

FRANCIS BACON'S PRIVATE MANUSCRIPT NOTEBOOK
(KNOWN AS THE *PROMUS OF FORMULARIES AND
ELEGANCIES*) THE SOURCE OF SEVERAL HUNDRED
RESEMBLANCES, CORRESPONDENCES AND PARALLELS
FOUND THROUGHOUT HIS SHAKESPEARE POEMS AND
PLAYS.

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1.

Francis Bacon's Private Manuscript Notebook: A Critical Resource for his Shakespeare Poems and Plays: A History and its Discovery

With the *Promus of formularies and elegancies*, we come to texts that Bacon had no intention of publishing, in print or otherwise. These are an assortment of his working papers, some of them no more than jottings from his reading, a few perhaps halfway to becoming rough drafts of more ambitious works. Surprisingly, they have been little studied.

[Alan Stewart with Harriet Knight, eds., *The Oxford Francis Bacon: Early Writings 1584-1596* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 2012), p. 507]

Francis Bacon's private manuscript known as the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* is held at the British Library (BL Harley MS 7017). It contains 1655 entries jotted down as an aid to his memory. The entries include single words, phrases, lines, turns of speech, metaphors, similes and aphorisms, and various moral and philosophical observations. The entries include quotations from the Bible; Latin, French, Italian, Spanish and English proverbs; lines and verses from classical poets and dramatists, including Virgil, Ovid, Seneca, Horace, and Terence whose combined works completely saturate the Shakespeare canon. From Bacon's private literary storehouse several hundred resemblances, correspondences, and parallels identical in thought and similar in expression are readily traceable in his Shakespeare poems and plays. In ordinary circumstances the critical contents and significance of this private literary storehouse a demonstrable source for all his Shakespeare poems and plays would be known to every Bacon and Shakespeare scholar and student of English literature around the world. The reason why this is not the case is because it has been systematically ignored and misrepresented by Bacon and Shakespeare orthodox editors and commentators since its discovery in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The *Promus* contains a total of 51 leaves comprising a collection of notes bound together with other papers in the Harleian 7017 held at the British Library therein numbered pages 83 to 132. The entries are arranged in both single and double columns and excepting the French proverbs the entries, as confirmed by James Spedding and Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, the paleographer and Director of the British Museum, are written in Bacon's own hand.

The Folio numbered 85 is headed 'Promus' and beneath it the date 'Dec. 5, 1594' with the Folio numbered 114 headed 'Formularies Promus' carrying the date '27 Jan. 1595' (that is, in accordance with a modern calendar, January 1596).¹ These dates do not preclude that Bacon had carried over some of its entries from earlier notebooks and it appears 'by various marks in the MS. to have been afterwards digested into other collections which are lost.'²

The *Promus* was at one time in the possession of Bacon's first editor and biographer Dr William Rawley (c.1588-1667), a member of his Rosicrucian Brotherhood who resided with Bacon for the last ten years of his recorded life. He was privy to the truth of Bacon's secret life and writings and aware that Bacon had used the *Promus* as a literary storehouse for his Shakespeare works. In 1679 his second English editor Dr Tenison (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) also a member of his Rosicrucian Brotherhood noted that he was in possession of three catalogues of Bacon's unpublished papers all in the hand of Dr Rawley in every one of which appears the title of '*Ornamenta Rationalia*', namely, Bacon's 'Collection of Judicious and Elegant Sentences'.³ He too was privy to the secret Bacon wrote the Shakespeare poems and plays and left many hints pertaining to it including the following in his *Baconiana*:

And those who have the true skill in the Works of the Lord *Verulam*, like great Masters in Painting, can tell by the *Design*, the *Strength*, the way of *Colouring*, whether he was the author of this or the other Piece, though his Name be not to it.⁴

Dr Tenison also implicitly conveyed to posterity that Bacon had used his collections to fill out and beautify his writings, among which he hinted, were his Shakespeare works:

The *Sixth* is, a Supply of his Collection of Judicious and Elegant Sentences, called by him *Ornamenta Rationalia*. He also gave to those Wise and Polite Sayings, the Title of *Sententiae Stellares*; either because they were Sentences which deserved to be pointed to by an Asterisc in the Margent; or because they much illustrated and beauty'd a Discourse, in which they were disposed in due place and order; as the Stars in the Firmament, are so many glorious Ornaments of it, and set off with their Lustre, the wider and less adorned Spaces.⁵

