passed unnoticed by scholars of the subject:</p> <p>Outliving <i>beauty's outward</i> with a <i>mind</i> that doth <i>renew</i> (<i>Troilus</i> 3.2.169)</p> <p>In this line, even the verb "renew" has been retained from the Biblical inspiration: "the inward man is <i>renewed</i> daily" (I Corin. 4.16).</p> <p><i>Things outward</i> Do draw the <i>inward quality</i> after them. (<i>Antony &amp; Cleopatra</i> 3.13.33-34)</p> <p>This is the imposthume of much wealth and peace, That <i>inward breaks</i>, and <i>shows no cause without</i> Why <i>the man dies</i>. (<i>Hamlet</i> 4.4.28)</p> <p>I believe thou hast a <i>mind</i> that suites with this thy faire and <i>outward character</i>. (<i>Twelfth Night</i> 1.2.102)</p>
5.10 (VNC) in BB.	<p><u>10</u> For we must all appeare before the iudgement seat of Christ, that everie man may receive the things which are done in his bodie, according to that he hathe done, whether it be good or evil.</p> <p>Carter (1905 214, 257 400, 456) cites four potential references to this verse, making it important enough to potentially have been included as a Shakespeare diagnostic.</p> <p>Oh when <i>the last accompt</i> twixt heaven and earth Is to be made, then shall this hand and seale Witnesse against us to damnation. How oft the sight of meanes to do ill deeds Makes deeds ill done. (<i>King John</i> 4.2216-20)</p> <p>Come let us take a muster speedily: <i>Doomsday is near</i>: dye, all dye merrily. (<i>I Henry IV</i> 4.1.133)</p> <p>When we shall <i>meet at compt</i>,</p>

	<p>This looke of thine will hurl my soul from heaven, And fiends will snatch at it. (Othello 5.2.276)</p> <p>Finish, good lady: <i>the bright day is done</i>, And we are for the dark. (Antony &amp; Cleopatra 5.2.192)</p>
8.1-4 (VN) in O.	<p><u>1</u> We do you also to wit, brethren, of the grace of God, bestowed upon the Churches of Macedonia, <u>2</u> Because in great tryal of affliction their ioye abunded, and there moste extreme povertie abunded unto their riche liberalitie. <u>3</u> For to their power (I beare recorde) yea, &amp; beyonde their power, they were willing, <u>4</u> And praied us with great instance that we wolde receive thegrace, &amp; felowship of the ministring which is toward thy Saintes.</p>
8.10-17 (VN) in O.	<p><u>10</u> And I shewe my mind herein: for this is expedient for you, which have begonne not to do onely, but also to wil, a yere ago. <u>11</u> Now therfore performe to do it also, that as there was a readines to wil, even so ye maye performe it of that which ye have. <u>12</u> For if there be first a willing minde, it is accepted according to than a man hathe, &amp; note according to that he hathe not. <u>13</u> Nether is it that other men shuld be eased and you grieved. <u>14</u> But upon like condicion, at this time your abundance supplieth their lacke, that also their abundance may be for your lacke, ut there may be equalitie. <u>15</u> As it is written, he that gathered much, had nothing over, than he that gathered litle, had not the lesse. <u>16</u> And thanke be unto God, which hathe put into the heart of <i>Titus</i> the same care for you. <u>17</u> Because he accepted the exhortacion, yet, he was so careful that of his owne accorde he went unto you.</p> <p>Carter (1905 227), citing II Cor. 8.12, finds a reference to the moral of these verses in <i>Midsummer Night's Dream</i>:</p> <p>Fore never anything can be amiss, When simpleness and duty tender it. (5.1.83)</p> <p>A closer reference, to my ear, is from <i>Hamlet</i>:</p> <p>That we would do, We should do when we would, for this would changes (4.7.117)<sup>387</sup></p> <p>Another passage from <i>Hamlet</i> which seems to have been influenced by Paul's exhortation to timely action is the discussion between Horatio and Hamlet on the brink of the latter's deadly duel with Laertes:</p> <p>Hor. If your mind dislike any thing, obey it. I will forestall their repair hither, and say that you are not fit.</p> <p>Ham. Not a whit, we defy augury. There is special providence in the fall of a sparrow. If it be now, 'tis not to come -- if it be not to come, it will be now - if it be not now, yet it will come -- the readinesness is all. Since no man, of aught he leaves, knows what is't to leave betimes, let it be. (5.2.215-222)</p> <p>Hamlet applies the same insistence as St. Paul on the need for timely fulfillment of that which a person has vowed to do. The moral is repeated in two further plays:</p> <p>This, in the name of God, I promise here: The which <i>if he be pleased I shall perform</i>. (1 Henry IV 3.2.154)</p> <p>Which, by mine honor, <i>I will perform with a most Christian care</i>. (2 Henry IV 4.2.115)</p>
9.1-15 (VN) in O and by an orange marginal note, "Almes".	<p><u>1</u> For as touching the ministering to ye Saintes, it is superfluous for me to write unto you. <u>2</u> For I knowe your readines of minde, whereof I boast my self of you unto the of Macedonia, &amp; say, that Achaia was prepared a yere ago, and your zeale hath provoked manie. <u>3</u> Now have I sent the brethren, lest our reioycing over you shulde be in vaine in this behalfe, that ye (as I have said) be readie: <u>4</u> Lest if they of Macedonia come with me, and finde you unprepared, we (I neede not say you) shulde be ashamed in this my constant boasting. <u>5</u> Wherefore, I thought it necessarie to exhort the brethren to come before unto you, and to finish your benevolence appointed afore, that it might be readie, and come as of benevolence, and not as of sparing. <u>6</u> This yet remember, that he wc soweth sparingly, shal reape also sparingly, and he that soweth liberally, shal reape also liberally. <u>7</u> As everie man wishe in his heart, so let him give not grudgingly, or of necessitie: for God loveth a chereful giver. <u>8</u> And God is able to make all grace abounde toward you, that ye always having all sufficiencie in all things, may abounde in everie good worke,</p>

<sup>387</sup> Carter (378) cites alternate verses James 4.14, Proverbs 27.1, John 12.35, and Eccles. 9.10. II Corinthians 8.11-12.

	<p> <u>9</u> As it is written, He hathe sparsed abroad and hathe given to the poore: his benevolence remaineth for ever.  <u>10</u> Also he that findeth seede to the sower, wil minister likewise bread for food, and multiplie your sede, and increase the frutes of your benevolence,  <u>11</u> That on all partes ye may be made riche unto all liberalitie, which causeth through us thanksgiving unto God,  <u>12</u> For the minstration of this service not onely supplieth the necessities of the Sainctes, but also is abundant by the thanksgiving of manie unto God  <u>13</u> (Which by the experiment of this ministration praise God for your voluntarie submission to the Gospel of Christ, and for your liberal distribution to them and to all men).  <u>14</u> And by their prayer for you, desiring after you greatly, for the abundant grace of God unto you.  <u>15</u> Thanks therefore be unto God for this unspeakable gift. There are over fifty-five references to "charity" in the Shakespeare canon. </p> <p>And the specific promise of II Corinthians 9.9, that the one who "hathe sparsed abroad and hath given to the poor" will reap an eternal benevolence, is directly repeated in <i>Pericles</i>:</p> <p>Your honor has through Ephesus pour'd forth  Your charity, and hundreds call themselves  Your creatures, who by you have been restor'd  And not your knowledge, your personal pain, but even  <i>Your purse, still open, hath built Lord Cerimon</i>  <i>Such strong renown as time shall ne'er decay.</i> (3.2.43-48)</p>
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<b>Galatians</b>	There are no marked verses in Paul's epistle to the Galatians.
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<b>Ephesians</b>	There are no marked verses in Paul's epistle to the Ephesians.
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<b>Philippians</b>	There are three verses (VN) in BB marked in Philippians.
1.20 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>20</u> As I hartely loke for, and hope, that in nothing I shalbe ashamed, but that wt all cofidence, as all wayes, so now Christ shal be magnified in my bodie, whether it be by life or by death.</p>
2.14-15 (VN) in BB.	<p> <u>14</u> Do all things without murmuring and reasonings,  <u>15</u> That ye may be blameles, and pure, &amp; the sonnes of God without rebuke in the middes of a naughtie and croked nation, among whome ye shine as lights in the worlde </p> <p>The moral to "do all things without murmuring and reasonings" is humorously copied by Fluellen in <i>Henry V</i>:</p> <p>I pray you to serve God, and <i>keepe you out of prawles and prabbles, and quarrels and dissensions.</i>  (4.8.164)<sup>388</sup></p> <p>Philippians 2.15, as affirmed by Naseeb Shaheen (1993 130-31), is the source of Portia's stiring moral:</p> <p>See how far this <i>little candle</i> throws his beams!  <i>So shines a good deed in a naughty world.</i> (Merchant of Venice 5.1.90-91)</p> <p>Carter and Noble (1935 168) both incorrectly derived the lines from Mt. 5.16: "Let your good light shine before men, that they may see your good works." The phrase <i>naughty world</i>, however, shows that Shakespeare's proximate point of reference must have been Philippians 2.15; the reference, furthermore, is only to the Geneva translation, as I argued in my 1994 review (Stritmatter 1994) of Shaheen's book on the comedies.</p>

<b>Colossians</b>	Only one verse is marked, (C) in BB, in this chapter.
1.10 (C) in BB.	<p><u>10</u> That ye might walke worthie of the Lord, and please him in all things, being fruteful in <u>all good works</u>, and increasing in the knowledge of God.</p>

<b>I Thessalonians</b>	Eleven verses, all (VN) in BB, are marked in this chapter.
4.1-5 (VN) in BB.	<p> <u>1</u> And furthermore we beseche you, brethren, &amp; exhort you in ye Lord Iesus that ye increase more and more, as ye havereceived of us, how ye oght to walke, and to please God.  <u>2</u> For ye know what commandements we gave you by the Lord Iesus.  <u>3</u> For this is the wil of God even your sanctification, &amp; that ye shulde absteine from fornication,  <u>4</u> That everie one of you shulde know, how to possesse his vessel in holines &amp; honour,  <u>5</u> And not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the gentiles which know not God. </p>

<sup>388</sup> Carter (1905 315) cites Luke 4.8 and James 1.26, neither which is as close as Philippians 2.14.

	<p>The language of I Thessalonians 4.5 is echoed in <i>Measure for Measure</i>:</p> <p>To his concupiscible intemperate lust. (5.1.98)</p>
5.5-10 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>5</u> Ye are the children of light, and the children of the day: weare not of the night nether of darkenes.  <u>6</u> Therefore let us not slepe as do other, but let us watch and be sober.  <u>7</u> or they that slepe, slepe in the night, &amp; they that be drunken, are drunken in the night.  <u>8</u> But let us which are of the day, be sober, puttting on the brest plate of faith &amp; love, &amp; of the hope of falvation for an helmet.  <u>9</u> For God hathe not appointed us unto wrath, but to obtaine salvation by the meanes of our Lord Iesus Christ,  <u>10</u> Which dyed for us, that whether we wake or slepe, we shulde live together with him.</p> <p>Shaheen (1989 143) compares 5.5 to a line from <i>1 Henry IV</i>:</p> <p><i>Sons of darkness</i> (2.4.172)</p> <p>The same figure, moreover, occurs again the same play:</p> <p>The <i>son</i> of utter darkness (3.3.37)</p> <p>The image of spiritual weapons -- the "breast plate of faith &amp; love, &amp; the hope of salvation for an helmet" -- is one of Shakespeare's favorite Biblical metaphors, although scholars have tended to cite alternative verses such as Ephesians 6.14-17 as the source<sup>389</sup>.</p> <p>Carter cites three references to these verses:</p> <p>His champions are the prophets and the apostles,  <i>His weapons, holy saws</i> of sacred writ. (2 <i>Henry VI</i> 1.3.57)</p> <p>We will our youth lead on to higher fields  And draw <i>no swords</i> but what are <i>sanctified</i>. (2 <i>Henry VI</i> 4.4.3)</p> <p>What, <i>the sword</i> and <i>the word</i> -  Do you study them both, master parson. (<i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i> 3.1.44)</p> <p>Noble (1935) finds another:</p> <p>What stronger <i>breastplate</i> than a heart  <i>Untainted</i>.  Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just;  And he but naked, though locked up in steel,  Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted. (2 <i>Henry VI</i> 3.2.76)</p> <p>And Shaheen adds a fifth:</p> <p>Turning <i>the word</i> to sword. (2 <i>Henry IV</i> 4.2.10)</p> <p>These items are listed as Shakespeare Diagnostic #74. Because none can securely be linked to Ephesians 2.20 or 6.14-17 in preference to the marked verse Thessalonians 5.18, the diagnostic is classified as marked in the de Vere Bible.</p>

<b>II Thessalonians</b>	Only three verses, all (VN) in BB are marked in this chapter.
2.12-14 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>12</u> That all they might be damned which beleved not the trueth, but had pleasure in unrighteousnes.  <u>13</u> But we oght to give thanks alwaye to God for you, brethren beloved of the Lord, because that God hathe from ye beginning chosen you to salvacion, through sanctification of the Spirit, and the faith of trueth.  <u>14</u> Whereunto he called you by our Gospel, to obtaine the glorie of our Lord Iesus Christ.</p>

<b>I Timothy</b>	There are no marked verses in Paul's 1 <sup>st</sup> letter to Timothy
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<sup>389</sup> Ephesians reads: "14 Stand therefore, and your lines girde about with veritie, and having on ye brest plate of righteousness, 15 And your fete shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace. 16 Above all take the shield of faith, wherewith ye may quench all the fyrie dartes of the wicked, 17 And take the helmet of salvation, & the sward of the Spirit, which is the word of God" (G).

<b>II Timothy</b>	Six verses, all (VN) in BB, are marked in this chapter.
3.1-5 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>1</u> This knowe also, that in the last dayes shal come perilous times.</p> <p><u>2</u> For men shalbe lovers of their owne selves, covetous boasters, proude, cursed speakers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholie,</p> <p><u>3</u> Without natural affections, truce breakers, false accusers, intemperate, fierce, despisers of them which are good,</p> <p><u>4</u> Traitours, headie, high minded, lovers of pleasures more then lovers of God.</p> <p><u>5</u> Having a shewe of godlines, but have denied the power thereof: turn away therefore from suche.</p>
3.12 (VN) in BB.	<u>12</u> Yea, and all yt wil live godly in Christ Iesus, shal suffer persecution.

<b>Titus</b>	Four verses, all (VN) in O, are marked in this chapter.
2.11-14 (VN) in O.	<p><u>11</u> For the grace of God, that bringeth salvacion unto all men, hath appeared.</p> <p><u>12</u> And teacheth us that we shulde denie ungodlines, and worldlie lustes, &amp; that we shuld live sobrelly &amp; righteously, and godly in this present world,</p> <p><u>13</u> Loking for the blessed hope, and appearing of the glorie of the mightie God, and of our Saviour Iesus Christ,</p> <p><u>14</u> Who gave him self for us, yt he might redeme us from all iniquitie, &amp; purge us to be a peculiar people unto himself, zealous of good workes.</p> <p>The phrase "the grace of God" in <i>Titus</i> 2.11 occurs five times in the shakespeare canon: <i>Richard II</i> 1.3.22; <i>Merchant</i> 2.2.160; <i>2 Henry VI</i> 1.272, <i>3 Henry VI</i> (4.7.71) and <i>Richard III</i> (3.4.99). Although the phrase is of course a common religious idiom, at least one of Shakespeare's uses appears to almost certainly reflect the idiosyncratic lexis of <i>Titus</i>:</p> <p>You have <i>the grace of God</i> sir, and he <i>hath</i> enough (Merchant 2.2.160)</p> <p>Shaheen (1987 120) also lists this as a possible source for a line in <i>Troilus and Cressida</i>:</p> <p>You are in the <i>state of grace</i> (3.1.15)</p>

<b>Philemon</b>	There are no marked verses in Paul's epistle to Philemon
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<b>Hebrews</b>	Two verses, both (VN) in BB, are marked in this chapter.
6.10 (VN) in BB.	<u>10</u> For God is not unrighteous, that he shulde forget your worke, and labour of love, which ye shewed toward his Name, in that ye have ministered unto the Saintes, and yet minister.
13.16 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>16</u> To do good, &amp; to distribute forget not: for with suche sacrifices God is pleased.</p> <p>The verse has been identified by Milward in Battenhouse 1993 (452) as the inspiration for a line from <i>Lear</i>:</p> <p>Upon <i>such sacrifices</i>, my Cordelia, <i>the gods themselves</i> throw incense. (5.3.21)</p> <p>Judy Kronenfeld notes, furthermore, that it is the synonym for almsgiving in this passage -- "distribution" which also inspires Lear in a previous speech on the necessity for charity:</p> <p>So <i>distribution</i> should undo excess, And each man have enough. (4.1.73-74)</p>

<b>James</b>	No verses are marked (VN) or (C) in this chapter, but a typographical error in one verse has been corrected by the annotator.
1.17 is marked by a correction to the word "by".	<u>17</u> Everie good giving, and everie perfite gift is from above, and commeth downe from the Father of lights, with whome is no variableness, nether shadowing b<y> turning.

<b>I Peter</b>	Seven verses are marked (VN) in BB in this chapter.
1.13-19 (VN) in BB.	<p><u>13</u> Wherefore, girde up the loynes of your minde: be sober, and trust perfectly on the grace that is broght unto you, but the revelacion of Iesus christ,</p> <p><u>14</u> As obedient children, not facioning your selves unto the former lustes of your ignorance;</p> <p><u>15</u> But as he which hath called you, is holie, so be ye holie in all maner of conversacion,</p> <p><u>16</u> Because it is written, be ye holie, for I am holie.</p>

	<p>17 And if ye call him Father, which without respect of persone iudgeth according to everie mans worke, pass the time of your dwelling here in feare,</p> <p>18 Knowing that ye were not redemed with corruptible things, as silver and golde, from your vaine conversation, received by the tradicions of the fathers,</p> <p>19 But with the precious blood of Christ, as of a Lambe undefiled, &amp; without spot.</p> <p>Numerous echoes of these marked verses may be detected in the Shakespeare canon, although only a few of them have been noted by prior commentators.</p> <p>I Peter 1.13 is echoed in <i>Taming of the Shrew</i>:</p> <p>Do me <i>grace</i>, and offer me disguised in <i>sober robes</i> (1.2.132) and in several other plays:</p> <p>I pray thee <i>speak</i> in <i>sober judgement</i> (<i>Much Ado</i> 1.1.171)</p> <p>Put on a <i>sober habit</i>, talk with respect and Swear but now and then (<i>Merchant of Venice</i> 2.5.36)</p> <p>Speakest thou in <i>sober meanings</i>? (<i>As You Like It</i> 5.2.76)</p> <p>"Obedient children" are a virtue in both 1.14 and several Shakespearean passages:</p> <p>You sin against <i>obedience</i>, which you owe <i>your father</i> (<i>Cymbeline</i> 2.3.117)</p> <p>Matrons, turn incontinent! <i>Obedience fail in children</i>! (<i>Timon</i> 4.1.3)</p> <p>In <i>Lear</i>, however, the virtue is given a suitably ironic turn:</p> <p>Lear. I had daughters -- which they will make <i>an obedient father</i>. (1.4.255)</p> <p>The language of I Peter 1.15 and 16 supplies Enobarbus with his description of Octavia:</p> <p>Octavia is of a <i>holy</i>, cold, still <i>conversation</i>. (<i>Antony &amp; Cleopatra</i> 2.6.130)</p> <p>Carter (1905 81) cites lines from <i>1 Henry VI</i> which were apparently inspired by I Peter 1.17-18:</p> <p>Let us not forgoe That for a trifle, that was <i>bought with blood</i>. (4.1.150)</p> <p>Milward (1987 133) finds a subtle echo of the contrast in 1.18-19 between "corruptible things, as silver and gold" and the "precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb undefiled" in <i>Macbeth</i>:</p> <p>Mac. His silver skin lac'd with his <i>golden blood</i>. (2.3.119)</p> <p>The verses seem also to be echoed in <i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i>:</p> <p><i>Too holy</i>, to be <i>corrupted</i> with worthless gifts. (4.2.6)</p> <p>By the merit of vile <i>gold</i>, dross, dust, Purchase corrupted pardon. (<i>King John</i> 4.4.496)</p> <p>Shaheen (1989 80) compares 1.19 to a passage in <i>Richard III</i>:</p> <p>I charge you, as you hope to have redemption, By <i>Christ's dear blood</i> shed for our greivous sins. (1.4.189-190)</p> <p>In <i>Rape of Lucrece</i>, the heroine is referred to many times as Christ's lamb -- not one "undefiled, &amp; without spot" as in I Peter 1. -- but one who has been sacrificed to Tarquin's lust. She is a "poor lamb" (677), a "spotted princess" on a bed with "spots" (685); as one who will "clear this spot by death" (1053), she declares that "immaculate and spotless is my mind." This imagery and language all appears to be inspired, perhaps unconsciously, by I Peter 1.19.</p>
<b>II Peter</b>	There are no marked verses in II Peter.
<b>The Epistles of John</b>	There are no marked verses in the epistles of John.



<b>Jude</b>	There are no marked verses in Jude.
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<b>Revelation</b>	Twenty-eight verses, all of them (VN) in the O ink variant, are marked in this chapter of the Bible. Additionally there are corrections to worn text made at 21.7-8 in BB ink.
2.2 (VN) in O.	<u>2</u> I knowe thy workes, and thy labour, and thy pacience, and how thou canst not forebeare them which are evil, and hast examined them which say they are Apostles, and are not, and hast founde them lyers.
2.9-10 (VN) in O.	<u>9</u> I know thy workes & tribulation, and povertie (but yu art riche) & I know the blasphemie of them, which say they are Iewes and are not, but are ye Synagogue of Satan. <u>10</u> Feare none of those things, which thou shalt suffer: beholde, it shal come to passe, yt the devil shal cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried, and ye shal have tribulation ten dayes: be thou faithful unto ye death, & I wil give thee the crowne of life.  Shaheen (1989 117) cites this among the possible sources for a line from <i>Richard II</i> :  <i>Our holy lives must win a new world's crown.</i> (5.1.24) <sup>390</sup>
2.21-23 (VN) in O.	<u>21</u> And I gave her space to repent of her fornication, and she repented not. <u>22</u> Beholde, I wil cast her into a bed, and them that commit fornication with her, into great affliction, except they repent them of their workes. <u>23</u> And I will kill her children with death: & all ye Churches shal know tht I am he which search the reignes & hearts: and I wil give unto everie one of you according unto your works.
3.3 (VN) in O.	<u>3</u> Remember, therefore, how thou hast received and heard, and holde faste, & repent. If therfore thou wilt not watch, I wil come on thee as a thefe, and thou shalt not knowe whathoure I wil come upon thee.
3.5 (VN) in O.	<u>5</u> He that overcometh, shalbe clothed in white araye, and I wil not put out his name out of the boke of life, but I wil confesse his name before my Father, & before his Angels.  The concept of "putting out" or "blotting" -- as the Bishop's Bible translates this critical passage -- the person's name from the "book of life" is fundamental to the symbolic patterning of the corpus of works which have come down to posterity under the name of "William Shakespeare." The verse has been cited three times by prior scholars of Shakespeare's Bible knowledge: Carter (1905):  Blotting your names from books of memory (2 <i>Henry VI</i> 1.1.100)  Shaheen (1989):  My name be blotted from the book of life. ( <i>Richard II</i> 2.1.202)  Their offenses.... Marked with a blot, damned in the book of heaven ( <i>Richard II</i> 4.1.236)  Several additional references to the concept of the destruction or erasure of the name can, however, also be cited: How comes it that <i>my name</i> recieves a <i>brand</i> ? (Sonnet 112)  Pluck <i>the name</i> out of his heart.... ( <i>Julius Caesar</i> 3.3.27)  Whilst I, whom fortune of such triumph bars, Unlooked for joy in what I honor most. ***** The painful warrior famoused for fight Is from the <i>book of honor</i> rased quite, And all the rest forgot for which he toiled. (Sonnet 125)
3.10-11 (VN) in O.	<u>10</u> Because thou hast kept the worde of my pa cience, therefore I wil deliver thee from the houre of temptation, which wil come upon all the world to trie them that dwel upon the earth. <u>11</u> Beholde, I come shortly: holde that which thou hast, that no man take thy crowne.
3.17-20 (VN) in O.	<u>17</u> For thou saist, I am riche and increased with goodes, and have nede of nothing, and knowest not how thou art wretched and miserable, and poore, and blinde and naked. <u>18</u> I counsel thee to bie of me gold tried by the fire, that yu maiest be made riche, and white raiment, that thou maiest be clothed and that thy filthie nakednes do not appeare: and anoint thine eyes with eye salve, that thou maist se. <u>19</u> As manie as I love, I rebuke and chasten: be zealous therefore and amende. <u>20</u> Beholde, I stand at the dore, and knocke. If anie man heare my voyce and open the dore, I wil come in unto him, and wil suppe with him, and he with me. An echo of the commandment to "anoint thine eyes with eye salve, that thou maist se" (3.18) occurs in <i>Midsummer Night's Dream</i> :  A sweet Athenian lady is in love

<sup>390</sup> Shaheen also cites James 1.12, 2 Timothy 4.8, 1 Peter 5.4 and 1 Corinthians 9.25.

	<p>With a disdainful youth; <i>anoint his eyes</i> (2.1.260)</p> <p>3.19 is cited in <i>Cymbeline</i>:</p> <p>Whom best <i>I love, I cross</i> (5.4.101)<sup>391</sup></p> <p>And in <i>Othello</i>:</p> <p>This sorrow's heavenly: It <i>strikes where it doth love</i> (5.2.21)<sup>392</sup></p> <p>Shaheen lists two references to Rev. 3.19:</p> <p>For you shall sup with Jesu Christ to-night (2 <i>Henry VI</i> 5.1.214)<sup>393</sup></p> <p>King. Now, Hamlet, where's Polonius? Ham. At supper. King At supper? Where? ***** Ham. In heaven. (Hamlet 4.3.16-18, 33)</p> <p>This passage, writes Shaheen, is "a clear echo of the Biblical supper promised to those who inherit the kingdom of heaven" (1987 108)<sup>394</sup>.</p> <p>The lament of Sonnet 66 also seems to be partly inspired by the marked verse Rev. 3.17: "For thou saist, I am riche and increased with goods, and have nede of nothing...":</p> <p>Tir'd with all these, for restful death I cry: As to behold desert a beggar born, And needy nothing trimmed in jollity. (66.1-3)</p>
12.12 (VN) in O.	<p><u>12</u> Therefore reioyce, ye heavens, &amp; ye that dwell in them. Wo to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea: for the devil is come downe unto you which hathe great wrath, knowing that he hathe but a short time.</p> <p>Revelations 12.9, which refers to "the great dragon, that olde serpent called the devil and Satan," is Shakespeare Diagnostic #78. The marked verse belongs the same pericope as the Shakespeare diagnostic.</p>
14.13 (VN) in O.	<p><u>13</u> Then I heard a voyce from heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are ye dead, which hereafter dye in ye Lord. Even so saith the Spirit: for they rest from their labours, and their workes followe them.</p> <p>Milward (1987 54) states that the clown in Hamlet derives his prayer from this marked verse:</p> <p>Rest her soul. (5.1.145)</p> <p>Another apparent reference to the verse, according to Carter (1905 285)<sup>395</sup> is found in 2 <i>Henry IV</i>:</p> <p>Ch. Just. How doth the king? Warwick. Exceeding well: his <i>cares are now all ended</i>. Ch. Just. I hope not dead. Warwick. He's walked the way of Nature. And to our purposes lives no more. Does Hamlet, when he confronts the ghost in 2.1, also have the "commandment" of Rev. 14.13 in mind?--</p> <p>.....From the table of my memory, I'll wipe away all trivial fond records, All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past That youth and observation copied there, And <i>thy commandment</i> all alone shall live Within the book and volume of my brain. (2.1.98-103)</p> <p>Some lines later, prefiguring the clown's prayer for Ophelia's "rest," Hamlet says to the ghost:</p> <p>Rest, rest perturbed spirit. (2.1.182)</p>

<sup>391</sup> Shaheen, following Carter, cites Hebrews 12.6 ("For whome the lord loveth, he chasteneth") or Proverbs 3.12 ("For ye Lord corecteth him, whome he loveth"). The marked verse is an equally plausible source.

<sup>392</sup> Milward (1987 102) cites Hebrews 12.6, Job 5.18 and Hosea 6.1; Shaheen (1987 139) Hebrews 12.6. Again, Revelations 3.19 seems to be an equally plausible source, although previously overlooked.

<sup>393</sup> "Evidently," says Shaheen (1989 59), "a combination of Rev. 19.9 and 3.20."

<sup>394</sup> Shaheen cites Rev. 19.9 and Luke 14.15-16, listing Matt. 22.2-4 and Rev. 3.20 under "compare also."

<sup>395</sup> Carter cites Eccles. 3.20, Job 3.17 and Rev. 14.13.