This collection he says is either wholly lost or languishing in some obscure repository which he lamented as 'it was once in my power to have preserved this Paper', for 'a Copy of it was long since, offered me' by Dr Rawley's only son. Presuming he might 'command the Original; and because that was then in such good Hands', but unfortunately 'Now, there remains nothing with me, but a Remembrance of the quality of the Collection. It consisteth of divers short Sayings, aptly and smartly expressed, and containing in them much of good Sense in a little room.'⁶ Before proceeding to give one further hint that Bacon used the entries in his notebooks to supply his Shakespeare poems and plays 'The use of such little things, no Man knew better than Sir *Francis Bacon*, who could turn every saying to his Advantage; and if it wanted Lustre in it self, he could by Art create it, and by setting it well. His own Collection was (as I remember) gathered partly out of his own Store, and partly from the Ancients',⁷ an apt description of the *Promus* from which Bacon took hundreds of words, phrases, lines, sayings, turns of speech, proverbs, similes and metaphors, to furnish his Shakespeare works.

By 1808 the *Promus* appears to have made its way to the British Library where it was first catalogued as item 16 'Fragments of Elegancies, Proverbs, familiar forms of Speaking, &c. A set of French Proverbs. f. 48.'⁸ In the second half of the nineteenth century it was discovered by his great editor James Spedding about which he included a brief and unsatisfactory account in *The Works of Francis Bacon*.⁹ With the kind of method of delivery the Grand Master Bacon would have admired Spedding in that wonderful coded way of his writes 'From what I have said, it will be readily understood that this *Promus*, which is of considerable length, is not worth printing *in extenso*. But my account of it may be thought too incomplete without some extracts by way of specimen.'¹⁰ As indicated, Spedding selected only a portion of the *Promus* entries which he arranged under separate headings: Personal Characters or Qualities, Phrases adapted to occasion of Compliment, Repartees, Wise Sentences and Maxims, Proverbs, Analogia Caesaris, Antitheta, and Play.¹¹ Very curiously, Spedding decided not to give selections from two other categories 'Of the sentences taken from the Bible and from the *Adagia* of Erasmus, I need not give any specimens; for I can throw no light on the principle which guided Bacon in selecting them',¹² and 'I cannot not find anything in the lines selected from Virgil, Horace, or Ovid, that should make it worth while to print them here.'¹³ In his preface to the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* and throughout his chosen extracts Spedding who would have known that hundreds of the entries in the collection are echoed in the Shakespeare works very deliberately chose to not once mention the name Shakespeare or any of the Shakespeare poems

and plays in what formed part of his fourteen volume *The Life and Works of Francis Bacon*, which is itself replete with Baconian-Rosicrucian ciphers, the mark of the invisible Rosicrucian Brotherhood who carefully watch over Bacon's secret life and writings, including his concealed authorship of the Shakespeare works.

In 1883 the indefatigable Baconian scholar Constance M. Pott issued her monumental work entitled *The Promus of Formularies and Elegancies (Being Private Notes, circ. 1594, hitherto unpublished) by Francis Bacon Illustrated and Elucidated by Passages from Shakespeare*. In a work running to more than six hundred pages Pott reproduced a full transcript of the entries in the *Promus* together with parallel passages from the Shakespeare poems and plays. In this enormous labour of love Pott set forth Shakespeare parallels for all but around 246 of the 1655 entries in the *Promus* with the following modest explanation:¹⁴

With regard to the *Promus* notes, which are at present under consideration, it seems desirable to state at the outset that passages from the plays which have been appended to the entries do not profess to be, in all cases, parallels; nor, in many cases, to be brought forward as evidence-*each taken singly*-of the identity of the authorship in the *Promus* and in the plays. Neither does the collection of extracts profess to be a complete one; for no doubt a persistent study of the notes will add more; and sometimes better, illustrations than those which have been collected. It will require the combined efforts of many minds to bring the work which has been attempted to a satisfactory state of completion, and it is not to be hoped that there should be at present errors, omissions, and weak points which will be corrected by further study.¹⁵

In many instances Pott reproduced numerous Shakespeare parallels alongside the entries in the *Promus* as well as Turns of Expression; English Similes and Metaphors; English Proverbs and Aphorisms; French, Italian and Spanish Proverbs; Latin, Bible Proverbs and Quotations; and Folios 110-111. Morning and Evening Salutations, &c., and 'Play', alluded to on numerous occasions throughout the Shakespeare canon. This total of 4044 instances were set out in the Appendix in 'A Comparative Table Showing Approximately the Number of 'Promus' Entries Alluded to in the Plays',¹⁶ which is here reproduced for the convenience of the reader.