	Thus, Rev. 14.13-- with its "commandment" to write that the dead are blessed, because they may "rest" from their labors--appears to be fundamental to the theology of Shakespeare's play. Both Hamlet, schooled at Luther's Wittenberg, and the play's Catholic preist, who denies Ophelia the blessing of the church, both this marked verse (for details, see chapter twenty-two).
18.5-7 (VN) in O.	<p><u>5</u> For her sinnes are come up unto heaven, &amp; God hath remembred her iniquities.  <u>6</u> Rewarde her, even as she hath rewarded you, and give her double according to her workes: &amp; in the cup yt she hath filled to you,  <u>7</u> Inasmuche as she gloried in her selfe, &amp; lived in pleasure, so muche give ye to her torment and sorowe: for she saith in herheart, I sit being a quene, and am no widowe, and shal se no mourning.</p> <p>Shakespeare refers to the whore of Babylon, mentioned only in Revelations 17 and 18, in <i>Henry V</i>, when Mistress Quickley, Bardolph and Nym reminisce about the last words of Falstaff:</p> <p>Mrs. Q. ....And talked of the whore of Babylon (2.3.40-41)<sup>396</sup></p>
20.12-13 (VN) in O.	<p><u>12</u> And I sawe the dead, bothe great &amp; smal stand before God: and the bokes were opened, &amp; another boke was opened, which is the boke of life, and the dead were iudged of those things, which were written in the bokes, according to their workes  <u>13</u> And the sea gave up her dead, which were in her, and death &amp; hell delivered up the dead, which were in them: &amp; they were iudged everie man according to their workes.</p> <p>The "book of life" mentioned in Rev. 20.12 is among Shakespeare's most prominent Biblical images, listed as Shakespeare Diagnostic #80.</p> <p>Shaheen (1987) records one reference to it:</p> <p>I have been <i>the book of his good acts</i>,  Wherein men have read his fame. (Coriolanus 5.2.14-16)</p> <p>Shaheen (1989) adds two more:</p> <p>The <i>very book</i> indeed  Where all <i>my sins</i> are writ (Richard II 4.1.274-75)</p> <p>My name be blotted from <i>the book of life</i>! (Richard II 1.3.202)</p> <p>To these several additional references might be added:</p> <p>Let me be unrolled<sup>397</sup> and my name  Be put in <i>the book of virtue</i>. (Winter's Tale 4.3.131)</p> <p>In sight of God and us, your guilt is great;  Receive the sentence of the law for sins  Such as by <i>God's book</i> are adjudg'd to death. (2 Henry VI 2.3.4)</p> <p>Renowned Rome, whose gratitude  Towards her deserved children is enroll'd  In <i>Jove's own book</i>. (Coriolanus 3.1.293)</p> <p>In addition, Shaheen (1987) cites the marked verses in relation to the more generic apocalyptic imagery:</p> <p>Up, up and see  The great doom's image!  Malcolm, Banquo!  As from your graves rise up,  And walk like sprits. (Macbeth 2.3.77-79)</p>
21.7-8 (VN) in BB with correction supplying worn letters to phrase "shalbe my".	<p><u>7</u> He that overcometh, shal inherit all things and I wil be his God, and he shalbe my sonne.  <u>8</u> But the feareful and unbeleving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolators, and all liars shal have their parte in the lake, which burneth with fyre and brimstone, which is the seconde death.</p> <p>Revelations 21.8 constitutes SD #82. Scholars cite numerous Shakespearean references to the image of the apocalyptic lake of the end times, "which burneth with fyre and brimstone":</p> <p>Milward (1987) finds three:</p> <p>To sulphurous and tormenting flames (Hamlet 1.5.3)</p>

<sup>396</sup> Shaheen (1989 181) cites Rev. 17.5: "And in her forehead was a name written, A Mysterie, great Babylon, the mother of whoreomes."

<sup>397</sup> One suspects here the need for an emendation to "enrolled."

	<p>Roast me in sulfer (Othello 5.2.273)</p> <p>Nero is an Angler in the lake of Darkness (Lear 3.6.8)</p> <p>Shaheen (1987) five more:</p> <p>Fire and Brimstone! (Othello 4.2.34)</p> <p>She's like a liar gone to burning hell (Othello 5.2.129)</p> <p>Now let Hot Aetna cool in Sicily And be my heart an ever-burning hell. (Titus 3.1.241-45)</p> <p>If there be devils, would I were a devil, To live and burn in everlasting fire, So I might have your company in hell But to torment you with my bitter tongue. (Titus 5.1.147-150)</p> <p>That go the primrose way to th' everlasting bonfire. (Macbeth 2.3.18-19)</p> <p>Shaheen (1989) two more:</p> <p>That hand shall burn in ever-quenting fire.<sup>398</sup></p> <p>Descent to darkness and the burning lake! False fiend, avoid! (2 Henry VI 1.4.39)129b</p> <p>Shaheen (1993):</p> <p>Fire and brimstone! (Twelfth Night 2.5.50)</p> <p>I always lov'd a great fire, and the master I speak of ever keeps a good fire. But sure he is the prince of the World...the many will be too chill and tender, and they'll be for the flowery way that leads to the broad gate and the great fire. (All's Well 4.5.51-59)</p>
22.11-12 (VN) in O.	<p><u>11</u> He that is uniust, let him be uniust stil: &amp; he which is filthie, let him be filthie stil: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous stil: and he that is holie, let him be holie stil.</p> <p><u>12</u> And beholde, I come shortely, &amp; my reward is with me, togive everie man according as is worke shalbe.</p>
22.14-15 (VN) in O.	<p><u>14</u> Blessed are they that do his commandements, that their right may be in ye tree of life, and may entre in through the gatesof the cite.</p> <p><u>15</u> 15 For without shalbe dogges and enchaters and whoremongers, and murtherers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth or maketh lyes.</p>

<sup>398</sup> Shaheen cites Mark 9.43 as the preferred proximate source.

129b Shaheen (1989 46) also cites Rev. 19.20; the phrase “burning lake” occurs in both verses.

## APPENDIX H: FORENSIC PALEOGRAPHY

### General Prospectus

Despite its potential evidentiary significance, the Earl of Oxford's handwriting has never been subjected to careful professional examination to define and isolate its primary diagnostic features for the purpose of proving or disproving Oxford's identity as the annotator of one or another suspect Elizabethan documents. W.W. Greg's magisterial 1930 *English Literary Autograph* made samples of Oxford's hand available but did not conduct any detailed comparative analysis; despite a rising interest in the 1920 theory of Oxford's authorship of the Shakespeare canon discussed in detail elsewhere in this document, seven subsequent decades have failed to supply the lacuna in knowledge left by the lack of a rigorous analytical study of Oxford's hand. This appendix was written at the request of Emily Will, a specialist in forensic document analysis hired by Mr. Stritmatter to make a professional finding on the handwriting contained in the de Vere Bible. It represents a first step in such a project of detailed forensic analysis; Ms. Will's own independent Report, based on the materials and analysis in this appendix, is attached as appendix I.

The analysis which follows makes use of computer digitized images prepared by Mark Anderson, from slides and microfilm of the de Vere Bible and from facsimiles of images of de Vere holograph reproduced in Greg's *English Literary Autograph* (1930), as well as photocopies of originals used with permission from the Huntington Library and Hatfield House. Representative samples from these holograph sources were scanned and electronically cut and pasted to be used as control samples in the following analysis. After some consideration, John Lyly (1554-1606), Oxford's one-time literary secretary and the author of numerous court allegories during the 1580's, and the poet and playwright George Peele (1556-1596) were selected as controls. Of the writers included in ELA, these two are as close to Oxford, perhaps for historical reasons, as any others. Additional full-sized samples of Oxford's holograph may be found in Ruth Loyd Miller's provocative article, "The Crown Signature: An Enigma Awaiting Time's Solution" (1988).

The question of the identity of the annotator of the de Vere Bible has proven, it should be emphasized, to be an extremely controversial question, for reasons that have very little to do with the nature of the evidence supporting the otherwise innocuous premise that a man is most likely to be the annotator of his own book. Bruce Smith, in *Roasting the Swan of Avon* (1994), employing a scenario which can only be described as fanciful, actually invents a fictitious former owner and annotator to account for the annotations in the Bible. More recently, Alan Nelson, in an interview with the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, declared that "the people who claim this is clearly Oxford's hand just don't know their paleography" (June 4, 1999 A23) -- a statement all the more remarkable in view of Nelson's own 1995 statement to the *Smithsonian* magazine that "I am 99.44% certain that the handwriting [in the Bible] is Oxford's" (personal communication to the writer). In light of these extraordinary denials on behalf of the Shakespearean establishment, it is worth devoting some attention to the issue of why the premise of Oxford's identity as the annotator is, in fact, beyond reasonable doubt.

### Characteristics of the Annotator's Hand

The annotations in the de Vere Bible exist in four different colors of ink: grey, brown-black, orange and scarlet. In each of these colors of ink there is at least one word written in the margins of the bible, and the identical character of the hand employing the different inks leads to the virtually necessary conclusion of a single annotator<sup>399</sup>. Different colors of underlining, furthermore, are associated with written annotations with variant inks: scarlet and orange annotations with black underlining, black annotations with scarlet and orange annotations, and so forth.

These annotations display exacting attention to minute editorial detail of the Genevan text of STC 2106: correction of spelling or punctuation of the printed text (Ecclus. 10.14; 27.21); supplying letters or words omitted by the typesetter (Romans 7.20; Psalm 67.4); and supplying letters to text worn away, apparently by successive readings by the annotator (Rev. 21.7-8). In at least one instance, Ecclus. 13.14, the annotator corrects the English text of STC 2106 to render conformity to the modern vulgate<sup>400</sup>, indicating his certain familiarity with variant translations even of relatively obscure books of the Bible such as Ecclesiasticus.

The annotator seems clearly preoccupied with certain definite themes, among them:

<sup>399</sup> For the one exception to this generalization, see annotation #6, which is in a unique color of ink and appears to be a different hand.

<sup>400</sup> Curiously, a review of the available Latin Bibles published in England before 1600 fails to produce any examples of the modern Vulgate's wording, implying that the translators of the Genevan and subsequent Bibles consulted precedents, perhaps including these Latin Bibles published in England, which have been superseded in the modern Vulgate. Presumably, some 16<sup>th</sup> century Continental Bibles, in Latin, Greek or in the continental vernaculars, preserved the wording used in the modern Vulgate and known to the annotator of the de Vere Bible. Although it would certainly be interesting to discover what Bibles these were, the search has so far been frustrated by a lack of funds and time.

1. the responsibilities of the rich and powerful (Ecclesiasticus 10.25 Wisdom 12.18)
2. the virtue of charity (Deuteronomy 15.1-14; Tobit 4.7-11; Eccles 7.10, 14.13; II Corinthians 9.1-8; Matthew 5.3, 10.42, 19.21 25.34-45; Mark 10.21; Hebrews 13.6)
3. the evils of usury (Leviticus 25.36; Ezekiel 18.8; 18.17)
4. the nature of sin (II Esdras 8.31-32, II Chronicles 16.2; Ezekiel 18.4, 20-32, 31.8-19; Ecclesiasticus 21.1-3, 34.26-27, 38.15; Romans 7.20)
5. prophecy (I Samuel 10.5, 16.23;
6. the value of secret works (Matt. 6.1-4)
7. the nature of providence in eschatological end times (II Timothy 3.1-5; Rev. 3.5; 3.17-2012.12)
8. the nature of proper speech (Ecclesiasticus 7.10, 14.1, 23.8-13; Wisdom 1.2-11; Philippians 2.14-15)

Such details are inconsistent with any theory of a casual or one-time annotator of the de Vere Bible. Instead they suggest an annotator who was in possession of the Bible over an extended period of time, who returned on many successive close readings, who underlined and annotated the Bible over a period of years, and who, apparently towards the end of his life, carefully repaired letters damaged through heavy use in the concluding chapter of the Book of Revelations.

## Circumstantial and Empirical Evidence

In the opinion of the present investigator, the question of whether this annotator was in fact Edward de Vere depends upon careful consideration of several inter-related elements of both circumstantial and empirical nature. The circumstantial elements primarily concern the provenance of the book in question and its undoubted historical connection to the personage of the Earl of Oxford; the empirical elements belong to the study of forensic paleography detailed in this report. Since, however, the circumstantial evidence inflects interpretation of the significance of the paleography, it is best to briefly consider it first before proceeding to the empirical portion of this investigation.

The weight of this circumstantial evidence may be ascertained by considering a hypothetical case in which it did not exist. Let us suppose that we discovered a Bible, annotated in a sixteenth century italic hand, which we suspected to have been that of Edward de Vere. Since more than three hundred books have been identified from Ben Jonson's library<sup>401</sup>, most of them marked by Jonson's signature or his motto *tanquam explorator*, it is not unrealistic to suppose that an additional Bible from de Vere's library, or perhaps books of other kinds, remain to found and studied in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

In our hypothetical case we shall assume that the book in question has no mark -- signature, personal motto, or binding -- which might be interpreted as a definitive indication of de Vere's former possession of the volume in question. Under such circumstances it is obvious that the full burden of proof must fall upon forensic analysis of the handwriting in which the annotations are written.

The actual case is, of course, far different. We are examining a book which was purchased in 1925 by Henry Clay Folger on the understanding that it was an association copy formerly owned by the 17<sup>th</sup> Earl of Oxford. Since that time, it has been kept and exhibited by the Folger Library's provenance catalog. The book's binding exhibits the Oxford heraldic arms, without any mark of cadet or difference which would be required had it belonged to any member of a collateral lineage of de Veres. Published in 1570, this copy can *only* have been bound for Edward de Vere, the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford (1550-1604).

Furthermore, records of the Court of Wards preserved at Hatfield House actually record the purchase of this Bible for de Vere in 1570 by the Chester Herald John Hart:

To William Seres, stationer, for a Geneva Bible gilt, a Chaucer, Plutarch's works in French, and other books and papers.....2 7 10<sup>402</sup>.

Under these circumstances, forensic paleography must come to the aid of the investigator primarily as a negative check against precipitous conclusions regarding the identity of the annotator. An example of this sort of hasty conclusion would be Bruce Smith's critique of the de Vere Bible evidence, which hypothesized on perverse grounds a prior nameless owner and annotator, but completely neglected to say a word about the handwriting in the Bible and its numerous and apparent affinities to de Vere's hand (Smith 1994).

<sup>401</sup> Some 206, most of them certainly from Jonson's library, are listed by McPherson in his 1974 survey; nearly a hundred more have come to light since 1974.

<sup>402</sup> S.P. Dom. Add. 19.38.

## Inventory of Letters in Hand O(xford) Compared to Hands of B(ible), Lyly and Peele

Small letter a.

O's exemplars tend to form a wedge slanting  $45^{\circ}$  to the right, forming an ovoid on the inside and a sharp point at the lower left with a slightly more rounded point at the top right. Rarely these a's are open, most often at the top.

O's exemplars also show distinct variation in the thickness of line: the thickest portions are the lower point when the pen makes the turn before beginning its ascent on the left side of the ovoid, and the peak and final down-stroke on the right which typically ends in an elegant serif to the right which in its most perfect formation matches the forty-five degree slope of the thin inner downstroke.

Commentary: The small letter a's of the de Vere Bible show two very elegant exemplars conforming perfectly to this ideal type from de Vere's holograph, and three more which fall within the range of variation of the slightly less elegant exemplars which are more vertical, more round, or in other ways deviate from the ideal.

The contrast with the Lyly and Peele Samples is clear: Lyly's is consistently much more rounded, often fails to complete the loop at the bottom, and has a tail, but never a true serif. Peele's tends toward a more rounded ovoid, often displays a point at the upper right corner but never the typical angular point Oxford's to the lower left corner.

Capital letter A.

In O's exemplars, the left descender comes down at  $45^{\circ}$ - $60^{\circ}$  degrees and then forms a graceful hook at the end. The right descender comes down from  $80^{\circ}$ - $90^{\circ}$  degrees and tends to form a hook up the right at its base -- more pronounced in some samples than in others.

Commentary: Lyly's exemplar tends to be incompletely formed as a result of the pen's lifting off the page before completing the left stroke. One of Peele's exemplars displays the characteristic tendency of the cross-line to cross over and jut out considerably to the right of the right-hand descender. In Peele's exemplars the serif which completes the right-hand descender in Oxford's is enlarged and transformed into a true foot, extending both the right and left of the descender, though more markedly to the right. The descenders on exemplars of Peele and Lyly are more steeply oriented than those of Oxford's: the left one at about  $45^{\circ}$  and the right at about  $60^{\circ}$ .

The exemplars from B exhibit a slightly more ornate character than those typically seen in O, with the left descender starting to the right of character and making a graceful loop before descending to form the side of the letter. Oxford's serif also tends to become enlarged into a foot which appears closer to the norm seen in Peele's exemplars. However, unlike the exemplars from the control samples, those of B are formed on exactly the same proportions and degree of slant as those seen in O, with a left descender at  $60^{\circ}$  and a right one at  $85^{\circ}$ - $90^{\circ}$ , thus demonstrating, despite their more ornate character, a close affinity to B with is not seen in the other controls.

Small letter b.

Commentary: No small letter b's from B are available for comparison.

Small letter c.

Like those of the small letter a, exemplars of c tend towards forming a parallelogram, with the top stroke of the pen formed by the wide edge of the nib, then twisting before the descent, which is again formed with the wide nib. This tendency is less pronounced in c than in a but is visible in specimens from both, while many c's form a typical 2/3 oval without the sharp edges described here.

C also displays a fairly uniform slant of  $60^{\circ}$ .

Commentary: We see in the exemplars from B both the strong similarities to O's hand and one obvious difference which will become a recurrent theme in our letter-by-letter comparisons. The annotator displays the same calligraphic variations in the thickness of the line and the tendency to form an angular, rather than a rounded or continuous c shape. Lyly and Peele both show a consistent tendency towards the more continuous sloping c, Lyly's is strongly elongated so that the height of the letter rises to as much as 2-5 times the width, and Peele's exhibits a more rounded form.

In contrast to Oxford's consistent  $60^{\circ}$  slant, B's are built around a  $90^{\circ}$  slant.

Letters of the annotator consistently exhibit this more upright characteristic, despite many and telling similarities to O. It may be hypothesized that this difference is not the result of the annotator being a different individual than de Vere, but that the

difficulty of writing within the small margins of a book forces the annotator's pen into an unnatural, cramped position, resulting in a different angle of contact to the page and a less marked degree of slant.

Small letter d.

O's exemplars may be classified into two distinct kinds. The most usual display a long straight ascender which slants upwards to the right at a fairly standard slope of 60° degrees. These ascenders form a pronounced hook upwards to the right at the base and tend to form another, though less pronounced, at the top, also slanting to the right.

O's straight-back d is quite distinct; the ovoid shows the definite tendency to form a point at the lower left, as in Oxford's small letter a; the back forms a *testeggiatta* -- ie a curved serif which terminates in a dot -- at the top and a graceful serif, formed on the same pattern as the a, at the bottom.

The other form, instead of having a straight back, has one which curves strongly to the left. It is formed from a single stroke of the pen, starting off with the leading edge of the loop, curling around and ascending in a graceful back which loops around almost three hundred and sixty degrees as if ready to plunge back down towards the left-hand edge of the loop.

Commentary: These two forms are seen in many Elizabethan hands, among them Lyly's. Lyly's single stroke form is almost indistinguishable from Oxford's: both show an ovoid loop with an ascending stem which rises about 90° and then makes a 180° curve back down before terminating. Lyly's loop tends to be smaller than O's but the distinction is subtle in the exemplars given here. Peele's single stroke d, the only kind found in his work, swings vigorously to the left, forming a stem which is almost parallel to the zero degree line rather than ascending at 90° before making its turn at the terminus.

Unfortunately, none of the more distinctive straight-backed d's are found in the bible; the two specimens are both of the single stroke d and neither is a particularly good exemplar: one is in the faded scarlet ink, the other is cropped in half. In form these exemplars are most like slightly cramped verses of the exemplars from O. The stem rises at a sharper leftward slant than do the exemplars in O, but in other respects the exemplars are entirely consistent with those of the single stroke d from O.



#### Small letter e.

O's small letter e is almost always the eta e and not the epsilon E; the latter is seen frequently in various mixtures in the Elizabethan hand including in exemplars from Lyly and Peele. In these writers, epsilon E appears to account for between 30% (Lyly) and 40% (Peele) of all small letter e's. Although this form appears occasionally in Oxford's hand it represents only a tiny fraction -- less than 1% in known samples -- of the total number of small e's.

Another characteristic of Oxford's exemplars is the tendency towards a more or less complete and elegant formation of the letter, built around a 60° slant. In contrast to Peele's or Lyly's eta- e, which are often indistinguishable from a small c, Oxford tends to produce a highly articulated e which usually includes a well-defined enclosure, typically completely enclosed but sometimes exhibiting a small lacuna where it should join the stem, or sometimes one at the peak where the pen is moving so quickly that it lifts momentarily off the page.

Commentary: Although some specimens of e from the Bible are blurred or damaged, the range of forms found there closely approximates those found in Oxford's known holograph in ways which distinguish both from control samples. The articulated formation of Oxford's e on the 60° plane is exactly mirrored in many exemplars from the Bible; unlike some letters from the Bible, which tend to show a consistently more upright formation than exemplars from Oxford's holograph, the e's demonstrate no plausible deviation.

#### Small letter g.

The regularity and gracefulness of formation of letters so characteristic of Oxford's is nowhere more apparent than in the formation of the exemplar, and this affords an impressive correspondence with the four samples from the de Vere Bible. Unlike control samples, the loop on Oxford's g regularly returns precisely to, or in cases of its for-shortened termination, aims abruptly at, the jointure between the head and the descender of the letter -- an angle almost always at 45° from the zero line. Only very rarely, as in exemplar four of Oxford's holograph, does the loop ascend at a more extreme angle.

Oxford's g also shows the same tendency to form an ovoid head with wedged spurs at both top and bottom, seen previously in exemplars of a. The loop formed by the descender also tends to form a quite uniform shape

Commentary: As is apparent in both control samples, this degree of accuracy in the formation of the letter g is not typical of most Elizabethan hands. Lyly's loop tends to hook much more sharply back to the left, terminating after crossing its own descender at something near its own midpoint, at about 30° of slant. Peele's own highly characteristic g, graceful in its own exaggerated and expansive way, though less controlled than Oxford's makes a hugely oversized loop, extending out as much as 2-3X the width of its own head, in an elongated oval which returns at about 30°, uniformly crossing its own descender at a point slightly below the jointure of stem and ascender.

In no instance is the similarity between Oxford and annotator, and the systematic discrepancy between both and the control samples more apparent than in the case of this letter. Although the Bible samples, especially the first two, show some tendency towards cramping, the annotator's g is formed on exactly the same plan as Oxford's; although sample 4 from the Bible shows a variant type of loop which terminates in a graceful cascade without returning to the jointure, the other three all exhibit the characteristic pear-shaped loop which returns exactly to the jointure between descender and the head. The same tendency for the stem to form an angular ovoid with points towards the lower left and upper right is also quite apparent in three of the four exemplars from the Bible.

#### Small letter h.

Oxford's small h is formed on a pattern similar to the n and m, except that the leading stroke starts well above the zero line, often with a slight curve to the left, and then descends at 60°-80°. The relative height of the initial descender varies considerably, from about 3X the height of the bow (exemplars 1,2, 4) to less than 2X (exemplar 3), with the larger ratio being more common. As in n and m, the bow tends to form a slight peak at the apex rather than being a rounded form, giving the letter an angular character. The final descender returns to the zero line and terminates in a slight serif or hook before lifting off the page prior to forming the next letter.

Commentary: Lyly and Peele's exemplars show several consistent differences from the pattern seen in O. Peele's exhibit a much stronger slant, averaging about 45°. His final descender does not return all the way to the zero line before completing its descent, and terminates in a vigorous serif with a strongly upward angle of direction. Peele's bow is also much more characteristically rounded in contrast to the angular bow seen in O.

Lyly's exemplars are closer to O than are Peele's but still show some characteristic divergences. They show an average slant of about 60°, sharper than O's but not as sharp as Peele's. His initial descender is quite similar in size and shape to O's, but the bow on the letter is much more rounded. The final descender terminates at the zero line, sometimes ending in a slight serif but just as often not showing any decorative element at all.

Exemplars from B are more upright and less fully-formed than any of the control samples. One shows a graceful curve in the initial descender which is consistent with the exemplars from O, but the other three illustrate different and atypical formation, one having a leftward serif and two others very truncated initial descenders. These latter two letters are from sample 35, in which the annotator is evidently attempting to match B's typeface; all the letters from this sample show distinctive divergences from others in B and from O (see w below for the most telling illustration of this tendency in sample 35).

#### Capital I.

In the first person pronoun in O this occurs in two distinct variants: the cursive form completes a lower loop, crossing back over itself at approximately the halfway point of the descender, on analogy with small g. The classic I, on the other hand, is modeled more on the f: it makes a graceful turn at the termination of the downstroke but does not cross back over the descender. Instead a second stroke crosses the I at about one third from the top of the downstroke on analogy with f, with which it is sometimes distinguishable only by the lack of a forward serif or *testegiatta* on the descender. Both capital I's show a reverse serif, the cursive form more developed than in the classic form.

Commentary: No capital I's are available from B for comparison.

#### Small letter i.

In its ideal form, Oxford's small letter i marks serifs on both top (backwards to the left) and bottom (forwards to the right), which balance the form of the letter. These tend to be rather large, sometimes taking up as much as half the length of the descender, as in exemplar b. The range of variation in this feature is, however, quite great, with some exemplars showing no or a very slight serif, and some showing a serif only at the top. Most often the i is dotted, though in about ten percent of cases it is not. The dot tends to be offset between 70° and 60° degrees to the right of the top of the descender. The range of variation in the angular slope of the small i is also quite great, from 85° to 60°.

Commentary: The annotator's small i shows a marked affinity to Oxford's, illustrating a definite tendency to the double serif form. The serifs are much less regularly formed in the exemplars from Lyly, and those of Peele are much more exaggerated in size, as are most of the secondary features of Peele's letters (cf g above), reaching sometimes a length equal to that of the descender -- which O's much more proportional serifs never do. Some differences may be observed between O and B samples: a larger percentage of small i's in B are dot-less, and many show a single serif on the top with none below. The slant tends to be slightly more upright, between 70° and 90°. Despite these differences, however, the close affinity between O and B, and the absence of affinity between O and P/L is evident.

#### Small letter k.

Oxford's k is formed on a two stroke model, with a single descender typically at about 60°-50° from the plane. This first stroke begins with a slight arch, more pronounced in some exemplars than in others and sometimes forming a *testegiatta*<sup>403</sup> instead of an arch. A second stroke makes up the upper and lower arms of the letter. These arms are of approximately equal length -- which, as we see in the contrasting exemplars from Peele, is by no means always the case. The upper arm curves back towards the descender but typically does not complete a connecting loop. The lower arm curves down and to the right, but typically terminates approximately 10% of the height of the figure above the zero line.

Commentary: Although somewhat deviant due to the untypical horizontal orientation of the lower arm, B's sole exemplar of k exhibits all the above features of O's k design. It also differs from O's exemplars in having a pronounced serif at the bottom of the descender. More significantly, perhaps, and consistent with a pattern seen in other letters from B, B's k is oriented closer to 85° than 55°. Despite these differences, however, the exemplar, again, far more closely resembles controls from O than from the other two writers.

#### Small letter l.

O's are distinguished by the very regular occurrence of a serif at the foot of the descender. Unlike exemplars from Peele, these rarely protrude to the left of the descender. The descender typically exhibits a slight hook on the top and is oriented between 80° and 55°.

Commentary: as has been observed for other letters, the degree of slant of B's l's is considerably less than exemplars from O, averaging about 80°. In one pair from the same letter (5), the slant is even 80° to the left<sup>404</sup>. Two poorly reproduced exemplars (2, 4) also show somewhat larger than normal tophooks.

<sup>403</sup> A "head" formed by the doubling back of the stroke upon itself. *Testegiatte* become very common in English hands of the 17<sup>th</sup> century but are not a copybook feature of the earlier italic forms.

<sup>404</sup> These samples are extracted from Annotation 35, which clearly attempts to reproduce features of the Geneva printed text, in which l is of course at oriented at 90°.

Despite these differences, exemplars from B show more similarities with those from O than with the other two control sets. Exemplars from Peele show a more fluid descender, with serifs that often protrude to the left as well as the right of the letter's axis. Lyly's rarely show a serif at all.

#### Small letter m.

O's m's are modeled on the same paradigm as n, with the reduplication of the stem. Like his n's, exemplars typically exhibit a slant of between 60° and 45°, and usually show both initial and terminal serifs, though sometimes the latter are absent.

Typically the second apex of the letter forms a sharper point than the first. The final downstroke of the letter also tends to terminate slightly above the zero line.

Commentary: O exhibits distinctive qualities which allow a clear contrast with the other suspects, Lyly and Peele. Lyly's m tends to display an exaggerated flourish to the left, almost forming a third hump in two of the five exemplars. Even when the flourish terminates in more controlled fashion, it is clearly distinct from the true serif inaugurating O's letters. Peele's m is perhaps less distinctive than Lyly's, but still fails to display the diagonal consistency of line seen in O's exemplars. Peele's exemplars are generally shorter in proportion to their height, tend to have a flourish in place of a true inaugural serif, and show a thinning of the middle descender (in at least two of five exemplars) not seen in O.

Unfortunately, only three exemplars are available from B. However, these clearly exhibit features in common with O which are not seen in exemplars from the other two suspects: they tend to be taller in proportion to their width, to show a marked consistency of the size and angle of stroke, and to be started (clearly in the case of one, less so in the others) by a true serif. The one attribute in which these exemplars clearly are different from those seen in O is, again, the angle of their orientation, which varies from 90° to 70°.

#### Small letter n.

The exemplars in this set exhibit the extreme consistency of O's hand as clearly as any examined in this study. These exemplars all show a regular slant of approximately 45°, a serif to the left at the letter's start in the upper left and a smaller serif to the right at the foot of the final descender. The letter also typically displays the markedly angular character noted earlier in analysis of O's a and other letters: instead of being rounded, the apex of the n tends to terminate in a conical or even pointed shape before beginning the descent to the letter's terminus.

Commentary: The distinct nature of O's n is clearly seen by contrasting his exemplars with those of the other two suspects. Lyly's n's seem irregular and disproportioned in contrast to O's. They exhibit much greater variation in size and shape. They often lack the terminal serif, and both apex and preliminary serif are more curved and flowing than O's. Lyly's exemplars also are built on a more vertical plan, exhibiting only about 60° of slope. Peele's exemplars also demonstrate a considerably greater range of size and form than O's although coming closer to the ideal copybook paradigm than Lyly's. In some exemplars, the terminal serif tends to strike out in a vigorous rightward line rather than curving gently upward as O's do.

In three critical regards it could be argued that B's exemplars deviate from the patterns exhibited in O, although they appear closer to O than either of the other two control samples. One is that they tend to exhibit a slightly more open, rounded character, which a less sharply pronounced point at the apex. The terminal serif is also less exaggerated in these exemplars than in those from O, a fact which may be related to the more generally open character of the letter. Finally, exemplars from B, as we have seen with other letters, exhibit a more upright stance than those from O, averaging more like 70° than 45°.

#### Small letter o.

O's s exemplars exhibit a clear tendency to form ovals which are sometimes nearly twice the height of their own width. In perhaps 10% of cases, these are unclosed, usually at the top of the letter, and in a few cases they show a small point, also at the top of the letter, where the stroke is closed. All the exemplars exhibit a slight rightwards slant, averaging about 60°.

Commentary: The above features are not seen in the exemplars of either control. Peele's exemplars are much more perfect ovals, and tend to display a line jutting to the right, or even towards both sides of the letter, where the pen moves on to start the next letter. Occasionally Peele's larger exemplars show the same tendency towards elongation which is a feature of O's, but this characteristic is much less definite in Peele than in O. Peele's exemplars also tend to show a line, more often towards the left, near the top of the letter, most likely a result of the pen touching the paper before starting to form the oval of the letter.

B's exemplars are clearly much more consistent with those of O than the other two suspects: they tend to be highly elongated and exhibit the same tendency towards a rightward slant, although averaging closer to 70° than 60°. In one respect only are the exemplars of B inconsistent with the pattern seen in O: some exhibit a slight break in the curvature of the oval not at the top, as typical in O, but at the bottom, usually towards the bottom right corner of the figure.

#### Small letter p.

O's small letter p is a two-stroke letter, one stroke being a strong vertical downstroke which forms the stem, typically starting with a true serif to the left and terminating in a foot. While it ends towards the right, the foot appears to be often almost centered on the stem, giving the appearance of a true third stroke. The descender is typically quite straight, and oriented at about 70°. The second stroke forms the bow of the p, and terminates at or slightly beyond the point of contact with the stem, on a vertical line with the end of the serif, leaving about 5% of the height of the stem protruding beyond the point of contact and forming a harmony of proportion which is quite striking. Sometimes the bow exhibits a tendency to form a point at the upper right corner (exemplars 1, 4, 7)

Commentary: O's exemplars are quite distinct from those of both control suspects. As is the case with most letters, Lyly's exemplars are much less regular in formation than those of O; several exemplars show an exaggerated serif to the left; the stems tend to be weak and irregular, sometimes trailing away to the left and sometimes terminating in a gradual but graceful curve to the left, but never terminating in a foot as O's do. The stems of Peele's exemplars characteristically exhibit a much higher proportion extending beyond the point of contact with the bow, occasionally as much as 30% of the entire height of the stem. The stems also, almost always, terminate in a graceful leftward curve which leaves a very different impression from the foot seen in O's exemplars.

The exemplars from B exhibit the same straight stem with the leftward serif terminating in a foot as seen in O but not in the other controls. Two of the samples exhibit much shorter stems than normal, undoubtedly the result of the annotator's fitting them within the small space between printed verses of the Bible. These exemplars also exhibit, even more visibly than in those from O, the tendency of the bow to form a point at its uppermost right corner. They differ from O primarily in their more upright character, averaging about 80°.

#### Capital P.

Like the small letter, capital P is formed by a strong vertical stem capped on the top by a serif and completed at the bottom by a foot. Unlike small p, the bow of the capital loops high, above the highest point of the stem and then extends back to the left at a distance about equal to the bow at its maximum extension. This design turns the stem into the visual mid-line of the character, instead of the leftward edge of the letter. These exemplars also exhibit an average slant of about 60°.

Commentary: The bow of Peele's exemplars exhibits the same tendency to extend left far back beyond the stem. Also, unlike Peele's small p, his capital exemplars all show a foot at the base of the stem, just like O's. Peele's foot, like many of his flourishes, tends to be oversized in relation to the stem, sometimes approaching a length equal to that of the stem it supports, unlike the foot in O's exemplars which exhibits the same proportional elegance seen in the other decorative elements of his letters. An even more obvious difference in Peele's capital Ps is the way the stem extends vigorously up beyond the point of contact with the bow, terminating not in a leftward serif as does O, but in a leftwards stroke which forms a testegiatta. Finally, the slant on these exemplars from Peele is also significantly greater than those from O, averaging almost 45°.

O's exemplars are identical with those of B in most of their obvious characteristics: the straight stem with the top serif to the right and clearly defined foot on the bottom; the bow which arches up, missing the top of the stem, and then back in a gentle curve which transforms the stem into the midpoint of the letter. They differ in the degree of slant, averaging 80°-90°, not the 60° of O. Two other noticeable differences are the shape of the curve of the bow and the tendency of the serif to form a straight line at 90° from the stem, rather than slanting sharply down at 180°, as do the serifs in O. These differences, which are consistent with the less pronounced slant of the character seen here and in other letters, are undoubtedly the result of the peculiar writing conditions imposed by the circumstances of B.

#### Small letter r.

Once again the exemplars of this letter exhibit a striking regularity of character and proportionality in their forms which distinguishes them clearly from those of the other two suspects. The slant is consistently 80°-70° with a rightward tail only slightly larger than the leftward serif. There is very little variation in size.

Commentary: Lyly's exemplars exhibit considerable variation in size, with the largest being more than twice the size of the smallest. They are oriented closer to 90° and do not exhibit the delicate balance seen in O; often the leftward serif is as large, or even larger than, the letter's true tail. The result is that this letter in Lyly often looks as much like a misshapen v as it does an r. Peele's exemplars show an 80°-70° slant just like O's and the tail is generally larger than the serif. Peele's tail tends to be straighter and longer than O's -- often too long to preserve an ideal proportionality in relation to the height of the letter's stem, and it tends to narrow to a point as it nears the end.

B's exemplars exhibit the same proportionality and basic design as seen in O. Like other letters in B, they exhibit a more upright character than seen in B, about 90°. Another marked difference between the exemplars of B and O is that the track of the ascent of the pen in B does not follow back on the track of its descent. The stem consequently tends to exhibit a double thickness, often with a marked flair or foot at the bottom of the letter. This latter feature may be a result of the writer's attempt to

match the foot on the bottom of the small letter r in the Roman typography of the Bible, or it may be a result of the peculiar writing circumstances imposed by the attempt to make notes in the margins of a book.

The short Roman s.

Like many Elizabethan writers, O uses two distinct forms of the letter s: the elongated italic s identical in basic design with the f, and a shortened character which looks just like a modern Roman s, which often appears terminally or in certain combinations of letters such as s preceding t and joined to it by a ligature.

Exemplars of the Roman s at first glance exhibit few features which can be identified. Only by contrasting O's exemplars with those of Lyly and Peele can we observe, once again, their relatively well-articulated, compact and consistent nature. Both the upper and the lower curve of the s are well-defined in O's hand; sometimes the top and sometimes the bottom curve is larger; in the first two exemplars, the letter extends towards a more vertical and angular, less rounded form, but even these exemplars exhibit more articulation of both curving members, and more balance of design, than do those seen in Lyly and Peele's hand

Commentary: B's Roman s is visibly more like the exemplars of O than those of Peele or Lyly, exhibiting the same balance and articulation. One exemplar exhibits serifs inaugurally and terminally, a feature sometimes seen in O's hand though not illustrated in the control exemplars.

The italic long s.

O's italic s exhibits an extreme consistency and gracefulness of form when contrasted to the exemplars from Lyly and Peele. The letter is oriented to a slope of 60°-75°. The upper end of the letter bends into a gentle terminal hook, sometimes forming a *testegiatta*; the lower half of the letter slopes leftwards below the zero line to form a (usually) somewhat more pronounced, broader curve which also terminates in a more pronounced hook or *testegiatta*. The effect of the latter design, also seen but in a different character in the exemplars from Lyly, is to supply a feeling of weight to the letter.

Commentary: Peele's italic s demonstrates a character completely different from the exemplars of B and O. The lower curve on Peele's exemplars consistently doubles back on itself to form a complete loop which crosses back over the stem and terminates well past the letter's paradigmatic center line. There is no hook, serif or *testegiatta* on the lower loop of Peele's letter.

Lyly's italic s is closer in its general form to the design seen in exemplars of O and B. The lower loop on his exemplars tends to flatten more at the bottom, angling more or less straight back towards the left at between 15 °and 25°, while O's continues to drop until just before the serif, at an angle of -20°-45°.

B's italic s consistently exhibits features linking it to the exemplars of O: the uniformity of slope and design, with *testegiatte* or serifs on one or both ends; the lower curve which continues to descend until just before the hook instead of flattening and going back up, as does Lyly's; the relatively greater "weight" and dimensionality of the lower slope (not seen, however, in exemplar 6). B's exemplars, like those of other letters in B, exhibit a more vertical character than those of O, varying between 90° and 65°.

Small letter t.

O's small letter t again demonstrates a high degree of uniformity of formation. The exemplars slant 85°-60° rightwards and exhibit a pronounced rightward hook at the bottom of the stem. The stem is thicker in proportion to its height than the stems in other control samples, producing a letter more compact and proportional in its dimensions. The cross-stroke, varying in length between 2.5 and .5 of the stem, is typically not centered on the stem but displays about 75% of its length to the right of the stem. Most notably, the cross-stroke intersects the stem at a fairly uniform proportion of 3/4 the total height of the stem.

Commentary: Exemplars of both controls show considerably more upward thrust and energy than those of O; Lyly's stems average about 30-40% greater height; Peele's are more like 2-3X the average height of O's, with correspondingly larger cross-strokes. Both Lyly and Peele's exemplars also show a more pronounced rightward slant, averaging closer to 60° than O's 75°. Perhaps the most striking divergence in form, however, between O and controls is the relative height at which the cross-stroke intersects the stem in this letter. Lyly's cross-stroke intersects the stem at an average about 40% below the terminus of the stem, much lower than O's 75%. Peele's exemplars exhibit an even greater discrepancy from O's on this criterion: his cross-strokes intersect the stem on average at about only 25% of the total height of the stem, i.e. much closer to the foot than the head of the stem.

B's exemplars show a definite pattern of cramping in contrast to those of O. As in many other letters, they show less slant than those found in O, averaging 95°-70° degrees instead of the 85°-60° slant of O. The rightward hook at the base of the stem is visible but tends to be more of a flat line, foot or serif than the gentle curve seen in the more relaxed exemplars from O. However, the height and other proportions of these exemplars is perfectly consistent with those seen in O. Most significantly, B exhibits the same tendency for the cross-stroke to intersect the stem very near to its terminus, at about 75% the height of the stem, a pattern not seen in the two controls.

Small letter u.

One of the most striking characteristics of O's exemplars, again confirming the extreme regularity of his fine italic character, is that small letter u forms a perfect upside-down mirror image of small letter n. If one rotates u 180° one finds a perfect n, and visa-versa. The u begins with a true serif at the leftward edge of the letter, descends at close to 90°, veers left at 60°-45°, and then descends back down to terminate in another serif. The shape of the inside of the valley is thus not symmetrical, but more v-shaped, with a tendency to assume an almost three-sided figure like three sides of an uncompleted parallelogram.

Commentary: It must be emphasized that the 180° mirror image trick emphatically does not work with samples from the other two control hands in our sample. Lyly's very erratically formed u actually appears more like an n than a u in its upright position and Peele's u does not begin with the same sharp vigorous serif with which his n terminates.

The trick does work perfectly, on the other hand, with the u sample from B. There are minor discrepancies between B and O: Just as B's exemplars of n show a more upright, slightly less decorative and serified character than O's, so do his exemplars of u. Despite this difference, however, the similarity in basic plan of the letter, and the striking nature of its reversible character in both samples, are strong witness to the identity of B and O.

Small letter v.

Small letter v is, of course, merely a variant of u, used by O, like other Elizabethan writers, initially, after a in "have," y in "gyveth," e in "every," and in other circumstances in which a modern writer would employ the letter "v." The sides of O's v are oriented at about 90° and 45° respectively. The left side begins with a curve of varying dimensions which starts at between 5° and 70° of the total height of the character.

Commentary: As in several other letters, the exemplars from Lyly and Peele are both much larger than those from O. Peele's exemplars also show a very large, exaggerated leftward flourish which doubles, or in some cases more than doubles, the height of the entire figure and forms a large negative space which makes the letter look as much like an oversized 2 as a v. Peele's exemplars are also oriented to an extreme rightward slant of between 45° and 30°. Lyly's exemplars show an extreme degree of variation. They are over-sized and oriented more vertically than Peele's, with the left slope at about 90° and the right one at about 45°. They tend to employ a large leftward flourish which differs from Peele's in its relatively vertical orientation, rising up and then curling back down directly towards the zero line, in one case reaching down to touch the zero line.

Although slightly more vertical and cramped in their formation than those seen in O, B's exemplars much more closely approximate these than do the other two control samples. Two of the exemplars also exhibit an alternate form of decoration - a straight serif to the left --which is not seen in any exemplars from O but seen (below) on several of O's exemplars of w.

Small letter w.

The variable decoration, alternating the more or less straight serif seen in B's v above with the curved flourish for the start of the letter seen in the exemplars of v from O above, is very well attested in these exemplars from O. In one case (2) the decorative element also seems to incorporate a *testeggiata*. The size of the flourish also varies considerably. Generally speaking, the left valley of the letter takes the shape of v, with steeper, more vertical sides, and the right one a u shape, with more rounded sides, with the side to the extreme right usually being the most rounded of all. The letter tends to be oriented at about 45° rightward slant.

Commentary: Peele's exemplars also show both the flourish and the serif, though the serified form is more common. Both valleys in the exemplars tend towards a v, with sharp, less rounded sides, although the far right side does tend to form a slight bow. Lyly's exemplars, like those of many letters, show a tendency to flatten out the ideal form of the letter's shape, so that the first valley is almost eclipsed by the closeness of the descending and ascending strokes and the second is enlarged and rounded to compensate for this, showing a much more rounded and shortened character than exemplars seen in O and P.

One of the four exemplars from B is formed on an entirely different plan from the other three, in imitation of the Roman type which the annotator is supplying in note 35, in which the two central slopes intersect one another, as if the letter is formed literally by imposing one v on top of another. The other three exemplars illustrate the same range of variation in the initial decorative element as seen in O; 1, although a cramped form, shows a serif, 2 shows a vigorous flourish, actually a ligature originating in, and linking to, the previous letter. 3 shows an intermediate form between a serif and a flourish much like those seen in several exemplars in O. The exemplars from B exhibit greater uniformity in the shape of the two valleys of the letter; none, however, exhibits the tendency for the second valley in O to be more rounded than the first. Also the orientation is several degrees more upright, about 60°.

Small letter x.

O's is a two stroke letter, both axes oriented at 45°, each exhibiting a gentle reverse curving motion which counterweights the stroke.

Commentary: Peele's exemplars demonstrate large variation in size, the largest exemplar being as much as 4X the size of the smallest. The exemplars exhibit Peele's greater tendency towards a flourished style of decoration, with the large imitating the design seen in Peele's g, of a strongly leftward slanting flourish which abruptly turns back upon itself without quite closing into a loop.

No exemplars were available from Lyly.

The single exemplar from B is too blurred for serious comparison but is consistent in size and shape with O's.

Small letter y.

Small letter y again illustrates extreme uniformity and regularity of character in the exemplars. The letter is apparently formed from two strokes, the first a curving downstroke which starts at between 80° and 60°, flattens to between 30° and 0° near the bottom, and then hooks back around to form a terminal decorative hook (sometimes a *testegiatta*). This downstroke tends to show a slight reverse curve towards its point of origin, a feature more pronounced in some exemplars than in others. The second stroke forms the short side of the letter's valley; it originates in a leftward serif of quite regular formation and then curves down to join the descender. The resulting negative space is generally more open to the left and more rounded and enclosed to the right; the shape varies between a v and a u formation.

Commentary: O's exemplars exhibit a very different character than those of the two control samples. Lyly's exemplars tend to eclipse the letter's valley; the descender exhibits a simpler curve, unlike the compound curve in O, and does not consistently terminate in a hook. The second stroke of the letter does not originate in a serif as O's does, but simply curves back to join the previous line. Peele's y, like many of his other letters, varies significantly in size and also in appearance. Most of Peele's exemplars show the same open looped construction as O's, although the hook at the terminus tends to form an elongated *testegiatta* by curving all the way back over the descending line. Two of the exemplars exhibit a closed loop very similar in size and orientation to that seen on Peele's g. Some of Peele's exemplars show an initial left flourish on the second stroke, but none exhibits the characteristic serif seen on every one of O's.

The exemplars from B, although two are in an ink which reproduces poorly, exhibit all the characteristic features seen in O but not in the two control samples: the terminal hook on the initial down-stroke, the leftward serif in the second stroke, the complete valley formation, and the range in variation between v and u forms in the valley.

## Conclusion

The foregoing analysis attempts to isolate and describe the salient characters of the Earl of Oxford's Italic holograph in order to compare them with target samples from the Oxford Bible and from control samples from the holograph of John Lyly and George Peele, two Elizabethan writers who employed a fine italic handwriting similar in general character to Oxford's. My purpose has been to make a case for the identity of the O(xford) and B(ible) hands by contrasting both with the salient features seen in the two control samples, without ignoring anomalous features of B which could be taken by some analysts as grounds for rejecting the identity of B and O.

I conclude that the annotations in the de Vere Bible show marked deviations from control samples P(eele) and L(yly), in nearly every set of exemplars, which are not consistent with a theory of common origin. The similarities between O and B, on the other hand, are very great and may be seen in every set of exemplars.

Deviations from O seen in B, on the other hand, are minor and easily accounted for by a combination of known factors. These include the unusual writing circumstances imposed by the effort to make notes in the margins of a bound book, and the clear evidence for the annotator's attempt, at least in some of the annotations, to duplicate the Roman typeface of the printed text of his Bible.

As stated in the introduction to this report, it is my opinion that the paleographical analysis, in this case, constitutes only a final test for establishing the authenticity of the annotations in the Oxford Bible. There is absolutely no paleographical basis, in my opinion, to conclude that the annotations in the Oxford Bible were made by anyone other than the 17<sup>th</sup> Earl of Oxford. With this in mind, I conclude that the identity of B and O has been established beyond a reasonable doubt.



## *Italique hande*

It is the part of a yonge man to reuerence his elders, and of suche  
to choase out the beste and moste commended whose counsayle  
and auctoritie hee maye leane vnto: For the vnskilfulnesse of  
tender yeares must by old mens experience, be ordered & gouerned.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R

S T V X Y Z

16th Century Copybook Italic  
from Beauchesne and Baildon (1570)



## The Annotations in Sequence

Lev. 25.36

*vs*

Baruch 1.17

*ne*

Deut. 15.14

*servants*

Baruch 6.27

*poore* (in gutter)

I Kings 8.63

*that do I. Now if do*

Romans 7.20

*Alme*

Job 9

*Then rob* (hand "B")

II Corinthians 9.1

*wo*

Job 15.39

*es*

Ephesians 2.10

*shall be my*

Prov. 3.9

*Give vnto the poore*

Rev. 21.6-7

*throughout the world so wyde*

Prov. 5.7

*poo* ("poo")

Psalms 67:4  
(Metrical Psalms)

*in all joyce with me*

Ecd. 12.4

*8*

Isaiah 29.19-20

*Poe* *Si*

Isaiah 43.24-27

*A* *a* *a*

Isaiah 59.11

*sinne*

Isaiah 63.11

*me*

Jeremiah 14.20

*Si*

Jeremiah 50.20

*mercy* (in gutter)

Ezekiel 18.8

*very*

Ezekiel 18.17

*vsuery*

Amos 5.11-12

*Poe* *Poor* *sinne*

Amos 8.4

*Poe*

Esther 9.22

*A*

II Esdras 8.20

*a* *godly p*

II Esdras 9.7

*in* (in gutter)

Tobit 4.7

*sinne*

Wisdom 18.21

*Praier*

Ecclus. 11.21

*Continue*

Ecclus. 14.13

*him vnto the poore*

Ecclus. 23.10

*swearing*

Ecclus. 27.21

*mayt* (his "y")

Baruch 1.13

*sinne*

a	1
Al	1
[all]	1
Almes	1
continue	1
dly	1
envious	1
es	1
-g-	1
give	1
godly	1
i	1
[lot]	1
is	1
[ll]	1
mercy	1
[mertho]	1
[my]	1
ne	2
of	1
oxen	1
p	1
pon	1
poo	4
poor	1
poore	3
praier	1
[reioyce]	1
servants	1
[shalbe]	1
shope	1
si	3
sinne	3
swearing	1
the	2
uery	1
unto	2
usu	1
usuery	1
[with]	1
wo	1
works	1
[y]	1

A	2
a	6
b	1
c	3
d	2
e	30
f	1
g	5
h	6
i/i	14
k	1
l	10
m	4
n	17
o	26
p/P	12
r	14
s	18
t	9
u/v	12
w	4
x	1
y	8
l	1
2	5
0	7

AA

آرام

22444

*[Handwritten signature]*

cccccccccccccccc

f

8889

fff

999999

ing. iii. ii.

iiiiiii

k (k)	L I P A	m m m
k k k k	L L L L	m m m m

n n n n n n n n n n n n n n n n

n n n n n n n n n n n n n n n n

o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o  
o o o

o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o  
o o o

p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p

p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p

r r r r r r r r r r r r r r r r

r r r r r r r r r r r r r r r r

s s s s s s s s s s s s s s s s

us s s

S s s s s s s s s s s s s s s s

us s s s s

<p>ttttttt</p> <p>ttttttttt</p>	<p>u u u u u</p> <p>u u u u u u u</p> <p>v v v</p> <p>v v v v v</p>	
<p>(from Bible)</p> <p>w w w w</p> <p>↑ ↑</p> <p>world fo wyde</p>	<p>(from de Vere's letters)</p> <p>u u w w w w w w</p>	
<p>x</p> <p>x x x</p>	<p>y y y</p> <p>y y y y y y y</p>	
<p>o o o o o</p> <p>o o o o o o o</p>	<p>1</p> <p>l l l</p>	<p>2 2 2 2</p> <p>2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2</p>

а а а а ~

А А

а а а а а а а а

А А А

а а а а а а а а

А А

а а а а а а а а

А А

Capital and Small Letter A/a:  
B(ible) on top, with O(xford),  
Lyly and Peele Controls.

cc c

cc c c c c

cc c c

cc c c

Small letter c: B(ible) on top,  
O(xford), Lyly and Peele controls  
Below.



Small letter d: B(ible) on top,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls below.

Small letter d: B(ible) on top,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls below.

Small letter d: B(ible) on top,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls below.

Small letter d: B(ible) on top,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls below.

Small letter d: B(ible) on top,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls below.

e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e  
e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e

e e

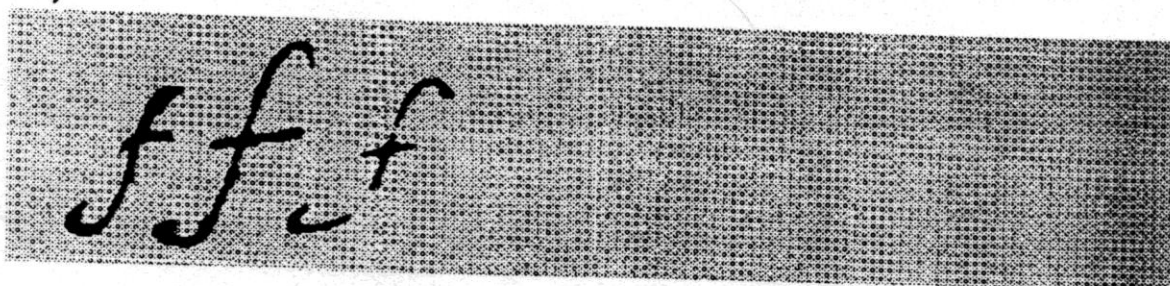
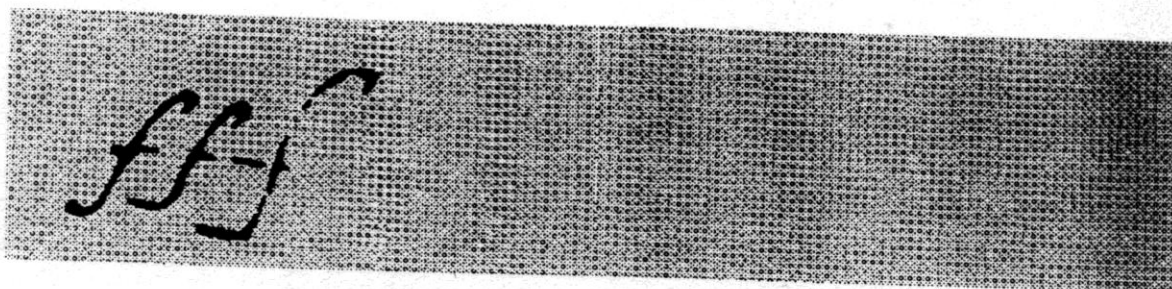
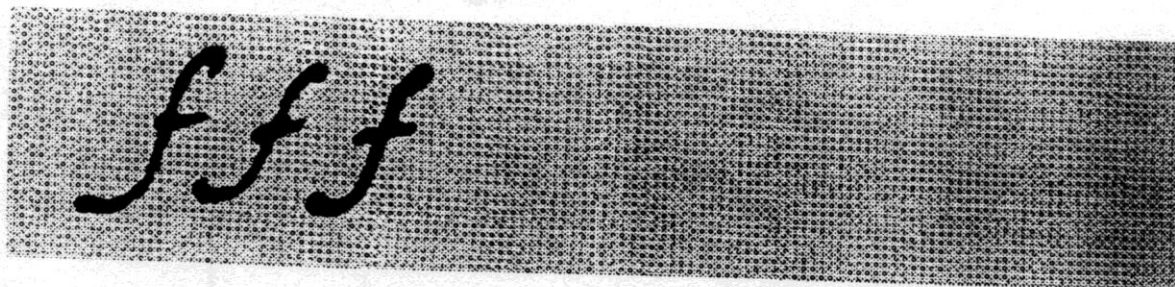
e e

e e

Small e: B(ible) on top, with  
O(xford), Lyly and Peele controls  
below.



f



Small letter f: B(ible) on top,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls below.

8889

gggggg

ggggg

g g g g g g g

Small letter g: B(ible) on top,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls.

th thn

th th hhh

th th hhh

th th h

Small letter h: B(ible) on top,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls below.

い い い い い い

11 17 20 27

21742 2122

De Vere Bible Dissertation/ Copyright Roger Stritmatter 1998, 2000.



k (k)

k k ke kes

k

k k

Small letter k: B(ible) on top,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls below.

l l l l

l l l l l

l l l l l

l l l l l l

Small letter l: (B)ible on top,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls below.

m m. m.

m m m m

m m m m m

m m m m m

Small letter m: B(ible) on top,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls below.

н н н н н н н н н н н н н н н н

н н н н н н н н н н н н н н н н

н н н н н н н н н н н н н н н н

н н н н н н н н н н н н н н н н

Small letter n: B(ible) on top,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls below.



● o  
C o o

o  
C o o

o  
C o o

o  
C o o

Small letter o: B(ible) on top,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls below.

p p p p p p p p p p p p

P P P P P P P P P P P P

p p p p p p p p

P P P P P P P P P P P P

Small and capital letter p/P:  
(B)ible on top, with O(xford),  
Lyly and Peele controls below.

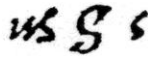
r r x x x x x x x x

r r r r r r r r r r r r r r r r

r r r r r r r r r r r r r r r r

r r r r r r r r r r r r r r r r

Small letter r: B(ible) on top,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls below.



Italic and Roman letter s:

B(ible) on top, with O(xford),

Lyly and Peele controls below.



t t t t t t t t

t t t t t t t t t t

t t t t t t t t t t

t t t t t t t t t t

Small letter t: B(ible) above,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls below.

u u u u u

v v v

u u u u u u u

v v v v v

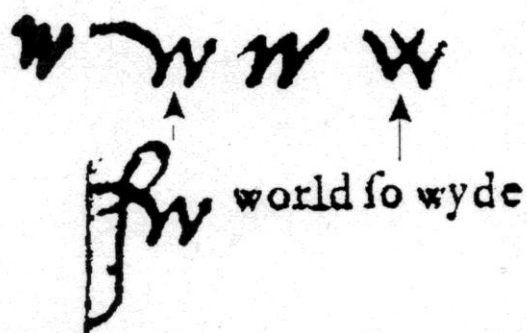
u u u u u u u

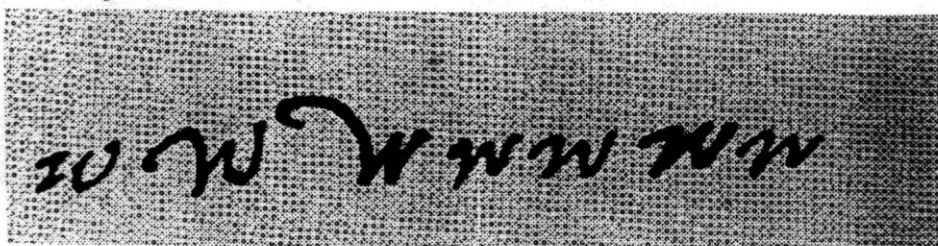
v v v

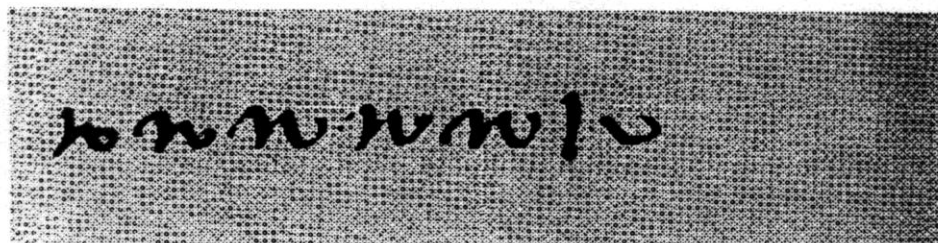
u u u u u u u

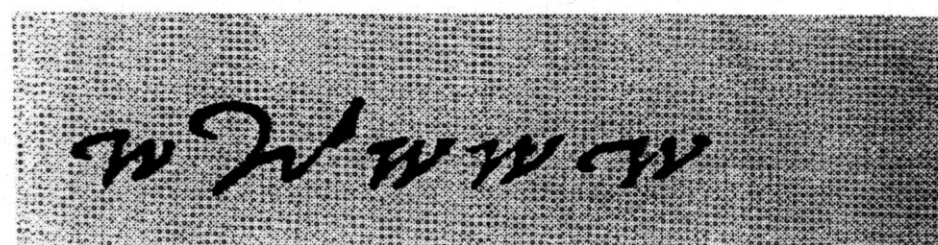
v v v v

Small letter u/v: B(ible) above,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls below.