To the impartial mind of any reader having read it this monumental work it confirms beyond any doubt that Bacon used his private literary storehouse the *Promus* as an aid-to-memory and wellspring for his Shakespeare poems and plays. But unfortunately, the lazy and ignorant schoolmen, the ordinary student and general public at large are not usually inclined to read a six hundred page plus work, rather they rely on so-called trusted Shakespeare authorities who support the estimated one-billion-pound Stratfordian industry, who for the last one hundred and forty years have largely ignored and grossly and fraudulently misrepresented it.

Three decades later Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence had another transcription of the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* made by two officials at the British Library, F. B. Bickley and F. A. Herbert, which he included in the Appendix to his *Bacon is Shakespeare* published in 1910.¹⁷ Due to the fading manuscript and Bacon's handwriting the new transcription included some variances with readings made by Pott and it is probably best whenever possible to consult the two transcriptions in tandem when examining and interpreting its entries.

Some four hundred and twenty-five years after the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* was compiled by Bacon and around one hundred and fifty years after Spedding discovered it a full transcript of the manuscript was for the first time reproduced by two orthodox scholars Alan Stewart and Harriet Knight joint editors of *The Oxford Francis Bacon: Early Writings 1584-1596* published by Oxford Clarendon Press in 2012. The joint editors of this volume that

APPENDIX L.

A COMPARATIVE TABLE SHOWING APPROXIMATELY THE NUMBER OF 'PROMUS' ENTRIES ALLUDED TO IN THE PLAYS.¹

Name of Play	Dates (Dr. Delius)	Dates (Mr. Fleay and Mr. Furnivall)	Turns of Expression	English Similes and Metaphors	English Proverbs, Aphorisms, &c.	French, Italian, and Spanish Proverbs	Latin, Bible Proverbs, Quotations	Folios 110 and 111.—Morning and Evening Salutations, &c., and 'Play'	Total
Titus Andronicus	Before 1591	1588-90	15	6	5	0	30	5	61 ²
1 Henry VI.	" 1591	1592-4	20	7	5	0	27	3	62
Comedy of Errors	1591	1589-91	21	4	4	0	9	0	38 ³
Two Gentlemen of Verona	1591	1590-2	22	5	3	0	8	5	43
2 Henry VI.	1592	1592-4	26	8	7	0	28	0	69
Love's Labour's Lost	1592	1588-9	45	10	9	5	30	4	104
Romeo and Juliet	1592	1591-3	36	12	4	4	16	31	103
3 Henry VI.	1593	1592-4	34	17	14	0	40	5	110
Taming of the Shrew	1594	1596-7	38	9	11	2	8	10	78 ⁴
Richard III.	1594	1594	39	16	14	6	49	22	146
Merchant of Venice	1595	1596	37	4	8	2	25	5	81
Midsummer Night's Dream	1595	1590-1	24	9	2	2	10	7	54
King John	1596	1595	31	7	9	5	23	9	84
Richard II.	1596	1593-4	30	18	4	2	33	5	94
1 Henry IV.	1597	1596-7	46	17	5	0	28	6	102
All's Well	Before 1598	1601	50	10	12	4	27	3	106
2 Henry IV.	1598	1597-8	45	12	11	4	25	11	108
Much Ado	1599	1599-1600	57	12	10	3	26	12	120
Henry V.	1599	1599	31	16	14	7	42	18	128
Merry Wives	1600	1598-9	40	4	4	5	8	7	68
Twelfth Night	1601	1601	47	7	4	4	34	8	104
As You Like It	1601	1600	58	10	12	6	29	10	125 ⁵
Hamlet	1602	1602-3	95	32	25	19	104	22	297
Julius Cæsar	1603	1603	55	10	14	6	88	21	194
Measure for Measure	1603	1603	55	11	15	9	49	18	187
Othello	1604	1604	84	19	11	7	52	17	190
Lear	1604-5	1605-6	56	18	13	20	86	8	201
Macbeth	1606	1605-6	45	15	10	8	82	19	179
Timon of Athens	1607	1607-8	42	13	9	14	53	8	139
Antony and Cleopatra	1608	1606-7	59	24	14	9	65	20	191
Pericles	1608	1608	22	7	5	2	18	6	60
Troilus and Cressida	1609	1606-7	56	20	12	6	68	28	190
Coriolanus	1609	1607-8	49	22	11	15	56	6	159
The Winter's Tale	1610	1610	46	22	16	18	90	3	195
Cymbeline	1610-11	1610-12	58	18	6	9	65	24	180
The Tempest	1611	1611	28	7	3	0	17	5	60
Henry VIII.	1613	1613	33	13	8	10	37	14	115
			1605	471	343	191	1375	419	4404
The Two Noble Kinsmen			42	19	17	8	44	11	141