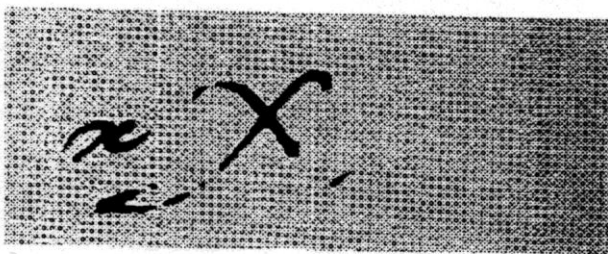
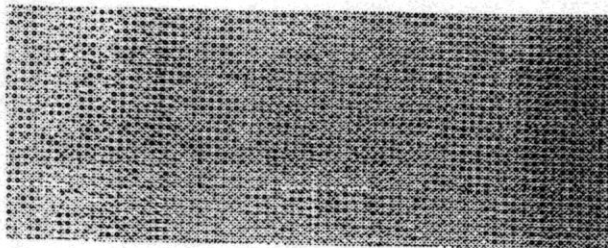
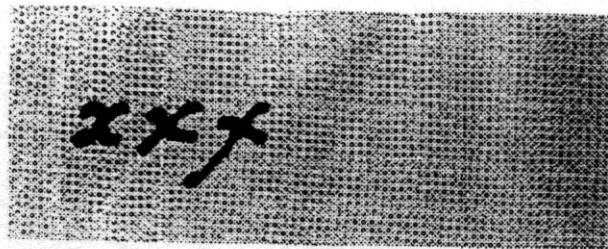

  
 world so wyde







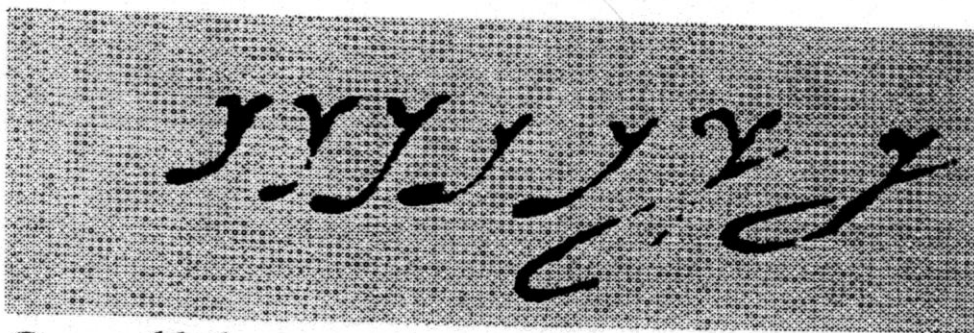
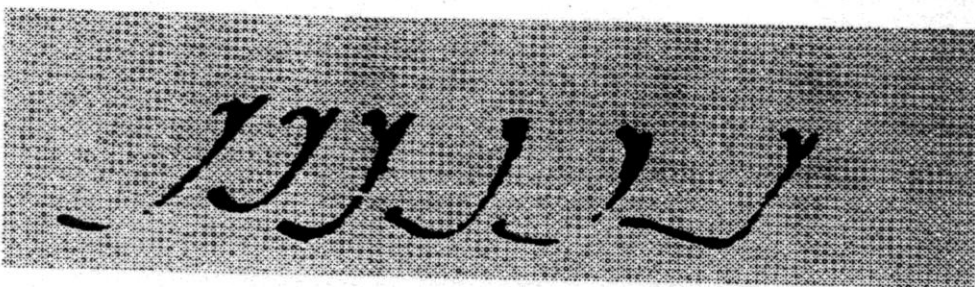
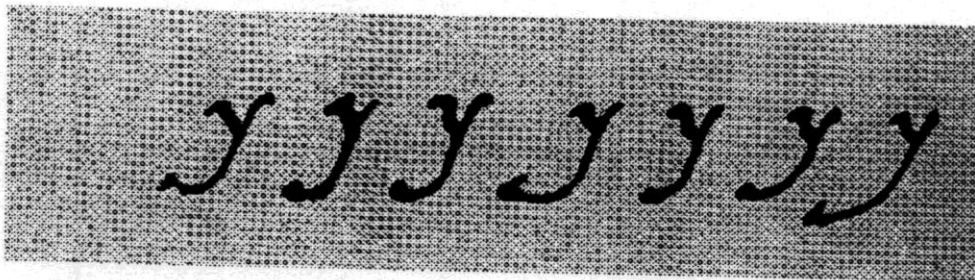
Small letter w: B(ible) on top,  
 with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
 controls below.



Small letter x: B(ible) on top,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls below.



Ly vs



Small letter y: B(ible) on top,  
with O(xford), Lyly and Peele  
controls below.



## APPENDIX I: FORENSICS REPORT OF EMILY WILL



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Emily J. Will, Certified Document Examiner

**Certification:** Passed written and oral examinations and was awarded board certification in Document Examination by the National Association of Document Examiners in 1997.

**Experience:** Private practice for 13 years examining cases from North Carolina and 17 other states, as well as Canada, China and Saudi Arabia. Accepted as an expert witness and testified in civil and criminal courts in North Carolina and Virginia. Testified in federal court; appointed by state and federal courts to examine questioned documents.

In 1998 and 1999 participated successfully in the annual Forensic Testing Program in the area of Handwriting Examination which is administered by Collaborative Testing Services of Herndon, Virginia

**Professional**

**Associations:** Member of the National Association of Document Examiners. Appointed Chairman of the Education Committee and member of the Board of Directors of NADE in 1997. Editor of the NADE Journal from 1998 to present. NADE ([www.nade.org](http://www.nade.org)) is a non-profit corporation formed to promote the interests of document examiners, to provide a forum for exchange of information, and to establish professional requirements. Member of the International Graphonomics Society - a society for the science and technology of handwriting and other graphic skills. Member of the National Questioned Document Association - a continuing education association of questioned document professionals and students.

**Education:** BS in Education - Syracuse University, 1969  
MA in Counseling - Syracuse University, 1970

**Training:** Studied 1 1/2 (1985-86) years as a private student of Mr. Felix Klein, during which completed course work, an apprenticeship, and examinations in the field of Questioned Document Examination. Mr. Klein was a document examiner with 40 years experience. He served as a consultant to the United Nations and testified in many foreign countries, as well as in the U.S.

As an apprentice examined hundreds of groups of handwritings and typewritings, participated in examinations of then current cases, and assisted in preparation of exhibits and court testimony. Cases involved anonymous letters, questioned insurance claims, check signatures and endorsements, wills, deeds of trust, medical records, and other documents where questions involving handwriting, typewriting, obliteration, alteration, impressions, journal entries, etc., were answered.

Member National Association of Document Examiners

the letter "P" with different motions from those seen in the Q1 annotations. Comparison of the letter "g" reveals that B and C are different in proportion, slant, and motion from the Q1 annotations.

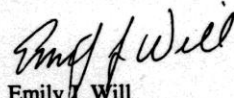
The writing of A did not contain any significant differences that would serve to differentiate the writer of A from the writer of the questioned writing. The writing characteristics that appeared in both the questioned and subject A writing are described in the attached treatise by Mr. Stritmatter and were observed by this examiner. Of the three subject writings, A was the one with the greatest potential to be the writer of the questioned annotations

The examiner reported these preliminary findings to Mr. Stritmatter and learned the identities of the three writers, A, B and C. The K2 writings were also written by subject A (Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford) at various times during his life. All of the de Vere writings and the questioned writings were examined further to determine whether he could be identified as the Q1 writer.

The questioned material consists of small amounts of writing in the margins of a book. This is, to some extent, a mitigating circumstance that could account for some differences in form as noted by Mr. Stritmatter. This is also a limiting factor in the examination because characteristics such as alignment, arrangement, spacing, baseline, and proportion can not be studied.

Much of the questioned material is written in a stylized manner as if to emulate the printing in the Bible. This robs the material of potential individualizing characteristics and leaves the examiner with less information.

Conclusion: After thorough examination of all of the documents presented in this case, it is my expert opinion that it is highly probable that Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, is the author of the Q1 questioned annotations. It is the limitations of the questioned materials, rather than any significant difference between the known and questioned writing, which prevents an unqualified opinion.



Emily J. Will  
Certified Document Examiner

Member National Association of Document Examiners

## APPENDIX J: THE ALLEGED "RANDOMNESS" OF THE CORRELATIONS

In this appendix I take up in closer detail the question of whether or not the connections between "Shakespeare" and the de Vere Bible annotations examined in previous sections and collated in appendices A, B, and G could possibly be the result of a "random" coincidence, as alleged by David Kathman (1998). In considering this question it may be appropriate to insert a short commentary on the history of the present investigation, since this may serve to help keep the relevant considerations in focus as we consider this allegation of "random" coincidence. When I first laid eyes on the de Vere Bible in January 1992 there were, of course, no known connections between that document and Shakespeare, other than one entirely fortuitous coincidence: it was known to have been owned by the man whom Looney, Ogburn, and many others alleged to be the "real" Shakespeare.

Originally, my own knowledge of the de Vere Bible was based on hearsay. My Northampton neighbor Isabel Holden, who examined the Bible in October 1991, informed me that the Psalms contained a number of small drawings of pointing hands.

This was enough to pique my interest. Anxious to learn if the Bible might, in fact, contain some significant clues in support of de Vere's alleged authorship of the Shakespeare canon, I quickly made plans for a Folger trip which I made in January 1992.

My first attempts to discover some patterns of significance in the Bible were a total failure. I had no method, and I lacked relevant grounding in both Shakespeare and Biblical studies. All I had was a hunch-- an intuition. Perhaps, I supposed, the Bible might contain an *independent confirmation* of the Oxfordian paradigm. Could the markings show a relationship to Shakespeare which would confirm that the annotator was the same person as the poet?

Because I am by nature lazy, I did not immediately make a transcription of the over one thousand marked verses in the Bible. It seemed to me that, unless there was some compelling reason to believe that many hours of tedious labor would pay off through the discovery of new evidence, my time was better spent on some other project. Furthermore, the discovery that the Bible contained as many as a thousand marked verses, although exciting, also posed unanticipated problems of method which eventually required some years of study, contemplation and writing to resolve. Only after several fruitless hours slogging through Spivack's *Concordance* looking for unusual words found in underlined verses, and turning up literally nothing of serious interest, did it occur to me that there must be some prior scholarship on the subject of Shakespeare and the Bible and that perhaps it behooved me to consult this scholarship.

When I turned to Naseeb Shaheen's *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Tragedies* (1987), and later to Shaheen's companion volume on the Histories (1989) and to Richmond Noble's precursor to Shaheen's work, *Shakespeare's Bible Knowledge* (1935), I begin to discover the first tantalizing clues that my intuition might pay off with a momentous discovery. One by one, I began to tick off a growing list of verses marked in the de Vere Bible which these scholars had identified as influential in Shakespeare: Ezekiel 16.49, Mark 10.21, I Samuel 24.11, II Samuel 21.19, I Kings 2.32. With each hour the list grew longer and more impressive.

By June 1992 I wrote to Morse Johnson, the editor of the *Shakespeare Oxford Society Newsletter*:

Readers of your newsletter may be interested to learn of the following circumstances relevant to the full disclosure of the historical evidence pertaining to the thesis first proposed by John Thomas Looney in 1920, and kept alive through the diligent efforts of many dedicated and capable members of this Society, that "Shakespeare" was a nom de plume for Edward de Vere, the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford.

This past January I was privileged to study the 1570 Geneva Bible originally owned by the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford and now kept by the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington D.C.....The Bible, which bears the heraldic devices of the Earls of Oxford, contains over a thousand marked passages and annotations, apparently in the handwriting of the original owner.....If, as Looney postulated, Oxford wrote under the *nom de plume* "Shakespeare," we might reasonably expect, or at least hope, to discover some indications affirming that fact in Oxford's Geneva Bible.

This expectation is more than fulfilled by Oxford's Geneva Bible. Data derived from Richmond Noble (1935) and Naseeb Shaheen (1987, 1989), the two most able scholars of Shakespeare's Biblical knowledge, demonstrate a congruence between Oxford's marked Biblical passages and those used by Shakespeare which should arouse the fear and loathing of loyal Stratfordians across the world, and the curious attention of just about everyone else with an interest in history and literature...

(SOS Newsletter 28 (2), 1).

The results documented in the present study represent eight years of subsequent study and analysis. In this 1992 communiqué, and in subsequent publications (Stritmatter 1993, 1996), I deliberately understated the potential connections

between the de Vere Bible and the Shakespearean oeuvre. In addition to the previously published Shakespeare Bible references marked in the Bible I estimated that, as a result of the de Vere Bible, researchers could "securely add a dozen or more important sources to those provided by Noble and Shaheen, for passages in *Hamlet*, *The Rape of Lucrece*, and other Shakespeare texts." This number has steadily grown as research revealed unexpected dimensions of connectivity between the de Vere Bible and the plays and poems of "Shakespeare"; at the time, however, I was consciously erring on the side of conservatism in my public statements.

Within another year's study, by the time of my first published report, I had assembled an impressive list of correspondences between the de Vere annotations and Shakespeare. I was now confident that the enthusiastic statement of Shakespeare Oxford Society Newsletter editor Morse Johnson -- that I had discovered a "Rosetta Stone" to the authorship question -- could be substantiated. Not only was the evidence sufficient, I believed, to claim an independent confirmation of the Oxfordian case, but in critical cases the de Vere Bible actually supplied an interpretative key to Shakespeare's theological imagination when a marked verse unambiguously identified the Biblical source of a Shakespearean idiom or idea -- as, for example, with Wisdom 2.24 or Philippians 2.15.

The full significance of the de Vere Bible annotations, however, was not revealed until after I tabulated the annotations not merely against Shaheen and Noble, but against the pioneering work of Thomas Carter (1905), the first scholar to attempt a systematic and comprehensive survey of Shakespeare's entire field of Biblical reference. Carter's data includes reference to a number of verses marked in the de Vere Bible -- Wisdom 11.13 or I Samuel 16.23 for example -- which exhibit a ubiquitous, although subtle, influence in Shakespeare.

In my 1993 *Quintessence of Dust* report (29), I estimated that the influence of over eighty marked verses was noted in previous published studies; the number of marked verses exhibiting a previously unrecognized influence in Shakespeare was perhaps one-hundred and fifty. In fact the number is much higher. One hundred fifty-eight verses and ten psalms marked in the de Vere Bible have an *established* influence in Shakespeare; an additional one hundred thirty-six marked verses and notes exhibit-- possibly, probably or certainly -- a previously undocumented influence. The documentation for these claims is provided in the present dissertation in appendix A.

	Published	New	Total
1991	35	12+	50
1993	80	120	200
1999	158	137	295

Figure One hundred and fourteen: Historical development of knowledge Regarding Marked Verses in the de Vere Bible.

Eventually my work led me to the synthetic essays of Peter Milward, Roy Battenhouse, Roland Mushat Frye and many other scholars who have written on Shakespeare's theological mind with profound sympathy and insight. Unwittingly I had stumbled into a substantial and dynamic sub-discipline of Shakespeare studies. One has only to pick up Professor Battenhouse's elegant anthology, *Shakespeare's Christian Dimension*, published as recently as 1993, to realize how fundamental religious questions are in Shakespeare, and how much G. Wilson Knight, Barbara Lewalski, W. H. Auden, Herbert Coursen, and the many other erudite critics included in Battenhouse's anthology, have contributed to our knowledge of the Shakespeare canon.

My work perhaps differs in several salient points from these scholars, who have become my tutors in the present investigation. Because of my lack of prior training in theology, I am acutely aware that the present document remains in critical respects the study of an enthusiastic amateur. Another difference is that most recent studies of Shakespeare's theology -- Peter Milward's *Shakespeare's Religious Background* (1973) is a prominent exception -- tend to focus on individual plays. Obviously such a focus is more manageable, and for most purposes is likely to yield more interesting results which reveal the patterns of theological connectivity which lend coherence and subtlety to individual plays. The exigencies of the present investigation, however, require a survey of the gestalt of "Shakespeare" and assessment of patterns existing throughout the canon as a whole.

The most important difference, however, is that these scholars labored in the vineyard of literary criticism, in which *meaning* is paramount, while the present document seeks to make an argument about something which happened *in history* and

hence raises questions of method which invoke matters of *accuracy* and *numerical relevance*. Thus, while sophisticated critics of the present study are certain to concede some empirical matters of *fact*, they will claim, as has Dr. Kathman, that I have failed to supply evidence which can pass their own self-imposed and intrinsically ambiguous criterion of numerical relevance. I have not, they will say, "proven" the case. Based on my experience with the *modus operandi* of Dr. Kathman and his Stratfordian colleagues, I predict that no answer to the accusation of numerical irrelevance will satisfy them. That does not mean, however, that no answer is possible or that none should be made.

The first and most important answer, which I have previously mentioned, is that it is incumbent on such critics to operationalize a definition of numerical relevance. Reasonable persons will, I think, agree that something short of a 100% correspondence between the Bible references of "Shakespeare" and the marked verses in the de Vere 1570 Geneva Bible would be required to render the evidence relevant. The same reasonable persons can, however, disagree about where the threshold *should* be invoked and how it should be ascertained.

The present document answers the question of how this threshold should be conceptualized in two, it is hoped, complementary ways. One is to perform statistical trials to ascertain if the results documented in the present dissertation can plausibly be attributed to "random" factors.

The other method is to perform empirical trials, using the data of Bible references in other writers to see if the results obtained are similar to those found in the comparison to Shakespeare. Positive findings by one or -- preferably -- both techniques would seem to validate the claims of critics such as David Kathman that the alleged results are merely random.

However both methods, it should be noted, suffer from a significant limitation which means that any positive findings, should they occur, would need to be evaluated skeptically: they commit the fallacy of removing the de Vere Bible from the complex constellation of evidence already implicating de Vere as Shakespeare. Instead of assessing the evidence in context, they treat the de Vere Bible in isolation—creating the illusion that, somehow, the entire burden of the Oxfordian case rests on the de Vere Bible and it alone. This, of course, is not the case; attempts to pretend that it is constitute nonsense.

Strictly speaking, a statistical analysis of the de Vere Bible data should employ the operation known to statisticians as Bayes' theorem. Bayes' theorem deals with that branch of statistics in which it is necessary to calculate *the pre-existing odds* of a hypothesis before conducting a given statistical operation: "repeated application of Bayes' theorem as new evidence comes in allows a continued updating of the assessment of the probability of a hypothesis" (Garnham & Oakhill 167). Unfortunately, since we are dealing with factors -- the autobiographical character of the canon; Italian and legal allusions in the plays; evidence of portraits; lexical, imagistic and stylistic links between "Shakespeare" and de Vere contemporary testimony about de Vere's literary ambitions and accomplishments-- which cannot be reduced to any common numerical calculus, such an analysis cannot easily be performed. The principle must however be kept in mind in evaluating the significance of the de Vere Bible evidence.

A metaphor from epidemiology may illustrate a further limitation of control methods which fail to consider the larger historical context of the discovery and analysis of the de Vere Bible. Epidemiologists distinguish between two kinds of tests used to determine the presence of a disease in a subject: screening tests and tests for specificity. The screening test is used to identify a group of probable carriers from within the general population. Screening tests assume the presence of a certain number of "false positives," i.e. individuals who test positive but are not actually carriers of the disease. A test for specificity refines the results of the screening test by confirming which of those individuals selected by it *actually are* carriers and consequently eliminating the false positives.

As applied to the present situation, this metaphor has two heuristic applications. First, the work of Oxfordian scholars such as Looney, Ogburn and Fowler has already functioned as a series of screening tests which unambiguously identify de Vere as an individual with all the known characteristics of the "Shakespeare" disease. A few other individuals -- Francis Bacon, Christopher Marlowe or William Stanley for example -- pass some screening tests but fail others -- such as stylistic consanguinity<sup>405</sup> -- which de Vere passes with flying colors.

The de Vere Bible test is therefore a test for specificity. This test employs a previously unprecedented method of inquiry to the question: does de Vere suffer the "Shakespeare Bible syndrome" -- a malady which is dependent upon, and therefore pinpoints the presence of, the "Shakespeare" disease?

Critics such as David Kathman who treat the de Vere Bible as a screening test apparently believe that if this test were applied to other Renaissance writers, they would pass the test also. Apparently, we would then have to consider them as equally probable candidates for "Shakespeare."

This is plainly nonsense. Screening tests often result in false positives, and their presence does not invalidate their utility as a method for isolating a population of probable carriers. The diagnostician makes a positive identification only after *a series* of epidemiological tests which successively serve to eliminate false positives from actual carriers. Such tests have already been

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<sup>405</sup>Please see append N for a thorough discussion of these questions.

conducted for de Vere, yet critics of my work seek to wave a magic wand and pretend that de Vere has not already been established, on grounds entirely distinct from the de Vere Bible evidence, as the most plausible carrier of the "Shakespeare" disease.

Notwithstanding these caveats, statistical trials conducted by James McGill fail to support the contention of a merely "random" connection between the de Vere Bible data and Shakespeare. Appendix C reprints McGill's Chi Square analysis of the de Vere Bible data. McGill's analysis resulted in a Chi square statistic "whose magnitude would occur by random chance less than 1% of the time" and concluded that "the null hypothesis of the de Vere distribution deviations from expected values being due to random chance is, again, rejected at the 99% level of confidence" (McGill 7).

These computations suggest that, from a statistical point of view, the threshold of relevance has been passed.

The logic of this conclusion should be explained a little further, since McGill's work depends on a 1996 discovery which passed un-noticed in my two earlier reports on the de Vere Bible and which critics such as David Kathman have accordingly not yet been forced to confront. Indeed it was not until after four years of study that I began to realize the possible significance of the fact that a surprising number of the verses marked in the de Vere Bible showed up not just once, but several times, in Shakespeare. Eventually I pursued this insight to compile the list of "Shakespeare Diagnostics" appended to this dissertation as appendix B. The appendix lists 81 Bible passages -- compiled after an exhaustive scrutiny of previous published data as well as my own original research -- to which Shakespeare alludes between four and eighteen times<sup>406</sup>. These 81 verses or groups of verses, although constituting only about 3% of the total number of Bible verses to which Shakespeare refers, account for as many as 20% of all of Shakespeare's Bible references.

The methodological implications of this discovery, if we are conducting an investigation into the numerical threshold of relevance, can hardly be overestimated. The Diagnostics List allows us to eliminate from consideration almost two thousand verses which are of only marginal numerical interest<sup>407</sup> and focus on a subset of verses which are truly *diagnostic* of Shakespeare's Bible usage. The Shakespeare Diagnostics List radically improves the signal-to-noise ratio in the comparative study of Shakespearean Bible references. It gives researchers, for the first time, a measurable *fingerprint* of Shakespeare's religious consciousness which can be used for comparative purposes.

Published data on the Bible allusions of Christopher Marlowe (Cornelius 1983), Francis Bacon (Cole 1952) and Edmund Spenser's *Fairy Queene* (Shaheen 1976) soon furnished a basis for the identification of similar lists from those authors. Through these lists we can ascertain the idiosyncratic character of each writer's Biblical awareness. Of the 101 Bacon diagnostics and 74 Marlowe diagnostics, only two (Gen. 2.7 and Gen 3.5) are identical; comparing the Bacon diagnostics with the 56 from Spenser, only three (Gen. 2.7, Gen. 3.19 and Matthew 5.44-45) are identical; of Marlowe and Spenser, only one diagnostic (Gen. 2.7) is common. The overlap with the Shakespeare Diagnostics List is of similar magnitude: two (Gen. 3.19 and Matthew 6.19) for Spenser, two for Marlowe (Romans 6.16 and Rev. 20.10), and none for Bacon. In other words, most importantly, the lists truly are *diagnostic* -- exhibiting a unique, sub-stylistic "fingerprint" for each of the four English Writers.

With these theoretical remarks in mind we may now consider the shape of Diagnostics lists for the three comparative samples.

#### FRANCIS BACON

Of all possible samples for comparison with the de Vere Bible data, the Bible references of Francis Bacon would be an ideal. As is well known, the inductive philosopher, statesman and essayist has frequently been proposed as the "man behind the mask" of Shakespeare (For an excellent recent summary of the case which can be made for Bacon as author of the "Shakespeare" canon see Michell 1996, 113-160). To this day Bacon remains in the minds of many students a plausible alternative to the official story of Shakespeare. A positive correlation between Bacon's Bible references and those of Shakespeare would therefore go very far towards confuting my claim that the de Vere Bible annotations show a degree of relation to the Bible references of Shakespeare which cannot be predicated on chance alone.

Fortunately, the leg work allowing for such a comparison has already been performed in a 1950 Oxford University dissertation by Porter Cole, *Bacon's Knowledge and Use of the Bible*. Cole's dissertation considers the sources, scope and ramifications of Bacon's knowledge of the Bible as well as listing all the nine hundred-and-fifty four definite Bible allusions in Bacon's published work and considering many of the additional Bible "parallels" which can be discovered in Bacon.

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<sup>406</sup> It should be noted that McGill's 1998 article depends on an earlier and shorter list of diagnostics, only 66 in number. Preparations are currently (12/2000) underway for a new round of statistical trials reflecting the more complete list of diagnostics.

<sup>407</sup> This of course does not mean that verses alluded to only once in Shakespeare cannot be of immense *semantic* value for the work of the literary critic or cultural historian. Nor should they be ignored in considering the question of the evidentiary significance of the de Vere Bible annotations. However, since there are such a large number of these verses, it becomes very difficult to filter signal from noise to arrive at a firm conclusion regarding the critical question of their numerical significance.



Incidentally, Cole's dissertation was brought to my attention by the author himself, in response to my appearance on a Connecticut Radio station on which the de Vere Bible was discussed. According to Cole's own interpretation (verbal communication), his study all but disproved the Baconian heresy by documenting a wide disparity in the Bible references employed in the two bodies of literary work.

A review of Cole's data substantiates this impression. Bacon's Bible references, like those of many other early modern prose writers, may be divided into two categories. When intentionally quoting scripture, Bacon draws attention to his usage by italicizing the quoted passage. In his appendices, Cole lists 954 such citations in Bacon's published work. Of these, 386 -- over one-third -- are exact or almost exact transcriptions from the Latin Vulgate bible. A second category of Bacon's Bible references, amounting to some 458 listed items, are free rewordings which do not precisely follow any published text; of these, three hundred are also Latin renderings. In other words, three-quarters (758/954) of Bacon's italicized Bible references are in Latin.

Even at this macroscopic level, the contrast with Shakespeare could not be more obvious. Of the approximately 2000-2500 Bible references in Shakespeare, only one -- Beaufort's retort to Gloucester in 2 *Henry VI*: "Medice, teipsum" (Luke 4.23) -- is to the Vulgate. Unlike Shakespeare, Bacon remembered, responded to, and presumably read, scripture primarily in Latin. Even at this gross level of resolution -- considering merely which translation of the Bible preponderates in the two bodies of work -- one must say that the evidence against the theory of Bacon as Shakespeare is persuasive. Just as J.M. Robertson argued for a stylistic incommensurability between Bacon and Shakespeare, Cole's work documents a striking incommensurability in the pattern of Biblical references; Shakespeare almost always alludes to the Bible in English, typically in the Genevan translation, while Bacon, with almost as great a regularity, follows the Latin text.

Close examination of Cole's data corroborates this negative conclusion. In addition to the nine-hundred distinct Bible references listed in his work, Cole identifies approximately another 400 Bible "parallels". Testing this more comprehensive list of approximately 1300 references against the list of marked verses in the de Vere Bible, we can compare the results obtained with those found when we conducted the same test with Shakespeare.

Forty-three of the verses listed in Cole's appendix as exhibiting an influence in Bacon are marked in the de Vere Bible; the list is attached in appendix E. That this surprisingly large number is substantially a statistical idol is indicated by two important facts revealed in this appendix. First, a very large number of the items included in the list are false positives; Cole's listing, for example, of Eccclus. 28.3-5, a Shakespeare diagnostic discussed on pp. 253- 54 of his dissertation, results from a "see also entry" referencing the line "we are commanded to forgive our enemies" (Id. 24-5). Unlike Shakespeare's repeated and very definite references to the specific language and idea of Ecclesiasticus 28.2-5, the quote from Bacon turns out on closer inspection to refer more closely to the Litany ("That it may please thee to forgive our enemies"), to Matt. 6.14 ("if yee forgive men their trespasses") or to Matt. 5.44 ("Love your enemies"). Eliminating such "false positives" from our list we find that actually only twenty-seven verses in Cole's list of 1300 are marked in the de Vere Bible.

Second, even this lower number is reflected only in Cole's comprehensive listing of all the Bible references in his dissertation, which includes purely speculative and sometimes utterly misleading examples such as the above. Turning to his short list of the 956 definite, italicized, Bible references in Bacon, we find that only six listed Bible verses are marked in the de Vere Bible.

The evidence from the Bacon Diagnostics list, also reproduced in appendix E, is even more conclusive. There is no match between Bacon and the de Vere Bible; of the 102 Bacon Diagnostics derived from Cole's data, only two of them are marked in the de Vere Bible. This contrasts with 30 of 81 Shakespeare Diagnostics --not counting "indirects" (16) and those which occur in the de Vere letters (3). In conclusion, we have now analyzed control data from Bacon using several different methodologies; in each case our analysis confirms the unexpected nature of the correlation between the de Vere Bible annotations and the Bible references of "Shakespeare."

## CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE

These results are duplicated when Christopher Marlowe's Bible references are used as controls. Twenty-two of Cornelius's list of 762 Bible references in Marlowe are marked in the de Vere Bible -- about one third as many as the 168/2000<sup>408</sup> for de Vere and Shakespeare.

Furthermore, as in the case of Bacon, analysis of the data as a structured field by isolating the Marlowe Diagnostics yields a more powerful contrast. Of the 74 items in the Marlowe Diagnostics list, only five are marked -- less than one-sixth as many as the Shakespeare Diagnostics.

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<sup>408</sup> See appendix D; this total includes Table A (158 verses cited by previous scholars) and Table D (10 Psalms cited by previous scholars); it does not include the additional 137 verses for which influence is alleged for the first time in the present document.

The Marlowe data assembled by Cornelius also demonstrates the utility of my technique of comparing Bible references in authors as a sub-stylistic fingerprinting technique to help establish authorship. Like Bacon, Marlowe has been proposed as a possible alternative Shakespeare. The data show that this identification is extremely unlikely; Cornelius documents a consistency of Bible reference from play to play within the Marlowe canon which is quite distinct from that seen in Shakespeare.

Finally, only two of the Marlowe diagnostic verses are found in the equivalent list for Shakespeare, a finding which conclusively confirms the orthodox distinction between the two literary canons and the utility of the methodology pursued in the present study for demonstrating the numerical relevance of the de Vere Bible data as independent evidence in the authorship question.

## APPENDIX K: FOUR CRITICISMS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

There are four possible lines of attack for critics of the de Vere Bible study. The first, pursued by Bruce Smith in his 1994 Folger library publication (Smith 1994) and echoed as established fact by the *Smithsonian* magazine and the *Shakespeare Newsletter*, is to deny or cast doubt upon the premise that the annotations are made by Edward de Vere. If true, this argument would of course obviate the significance of any alleged relationship between those annotations and "Shakespeare". A refutation of Smith's reasoning, accompanied by extensive paleographical proofs, is set forth in detail in Appendix H of the present document.

A second line of attack is to admit that the annotations are made by de Vere but to contest the alleged connection to Shakespeare. This strategy has been followed by David Kathman in his claim that the connections between Shakespeare and the de Vere Bible are "random." A response to this claim is included in the present document as appendix J. The present appendix will discuss the two remaining criticisms of the present study -- equivocation and the "alternative Bible" scenario.

Equivocation is a strategy which actually works extremely well in a debate controlled by the degree of vested interest involved in the Shakespeare question. Equivocation, in this case, involves either disputing that the alleged Bible references are real, or attempting to identify more plausible sources of certain Shakespearean passages. To date this line of reasoning has been pursued with most enthusiasm by Gerald Downs, a member of the Shakespeare Oxford Society, in the on-line *Phaeton* discussion group moderated by Nina Green. Declares Downs: "none of [Stritmatter's] Shakespearean examples seemed to have any relation at all to the cited Geneva verses, other than to share a few words" (*Phaeton* post September 4 1997). In a letter to the *Smithsonian* magazine, Berkeley English professor Alan Nelson, while defending the premise of de Vere as annotator, echoed Downs skepticism, stating that the identification with Shakespeare was another matter and that "I myself do not believe in it." When asked the basis for this disbelief, Nelson did not answer; he did, however, subsequently reverse his position advocating the premise of de Vere as the annotator.

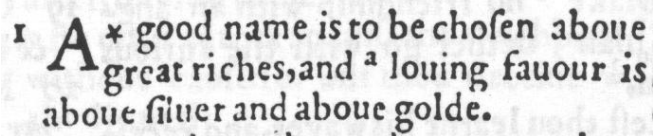


Figure one hundred and fifteen: Proverbs 22.1 from de Vere STC 2106.

As should be sufficiently obvious to any attentive reader of the present document, the case for influence on Shakespeare of verses marked in the de Vere Bible is not, pace Downs and Nelson, really subject to debate: it depends, in most relevant cases, on the authority of previous students of Shakespeare's Bible knowledge, for whom the existence of a "few shared words" does indeed constitute sufficient grounds to allege possible or even, often, *certain* influence. This scholarship constitutes testimony *res gestae*; while its validity could be challenged for cause in any specific instance, as a body of evidence it constitutes a solid anchor point for the present investigation<sup>409</sup>. Although the Downs critique is accordingly suspect on theoretical grounds, a closer examination of his methods of approach may yield important clues about the rhetoric of the authorship debate and the intellectual maneuvering which has become indispensable to the defense of orthodox beliefs. For reasons unknown to me, Mr. Downs chose to attack the claim, made in my 1993 report *A Quintessence of Dust*, that Ecclesiasticus 41.12 is a source, if not *the* source, for Iago's speech about the value of a good name (*Othello* 3.3.155-61). Although this passage was attributed by Carter (1905 394), Noble (1935 218), Milward (1987 84) and Shaheen (1987 132) to a Biblical source -- Eccclus. 41.12, Proverbs 22.1, 20.15 and 10.7 have all been cited as possible origins -- Downs prefers to follow the assertions for a non-Biblical source proposed, a century before the work of Noble, Milward and Shaheen, by Hunter (1845) and Furness (1886). Long before any systematic survey of Shakespeare's Bible knowledge had been conducted, Hunter noticed a parallelism between Iago's speech and a passage from the 1585 edition of Thomas Wilson's *The Arte of Rhetoric* used to illustrate the practice of *amplificatio*:

The places of Logique help oft for amplification. As, where men have a wrong opinion, and think theft a greater fault than slander, one might prove the contrary as well by circumstances as by arguments. And first, he might shew that slander is theft, and every slanderer is a thief. For as well the slanderer as the thief do take away another man's possession against the owner's will. After that he might shew that a slanderer is worse than a thief, because a good name is better than all the goods in the world, and the loss of money may be recovered, but the loss of a man's good name cannot be called back again; and a thief

<sup>409</sup> The only question open to debate, actually, is the significance of the marked verses in the Bible which have influenced Shakespeare. One way to consider the problem of significance is, of course, numerical. We have a thousand marked verses in a Bible. In theory, anywhere from zero to all of those verses could manifest a documented influence in Shakespeare. How many constitutes a statistically significant finding? David Kathman and other critics, whose reasoning is considered in appendix I, claim that the existing numbers are statistically insignificant, but so far fail to demonstrate any reasons for this alleged insufficiency.

may restore that again which he hath taken away, but a slanderer cannot give a man his good name against which he hath taken from him.

According to Downs, Wilson is a "vastly more probable" source for Iago's speech than are the two biblical verses primarily proposed by the above authorities, viz. Proverbs 22.1 (figure one hundred and fifteen).

And Ecclesiasticus 41.12 (figure one hundred and sixteen):

8 Wo be vnto you, o ye vngodlie, which  
haue forfaken the Lawe of the moste  
high God: for thogh you increase, yet  
shal you perish.  
9 If ye be borne, ye shal be borne to cur-  
sing: if ye dye, the curse shal be your  
porcion.  
10 All that is of the earth, shal turne to  
earth againe: so the vngodlie go from  
the curse to destruction.  
11 Thogh men mourne for their bodie,  
yet the wicked name of the vngodlie  
shal be put out.  
12 Haue regarde to thy name: for that  
shal continue with thee aboue a thou-  
sand treasures of golde.

Figure one hundred and sixteen: Ecclesiasticus 41.9-12  
in STC 2106.

Figure one hundred and sixteen communicates the relevance of the dispute in evaluating the evidentiary merits of the de Vere Bible, at least in this particular instance. Although not directly marked in the de Vere Bible, Ecclesiasticus 41.12 belongs to a pericope in which five antecedent verses are marked. For this reason, the history of scholarship relating this verse to Iago's speech transpires to hold more than a little interest for students of the Oxford theory.

According to Downs, however, the alleged connection between Iago's speech and the marked verses is an illusion. For, although

Anyone can surely see the correspondence between Wilson's remarks and the compact poetry of Shakespeare....there is no correspondence [between Ecclesiasticus 41.12 and] Iago's speech, because in this passage a 'good name' seems merely to mean 'listed as godly.' Given the commonplace use of the term 'good name,' and the like common denigration of worldly 'treasure,' what is there to recommend this part of the Geneva Bible as a source for Iago's speech, especially as an alternative to Wilson? Nothing whatever.

The logic of this communiqué is not without some generic interest for students of intellectual history. In the first place, the opinions of Carter, Noble, Milward and Shaheen apparently count for "nothing" in Mr. Downs' lexicon. He will admit no reference to their scholarship. Following Hunter, Downs believes, on the contrary, that the inference of Wilson's influence on Shakespeare is obvious ("anyone can see..."); this obvious inference means that there is "nothing whatever" to recommend the connection posited by other students of the problem. By positing that the relation between Wilson and Shakespeare as self-evident, Mr. Downs effectively avoids the intellectual labor of considering alternatives and offering a reasoned defense of his own conclusion. His position constitutes *ad hoc* revisionism with a vengeance.

The intellectual poverty of the claim for the "obvious" priority of Wilson as a source can most effectively be demonstrated by reviewing the critical history which, like the opinions of Carter, Noble, Milward, and Shaheen, Downs omits from his discussion.

It turns out that the possible influence of Wilson on *Othello* 3.3 has been the subject of extensive discussion by two students of Shakespearean sources, in addition to the authorities listed above. In fact, the position advocated by Mr. Downs was already considered and -- in the opinion of the present writer -- demolished by Hardin Craig and T.W. Baldwin in 1931 and 1975. Hardin Craig devoted an entire monograph, published in 1931 in *Studies in Philology*, to evaluating the evidence for Wilson's

influence on Shakespeare. Craig's study renders a decisive verdict against Wilson's alleged influence on Shakespeare. "We have now examined," Craig states near the conclusion of his article,

The case for Shakespeare's acquaintance with Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*, <including> all the citations of parallels of importance which have ever been made. They are fairly numerous. We began by admitting that it was inherently probable that Shakespeare had read that popular and genuinely meritorious book, and we know that such books were freely read. We know that Shakespeare read widely. But there is no testimony covering the case, the argument from antecedent probability is of no value, and the argument from sign -- the only one on the whole list of artificial arguments enumerated in Aristotle's *Topica* which could possibly have any weight -- fails to establish itself. In every case we have found that the thing supposed to have been borrowed was a thing which might just as well have come from some other source.

A prime example of alleged influence which Craig considers in pursuance of this conclusion is Hunter's case for the influence of Wilson on *Othello* 3.3.155-161. Craig draws attention to the fact that Wilson's imagery and language are themselves derived, as is much else in Wilson also, from Erasmus. Concerning the valuation of reputation above worldly wealth, Craig notes that "the thought was a favorite one with Erasmus. It occurs in the *Lingua* among his precepts concerning moderation in speech, and is alluded to several times in his letters." In fact, the most likely proximate source of Wilson's passage on *amplificatio*, thinks Craig, is Erasmus' *De Conscribendis Epistolis*:

Sapientis est famae suae longe diligentius, quam oppidus suis, non minus vero diligenter quam vitae consulere. Minus siquidem damni & incommodi accipit, qui pecuniam, aut etiam vitam ammittit, quam qui famam. Pecunia enim amissa sacriciri potest, fama semel amissa, in integrum restituitur nunquam. Et vita quidem corporis, quum certos a natura terminos acceperit, in longum tempus extendi nequit....Quod si homines iis rebus maxime timere videmus, quae cum sin preciosissimae, facillime tamen preduntur, ac difficillime restituuntur: sapiens extimandus non est, qui famae, quia neque restitui potest semel amissa, & qua nihil habet homo preciosius, non multo diligentius consulendum putat quam pecuniae, et etiam vitae. Potest etiam tribus dumtaxat, aut quattuor partibus confici collectio: si vel confirmatio, vel exploitio, vel utraque ommittitur.

Craig argues that this passage is preferable to Wilson's English derivative as a source for Shakespeare's inspiration, particularly when the full context of Iago's line about "good name in man and woman" is considered. Following Craig, the influence of Erasmus on the Shakespearean passage was also considered by T.W. Baldwin, who notes that Iago's sudden enthusiasm for the value of a "good name" in 3.3 was inspired by a previous exchange with Michael Cassio in which "good name" appears as the synonym, "reputation":

Iago. What, are you hurt, Lieutenant?

Cas. Ay, past all surgery.

Iago. Marry, heaven forbid.

Cas. Reputation, reputation, reputation! O, I have lost my reputation. I have lost the immortal part of myself, and what remains is bestial. My reputation, Iago, my reputation!

Iago. As I am an honest man, I had thought you had received some bodily wound; there is more sense in that than reputation.  
(2.3.259-268)

As Baldwin observes, Cassio's "reputation" and Iago's "good name" are both English equivalents for the Latin word, *fama* -ae, found in Erasmus's phrase "Minus siquidem damni & incommodi accipit, qui pecuniam, aut etiam vitam ammittit, quam qui famam....quae neque restitui potest semel amissa...."<sup>410</sup>

Following Hardin Craig's observation that Wilson has borrowed the passage in question from Erasmus, Baldwin adduces a strong if not conclusive proof for Shakespeare's dependence on the latter source in preference to the former. This inference of Shakespeare's dependence on Erasmus is an argument 'from sign': "Michael Cassio's outcry concerning the 'immortal part' of himself did not come from Wilson, but directly or indirectly from the *original*" (276: italics added). By "original," Baldwin means from *De Conscribendis*, in which *fama* is explicitly contrasted to *the body* [*vita corporis*], as that part of the person which survives "even after the ashes of the funeral pyre"<sup>411</sup>.

<sup>410</sup> "Whoever has lost money, or even his life, indeed receives less inconvenience and damage than he would loses his reputation...which once lost can never be restored".

<sup>411</sup> Cf Horace's "multa par mei/Vitabit Libitinam" (Carmen XXX.6-7) discussed in chapter twenty-six.

It seems difficult to quarrel with Baldwin's conclusion, except possibly by means of a wholesale attack against the concept of authority coupled with sub-rational appeals to "the obvious". In both Erasmus and in Shakespeare "reputation" is a theological concept; Cassio refers to it as the "immortal part" of the self, Iago as the "immediate jewel *of their soul*." Wilson's text, by contrast, is entirely secular in its orientation. Thus the argument from sign strongly suggests that Wilson cannot be included in any stemmata linking Shakespeare to an antecedent text.

The case, however, is more interesting still. Baldwin inserts the intriguing admission that "I have no certainty that this illustration of the contrast between the immortal soul and the perishable body, was original with Erasmus in the first place" (275). Of course, as Carter, Noble, Milward and Shaheen all recognized, the illustration is not original with Erasmus. The ultimate printed source, in fact, is Ecclus. 41.11-12<sup>412</sup>, in which the same contrast between the perishable body and the immortal "reputation"<sup>413</sup> is found. Thus, while Baldwin's argument 'from sign' cannot distinguish, in itself, between the probabilities of Erasmus or Ecclesiasticus as the proximate 'source' of Shakespeare's language and idea, it does *exclude the Hunter-Downs theory with virtual certainty*.

Like any theory which threatens generations of deeply held belief and entrenched economic interest, it is predictable that the Oxfordian thesis will be criticized and attacked from perspectives which are themselves incompatible or contradictory. A fourth argument which has been advanced against the de Vere Bible study on the Usenet discussion group "Humanities.Literature.Authorship.Shakespeare" is that until a survey of other 16<sup>th</sup> century Bibles is taken the results of the present study remain inconclusive. Such proposals for empirical testing may seem valid until one considers the nature of the assumptions upon which they are inevitably based. Let us suppose that it were possible to discover another Elizabethan Bible, marked like the de Vere Bible, which displayed a level of statistical congruence with "Shakespeare" approaching that documented in the present study. While this method might seem on the surface a "scientific" refutation, in reality it does nothing more than confirm the presumption of critics that the correspondences between the de Vere Bible and Shakespeare are "random" or "conventional."

Such a criticism leaves entirely unanswered -- indeed it leaves *unarticulated* -- the primary question raised by the initial findings of that report: how *unique* is Shakespeare's field of Biblical reference when compared with those of other 16<sup>th</sup> c. English or Continental authors? Without first assessing the possible answers to this question, a positive result obtained from another Bible would merely affirm the safe tautology that "Shakespeare is Shakespeare" while ignoring or suppressing the (in this case) all-important principle of the false positive. Even assuming ideal conditions -- that is, solid provenance and a clearly identified annotator -- "positive" results obtained from another Bible might well be nothing more than a false positive generated by the mistaken application of a screening test in place of a test for specificity. Because de Vere has already been identified, by scores of independent tests (biographical, stylistic, hermeneutic, etc.), as the most likely suspect for "Shakespeare," my findings of the de Vere Bible fall into the latter category. They are not a screening test, but a "test for specificity" -- a test used to confirm the diagnosis, already proffered on entirely independent grounds, that "de Vere is Shakespeare". To pluck an annotated Bible out of a top-hat and proclaim a refutation of my findings on the basis of a similar statistical distribution of the data would commit the grievous error of confusing the distinction between a screening test and a test for specificity.

It may be useful, however, to consider under what conditions such an empirical test might offer credible results. For positive results from another Bible to carry significant weight they must fulfill two criteria:

1. The annotator must be clearly identified as someone other than Edward de Vere;
2. It must be demonstrated that this individual possessed "standing" similar to de Vere's own with respect to the alleged crime of writing "Shakespeare."

These criteria are stringent but not, in theory, impossible to fulfill. For instance, if a Bible annotated by Francis Bacon, William Stanley, or even William Shakspeare of Stratford were available for study and proved to contain annotations with a high degree of correspondence to Shakespeare, this would indeed constitute a credible refutation, or at least qualification of, the findings contained herein. As has already been noted in appendix E, the available data from Francis Bacon and Christopher Marlowe, although not obtained from their annotated Bibles, suggest the very great un-likelihood of such a discovery. We know from comparative study that these writers made use of a field of Biblical references radically different from that of Shakespeare's.

Before leaving the topic of this second line of reasoning against the de Vere Bible study a general comment is in order. Such criticisms of the de Vere Bible study are of course of the *ad hoc* variety, particularly when they involve rejecting established authority purely for the purposes of denying the implications of the present study. It must accordingly be admitted, even by the most vigorous proponents of such criticism, that insofar as the present study rests--as it *primarily* does--upon the identification of Bible references set forth by prior students of the question, that the cited references constitute testimony *res gestae*. Such criticisms, then, are directed less against the present study than against the authority of previous students of

<sup>412</sup> Or, alternatively, Proverbs 22.1.

<sup>413</sup> The Vulgate of Ecclus. 41.15 (41.12 in the Geneva) reads "de bono nomine".

Shakespeare's Bible knowledge -- primarily Carter, Noble, Milward and Shaheen, on whom I depend for the identification of most of the salient references discussed in this dissertation. Accordingly I maintain that this line of objection may safely be ignored, at least by serious students of the authorship question, as yet another orthodox red herring.





## APPENDIX L: THE COMPOSITION DATE OF THE *THE TEMPEST*

The question of the date of composition of the *Tempest* cannot of course be separated from the much larger question of the chronology of the composition, performance and publication of the entire Shakespeare canon -- a topic which obviously lies outside the scope of the present dissertation. *The Tempest*, however, represents an important test case for both orthodox and Oxfordian theories of authorship. Although the Stratfordian chronology conventionally dates several plays to the post 1604-period -- including *Macbeth* (1605), *Lear* (1605), *Timon* (1606), *Pericles* (1607), *Antony* (1607), *Coriolanus* (1608), *Cymbeline* (1609), *The Tempest* (1611) and *Henry VIII* (1613) -- the last two plays, particularly *The Tempest*, remain a special test case for the validity of this entire sequence. In fact, the Pelican edition of the collected works, acknowledging the very real doubt which exists regarding the composition dates of the entire sequence of plays, prints an alternative list of composition dates in which only two plays, *Henry VIII* and *The Tempest*, are dated later than 1604.

Figure One hundred and Seventeen: Variation in Orthodox Chronology

Tables after the data published in the Pelican Revised Text, edited by Alfred Harbage (1969), p. 19. Although the **consensus dates** of first performance extend in a continuous series from *Measure* in 1604 to *Henry VIII* in 1613, the second column, illustrating the margin of error of these consensus dates, effectively admits that all but the last two plays -- *Henry VIII* and the *Tempest* -- may well have been composed prior to 1604. It must be acknowledged even by partisans of the ultra-orthodox view of Shakespeare that this is a much less impressive list on which to ground a defense of their views.

Play	First Performed	First Performance margin of error	First Published
Errors	1590	?--1594	1623
I Henry VI	1590--92	?--1592	1623
II Henry VI	1590-92	?--1592	1594; 1623
III Henry VI	1590-92	?--1592	1595; 1623
Richard III	1593	1592-97	1597; 1623
Shrew	1593	--1594	1623
Titus	1594	Jan. 24	1594
Two Gents.	1594	?--1598	1623
John	1594	?--1598	1623
Mid. Dream	1595	1594-95	1600
Richard II	1595	1595-97	1597
Love's Labour's	1596	?--1597	1598
Romeo	1596	?--1597	1597; 1599
<i>Merchant</i>	1597	1594-98	1600
I Henry IV	1597	1595-98	1598
II Henry IV	1598	1596-98	1600
As You Like It	1598	1598-1600	1623
Henry V	1599	Mar-Sept.	1600; 1623
Caesar	1599	1598-99	1623
Much Ado	1599	1598-1600	1600
Twelfth Night	1600	1600-02	1623
Merry Wives	1600	1597-1602	1602; 1623
Hamlet	1601	1599-1601	1603, 1604
Troilus	1602	1601-03	1609
All's Well	1603	1598--?	1623
Measure	1604	1598-1604	1623
Othello	1604	1598-1604	1622
Lear	1605	1598-1606	1608
Macbeth	1605	1603-1611	1623
Timon	1606	1598--?	1623
<i>Pericles</i>	1607	1598-1608	1609
Antony	1607	1598-1608	1623
Coriolanus	1608	1598--?	1623
Cymbeline	1609	1598-1611	1623
Winter's Tale	1610	1598-1611	1623
Tempest	1611	1610-11	1623
Henry VIII	1613	June 1611 (??)	1623

Let us, then, briefly consider each of these two exceptions to this presumption that almost all the plays can actually be dated to before 1604.

The 1613 date of *Henry the VIII* is apparently secured on the basis of two lines of argument. First is Henry Wootton's remark in his letter to Sir Edmund Bacon of July of that year, in which he records witnessing the burning of the Globe theatre during the performance of a play of *Henry VIII*, that the play in question was a "new play." Second, the theme of *Henry VIII* is believed to be appropriate to the nationalistic needs of England in 1613, at which time growing concern over international Catholicism was offset by the February 14 1613 marriage of Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of King James, to Prince Fredrick the Elector Palatine and leader of the Protestant movement in Germany.

Needless to say, neither of these two arguments can withstand close critical scrutiny. There is no more reason to believe that Wootton knew whether or not the play was "new" in 1613 than there is to believe that Samuel Pepys did in December 1663 when, after a Restoration revival, he reported that "by and by comes in captain Ferrers to see us, and among other talk, tells us of the goodness of *the new play of Henry VIII*" (Foakes xxvii: italics added). Furthermore, as Arden editor Foakes acknowledges, 1612-13 was a period in which many old history plays acquired a new political significance and were dusted off and re-staged as commentary on the international diplomatic situation:

The wedding and threatened trouble in 1612-13 perhaps provided a new occasion for seriousness. *Many old history plays were reissued at this time*, and the reissues probably indicate revivals in the theatre.  
(Foakes 1957 xliii: italics added)

That Foakes feels compelled to exempt Shakespeare's play, and insist that it must have been written tailored to fit the circumstances of 1613, instead of being one in the long list of other history plays whose revival during the same period he documents, is testimony not to the strength of the Stratfordian chronology, but to its intrinsic brittleness. He presents no compelling reason for a skeptical reader to assent to such a conclusion and there are many reasons to think otherwise.

Indeed, as Edmund Chambers acknowledges in a work which today remains the standard orthodox authority on the Stratfordian chronology, that chronology is arranged according to a schema which requires the critical *a priori* fact of the birth and death dates of the presumed author's life:

There is much of conjecture even as regards the order, and still more as regards the ascription to particular years. These are partly arranged to provide a fairly even flow of production when plague and other inhibitions did not interrupt it...I assume some slackening towards the end of Shakespeare's career.  
(Chambers 1930 I: 269)

In no instance is the extent of this "conjecture" -- often masquerading as dogmatic certainty -- more evident than in the case of *The Tempest*. "*The Tempest*," declared Campbell in 1838, "has a sort of sacredness as the last work of the mighty workman" (cited in Furness xxx) -- and the assumption of a 1611 date of composition has been accepted by orthodox scholars with a dogmatism which indeed borders on reverence for the sacred.

The orthodox dating of *The Tempest* to 1611 depends on two premises, neither of them secure. First, since Edmund Malone's 1778 essay, "An Attempt to Ascertain the Order In which the Plays of Shakespeare Were Written," it has been believed that the play depends on one of several contemporary narratives of a 1609 shipwreck in Bermuda, of which the two most important are Sylvester Jourdain's 1610 *Discovery of the Bermudas, Otherwise Called the Isle of Devils* and William Strachey's report of the wreck of the *Sea Adventure*, dated July 15 1610 but not published until 1625 under the title of *The True Repertory of the Wrack and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates*. Second, in 1848 Cunningham discovered a Revel's Account record, the authenticity of which has been challenged but is now accepted by most authorities, of a performance of the play in 1611. The conjunction of earliest recorded performance and ostensible source have led most scholars -- even, apparently, the cautious editors of the Pelican Shakespeare -- to accept a more or less definitive 1611 date for the play.

Historically, the claim of a 1610-11 date of the play's composition based on the presumption that it relies upon Jourdain and Strachey as sources, predates Cunningham's 1848 discovery of the Revel's Account Record of a 1611 performance. And since the 1611 performance establishes only a *terminus ad quem* while the argument from sources establishes, if correct, a *terminus ab quo*, it is to Edmund Malone's 1778 claim for the necessary reliance of *The Tempest* on these two late sources that we must turn our attention. Malone's theory, it is true, has been reiterated with increasing vehemence and frequency in recent years, as the Oxfordian menace has assumed more threatening proportions in the minds of orthodox academicians. Among certain schools the orthodox perspective of a 1611 date of the *Tempest* has assumed the status of a unquestionable fact which, *ipso facto*, is thought to disqualify the authorship question from consideration by rational persons. It might surprise some of these enthusiastic supporters of convention to learn that long before the Oxfordian theory was first articulated by Looney in 1920, this theory of the 1611 composition date of the play was radically undermined in a series of challenges which culminated in the claim of at least

one orthodox scholar that *The Tempest* should be dated not to 1611, as Malone had proposed, but to 1604 -- the year of Oxford's death.

The challenge to Malone's case came in several waves; first Reverend Joseph Hunter successfully contested one of the primary assumptions on which the 1611 date of the *Tempest* depended by attacking Malone's quite incorrect premise that the Bermudas "were not generally known until Sir George Somers arrived there in 1609." On the contrary, Hunter observed, "the Bermudas was in fact a commonplace of the time" and the association with shipwreck literature is made in a number of extant sources which predate Jourdain and Strachey (Furness 274).

Although it is rarely admitted by orthodox literary historians, Hunter's claim was correct. Indeed, Henry May's 1593 account of "an extreame tempest or huricano" off the cape of Buona Speranza and the subsequent "shipwracke upon the isle of Bermuda" -- apparently the earliest eyewitness account of Bermuda by an Englishman -- predates Jourdain by twenty years. Published in Hakluyt's 1600 edition of *The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, May's narrative recounts the voyages of the *Edward Bonaventura*, a ship in which Edward de Vere invested in 1581 (Green 1989) and which he may well have owned<sup>414</sup> for a period of time.

The existence of such earlier Bermuda narratives sufficiently disproves the assumptions on which Malone based his original dating of the play to arouse doubts that the 1611 convention can withstand critical scrutiny.

Malone's belief in the singular importance of Jourdain's *True Discovery* as a *Tempest* source has also weathered some heavy surfs. It was while reading this pamphlet, according to Furness, that Malone was forced to the irresistible conclusion that "Shakespeare must have had the incidents attending Somer's voyage immediately in view when he wrote his comedy" (Furness 308). Not everyone agreed. Furness, summarizing the state of the debate in his 1892 Variorum edition, opined that the parallelisms adduced by Malone "seem but little more than are to be expected where the same theme is treated by two different persons" (313).

Karl Elze agreed:

Hunter justly points out that there is a great family likeness between all storms and sea and shipwrecks, and that it is the only the coincidence of a most extraordinary occurrence or a most extraordinary mode of expression, that can justify the supposition that one narrator borrowed from another. Now there exist no such coincidences between the Jourdain and the 'Tempest,' and Malone's arguments have nothing cogent in them. (12)

With Malone's ship foundering on the shores of a new heresy, orthodox theoreticians had to look elsewhere for evidence supporting a 1611 date for *The Tempest*. Perhaps emboldened by Looney's acceptance of a 1611 date for the play, and subsequent argument that *The Tempest* was not written by Shakespeare, orthodox scholars set off in search of a new reason for clinging to an old theory. Although the argument required some baroque modifications, they found one in Strachey's 1625 account of the same shipwreck -- a narrative not published until two years after the 1623 folio in which *The Tempest* appeared but which, so we are told, Shakespeare must certainly have had access to in manuscript.

By 1930 Sir Edmund Chambers could draw a new line in the sand. He stood firm behind the conviction that *The Tempest* depends -- not on Jourdain or on any earlier alternative shipwreck accounts such as Henry May's, but upon Strachey. "That it cannot have been written much earlier than 1611 is clear," declares Chambers, "from the use made of the narratives describing the wreck of Sir George Somers during a voyage to Virginia on 25 July 1609... numerous verbal parallels make it clear that his main authority was the *True Repertory*, and this it seems that he can only have seen in manuscript...." (Chambers 1935 I: 491-92).

Chamber's argument for the primacy of Strachey is based upon R.R. Cawley's meticulous comparison of the alleged verbal parallels between the two texts published in the *PMLA* in 1926, six years after Looney. To this formidable opinion we must add that of Geoffrey Bullough, in his authoritative and thorough *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* (1975), who concurs that "to stories of this [Somers] expedition *The Tempest* owed many details of the storm and shipwreck, the nature of the Island, and the behavior of those on it... To Strachey the dramatist owed specific details...." (238, 240). Like Chambers, Bullough cites Cawley to substantiate the cogency of these alleged "specific details" which prove Shakespeare's dependence on Strachey.

Let us consider Cawley's case. In arguing that Strachey is far more important as a source than Jourdain or any of the other voyage narratives, Cawley draws attention to several dozen alleged parallels between Strachey and *The Tempest*. He claims that

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<sup>414</sup> Irvin Matus's attempt to discredit the theory of Oxford's 1591 ownership of the *Edward Bonaventura* fails to inspire conviction. Although it is true that definitive evidence for Oxford's ownership is lacking, Matus does not present any conclusive reasons for believing that the purchase negotiated by Oxford in fall 1581 did not take effect.

"incidental parallels can be taken account of because other parallels make it virtually certain that Shakspeare was following the document closely" (690). Unfortunately, Cawley's monograph makes no attempt to distinguish between parallels which are merely "incidental" and those which are critical to establishing the case for Shakespeare's dependence on Strachey. Furthermore, the first three examples Cawley cites do not inspire confidence that the distinction can support the conclusions he proposes to endorse:

- |            |  |
|------------|--|
| Temp. Ste. | I escap'd upon a But of Sacke, which the saylors<br>Heaved o'reboord. (II, II, 128-30)   |
| Strach.:   | We.threw over-boord much luggage....and staved many a Butt of Beere, Hogsheads of<br>Oyle, Syder, Wine, and Vinegard, and heaved away all our Ordnance on the Starboord<br>side (p. 12). |
| Temp.:     | To run upon the sharpe winde of the North (I, II, 300)   |
| Strach.:   | (the sharpe windes blowing Northerly) (p. 16).   |
| Temp.:     | 'tis best we stand upon our guard;<br>Or that we quit this place: let's draw our weapons (II, I, 357-58)   |
| Strach.:   | Every man from thenceforth commanded to weare his<br>weapons...and to stand upon his guard.  |

Why these three rather bleak examples of alleged linguistic parallels should induce belief in the "virtual certainty" that Shakespeare was following closely the document in which they appear will, I am afraid, remain something of a mystery to readers of Cawley's article who do not begin with any assumptions about the merit of his arguments or any need to validate a post-1604 date for the *Tempest*: "sharp" north winds, sailors who stand "on their guard" when danger threatens, and butts of alcohol heaved overboard are commonplace elements of much romantic literature of the period<sup>415</sup>. Accordingly, although Kenneth Muir concedes that Bermuda pamphlets may be among *The Tempest's* sources, he adds that

The extent of the verbal echoes of [the Bermuda] pamphlets has, I think, been exaggerated. There is hardly a shipwreck in history or fiction which does not mention splitting, in which the ship is not lightened of its cargo, in which the passengers do not give themselves up for lost, in which north winds are not sharp, and in which no one gets to shore by clinging to wreckage. (280)

Admits Kermode in his introduction to the Arden edition of the play, "scholars eager to press home the resemblances of language [between Strachey and *The Tempest*] have sometimes committed errors of excess which have exposed them to the mockery of skeptics" (xxvii). While I would be the last to wish to expose Professor Cawley to "mockery" for attempting to use the phrase "sharp north wind" as a critical indication of the Shakespeare's dependency on Strachey, it is hard to see how Kermode can sustain his conclusion that "the industry of Luce, Lee, Gayley, Cawley and Hotson has put the issue beyond reasonable doubt" if these are the kinds of proofs adduced for orthodox belief. Indeed, it appears that all the elements adduced by Cawley and the others as indubitable links between Strachey/Jourdan and *The Tempest* were available in other New World voyage accounts -- quite a number of them in May's 1593 account of the wreck of the *Edward Bonaventura* -- written before 1604. One of the most striking examples is the use of the word "Setebos" as the God to whom Caliban twice swears, which is apparently known from only one extant source -- Robert Eden's 1577 *History of Travayle*.

It is fair to say that Cawley's close examination of Strachey discovers more elements which can be linked to *The Tempest* than anyone else has yet adduced from any single alternative source text. A comparison with May's 1593 text, for example, yields fewer passages which could be used to argue for a direct dependence; May's ship founders off Bermuda, but there is no mention of butts of alcohol being heaved overboard; May's ship "splits" but there is no account of St. Elmo's fire hovering around the mast as a prelude to the disaster; May tells of mutiny and "conspiracy" among shipwrecked Bermuda sailors, but there is no passage in which the captain commands his men to "stand upon [their] guard." If there is a case to be made for Shakespeare's reliance on the Somer's narratives, it is certainly to Strachey, and not to Jourdain, that one must turn to find it. And while the pre-existence of May's account vitiates Malone's original claims for the unique character of the Somer's wreck, it does not furnish a watertight case against the orthodox view. Yet so many of the elements -- from "sharp" northerly winds to praying sailors and boatswains who measure the depth of water in "fathoms" -- which supposedly connect Strachey's narrative to *The Tempest* are, as Muir insists, predictable elements of any shipwreck scene, that the proposed dependence on Strachey must be regarded as no better than a hypothesis -- one which now threatens under contemporary pressure to metamorphosize into sheer

<sup>415</sup> Those who argue for a distinctive connection between the two texts must also prove *the direction* of influence, an argument which is not susceptible to proof; since the Strachey pamphlet was not published until after *The Tempest* and it may just as likely be influenced by it as vice-versa.

dogma. A patient reader will search Strachey -- not to mention Cawley, Luce, Lee, Gayley and Hotson -- in vain for anything approaching the kind of critical link which the one word "Setebos" supplies between the *Tempest* and Eden's 1577 work.

Even the motif of St. Elmo's Fire, about which so much has been made in connecting Strachey to *The Tempest*, was extant in alternative accounts known long before 1604. In his recent brief critique of the Stratfordian case for a 1611 *Tempest* dependent on Strachey for its inspiration and language, Peter Moore compares the descriptions of St. Elmo's fire given in Strachey's 1625 account, several narratives of the same phenomenon found in Hakluyt's 1600 *Principal Navigations*, and the description found in *The Tempest* (1.2.196-201). Concludes Moore, an army intelligence officer and amateur Shakespeare scholar:

It is readily seen that Strachey uses the very words of de Ulloa and Tomson (from Hakluyt's 1600 publication); the only words Shakespeare shares which Strachey are 'and', 'sometime', 'the', and 'then'. Any argument that Shakespeare borrowed from Strachey is, all the more strongly, an argument that Strachey borrowed from Hakluyt, whose book was easily available to Shakespeare. A balanced view of all suggested sources for the shipwreck in *The Tempest* leads to the conclusion that Shakespeare used no identified source. Wright and others who look only at the Bermuda pamphlets are like recruits on guard duty staring at a bush.

#### A 1604 Date for *The Tempest*?

Malone's 1611 composition date for *The Tempest* required selective suppression of curious contrary evidence in the form of some lines from the play written by William Alexander, *The Tragedy of Darius*, first published in 1603, the inspiration for which was apparently furnished by Prospero's speech (4.1.168-178):

Let greatnesse of her glascie scepters vaunt;  
No sceptours, no, but reeds, soone brus'd soon broken:  
And let this worldlie pomp our wits inchant.  
All fades, and scarcely leaves behind a token.  
Those golden Pallaces, those gorgeous halles,  
With fournitoure superfluously faire:  
Those statelie Courts, shoe sky-encountering walles  
Evanish all like vapours in the aire. (STC 349: G4v)

"That there is a parallelism between the two passages is evident," concedes Furness (284), who then goes on to cite two divergent opinions regarding the genesis of the parallelism: "It is impossible to doubt," declared Staunton, "that Shakespeare remembered the lines in Lord Sterling's 'Tragedie'" (284). Impossible, indeed -- at least for true believers in the Stratford Bard. W. Aldis Wright, however, did not find it impossible at all and supposed that there is "hardly enough to justify any inference with regard to priority of the dates" (284). With this agnostic opinion Furness expresses his own agreement, adding that "little faith is to be placed in conclusions drawn from parallelisms which are to be regarded as fortuitous" -- a statement which, given Furness's endorsement of the 1611 composition date, sounds suspiciously like an internal contradiction.

My purpose here is not to prove a 1603-4 date for *The Tempest*, but merely to indicate that the basis for such a case is already in existence and has in fact existed, though not without strenuous attempts to wish it out of existence, for many decades. Based on these verbal parallels between lines from the *Tempest* and *Darius*, as well as an apparent reference to *The Tempest* in Ben Jonson's *Volpone* in 1605, Elze proposed a 1604 date for *The Tempest*, and then argued as followed:

If then, all external arguments and indications are in favour of the year 1604, it only remains for us to come to an understanding with those critics who see in this play the poet's farewell to poetry. This opinion -- apart from the high percentage of double endings--is certainly based more upon feeling than upon a well-founded argumentation, and the poet so astonishingly objective need not have thought of himself in delineating the character of Prospero. We have, however, no reason to dispute this conception, as it can be made to agree excellently well with our own hypothesis. In a word we believe that such leave-taking from poetry on Shakespeare's part might very well have taken place in the year 1604; nay, much more probably than in the year 1611. (18-19)

As it turns out, Elze's theory that Shakespeare "took his leave from poetry" in 1604 can be supported from at least two independent trains of argument.

The first is the pattern of publication of the Shakespeare play quartos, reprinted here as figure 2. As this chart demonstrates, the year 1604 marks a striking hiatus in the publication of new Shakespeare plays in quarto. From 1591, when the *True History* was published anonymously, until 1604 when the second quarto of *Hamlet* appeared in print on the heels of the 1603 "bad" quarto as the work of "William Shakespeare" (apparently by the volition of the author or one of his agents wishing to insure the publication of an authorized text which would supersede the horribly corrupt Q1) some seventeen Shakespeare plays appeared in

print for the first time. The contrast for the nineteen years between Edward de Vere's death and the publication of the 1623 folio could not be more striking. During these nineteen years, only five quartos, including *Shake-Speare's Sonnets* (1609) and the 1622 quarto of *Othello*, were published. Four of these, furthermore (*Pericles*, *Troilus and Cressida*, the *Sonnets* and *Lear*) were published within the space of a few months from May 1608 to May 1609, and the fifth is the anomalous 1622 case of *Othello*, which appeared in quarto during the final months during which the Folio project was being completed, perhaps to capitalize on public antagonism towards Spain at the height of the Spanish marriage crisis. At least one of these four plays (*Troilus*), and the *Sonnets*, are known to have been completed prior to 1604.

Along with the publication of new quartos, authorial revision appears to cease in 1604. In his recent study of the Shakespearean quartos, Robert Sean Brazil identifies five -- *Love's Labor's Lost* QX (1598), *I Henry IV* Q2 (1599), *Romeo & Juliet* Q2 (1599), *Richard III* Q3 (1602), *Hamlet* Q2, (1604), all published before 1604 -- which provide revised or improved texts, explicitly or apparently emended by the author. Three of them stipulate texts "newly corrected" or "newly augmented" by the author (Brazil 1999 38-50). No such quartos were, however, published after 1604<sup>416</sup>.

Even the most ardent followers of the orthodox paradigm must admit that this pattern of evidence presents a serious obstacle to orthodox belief while documenting a powerful circumstantial adjunct to the Oxfordian theory. Why did the publication of quartos declined so precipitously in 1604? The Oxfordians have a simple and elegant answer: the author died. Before 1604, on the other hand, at least some of the play quartos were authorized for publication, and perhaps assisted through the press, by the active intervention of the author. After his death in 1604, access to new manuscript material dried up and publication became a riskier venture.

After Oxford's death, publication was inhibited except for the windows of opportunity which occurred in 1608-9 and 1621-23. Evidence for such an inhibition is persuasive. The 1603 registration of *Troilus and Cressida* to James Roberts approves publication only on condition of his obtaining "sufficient authority," not warranted in the registration itself; the preface to the 1609 quarto of the same play by Bonian and Walley refers to the "grand censors" who have, apparently only under some duress, finally allowed the text's publication. *Antony and Cleopatra*, although registered along with *Pericles* May 20 1608, was apparently not published until the 1623 Folio. Such evidence clearly points to a behind-the-scenes inhibition of Shakespeare plays which prevented publication of a number of plays for many years.

Finally, the period in which new quartos do appear, namely May 1608 - May 1609 coincides with the Countess of Oxford's alienation of her Hackney estate, at which the largest cache of de Vere's own papers, books and manuscripts would have remained up until that point in time, to Fulke Greville.

The second line of evidence consists of a very early tradition, predating Malone, which supports Elze's theory that Shakespeare "took his leave" from the stage and from writing in 1604. Reference to this tradition, apparently completely ignored by orthodox bardography, occurs in a 1756 biography of Ben Jonson by W.R. Chetwood. Following an entry on Jonson's *Sejanus*, Chetwood comments that

Our inimitable Shakespear acted a Part in this Play, judged to be the last he perform'd; since his Name is not mentioned in any Drama after the year 1603; for, at the End of that Year, or the Beginning of the next, 'tis supposed he took his Farewell of the Stage, both as Author and Actor.

(1765: 20)

This dissertation follows the tradition of many orthodox scholars who have identified Prospero as a prominent "authorial" character, announcing his leave of the stage by means of the vehicle of his drama -- and also the minority but still orthodox tradition of Chetwood and Elze that this "leave-taking" took place not in 1611 but in 1604.

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<sup>416</sup> *Lucrece* Q5 states on the title page "newly revised," but the very minor revisions in question have never been held to be authorial and were not claimed as such by the printer. The title page of the 1619 Pavier quarto of *The Whole Contention of the Houses of York and Lancaster* (III Henry VI) boasts a text "Newly corrected and enlarged," but the Pavier series contains a number of manifest misstatements, including three texts falsely backdated for unknown reasons, and there is no more reason to believe that the revisions in question date after 1604 than that they date after 1616. Jaggard's 1612 Q of *The Passionate Pilgrim* also says "Newly corrected and Augmented," but Shakespeare's connection with this publication is tenuous at best. According to Brazil's census, these are the only three post-1604 Shakespearean or pseudo-Shakespearean texts which constitute possible exceptions to the pattern of 1604 cessation of revision.

## APPENDIX M: AN ABBREVIATED HISTORY OF THE AUTHORSHIP QUESTION

The official story of Shakespeare is built upon a cumulative history of improbability, evasion, and outright suppression. The result is a portrait of England's bard which England's greatest writers and thinkers have consistently refused to sanction. "The Life of Shakespeare," admitted Charles Dickens, "is a fine mystery, and I tremble every day lest something should turn up."

It must be admitted, on the other hand, that the official story, expanded by Nicholas Rowe in his 1709 edition of the *Collected Works* from anecdotal accounts published by Fuller (1662), Aubrey (1680), and Gerard Langbein (1691), is not without a certain charm and mythological plausibility. This restoration era tradition appeals to the foundation myth of modern, Capitalist, Protestant culture: all things are possible to all humans, if they happen to be blessed by the special dispensation of genius. Rowe's followers industriously unearthed a documentary trail of breadcrumbs leading from the London publishing houses of the 1590s to Stratford's New Place in the 1990s. Their author wrote well and was rewarded with a bountiful supply of real estate. In this history of literature, art and commerce co-exist in happy union, blessed by the sovereign gaze of the great bust of Shakspeare<sup>417</sup> erected in the Holy Trinity Church in Stratford upon Avon.

Contrary to some accounts, a substantial body of evidence documents the life of the Stratford bourgeois to whom tradition ascribes authorship of the plays. It is not so much a lack of evidence *per se*, but a more subtle problem of its lack of probative value, which has inspired two centuries of overt apostasy by the anti-Stratfordians. Indeed the evidence reveals that at least some contemporaries of the Stratford Shakspeare believed, or at least wanted others to believe, that he was actually the author of the works. A legal mind cannot fail to notice, however, how little of this evidence is actually *probative*: with a few exceptions such as the monument in the Holy Trinity Church at Stratford, the 1623 folio, and the dedicatory epistles on *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and *Rape of Lucrece* (1594), the evidence is indirect and ambiguous, if not actually damaging to the orthodox case. A reader may consult for herself the rich "hagiographical" tradition enshrined in antiquarian researches such as Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare* (1898; 1905), *The Shakspeare Allusion Books* (Ingleby et al. 1909), E.K. Chamber's massive two volume compilation of documents, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (1935), or even Schoenbaum's own *Shakespeare: A Documentary Life* (1975), which document the orthodox tradition with scrupulous attention to minute but all-too-often inconsequential detail.

Yes, the evidence confirms Mr. Shakspeare's prominence as a business entrepreneur, a "natural wit," and – quite likely – London manuscript dealer c. 1593-1600. Was Jonson thinking of him in "Poet Ape"?

Poor poet ape who would be thought our chief,  
Whose works are e'en the frippery of wit,  
From brockage is become so bold a thief  
That we, the robbed, leave rage and pity it.  
At first he made low shifts, would pick and glean,  
Buy the reversion of old plays; Now grown  
To a little wealth, and credit in the scene,  
He takes up all, makes each man's wit his own;  
And, told of this, he slights it. Tut, such crimes  
The sluggish gaping auditor devours;  
He marks not whose 'twas first: and after times  
May judge it to be his, as well as ours.  
Fool, as if half eyes will not know a fleece  
From locks of wool, or shreds from the whole piece? (epigrams LVI)<sup>418</sup>

Quite a few critics, even some of the orthodox persuasion<sup>419</sup>, seem to have thought so. Following his elevation to the gentry in 1600, he retired in splendid bourgeois comfort as the wealthiest landowner in Stratford-on-Avon and took up the occupation of

<sup>417</sup> The monument's spelling.

<sup>418</sup> In his introductory verses in the 1623 folio Jonson echoes the accusation made here, that because the reader fails to comprehend the authorial origin of the text, he is blinded to its meaning, when he alludes to Shakespeare's "well-turned and true-filed lines/in each of which he seems to shake a lance/As brandish't in the eyes of ignorance." On the folio as a hoax, see my essay, "We Have Met the Enemy: A Review Essay of *Puzzling Shakespeare*," in *The Oxfordian* (II: (1999), 154-161).

<sup>419</sup> In the writer's interest of not being accused of exaggerating the case, or of failure to include contrary witness, the following from E.K. Chambers may serve as a cogent summary of the "official" position in 1935: "Probably *nobody now* believes that Greene's attack of 1592 was only the last shot of a five-year pamphlet campaign, or that Shakespeare was the Post-haste of *Histrionastix*, or that Ben Jonson pursued him with malignity, and made him the Poet Ape of his epigrams" (I: 69: emphasis added). Chambers references both Simpson (2.2.339) and Gifford

a dealer in bagged commodities and wool -- while mysteriously failing to educate his daughters well enough to write their own names. Since Rowe's day, literally hundreds of books and monographs have attempted to capture the essential genius of this native son of Warwickshire, to chronicle the "tale of two cities" -- as Schoenbaum (1975b) would have it -- by which this very ordinary country man conquered the London theatre world and went on to ascend Mt. Parnassus.

And yet the doubts have not been shaken off.

Emerging from the nether world of oral speculation and early published tracts -- often of a highly sardonic cast -- such as *An Essay Against Too Much Reading* (1728), *The Adventures of Wit and Common Sense* (1769) or *The Romance of Yachting* (1848), a counter-tradition of vigorous dissent has come to include a veritable "who's who" of English literature and the humanities. The list of famous doubters<sup>420</sup> includes not just Freud, but his mentor Nietzsche (Kaufman 1968 702); not only Mark Twain, but Charles Dickens and James Joyce; Henry James, Emerson, Hawthorne, and even, perhaps, Melville, disputed the sacrosanct academic tautology that "Shakespeare is Shakespeare."

Has the English literary tradition been beguiled -- like the "sluggish gaping auditor" whom Jonson complains cannot distinguish the real author from the merchandising shill? The distinguished historian of European law and cultural studies, Henry Hallam (1777-1859) stated our present disquiet in its classic form as long ago as 1848 when he declared that

Of William Shakespeare whom, through the mouths of those whom he has inspired to body forth the modifications of his immense mind, we seem to know better than any human writer, it may be truly said that we scarcely know anything....All that insatiable curiosity and unwearied diligence have hitherto detected about Shakespeare, serves rather to disappoint and perplex us than to furnish the slightest illustration of his character. It is not the register of his baptism, or the draught of his will, or the orthography of his name that we seek. No letter of his writing, no record of his conversation, no character drawn of him with any fullness by a contemporary can be produced.

(1880 2769-70)

"I am one of the many," concurred Hallam's colleague W.H. Furness, father of *Variorum* Shakespeare editor W.W. Furness, "who is unable to bring the works of William Shakespeare within planetary space of each other. Are there any two things in the world more incongruous?"

"Shall I set down the rest of the conjectures which constitute the giant biography of William Shakespeare?" wondered Samuel Langhorne Clemens in his parody of orthodox views, *Is Shakespeare Dead?* (1909), when he reviewed the pitiful and inconclusive harvest of 19<sup>th</sup> century bardography. "It would strain the Unabridged Dictionary to hold them. He is a Brontosaur: nine bones and six hundred barrels of plaster of Paris" (1909 49).

The great 19<sup>th</sup> century skeptics such as Hallam, Furness or Twain refused almost to a man to declare themselves adherents of the Baconian theory identifying Francis Bacon as the true author of the works<sup>421</sup> "I am firm against Shaksper -- I mean the Avon man, the actor," declared Walt Whitman. "As to Bacon we shall see, we shall see" (Nelson 1992 2, 4). Even the charismatic anti-Stratfordian Delia Bacon, author of the erudite but labyrinthine *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded* (1857), was not really a proponent of the Baconian theory. Ms. Bacon (no relation to the famous essayist and inductive philosopher with whom she shared a name) favored a groupist theory of authorship in which Francis Bacon, Sir Walter Raleigh, the Earl of Oxford and several other leading figures of the Elizabethan court played primary roles (see Hope and Holston, 1-21). Twain snorted at his own sympathy for the Baconian heresy, admitting a "suspicion" for Bacon but no more:

In the assuming trade three separate and independent cults are transacting business. Two of these cults are known as the Shakespearites and the Baconians, and I am the other one--the Brontosaurian.

The Shakespearite knows that Shakespeare wrote Shakespeare's works; the Baconian knows that Francis Bacon wrote them; the Brontosaurian doesn't really know which of them did it, but is quite composedly and contentedly sure that Shakespeare didn't, and strongly suspects that Bacon did.

(50)

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(Cunningham ed. I. lxxxxi) -- so, obviously, somebody as gullible as Herford and Simpson did, once upon a time, place some credence in such peculiar beliefs. Thank God we have transcended the age of miracles and now see things by the clear light of science.

<sup>420</sup> For a quick but more or less complete synopsis, see <http://www.shakespeare-oxford.com>.

<sup>421</sup> Early anti-Stratfordians who were Baconians include Ignatius Donnelly (1888), Francis Potts, William Webbe (1902), Edwin Reed (1902 etc.), Durning-Lawrence (1910), and Baxter (1915), among others. Despite their pursuit of a doubtful conclusion, and frequent use of doubtful modes of reasoning (a characteristic which the Baconians have in common with their orthodox antagonists), these books are not without considerable interest.



## The Cumulative Negative Argument

The Shakespeare mystery consists in the first place in what might be called the "negative argument" against the received tradition of the prosperous wool *Merchant* of Stratford-on-Avon. Looney presciently wrote in 1920 that "the negative argument, like its present constructive counterpart, is cumulative, and like every sound cumulative argument, each of these is receiving additional corroboration and confirmation with almost every new fact brought to light with respect to it" (12). Although reasons of economy prevent a thorough investigation of this "negative cumulative argument," we may consider some principal elements which then were -- and still are -- unaccountably missing from official biographies of "Shakespeare":

- An Authentic portrait<sup>422</sup>;
- Any writing in the author's holograph<sup>423</sup>;
- Record of attendance at a University, the Inns of Court, or employment as a legal clerk or teacher<sup>424</sup>
- Any books from what should have been, by all account, a massive library<sup>425</sup>;
- A single line of dedicatory verse to or from contemporary Elizabethan or Continental writers during his lifetime<sup>426</sup>;
- Any mention of him as a playwright in Philip Henslowe's diary (1591-1600) or in the diaries of his Warwickshire son-in-law John Hall<sup>427</sup>

Depending upon how one establishes the evidentiary value of items such as books, holograph documents, or portraiture, one can easily argue -- notwithstanding Ben Jonson's impressive extant library -- that one or two such absences need not in themselves be taken too seriously. It is quite true that similar absences may be noted for some of Shakespeare's contemporaries<sup>428</sup>. No documents survive, for example, in Christopher Marlowe's holograph. The lives of such less-famous Tudor and Stuart dramatists

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<sup>422</sup> The Droeshaut engraving published in the First Folio (1623), executed by an artist who was thirteen years of age at Shakspeare's death, is either based on a lost original, or drawn to instruction. As any number of literary historians have commented (Greenwood 1921; Rendall n.d., Marcus 1988), the portrait, accompanied by Ben Jonson's sardonic verses instructing a reader to "look not on his picture, but his book," eloquently undermines its own presumed authenticity. Chambers (1935) reproduces authentic portraits of Richard Burbage, William Sly, John Lowin, and Nathan Field, all members of the Lord Chamberlain's or King's Men. Curiously, however, no such portrait of "William Shakspeare" exists.

<sup>423</sup> Holograph is a technical term denoting a sample of handwriting with the writer's signature attached. The six -- or perhaps seven -- Shakspeare signatures are not holograph and testify only to the writer's apparent ability to sign his own name. W.W. Greg, citing "malice aforethought and some particular preference of my own" (Preface and Postscript), accordingly omits Shakspeare from *English Literary Autographs (1550-1650)* (1932). The available evidence also suggests that William Shakspeare's parents and children were unable to write. Both his father and his daughter Judith were "marksmen" -- i.e. in the habit of affixing a "mark" in place of a signature on legal documents. That the inventor of Portia, Hermione and Olivia would have raised or caused to be raised a daughter so illiterate that she could not sign her own name is surely a thing at which no thoughtful person can fail to marvel.

<sup>424</sup> As has frequently been reiterated, no records survive from the Stratford free school at which Shakspeare is traditionally supposed to have derived his "small Latin and less Greek". The inference to be drawn from this fact is not obvious; however, we may reliably conclude on the basis of negative evidence that unlike Greene, Nashe, Marlowe -- or indeed nearly every other playwright of the period (Jonson, tutored at the Westminster Latin School by William Camden, appears to be one exception to this general rule) -- "Shakspeare" was apparently never associated with a University. In search of some explanation for Shakespeare's spontaneous facility with law (see Rushton 1858; 1907; Campbell 1859; Davis 1883; White 1913), Stratfordian biographers have speculated extensively about the bard's legal apprenticeship during the so-called "lost years." However, documentation for a secret life in the Inns of Court or as legal secretary to a major Elizabethan lawyer is utterly lacking.

<sup>425</sup> As Louis Benezet has noted, Shakspeare's acting colleague John Heminge lists a number of books in his will and specifies that five pounds be spent purchasing volumes for the education of his grandchild (SFN 4:6 (Oct. 1943) 78).

<sup>426</sup> Such dedicatory verses are the "tip of the iceberg" -- leaving published, public evidence for what must have been a much wider discursive practice of the exchange of ideas among Tudor and Stuart Literati. Every other writer of consequence -- including some such as John Webster, Francis Beaumont or John Fletcher, for whom other forms of documentary evidence are in short supply -- participated in such practice (for a comprehensive study of comparative "documentary" evidence for various Elizabethan and Stuart dramatists, see Price 2000).

<sup>427</sup> Hall remembers the "excellent poet" Michael Drayton, also of Warwickshire, but says nothing at all about his presumably famous father-in-law (Chambers II 11; Ogburn 1984 38).

<sup>428</sup> On the survival of manuscript evidence, see Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton, reprinted as <http://bcpl.lib.md.us/~tross/ws/survival.html>. A rather weak consideration of evidence as such, from a traditional perspective, is given by David Kathman's "Biographical Information: Shakespeare vrs. His Contemporaries," which notes how sparse the documentary trail is for Christopher Marlowe. Kathman's article is published at [www.scpl.lib.md.us/tross/ws/ox3.html](http://www.scpl.lib.md.us/tross/ws/ox3.html). Kathman unfortunately fails to consider the social or chronological implications of his own argument: Shakspeare lived for twenty-three years longer than Marlowe, wrote eight times as many plays, and died a prosperous bourgeois in possession of a spacious house providing ideal conditions for document preservation. Marlowe, on the other hand, was murdered in 1592 after his transient lodgings had been ransacked by government agents seeking evidence of his heretical Socinianism and culpability in the Dutch libels. The circumstances would hardly be more different.

as Francis Beaumont (1584-1616), John Fletcher (1584-1616), Thomas Middleton (1570-1627), John Webster (fl. 1602-1624), John Ford (1586-c. 1640), and George Chapman (c. 1554-1634) are all less well-documented than literary historians might wish. Four centuries of natural and historical disaster and decay have taken their toll on English documentary archives. A rare commodity in Elizabethan England, paper was valued as a recyclable material. Unless political expediency required the preservation of an original document or letter, paper was often reused in bookbinding or for other utilitarian purposes.

And yet all these writers, despite a paucity of documentary evidence which sometimes approaches that available for Shakespeare, emerge from their historical period as credible flesh and blood individuals whose lives are commensurate with their literary production. The situation with Shakespeare could not be more different. As in the positive case for Oxford's authorship, the effect of critical absences is cumulative. Concur Michael Hart: "in this case, the whole is more than the sum of its parts. Were there just one or two difficulties with the official story, we might accept even rather far-fetched explanations for them. But after a while we can't help see that nothing seems to fit the official story naturally...." (Hart 1991 163).

## Law and Other Anomalies

To be sure, "things that don't fit" --anomalies-- can be cited on both sides of the authorship controversy. Shakespeare's facile, accurate, and seemingly spontaneous employment of technical terms and idioms of law, for example, has long constituted a glaring anomaly for Stratfordians, provoking copious speculation on the author's undocumented "secret life" as a lawyer or lawyer's clerk. Despite attempts by the Stratfordian crusaders like Robertson or Charles G. Allen to deprecate Shakespeare's legal finesse, the weight of sophisticated opinion attests to the inevitable conclusion that Shakespeare employs legal nomenclature more frequently and accurately "than any [other] English writer" (Davis 1883 3).

Lord John Campbell, concurs, writing that Shakespeare shows "deep technical knowledge of the law" and displays an easy familiarity with "some of the most abstruse proceedings in English jurisprudence" (Campbell 1859); Robert Grant White, no anti-Stratfordian, concedes that

Not even Beaumont, who was the younger son of a judge of the common pleas, and who after studying in the Inns of Court abandoned law for the drama, used legal phrases with Shakespeare's readiness and exactness...Legal phrases flowed from his pen as part of his vocabulary, and parcel of his thought.  
(White, cited in Greenwood 1908 373)

By 1908, when George Greenwood published his *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, an overwhelming tide of opinion, flowing from the pens of Stratfordians<sup>429</sup> and anti-Stratfordians alike, justified Greenwood's anti-Stratfordian inference that the author "was well acquainted with the manners and customs of members of the Inns of Court and with legal life generally..." Reviewing the history of the dispute set in motion by Greenwood's book -- which prompted the Stratfordian riposte *The Baconian Heresy -- A Confutation*<sup>430</sup> from J.M. Robertson as well as Charles D. Allen's "Bad Law in Shakespeare" for the *American Bar Association Journal* in 1961 ABAJ editor Richard Bentley concluded that "Sir George showed with conclusiveness that the 'bad law' is Allen's book, and not in Shakespeare's works" (Allen 1974 63). The relevance of such findings, particularly Campbell's attributing to Shakespeare a heightened awareness of extremely "abstruse" fine points of legal casuistry, will become apparent as the reader further considers the quality of evidence presented in this dissertation.

The allegation of Shakespeare's deep and intimate familiarity with sometimes abstruse legal principle and formulae is only one element, albeit a critical one, in the more general proposition that the writer of the Shakespearean works was well-trained and conversant in the liberal arts in general. A similar battle has waged over the claim set forth by scholars such as J. Churlton Collins (1904) and William Theobald (1909) inducing Shakespeare's knowledge of classical literature, both Greek and Latin. As A. A. Prins summarizes the implication of this lengthy and still unresolved chapter in Shakespeare scholarship,

To attribute to Shakespeare great learning and deep classical knowledge, or a profound intimacy with certain legal or state procedures, involves great difficulties for the unwary inquirer, and no doubt makes it difficult for the orthodox Stratfordian position to be maintained with lasting success. This may be seen from a critical perusal of the volumes by Robertson, Greenwood and Beeching, to mention only a few of the protagonists in this field.  
(1)

Thus there has been a consistent effort by partisans of the orthodox school of Shakespearean criticism to deprecate Shakespeare's knowledge of the classical tradition and of law alike.

<sup>429</sup> Davis, Campbell, White and Rushton all defended the legal experience and finesse of the author "Shakespeare" with skill and conviction, refusing to endorse the ideological straw man required on ideological grounds by orthodox compatriots such as Robertson.

<sup>430</sup> A title and emphasis to which Greenwood immediately objected on grounds that Robertson, as Stratfordians have always been wont to do, was beating a straw man: "for my part, I have never subscribed to the 'Baconian Heresy!'" (quoted in Ogburn 298, to whose account of these matters I am indebted).

Principal anomalies which might be counted against the Oxfordians, on the other hand, include the chronology of play composition-- with a large body of technical discourse<sup>431</sup> positing the composition of a number of plays after Oxford's death in 1604; the name "William Shakespeare" or variants on the title pages of many quartos and attached to two dedicatory epistles to Henry Wriothesley in 1593 and 1594; the attributions of the first folio (1623) and the Stratford monument; and finally the mention of "William Shakespeare" as author of several plays by Francis Meres (1598). Oxfordians contend that these pieces of evidence are expressions of a fairly well orchestrated "imaginative conspiracy" (the term is coined by Stevens 1992) by the Tudor crown, invoking de Vere's own tacit collaboration, to suppress public awareness of his authorship.

## Shakespeare's Missing Books

Of the elements of the "cumulative negative argument," one is particularly pertinent to the present study: just where are Shakespeare's books? The question is not new, although the discovery of this first book of Oxford's<sup>432</sup> instills it with a fresh topicality and urgency. The search for the bard's library has exercised the imagination of Shakespeare enthusiasts for over two centuries. Reverend James Wilmot, who retired to his native Warwickshire in 1781 to become rector of a village near Stratford, scoured the countryside for such books and came up empty-handed. Not only did Wilmot's search fail, but the investigator himself became an ardent if somewhat ambivalent anti-Stratfordian, whose convictions were transmitted to the Ipswich Philosophical Society by James Corton Cowell in 1805. Charlton Ogburn offers the following account of this curious episode:

The full results of his researches, which led him by about 1785 to conclude that the Stratfordian was not the author of the plays, were, alas, never to be known to the world; for he gave instructions that upon his death a local schoolmaster and his housekeeper were to "burn on the platform before the house all the bags and boxes" that they could "discover, in the cabinets in my bedroom," and these instructions were scrupulously carried out. We should not know of Wilmot's investigations at all had he not, in about his eightieth year, confided their gist to a visitor, one James Corton Cowell. Cowell, a member of the Ipswich Philosophical Society, had undertaken to obtain information for a paper he was to read before the Society in 1805 on the life of Shakespeare.

His audience was in for a shock. Cowell reported that he had come a "strange pass." He confessed himself a "pervert, nay a Renegade to the Faith I have proclaimed and avowed before you all." So serious was his fall from grace that he expressed himself "prepared to hear from you as I unfold my strange and surprising story cries of disapproval and even of execration." What had happened was that he had failed to find any adequate information on Shakespeare's life either in books or through personal inquiries at Stratford. "Everywhere," he declared, "was I met by a strange and perplexing silence."  
(Ogburn 1984 127)

Cowell, it transpires, was only following in the footsteps of the Reverend Wilmot, who had some years before undertaken the same course of investigation and reached the same alarming conclusion that Stratford was built on a hoax:

Thinking that Shakespeare's books "would have soon passed for money from his poor and illiterate next of kin into the hands of the local gentry who alone purchased books," Wilmot said "he had covered himself with the dust of very bookcase for 50 miles around" without discovering a single volume that might once have belonged to the poet.  
(Ogburn 1984 128)

As Ogburn comments, this failure is doubly perplexing in view of the fact that New Place in Stratford could not possibly have been a more propitious location for the survival of such documents. It was not subject to the 1666 Fire of London, which consumed many important historical documents, and it was in continuous possession of Shakespeare's descendants up until 1674, long after the disruptions of the Civil war, and the Commonwealth:

Few persons in England had cause for as great pride of descent as [Shakespeare's daughter] Elizabeth Hall, who still retained New Place, as did her husband until his death in 1674. Circumstances could hardly have been more favorable to the preservation of the great writer's papers, if Shakespeare were he. Yet Stratford has never produced a scrap of them, or anything in its illustrious son's hand but the three signatures on the will.  
(Ogburn 1984 36)

<sup>431</sup> An early, if not the earliest, systematic attempt to date all the plays is Edmund Malone's "An Attempt to Ascertain the Order in which the Plays of Shakespeare Were Written," first published in January 1778 and found attached to 19<sup>th</sup> century editions of the Collected works edited by Malone and his successors. In the twentieth century, Stratfordian chronologists depend substantially on the extremely careful (for the most part) and erudite 1930 study of E.K. Chambers. For an unusually effective critique of this reliance on Chambers, and of the Stratfordian chronology in general, see Peter R. Moore's essay, "The Dates of Shakespeare's Plays" (1991).

<sup>432</sup> The alert reader may wonder: if we have only one book of Oxford's why is it so surprising that we possess none of Shakespeare's? The answer is primarily a historical one: perhaps one tenth of one percent of the effort expended in search of Shakespeare's books has been expended in searching for Oxford's. One may confidently predict that further books from Oxford's library will soon be discovered and documented, now that the search for them has begun in earnest.

For reasons noted by Looney as long ago as 1920, the story of the "missing books" assumes special significance in light of the pre-existing deficiencies in the Stratfordian account of authorship. The orthodox view, noted Looney, requires one to believe in a Shakespeare who "emerges from squalor and ignorance without leaving a trace of the process or means by which he accomplished the extraordinary feat..." (20). "The only conditions," he continued, "which could have compensated in any degree for such initial disabilities as those from which William Shakspeare suffered would have been *a plentiful supply of books* and ample facilities for a thorough study of them..." (18: emphasis added). Fifty-six years later, David McPherson's bibliographical survey has identified 206 surviving books from the library of Shakespeare's contemporary, "Honest Ben" Jonson (c. 1573-1637). Jackson Campbell Boswell's catalog of books from Milton's library (1975) lists 1520 items. The score for Shakespeare, however, is still zero<sup>433</sup>. In 1992, on the eve of the rediscovery of the de Vere Bible, John Paul Stevens in his "Shakespeare Canon of Statutory Construction," still wonders:

Where is Shakespeare's library? He must have been a voracious reader and, at least after he achieved success, could certainly have afforded to have his own library. Of course, he may have had a large library that disappeared centuries ago, but it is nevertheless of interest that there is no mention of any library, or of any books at all, in his will, and no evidence that his house in Stratford ever contained a library.  
(1373)<sup>434</sup>

Of course, the objection to this line of reasoning is inevitable; the absence of any surviving letters, books, or literary documents associated with William Shakspeare of Stratford results, we are assured *ad nauseam*<sup>435</sup>, from a class bias inherent in the survivability rates of documents. The *ad hoc* nature of such a foray into English social history is so sufficiently attested by the numerous books, letters and manuscript materials surviving from Shakespeare's contemporary Ben Jonson<sup>436</sup> – a middle class-poet and playwright if there ever was one – as to hardly require rebuttal.

More importantly, the tradition of doubt regarding the Official story of Shakespeare is only in part based on such evidentiary lacunae; fundamentally, it derives from the misfit between the character of the literary work and the many documents which have survived as witness to the shape of the Stratford Shakspeare's<sup>437</sup> life. We might consider, for example, his 1616 will; unlike the wills of other even passinglly literate bourgeois, Shakspeare's displays not an iota of literary interest. In the words of one of the will's earliest transcribers, the Rev. Joseph Greene, writing to James West:

I am pretty certain that the thing itself will not come up too the Idea you may have entertained of it, as it bears the name of Shakespear's Will: the legacies and the Bequests therein, are undoubtedly as he intended; but the manner of introducing them, appears to me so dull and irregular, *so absolutely void of ye least particle of that spirit which animated our great Poet; that it must lessen his Character as a writer*, to imagine ye least sentence of it his production.  
(emphasis added)

Greene does not even mention the absence of books or other literary paraphernalia in the will. Perhaps the disappointment of this early but honest bardolator on this score was too great to put into words.

Because of the misfit between life and art which has become an inevitable feature of Stratfordian discourse, the discourse minimizes the role of lived experience in shaping the texture of a work of art. Stratfordians replace this otherwise indispensable element of literary biography with clichéd reference to more mundane and presumably universal motives such as the desire for pecuniary gain or the epideictic competition to produce a superlative work of literary craftsmanship. It seems undeniable that under such circumstances, the role of education, and above all access to books and other forms of intellectual stimulation, must

<sup>433</sup> For the one alleged book from Shakspeare's missing library, see Miller (1975 II: 331-38). It is doubtless, as the former owner Roderick Eagle surmises, an 18<sup>th</sup> c. forgery.

<sup>434</sup> This question is in no sense resolved – indeed it is, on the contrary, adroitly evaded for some twelve-hundred pages of exegesis, in studies such as J.W. Baldwin's *Shakespeare's Small Latin and Less Greek* (1944) which purport to trace the intellectual influences on Shakespeare and enumerate the sources of his ideas. Baldwin's account of the myriad books Shakespeare "must have" or "probably did" own or consult -- the contingencies being as a matter of principle hopelessly muddled in Baldwin's tautologically orthodox discourse -- mirrors the methodology of the bardographers, skillfully transforming the otherwise bookless Mr. Shakspeare into a myriad-minded Renaissance man. Despite the hocus-pocus, however, the void at the heart of the mystery remains. "Beyond the two or three facts which were beaten into us in school," concluded *New York Times* correspondent John Russell wrote, reviewing Schoenbaum's 1981 Folger exhibit, *The Globe and the World*, "all is surmise. Behind the standard grammatical formulas -- he 'could have,' he 'might have,' he 'must have' and 'he probably did' -- a huge emptiness lurks" (Ogburn 1984 69).

<sup>435</sup> David Kathman, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, April 1996; The Shakespeare Authorship Web Page ([www.bcpl.lib.md.us/~tross/ws/ox5.html](http://www.bcpl.lib.md.us/~tross/ws/ox5.html)).

<sup>436</sup> For a list of the books known in 1974, see McPherson. For a dated but impressively thorough survey of other original materials about Jonson, see Herford and Simpson (1941).

<sup>437</sup> Following the conventions established by Furnivall and other 19<sup>th</sup> century Shakespeare scholars, I preserve the spelling "Shakspeare" to designate the name of the man from Stratford; I use the spelling "Shakespeare" to refer to the poet.

correspondingly assume a greater importance for the literary historian or biographer. What life experience does not supply, reading must. And this is precisely where the official account disintegrates before our eyes. It is not merely that the relevant documents are missing, but that Shakespeare's entire relationship to the literary past is obscured -- I maintain -- by the false presumption about his biographical identity.

In his 1991 revision of *Shakespeare's Lives*, orthodoxy's most sophisticated scholar and shrewd propagandist confronts the real problem: "it is tempting to despair of ever bridging the vertiginous expanse between the sublimity of the subject and the mundane inconsequence of the documentary life" (Schoenbaum 1991 568). Perception of this "vertiginous expanse" is not a late 20<sup>th</sup> century phenomenon; it stretches back well into the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, arising concurrently with the modern biographical discourse of Shakespeare, a Restoration phenomenon, of which Nicholas Rowe's 1709 synopsis of the life of "Shakespeare" is the earliest exemplar (See Dickson 1998 for a recent appraisal of this literary tradition).

By 1912, when Andrew Lang published what remains the best orthodox criticism of the heretical school ever written, the smart money was clearly on Twain's "Brontosaurian" theory. If one strips away the sarcasm, Lang's description of the "great unknown" endorsed by Sir George Greenwood and other leading heretics, represents a perfect synopsis of the man J.T. Looney recovered in his 1920 *Shakespeare Identified*:

Conceive a "concealed poet," of high social position, contemporary with Bacon and Shakespeare. Let him be so fond of the Law that he cannot keep legal "shop" out of his love Sonnets even. Make him a courtier; a statesman; a philosopher; a scholar who does not blench even from the difficult Latin of Ovid and Plautus. Let this almost omniscient being possess supreme poetic genius, extensive classical attainments, and a tendency to make false quantities. Then conceive him to live through the reigns of "Eliza and our James," without leaving in history, in science, in society, in law, in politics or scholarship, a single trace of his existence. He left nothing but the poems and plays usually attributed to Will. As to the date of decease, we only know that it must necessarily have been later than the composition of the last genuine Shakespearean play--for this paragon wrote it. (Lang 1912 5)

Lang was wrong about only one thing. This "concealed poet"<sup>438</sup> left many traces of his existence -- in the form of tributes by contemporaries, letters written in his own fine italic handwriting, poems published under his own and other names, and even his own, hand-annotated Geneva Bible, which furnishes the subject of the present dissertation.

In our own century, the history of the Shakespeare question might broadly be divided into two major phases. During the first phase, notes Richard Whalen, "establishment scholars, found mainly in the newly formed English departments at universities, continued to teach the firmly entrenched belief that the man from Stratford was the author Shakespeare" (67). Francis Bacon, by default, remained the chief suspect among educated "Brontosaurians" who did not chance upon Looney's case for Oxford.

It was during this initial phase, inspired by George Greenwood's incisive criticisms of the orthodox position but unsatisfied - like Whitman -- by the Baconian alternative, that Looney began his search for "Shakespeare." He began by inductively constructing a portrait of his suspect from the evidence deposited in the plays and then searching for an individual who matched that portrait. In other words, he first asked not *who*, but *what kind of a man*, Shakespeare was. In answer, Looney enumerated the following list of nine general characteristics:

1. A matured man of recognized genius.
2. Apparently eccentric and mysterious.
3. Of intense sensibility—a man apart.
4. Unconventional.
5. Not adequately appreciated.
6. Of pronounced and known literary tastes.
7. An enthusiast in the world of drama.
8. A lyric poet of recognized talent.
9. Of superior —classical—education and the habitual associate of educated people.

(92)

To this list, after further consideration, Looney added another nine points based upon the patterning of images and ideas found in the plays:

1. A man with Feudal connections.
2. A member of the higher aristocracy.

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<sup>438</sup> The phrase is from a 1602 letter (Lambeth Palace MSS. 976, fo. 4) to Francis Bacon from Sir John Davies which ends with the salutation "desiring you to be good to concealed poets" (Hope 1993).

3. Connected with Lancastrian supporters.
4. An enthusiast for Italy.
5. A follower of sport (including falconry).
6. A lover of music.
7. Loose and improvident in money matters.
8. Doubtful and somewhat conflicted in his attitude towards women.
9. Of probable Catholic leanings, but touched with skepticism. (103)

Alerted to de Vere's talents as a lyric poet by Francis Palgrave's printing of "If Women Could Be Fair" (see appendix p. 497 below) in the *Golden Treasury*, Looney had to look no further than Sir Sidney Lee's *Dictionary of National Biography* entry to discover how perfectly de Vere matched this profile. "Despite his violent and perverse temperament,"<sup>440</sup> wrote Lee,

His eccentric taste in dress, and his reckless waste of substance, [Oxford] evinced a genuine taste in music and wrote verses of much lyric beauty.....Puttenham and Meres reckon him among the best for comedy in his day; but though he was a patron of players, no specimens of his dramatic productions survive. A sufficient number of his poems is extant to corroborate Webbe's comment, that he was the best of the courtier poets of the early days of Queen Elizabeth, and that 'in the rare devices of poetry he may challenge to himself the title of the most excellent amongst the rest.' (228)

*Ecce homo!* Here was a man not only eccentric but positively mysterious, not merely unconventional in his dress and controversial in action, but of pronounced and enigmatic literary taste, a talented writer of lyric poetry, music and comedy -- like Hamlet an aristocratic patron of players caught up in the political hothouse of a dangerous and factionalized court. Looney surmised that a little detective work could scrape away the veneer of artistic illusion disguising the Elizabethan Court as Elsinore and reveal the topical contours lurking behind the arras.

Further investigation not only supplied detail corroborating facts enumerated in Lee's account but disclosed several additional lines of inquiry which confirmed other elements in Looney's original portrait of de Vere as "Shakespeare": de Vere's poetry makes frequent reference to sport, to classical literature, and to characteristically "Shakespearean" idioms, images and figurative devices; he was the notorious "Italianated" Englishman of his age<sup>441</sup>, lampooned by his enemies as a *diablo incarnato*, more Tuscan dandy than English boar; both de Vere's poetry and his life reveal a series of highly conflicted relations with women, beginning with his apparently profound alienation from his mother when his father died suddenly in 1562; he was among the most downwardly mobile, apparently spendthrift, of all nobleman during the period of English history known as the era of the "crisis of the aristocracy"; his patrilineal descendents in the Earldom of Oxford had fought on the Lancastrian side during the wars of the Roses, and indeed two of them had been executed by the greatest and most successful of the Yorkist Kings, Edward IV -- which just might serve to explain why, as Peter Saccio notes, "of all the English kings in Shakespeare's double tetralogy, Edward IV is most neglected by the playwright." Continues Saccio, "Shakespeare's telescoping of time elides Edward's twenty-two years on the throne; the bard does not even have a play named after him. Yet the reign was prosperous. Aside from Henry V, he was the most successful of the later Plantagenets" (160: emphasis added).

Looney's case progressed from consideration of general characteristics towards the specific circumstances and idioms which seemed to confirm the initial identification of de Vere as "Shakespeare." Before his investigation was complete, Looney discovered that the historical prototype for Polonius, the bumbling Prime Minister of Elsinore whom Hamlet slays with the sardonic comment, "dead for a ducat/Thou findest to be too busy is some danger" (3.4.23) was none other than de Vere's real life guardian and father-in-law, Lord Treasurer William Cecil (1520-1598). The fair youth of Shake-Speare's Sonnets (pub. 1609) and dedicatee of the two narrative poems (1593, 1594), Henry Wriothesley the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Southampton, was betrothed to de Vere's daughter Elizabeth during the critical period 1591-93 in which the "Shakespeare" marriage sonnets were composed. For readers such as Leslie Howard, Sigmund Freud, William McFee or Orson Welles, Looney's case was all but definitive. Reviewing the book for the *New Yorker*, Hamilton Basso declared that Looney had written "the most enthralling piece of detection I have ever read....I will never again believe in the conventional representation of Shakespeare" (Miller 1975 I: 659).

Ironically, the cogency of Looney's case became an impediment to open discussion of the authorship question in the opening decades of the new century. The emerging academic Shakespeare establishment had no easy answer for this new, mutated heresy. In his 1924 Shakespeare lecture to the British Academy E.K. Chambers thundered against the "small minds" which, in their failure to comprehend the "greatness and variability" of Shakespeare's genius, scoured the *Dictionary of National Biography* for an alternative author, preferably an aristocrat, of the plays" (1)-- but contented himself by openly attacking only the "disintegrators" such as J.M. Robertson, who imagined that "Shakespeare" might not have written *Titus Andronicus*. Such enemies of the "rock of Shakespeare's reputation," thought Chambers, "offer results hardly less perturbing than those with which the Baconians and their kin make our flesh creep" (1). Instead of holding discussions with the enemy, Chambers and his cohort

<sup>440</sup> No doubt Lee refers here to the dubious accounts of Oxford's actions and attitudes as given by Henry Howard and Charles Arundel (see Ward 206-223).

<sup>441</sup> Lee's account of Oxford's "eccentric dress" refers to the Earl's taste for Italian fashion evidenced in the 1586 Gheeraedts Portrait (see p. 72).

fired their arrows against dubious allies like Robertson, who made them look bad by getting the worst of it in their public skirmishes with *real enemies* such as Sir George Greenwood. As for Looney, they most typically refused him the dignity of a name. Hope and Holston summarize orthodox reactions to Looney in their recent survey of the history of the authorship question:

The best trained and most highly respected professional students of Shakespeare in the colleges and universities of England and America contemplated the seemingly seamless argument presented in *'Shakespeare' Identified* and quickly discovered a flaw in it. The book was written by a man with a funny name. They found their arguments against Looney where they had found their arguments in favor of William Shakspeare -- on a title page. (Hope & Holston 1992 116)

In his 1931 survey of anti-Stratfordian theories, the renowned economic historian Gilbert Slater could still observe that

Mr. Looney's book has never been answered, unless *Shakespeare's Handwriting in "Sir Thomas More"* be regarded as an answer. The hostile reviews that appeared at the time mainly relied upon the 'the irrefragable rock of Jonson's testimony' for rebuttal, and journalists, if making reference at all to the issue, fell back upon the old device of calling all who doubted the traditional view 'Baconians' (183)

It is indicative of the essential weakness of the official story of Shakespeare that, sixty-eight years later, its apologists persist in affecting the pretense that the Oxford case is just one among a number of equally implausible heresies. According to this view, the case does not merit sustained examination and does not require serious refutation on its own terms.

By default, serious examination<sup>442</sup> of the Oxford case was left almost exclusively to amateur enthusiasts such as the novelist Esther Singleton (Barrell 1946, 14), Sigmund Freud, lawyers such as Charlton and Dorothy Ogburn, Dartmouth's former Education Department chair, Louis Benezet or Charles Wisner Barrell, the irrepressible editor of the *Shakespeare Fellowship Newsletter* (1939-1943) and the *Shakespeare Fellowship Quarterly* (1944-48).

During this phase, it is true, a few broadsides were launched from academic terrain against the amateurs: following Barrell's 1940 *Scientific American* article on the Ashbourne Portrait, Oscar James Campbell did his best to detonate the case for Oxford in his appropriately titled *Harpers* article, "Shakespeare Himself." In 1962, Folger Director James McManaway, apparently writing in response to the popular paperback *Shake-Speare: The Man Behind the Name* (Ogburn and Ogburn 1962), managed to "classify the objections to William Shakespeare and consider them apart from the claims advanced for any of the proposed authors" (30) -- without mentioning Looney, Ogburn, Greenwood, or even Mark Twain -- let alone Edward de Vere<sup>443</sup> -- in either his essay or notes.

## *The Mysterious William Shakespeare*

"It is a dangerous book, with a specious plausibility, likely to mislead the non-specialist reader," opined Folger Director Dawson. Dawson was reviewing a book by Charlton Ogburn's parents, *This Star of England*, first published in 1952 and still an underground classic in Oxfordian circles. But it was *The Mysterious William Shakespeare*, published thirty-two years after Dawson's splenetic review of *This Star of England*, which has "misled" an entire generation of critical readers into the wilderness of an eternal skepticism over Dawson's orthodox cult of the expert. It did so by placing on the record, for the benefit of posterity, what one non-partisan correspondent<sup>444</sup> referred to as the "paranoid, shrill, even hysterical defense of sacred territory encroached upon by infidels" by orthodox academicians such as Folger director Dawson or his Harvard colleagues, Professors Harry Levin and Glynn Evans.

*The Mysterious William Shakespeare* is a vivid and scrupulous synopsis of the case as it stood in the early 1980s. It is also a stunning indictment of the misguided tactics employed by Dawson, McManaway, Levin, Evans, and other apologists for the official story of Shakespeare in response to books such as *This Star of England*. This documentation of the animadversions of Ogburn's opponents marked a new tactic in the authorship question. Ogburn's polemics were almost always of a higher intellectual order than those he cited for purposes of refutation. The average reader emerged from the book with a serious conviction that something was rotten in orthodox Shakespeare studies and that the Oxfordians held at least a part of the solution.

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<sup>442</sup> Stephen May, an orthodox scholar who has considered the authorship question from a vantage point which approaches rationality, claims that "the orthodox rejoinder has been set forth by many of this century's most distinguished Shakespeareans" (1981, 10), but fails to provide a single citation to support this claim. At any rate, whoever the authors of these devastating rejoinders are supposed to have been, (Campbell, McManaway, Dawson and Schoenbaum spring to mind), the content of orthodox responses to Looney and Ogburn have remained, up until the present, an intellectual scandal.

<sup>443</sup> Except in passing in introducing the Meres' quotation discussed below.

<sup>444</sup> Charles C. Dickinson of the Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia. Quoted in Ogburn (1984 179).

In the wake of this book the tide had begun to turn --inevitably, the present writer believes-- in the direction of greater openness and freedom of inquiry within academic circles. By the present moment in 1998, deviant views are expressed even within the sanitized environment of the typical University English Department (see, e.g., Anderson 1997). No longer can the Shakespeare question be declared taboo by tenured fiat. In Ogburn's book, orthodox Shakespeareans suffered an irremediable blow to the official credo of their belief.

There is no better testimony to the reality of this "sea change" -- which has wrought upon the bones of Shakespeare an alchemical mutation, transforming them into the "rich and strange" coral of the emergent Oxfordian tradition -- than the published remarks of the late Samuel Schoenbaum of Northwestern University in his revised 1992 edition of *Shakespeare's Lives*. After expending a lifetime as the most industrious, prolific and sophisticated bardographer of the post WW-II era, Schoenbaum finally returned to the epistemological abyss which Mark Twain had parodied *sans merci* eighty-three years previously in *Is Shakespeare Dead?* In his emendation to the second edition of his cultural history of Shakespeare studies, *Shakespeare's Lives* (fp 1975) -- a revision evidently prepared under the depressing influence of *The Mysterious William Shakespeare* (1984) -- Schoenbaum finally confessed to experiencing the temptation "to despair of ever bridging *the vertiginous expanse* between the sublimity of the subject and mundane inconsequence of the documentary record" (1992 568: emphasis added). Reviewing Samuel Schoenbaum's comprehensive 1976 compilation *Shakespeare: A Documentary Life*, Francis Edwards (SJ) had already commented that

until better evidence comes to light for William Shakespeare, the writer, many -- which may become most -- will look elsewhere for a more plausible candidate behind the name on the titlepages than the actor who left behind him no letters or manuscripts, took no discernable interest in the publication of his works, and never read a book in his premature retirement. (568)



## APPENDIX N: A MATTER OF STYLE

For Looney, a prime body of evidence identifying de Vere as "Shakespeare" was the collection of de Vere juvenilia, first published in Alexander Grosart's 1872 *Worthies of the Fuller Memorial Library*. "An unlifted shadow somehow lies across his memory," commented Grosart on the occasion of this literary exhumation. "Park in his edition of 'Royal and Noble Authors' (vol. II p. 115) has done his utmost, but that utmost is meagre....[His poems] are not without touches of the true Singer and there is an atmosphere of graciousness and culture about them that is grateful" (359).

If women could be fair and yet not fond,  
Or that their love were firm, not fickle still,  
I would not marvel that they make men bond,  
By service long to purchase their good will;  
But when I see how frail those creatures are,  
I muse that men forget themselves so far.

To mark the choice they make, and how they change,  
How oft from Phoebus do they fly to Pan,  
Unsettled still like haggards wild they range,  
These gentle birds that fly from man to man;  
Who would not scorn and shake them from the fist,  
And let them fly, fair fools, which way they list

Yet for disport we fawn and flatter both,  
To pass they time when nothing else can please,  
And train them to our lure with subtle oath,  
Till weary of their wiles, ourselves we ease;  
And then we say when we their fancy try,  
To play with fools, O what a fool was I.

Figure One hundred and eighteen: "A Renunciation," As first published by Francis Turner Palgrave in his *Golden Treasury* (1861).

Following in Grosart's footsteps, Looney determined to lift the veil. He reasoned that the works of the "Shakespeare" were the product of a mature dramatic sensibility with a lengthy but submerged foreground during the author's literary apprenticeship in the middle decades of the reign of Elizabeth I (1553-1604). Shakespeare's fluency with lyric poetry, as evidenced in the numerous songs and other short lyric pieces embedded in the published dramas would, supposed Looney, be reflected in the published trail of this person writing under his own name before the imposition of the *nom de plume*.

Indeed, Looney's first hint of de Vere's identity as Shakespeare was the striking character of the lyric "If Women Could be Fair," reprinted in the first edition of Francis Turner Palgrave's classic collection of English lyrics, *The Golden Treasury* (1861-63)<sup>445</sup>, under Palgrave's title, "A Renunciation." Looney recognized in this poem

<sup>445</sup> The bibliographical history of the poem's appearance in this, a book known as the greatest poetry anthology ever produced in the language, which has gone into literally hundreds of printings since its first publication in 1861, could comprise a lengthy and entertaining chapter in any thorough study of the authorship controversy. A new edition, deleting the poem along with other changes, was prepared in 1883 when Palgrave transferred his copyrights to the Macmillan Co.. However, Palgrave apparently transferred rights to the original edition to Oxford University Press, which to this day retains in print the original edition with de Vere's poem. One begins to think that Palgrave's reputation for "arranging things" extends well beyond the norm for mere literary historians. His father, Sir Francis Palgrave, was the famous antiquarian and historian (1788-1861) who died the same year as the publication of the *Golden Treasury*. The son, a close friend of Tennyson's, is credited by the DNB as having produced, in the *Golden Treasury*, "one of those rare instances in which critical work has a substantive imaginative value, and entitles its author to rank among creative artists...Palgrave was one of those men of whose distinction and influence consist less in creative power than in that appreciation of the best things which is the highest kind of criticism, and in the habit of living, in all matters of both art and life, at the highest standard. This quality, which is what is meant by the classical spirit, he possessed to a degree always rare, and perhaps more rare than ever in the present age," according to J.W.M in the DNB (1114-1116).

The same succinctness of expression, the same compactness and cohesion of ideas, the same smoothness of diction, the same idiomatic wording which we associate with "Shakespeare"; there was the characteristic simile of the hawks, and finally that peculiar touch in relation to women that I had noted in the Sonnets. (110)

### My Mind to Me A Kingdom Is

My Mind to me a Kingdom is, such perfect joy therein I find,  
That it excels all other bliss that world affords or grows by kind;  
Though much I want which most men have, yet still my mind forbids to crave.

No Princely pomp, no wealthy store, no force to win the victory,  
No wily wit to salve a sore, no shape to feed each gazing eye,  
To none of these I yield as thrall; for why? My mind doth serve for all.

I see how plenty suffers oft, how hasty climbers soon do fall;  
I see that those that are aloft, mishap doth threaten most of all;  
They get with toil, they keep with fear, such cares my mind could never bear.

Content I live, this is my stay, I seek no more than may suffice;  
I press to bear no haughty sway, look what I lack my mind supplies.  
Lo thus I triumph like a King, Content with what my mind doth bring.

Some have too much yet still do crave, I little have and seek no more;  
They are but poor though much they have and I am rich with little store.  
They poor, I rich, they beg, I give, they lack, I leave, they pine, I live.

I laugh not at another's loss, I grudge not at another's gain,  
No worldly waves my mind can toss, my state at one doth still remain;  
I fear no foe nor fawning friend, I loathe not life nor dread my end.

Some weigh their pleasure by their lust, their wisdom by their rage or will;  
Their treasure is their only trust, and cloaked craft their store of skill;  
But all the pleasure that I find, is to maintain a quiet mind.

My wealth is health and perfect ease, my conscience clear my chief defense;  
I neither seek by bribes to please, nor by desert to breed offense.  
Thus do I live, thus will I die, would all did so well as I.

Figure One hundred and nineteen : "My Mind to Me a Kingdom Is." According to Stephen May (1975 25), this is "among the most popular verses in the English language" and "has been almost continuously in print since 1588 when it appeared [anonymously -- R.S.] in William Byrd's *Psalms, Sonets and Songs*. It was not attributed to Edward Dyer until 1850.

Subsequent investigation has provided ample further detail supporting Looney's thesis of a profound link between the body of de Vere's known poetry and the mature works of "Shakespeare."

Four editions of de Vere's poetry currently exist. In his subsequent *Poems of Edward de Vere* (1930), Looney reprinted the lyrics assembled by Grosart with some additions; Stephen May's systematic bibliographical study of de Vere's extant corpus has added several additional poems, among them, importantly, the famous lyric traditionally attributed to Edward Dyer, "My Mind to Me a Kingdom Is" (May 1975, 1980). Perhaps the most complete and accurate list of de Vere's poems, however, is reprinted by Sobran (1996)<sup>446</sup>, who omits some doubtful poems included by Looney but restores several additional pieces brought to light by Professor May while prudently retaining de Vere's echo poem, apparently written for Anne Vavasour c. 1581<sup>447</sup>.

<sup>446</sup> For a poem not known to Sobran, apparently extant in de Vere's holograph, see Jones (1992 93) and Stritmatter (1998a).

<sup>447</sup> Although May admits that the subject of the poem -- as clearly marked in extant manuscripts -- is the love affair between Oxford and Anne Vavasour, he expresses the curious opinion that the poem's "tone and point of view" are "quite inappropriate for either of its principals" (80), and proposes that neither Oxford nor Vavasour wrote the piece. One wonders how Professor May defines the "appropriateness" in this context. The poem circulated widely in manuscript and was ascribed to Oxford by Sir John Harrington (May 79); it adopts a tone of high irony towards

The question of the significance of the stylistic and idiomatic connections posited between de Vere's lyric poems and the works of Shakespeare is inseparable from assumptions about the development and timing of the expression of the artistic faculty. C. S. Lewis wrote for the majority in holding that the lyricist de Vere exhibits "here and there, faint talent, but is for the most part undistinguished and verbose" (cited in Sobran 1994 231). Admits Joseph Sobran about de Vere's poems:

Few would call them works of genius. How, then, can they be Shakespeare's? Perhaps because they are early poems. They certainly display strong similarities to the artificially rhetorical manner of much of Shakespeare's earlier work and his non-dramatic poetry . (231)

For Looney, Sobran and other Oxfordian theorists, de Vere's "undistinguished" poetry represents the apprenticeship phase of Shakespeare's development as an artist. Such literary historians view the later body of work as the mature expression of artistic faculties present in embryo in work preserved under de Vere's own name. For this reason, ascertaining the composition dates of the de Vere lyrics is important. Looney, for his part, believed that all the de Vere poems were written prior to the marriage crisis of 1576. Indeed, the *Paradise of Dainty Devises*, first published in 1576<sup>448</sup>, contains the largest single body of poems to appear under de Vere's name before the modern period. After 1576 no new work from de Vere's pen seems to have been published within his own lifetime. The subsequent discovery by Charles Wisner Barrell of de Vere's 1581 affair with Anne Vavasour, however, necessitates a redating of de Vere's undated echo poem, which exists only in several manuscript variants, to c. 1581. Possibly, some of de Vere's most accomplished lyrics, such as "My Mind To Me A Kingdom Is" (first published anonymously 1588) also date to the 1580s. His Latin epigraph to Joshua Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas' *Days and Weeks*<sup>449</sup>, reprinted here as figure one hundred and twenty, was not published until 1605 and most likely dates to the late 1590's.

In general, however, de Vere's lyric corpus arises from the correct temporal horizon to be regarded as "Shakespearean" juvenilia -- namely, in the main, the decade of the 1570s. Some poems, moreover, such as "His Good Name Being Blemished, He Bewaileth," may well date to Oxford's adolescence during the 1560s.

However, Looney viewed de Vere's lyrics not only in relation to the later works of Shakespeare, but in relation to that of a prior generation of English lyricists, of whom Wyatt, Lord Vaux, and de Vere's uncle, The Earl of Surrey, were the foremost exponents. From these poets, de Vere borrowed much of his diction and technique, including specific literary formulae such as the "Shakespearean" rhyme scheme ABABCC. Looney's study chronicled a career in which "a youthful compliance with conventional standards" later gave way under the impress of a highly imaginative mind, fortified by a rigorous and superlative early training, to "the triumph of his matured conceptions" in the

#### JOSUA SYLVESTER

##### ANAGRAM.

Vere Os Sallustii

*Os tu SYLVESTER nostro cur Ore vocaris?  
An quod in ORE feras Mel? Quod in Aure Mel-os?  
An quod BARTASI faciem dum pingis & ORA,  
ORA tui pariter quaelibet ora colit?  
Nempe licet duram prae te fers nomine SILVAM,  
Sylvas & salebras carmina nulla tenent:  
Sed quod Athenarum COR, dux Salaminius olim  
Dixit, Inest libris, Osque vigorque tuis.  
Ergo Os esto aliis, mihi Suadae lingua videris;  
Musis & Phoebus charus OCELLUS eris.*

Ad Gallum

DE BARTASIO JAM

Toto Anglice donato.

*Quod Gallus factus modo sit, mirare, Britannus,  
Galle? Novum videas, nec tamen invideas:  
Silvester vester, noster Bartasius, ambo  
Laude quidem gemina digni, ut & ambo pari.*

#### IN DETRACTORES

Ad Authorem.

*Taceat malevolum OS male strepentis Zoili;  
Monstrum bilingue, septuplex Hydrae caput:  
Cum Septimanam septies faustam canis  
Te septimanam septies faustam facit  
Quaevis, nec ulla delect Josuam Dies.  
Nempe ORE fari Vera si licet meo,  
OS ipse VERE diceris SALUSTII;  
Qui si impetaris dentibus mordentibus  
Impurioris, ORIS atheos Theon  
Os non carere dentibus sciat tuum.*

E. L. Oxon.

Figure One hundred and twenty: Prefatory Latin Verses in 1605 edition of Sylvester's translation of *Days and Weeks*, signed E. L. Oxon.; these pun mercilessly on the name "de Vere."

Vavasour which seems quite in keeping with Oxford's aloof literary response to being jilted by the notoriously free-spirited Vavasour, who bore his child in 1581. May lists five manuscript variants and a sixth (Folger MS V.a.89) is mentioned by Barrell (1942) and has been considered in some detail by Miller (1975 II:369-404).

<sup>448</sup> The popular anthology was republished several times starting in 1578.

<sup>449</sup> The attribution of these lyrics to Oxford made by Miller and originally seconded by James Fitzgerald (SOS Newsletter 33:1, Winter 1997, 1, 10-14), has very recently been challenged by Andrew Hannas (SOS Newsletter 34), who believes that the printed attribution "E.L. Oxon" stands for "Edward Lapworth, Oxford." Lapworth was a prominent Latin epigramatist and graduate of Oxford University, whose Latin poems enjoyed wide circulation in such important publications as STC 6333, 19018, 19019, 19046, 19047, 14791, 19022, 19023, 19024, and 19025. Having closely considered the matter I cannot accept the view of Lapworth's authorship of the verses attached to Sylvester's 1605 publication. Lapworth's work lacks the scintillating punster wit and delicate melodic intervals of this poem by "E.L. Oxon."

adult writer "Shakespeare."<sup>450</sup> There was, thought Looney, a "unity in the proofs." He proposed to bring this unity into focus by placing the juvenilia of de Vere alongside the lyrics of Shakespeare, in order to judge "whether or not the former contain the natural seeds and clear promise of the latter" (135).

An instance of this method was Looney's comparison of the use of anaphora in *Rape of Lucrece* and in de Vere's "Rejected Lover" lyric. Both passages involve anaphora extended over several lines of verse, capped by a concluding *sententia* in rhyming couplet advancing a moral proposition:

Let him have time to tear his curled hair	And let her feel the power of your might
Let him have time against himself to rave,	And let her have most desire with speed
Let him have time Time's help to despair	And let her pine away both day and night
Let him have time to live a loathed slave	And let her moan and none lament her need
Let him have time a beggar's orts to crave	And let all those that shall her see
And time to see one that by alms doth live	Despise her state and pity me.
Disdain to him, disdained scraps to give.	

"If these are not both from the same pen," concluded Looney, "never were there two poets living at the same time whose mentality and workmanship bore so striking a resemblance" (145).

A skeptic might well reply, however, that in contrast to the mature conception of "Shakespeare," de Vere's corresponding lyric sounds primitive. Admittedly it is less varied in vocabulary, imagery, and emotional tenor. It might be compared to a skeleton next to the mature and fully fleshed naturalism of Shakespeare's verse. And yet it arguably belongs to the same set of DNA.

Unlike his critics, Looney placed de Vere's lyrics in developmental sequence in relation to Shakespeare. This is what his theory, in fairness, required. Notwithstanding Louis Benezet's "test for the lynx-eyed scholar," it was never hypothesized that de Vere's lyrics were simple equivalents of Shakespeare's but that they belonged to the "long foreground" antedating the mature works of Shakespeare; in this reconstruction, the narrative poem *Rape of Lucrece* belongs to the middle-ground in the developmental sequence leading to mature dramas such as *Hamlet*, *Lear*, or *The Tempest*.

The structural congruity of the two passages is also a positive fact, motivated aesthetic denunciations notwithstanding. The former lyric stands in relation to the Shakespeare stanza just as an early sonatina of Mozart's might to a mature symphony. It is the work of a precocious apprentice alongside that of mature journeyman in his trade, who can boast thirty years of ringing changes on the basic ingredients -- *res et figura* -- of the art of Renaissance composition. Looney had already noted this relationship in 1920:

One of the astonishing features of "Shakespeare's" work is the freshness and constant variety maintained throughout so great a mass of writing. But, to the modest contention that [de Vere's lyrics] contain the possible germs of [Shakespeare's mature work], few readers will have any difficulty in acceding.

(151)

In the present study we have observed an analogous relationship between Shakespeare's Biblical pretexts -- the certain or conjectural Biblical sources of his ideas and imagery -- and Shakespeare's own writing. Just as the *Lucrece* passage is a more nuanced, individuated application of the formula used in the de Vere lyric, Shakespeare's "Bible reference" nearly always displays a more complex and highly individuated variation on Biblical sources, transfigured in its adaptation.

A striking instance of the germinative character of de Vere's lyrics when considered in relation to the mature corpus of Shakespearean material is his "Were I a King" lyric:

Were I a King, I might command content;  
Were I obscure, unknown would be my cares,  
And were I dead, no thought should me torment,  
Nor words, nor wrongs, nor love, nor hate, nor fears;  
A doubtful choice of three things one to crave,  
A Kingdom, or a cottage, or a grave.

(Sobran 259)

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<sup>450</sup> It is worth observing how closely Looney's concept of the developmental process of the young artist is reflected in Howard Gardner's research on the psychology of the poet: "The young poet generally begins his self-education by reading other poets and by imitating their voices as best he can. Such an imitation of the form and style of a master is proper, and perhaps even necessary, so long as it does not ultimately stifle the development of one's own poetic voice. But there are numerous signs of poetic immaturity at this time, including an excessive imitation of the model; stating one's own emotion, tension or idea too often or too readily; rigid adherence to a given rhyme scheme or metric pattern; too self-conscious an effort to play with sounds and meanings" (Gardner 1994 83). These are precisely the qualities of de Vere's juvenilia which mark it off from the mature work of "Shakespeare" and are used by orthodox scholars responding -- often in bad faith -- to discredit the Oxfordian theory on stylistic grounds.

De Vere's lyric may register in some ears as a microcosmic character sketch for King Richard II. What is more, Shakespeare's philosopher-poet-king Richard echoes the de Vere lyric directly, associating the ideal of contentment with the idea of exchanging the crown for the grave of oblivion, setting aside the cares of state which oppress him: "The King shall be contented;....I'll give my gorgeous palace for a hermitage,....and my little kingdom for a little grave./A little, little grave, an obscure grave" (3.3.145). The same association between "king" and "content" appears in de Vere's "My Mind to Me a Kingdom Is" lyric: "Lo thus I triumph like a King, content with what my mind doth bring". This association of the King with the image of contentment, manifest in two de Vere lyrics, is also a characteristically "Shakespeare" idiom, reflected in *2 Henry 6*: "Was ever king that joy'd an earthly throne./And could command no more content than I?" (4.9.2) and in *3 Henry 6*: "A king crown'd with content" (3.1.66). Even unsupported by other evidence, Looney supposed that such concurrencies<sup>451</sup> -- of which these examples are merely the tip of the intellectual iceberg -- "would justify a very strong ground of suspicion that Edward de Vere and 'Shakespeare' were one and the same man" (152).

Perhaps then it comes as no surprise that Arden *Richard II* editor Peter Ure, writing in 1955, felt obliged to take the harshest possible editorial measures against any loose talk about the play's antecedents and "sources". "Nor is it always safe," announced Ure, "in cases where a critic or editor has perceived parallels in conception and design between a putative source, to use these parallels themselves as proof of Shakespearian indebtedness to the work in question -- especially when firmer links such as unmistakable verbal parallels are missing." Continued Ure:

Parallels which proceed from editorial acumen and ingenuity may have little to do with Shakespeare's way of seeing his subject. Especially this is so when we are offered 'hints,' 'germs,' and 'suggestions' (the terms themselves are various and obscure) in the supposed source and informed that what we see in Shakespeare's play evolved from these....Like Chaucer's alchemist, commentators may occasionally be under suspicion of having put into the furnace beforehand the golden nugget which is to be the issue of the experiment. (xxxi)

For his part, as well, Looney was at pains to distinguish his own comparative method from that of Baconian critics such as Mrs. Francis Potts, who had, he believed, brought the entire authorship question into disrepute with their unprincipled collections of "parallel phraseology" and cryptological "proofs" for Bacon's authorship. The comparisons he adduced, Looney alleged, stood upon "a totally different plane from the Baconian collations of words and phrases" (145). What Looney exhibits are not literary or linguistic parallels *per se*, let alone the false certainty conferred by the cryptological methods of exponents of the Baconian school, but an "identity of thought" involving the iteration of prototypically "Shakespearean" imagery, idiom and figure, in de Vere's early work. "We are not here primarily concerned," he wrote, "with the mere piling up of parallel passages. What matters most of all is the *mental correspondence* and the general unity of treatment which follows from it" (155: emphasis added). Looney cites a number of striking instances of such unity of mental apprehension, revealing the identity of thought and image in the two writers -- the damask rose as a metaphor for the female face (144), or the comparison of the woman to a haggard hawk (139-140).

Looney did not by any means exhaust the possibilities for exploring the density of stylistic and imagistic evidence linking de Vere's poetry or, eventually, his extant correspondence, to "Shakespeare". The list of lexical concurrencies reproduced by Sobran (1996) seventy-five years later is far more complete and, in an empirical sense at least, more persuasive in demonstrating the apparent identity of the putatively different writers. In the interim poet-lawyer William Plumer Fowler, in his massive 1986 book, *Shakespeare Identified in Oxford's Letters*, exhaustively analyzed the web of lexical relations connecting "Shakespeare" to Oxford's extant prose compositions, mostly private correspondence written to Lord Burghley and Robert Cecil. The book may with justice be described as the most neglected and -- ultimately-- revelatory of all contributions to the canon of Oxfordian criticism. Although lacking a body of control data comparing the correspondence of other Elizabethans -- say, Sir Walter Raleigh, Phillip Sidney, or the Earl of Essex -- to "Shakespeare's" prose, the evidence assembled by Fowler goes very far to justify the author's optimistic conclusion that the letters

effectively corroborate, through the consistency and distinctiveness of their correspondences to Shakespeare, Mr. Looney's 1920 conclusion, in telling E. Vere's story 'to the yet unknowing world,' even as Horatio would have spoken...They are far more than just Oxford's letters, they are Shakespeare's letters. (XXXV)

<sup>451</sup> Looney (246-47) discusses the poem in relation to Oxford's friendship with Sir Philip Sidney, who reputedly replied:

Wert thou a king, yet not command content,  
Since empire none thy mind could yet suffice,  
Wert thou obscure, still cares would thee torment;  
But wert thou dead all care and sorrow dies.  
An easy choice of three things one to crave,  
No kingdom nor a cottage but a grave.

It would be a little presumptuous to sample from the more than eight hundred pages of stylistic concurrencies between de Vere's letters and "Shakespeare" documented in Fowler's book. In the meantime it may be relevant to consider the matter not of lexis and diction, to which Fowler limits his study, but of style.

## Oxford's Prose Style

In the course of his Herculean efforts over many decades to combat the Baconian heresy J.M. Robertson (1913) found occasion -- and for this at least, students of the present controversy owe the great champion of orthodox banalities an enduring debt of gratitude -- to characterize Shakespeare's prose style. In Shakespeare, wrote Robertson, "we shall find infinite verve and vivacity, fluency and fire, endless fecundity of phrase, image and epithet." What we shall not find in Shakespeare's prose, maintained Robertson, was that distinguishing feature of Francis Bacon's mind and mental habits -- "a great *architectonic* prose" (490; emphasis added). No reader of sound judgement familiar with the two bodies of prose in question can fail to acknowledge the sobriety of Mr. Robertson's judgement, and in so doing register a note of sympathy for Robertson's career combating the Baconians. What concerns us here, however, is that in just those criteria by which Bacon fails the stylistic litmus test, de Vere wins points.

The characteristic qualities of Shakespeare's prose which give rise to the "infinite verve and vivacity" noted by Robertson -- are enumerated by Albert Feuillerat in his 1953 study, the *Composition of Shakespeare's Plays*:

1. A Strong tendency to form isocolonic structures "dividing a thought into symmetrical and balanced parts of more or less equal length" (60);
2. Frequent use of anaphora--the repetition of a word or the same grammatical construction at the start of two parallel clauses (primarily in poetry; 61);
3. "The association of two words--nouns, adjectives or verbs--expressing two aspects of the same idea and connected by a conjunction such as 'and, or, nor'" (hendiadys per se and analogous forms; 61);
4. Antithesis "for itself," using "two opposing parts not necessarily balanced or of equal length (i.e., antithesis as a sensible figure "of thought," not merely an auricular figure "of ornament"); 62);
5. The Italian concetto which consists in "repeating a word or a phrase either in its proper form or under a grammatically derived form, for the simple pleasure the ear takes in the repetition of the same sound (jingle; 62);
6. The "more refined" conceits involving "the laborious development of farfetched comparisons, ingenious sometimes to the point of extravagance, original by their very strangeness" (63);
7. A habit of writers of the French Renaissance (Du Bartas et alia) in imitation of the Greeks and Latins, praised by Philip Sidney in his *Defense of Poesie* (f.p. 1595), of coining new words by combining two previously unrelated words or phrases (64);
8. A partiality towards words preserving an atmosphere of Norman consonance (65).

Feuillerat identifies this list as one which "will enable us to define what properly characterizes Shakespeare's poetic style" (59). However, a reader who bears the list in mind while reading de Vere's extant poetry -- or, especially, his prose -- will find it a remarkably reliable guide to define what properly characterizes *de Vere's* style in distinction from the styles of his contemporaries.<sup>452</sup> Already we have noticed the salience of Feuillerat's second item, the fondness for anaphora, as a

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<sup>452</sup> To Feuillerat's list, we might wish to add several items which are also characteristic of both "Shakespeare" and de Vere (some of which, such as the first, are characteristic of the age but which collectively do define the style which de Vere and "Shakespeare" share), to wit:

1. A fondness for allegorical comparison between contemporary figures and their historical or literary antecedents or types -- a development of character by means of typology.
2. Frequent use of paradox;
3. A pronounced logical rigour of thought, by means of which poetry becomes a device of dialectics, leading the reader from postulated premises to distinctive, well-defined conclusions;
4. Frequent use of sententia and paronomasia;
5. Frequent use of hyperbole;
6. Habitual and fluent patterns of assonance and consonance (a spontaneous ear for the musical character of language);
7. Frequent use of the gerund in dependent clauses;
8. Extremely long and complex periods, often making use of one or more isocolonic structural patterns to link and hold together seemingly contrary ideas or images);
9. A great regularity of diction and rhythm, noticeable even in his earliest work written in metrical forms (such as the lumbering fourteeners of Golding's 1565-67 translation of the *Metamorphoses*), which sound awkward to a modern ear.

characteristic feature of de Vere's poetry. The figure occurs very frequently in his work; defining anaphora as the repetition of initial words in two more lines of verse (excluding particles such as "the" or "a"), no fewer than nine instances can be counted in the fifteen poems included in Sobran (1996). Like the other items above, anaphora seems to have been a characteristic of de Vere's style which developed very early, becoming a mental habit which sustained his later development as a writer during the "Shakespeare" phase.

Feuillerat's additional criteria are not far to seek in any typical specimen of de Vere's extant work. We might consider, for example, the following excerpt from de Vere's September 1572 letter to Lord Burghley, his eyewitness account of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre:

I would to God your Lordship would let me understand some of your news which here doth ring dolefully in the hearts of every man, of the murder of the Admiral of France, and a great number of noble men and worthy gentlemen, and such as greatly in their lifetimes honoured the Queen's majesty our mistress, on whose tragedies we have an number of French Aeneases in this city, that tell of their own overthrows with tears falling from their eyes, a piteous thing to hear but a cruel and far more grievous thing we must deem it them to see. All rumours here are but confused, of those troops that are escaped from Paris, and Rouen, where Monsieur hath also been and like a vesper Sicilianus, as they say, that cruelty spreads over all France, whereof your L.<ordship> is better advertised than we are here. And since the world is so full of treasons and vile instruments, daily to attempt new and unlooked-for things, good my Lord, I shall affectionately desire your L.<ordship> to be careful both of yourself, and of her Majesty, that your friends may long enjoy you, and you them. I speak because I am not ignorant what practices have been made against your person by Madder, and later as I understand by foreign practices if it be true. And think if the Admiral in France was a<n> eyesore or a beam in the eyes of the papists, the Lord Treasurer is a block or a crossbar in their way; whose remove they will never stick to attempt, seeing that they have prevailed so well in others. This estate hath depended on you a great while as all the world doth judge, and now all men's eyes are as it were on a sudden bent and fixed on you, as a singular hope and pillar, whereto the religion hath to lean. And blame me not, though I am bolder with your L.<ordship> at this present, than my custom is, for I am one that count myself a follower of yours now in all fortunes; and what shall hap to you, I count it hap to myself: or at the least I will make myself a voluntary partaker of it. Thus my L.<ord>, I humbly desire your L.<ordship> to pardon my youth, but take in good part my zeal and affection toward your L.<ordship>, as on whom I have builded my foundation, either to stand or fall.

(Fowler 1986 55)

In this passage, de Vere's pronounced habits of isocolonic antithesis (F1), antithesis "for its own sake" (F4) and spontaneous association of two words -- nouns, adjectives and verbs -- "expressing two aspects of the same idea and connected by a conjunction" (F3) could not be more apparent. Scarcely a sentence fails to illustrate at least one example of these elements of "Shakespearean" style. Under F3 we might note the following: "noble men and worthy gentlemen"; "a cruel and more grievous thing"; "treasons and vile instruments"; "new and unlooked-for things"; "a eyesore or a beam"; "a block or a crossbar"; "bent and fixed"; "hope and pillar"; "zeal and affection"; either to stand or fall". Balanced isocolonic structures (F1) are also apparent: "think if the Admiral in France was a eyesore or a beam in the eyes of the papists, that the Lord Treasurer of England is a block or a crossbar in their way"; "I am one that count myself a follower of yours now in all fortunes; and what shall hap to you, I count it hap to myself." Antithesis for its own sake (F4), as a mental habit and not merely a stylistic principle of construction, appears in passages such as: "both of yourself and of her majesty"; "that your friends may long enjoy you, and you them"; "what shall hap to you, I count it hap to myself."

## Hamlet and Hendiadys

Several examples of F3 above -- "treasons and vile instruments," "hope and pillar" and perhaps even "a eyesore or a beam" qualify as hendiadys in the strict sense -- the joining of two nouns of different logical status, typically an abstract noun with a concrete one, by a coordinating conjunction. The figure, a subcategory under Feuillerat's more general category of locutions pairing two nouns, verbs or adjectives, has been identified by George T. Wright, in his essay "Hamlet and Hendiadys," as one "characteristic of the Shakespearean manner" (407).

Is hendiadys a characteristic figure of the Elizabethan Renaissance? The first theoretical account of this "arriviste" figure (says Wright), appears in the *Epitome Troporum ac Schematorum* (London 1562) by Johannes Susenbrotus -- and the figure is not mentioned by an English rhetorician until Henry Peacham's *Garden of Eloquence* in 1577 -- five years *after* de Vere's St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre epistle. Yet Shakespeare seems to have had a manifest affinity for this "Oxfordian" figure. He "appears to have taken this odd figure to his bosom and made it entirely his own," says Wright (408). In analyzing the history of

the figure -- apparently derived from Virgil<sup>453</sup> -- Wright finds that "as much as English poets have imitated Shakespeare, almost no one has followed him in this" (408). In this, as in so much else, England's Bard reveals himself as a cosmopolitan internationalist. His literary taste is rooted in an early and profound intimacy with Virgil and other classical sources as well as the contemporary Renaissance traditions of France and Italy. "Hendiadys," notes Professor Wright, "has always struck English speaking people as a disturbing and foreign device, and whenever it has turned up in the English language or in our literature, it has seemed an anomaly" (409). Yet, this Shakespearean "anomaly" -- this "disturbing and foreign device" which seems to be a diagnostic feature of Shakespeare's grammatical idiom -- is uncannily foreshadowed in the then-unpublished correspondence of Edward de Vere.

Beyond these technical considerations, moreover, we should not lose sight of the rhetorical impact of the cited passage from de Vere's St. Bartholomew's Day letter. If in it we do not discern the "architectonic" prose of a Sir Francis Bacon, surely the letter teems with that "fluency and fire," "fecundity of phrase and epithet," and "prolonged organic pulsation" (485) which Mr. Robertson judiciously identifies as distinctive features of Shakespearean prose style. The letter bristles with double-barreled epithets. It seizes the reader's imagination with its fluency of visual motif and aural resonance. It is supercharged with "verve and vivacity".

"Fired by the whirling rapidity of its own motion" -- as Hazlitt thought of Shakespeare's mind, the letter accomplishes what de Vere in his own preface to Bartholomew Clerk's Latin translation of *The Courtier* praises as Castiglione's own accomplishment -- the vivid depiction of "whatever is heard in the mouths of men in casual talk and society...set down in so natural a manner that it seems to be acted before our very eyes" (Fowler 46).

Indeed, de Vere's letter reads like a sketch for a Shakespeare history play; envisioning the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre as a contemporary tragedy, shadowed by the allegorical precedent of Aeneas' tragic exile from burning Troy, it paints a picture of the *mise en scène* in which the tragedy unfolds. Appealing in alternating schema to senses of both sight and sound, it supplies a potent witness to Oxford's powers of *demonstratio*, the literary figure by which "we apprehend [things] as though before our eyes" (*Ad Herrenium*, cited in Sonnino 70). The iterated appeal to sight, and the organs of sight, could not be more "Shakespearean": like the audience listening to Ophelia's superlative portrait of the mad Hamlet (2.1.85-99), we are made to see "French Aeneases that tell of their overthrows with tears falling from their eyes." De Vere's technique is precisely the same as that of "Shakespeare's"; the difference lies in the maturity of execution and the laborious and elaborate crafting of the dramatic text in contrast to the whirling spontaneity of de Vere's letter. And although the spectacle is a "piteous thing to see," Oxford forces upon us the emotional "inner vision" that we must deem it a "far more grievous thing" to witness events from within the tearstained eyes of the actors themselves. While Admiral de Coligny was a "eyesore or a beam in the eyes of the papists," the eyes of the world are now, "on a sudden bent and fixed" on Burghley as the only hope of Protestant salvation in a world apparently being overtaken by brutal counter-reformation.

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<sup>453</sup> Wright notes the following example: "pateris libamus et auro" (*Georgics* II.192)--literally "we drink from cups and gold" but rendered with greater logical clarity in English as "we drink from golden cups."



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Amphlett, Hilda  
Appleton, Elizabeth  
Barrell, Charles Wisner  
Bate, Jonathan  
Bennet, Josephine Waters  
Benezet, Louis P.  
Bentley, Gerald Eades  
Boas, Fredrick S.  
Bok, Sissela  
Boswell, J. Campbell  
Brazil, Sean Robert  
Broad, William  
and Nicholas Wade  
Brown, Andrew  
Burford, Charles  
Campbell, James Oscar  
Campbell, James Oscar  
and Edward G Quinn  
Chambers, E.K.  
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