¹ These lists do not include the extra quotations in Appendix K, nor repetitions of expressions or ideas when these occur very close together. Much difficulty has been found in classifying the entries, which often seem to have been used in several different ways—similes drawn from proverbs, turns of expression from classical quotations, &c. The second and third columns include only sentences in *English*. A far larger number of similes, &c., will be found amongst the entries from Erasmus, which are reckoned amongst Latin quotations in column 5.

² In the early plays, the turns of expression are few, but often repeated.

³ The Comedy of Errors and 2 Henry VI. have no morning and evening salutations, nor any allusions to entries on folios 110 and 111.

⁴ Hereabouts begin the improvements in 'continuances' noticed at No. 1379.

⁵ In this and the following plays there is much more variety in the entries alluded to and far less repetition.

Fig. 1 'A Comparative Table Showing Approximately the Number of 'Promus' Entries Alluded to in the Plays', appended to C. M. Pott's the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* (Being Private Notes, circ. 1594, hitherto unpublished) by Francis Bacon Illustrated and Elucidated by Passages from Shakespeare

Dec 5. 1594.

Promus.

Quamvis in a vita in die meliorem fieri
est gratia de God et merito, a fano.

Mors in Olla. tu

No wife byest, byonge ease had volubilo.

Mors vite, standing in dialogo of one that greets life to be speacly
by way of question. A

If you take a take note of the lowly gifts of breare, note
dure better in defro. being led in our doing. A
A good Comediant of one that gets good grace in Job's presence
No round Judgms.

No round sense of law

(Amongst by by famore of profane but not in by condicant of a child
May a libell of des over such make the end of a sound. A.

A fooler both not bone frott

Plate XLII.

FACSIMILE OF PORTION OF FOLIO 85 OF THE ORIGINAL MS. OF BACON'S "PROMUS." See page 199.

Fig. 2 A Facsimile of Folio 85 of the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* in Bacon's own Hand dated 5 December 1594 taken from *Bacon is Shakespeare*

is part of the planned 16-volume critical edition of the works of Bacon published by the most scholarly press in the world, is squarely aimed at universities and academia designed to inform the writings of the learned professors and the schoolmen, and their learned readership. It will no doubt be the standard text of Bacon's early writings for decades, perhaps even a century or more, as its standard predecessor Spedding's edition proved to be.

Its joint editors Stewart and Knight were of course intimately familiar with Pott's *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies (Being Private Notes, circ. 1594, hitherto unpublished)* by Francis Bacon Illustrated and Elucidated by Passages from Shakespeare eloquently testified by their meticulous Appendix wherein they provide an impressive eighteen-page comprehensive 'Key To Numbering System: This Volume VS Pott' relating to the entries in the *Promus* as numbered by Pott, here usefully keyed to their own new numbering system.¹⁸ Yet instead of drawing to the attention of their readership the contents of Pott's six-hundred page monumental work and providing a thorough detailed examination, analysis and commentary of it, in their twenty-five page introduction to the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* all Knight and Stewart had to say is here quoted in full:

They [the *Promus* notes] have been published in their entirety twice, but by two editors, Mrs Henry Pott and Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, who believed that they proved that Bacon was the author of Shakespeare's plays: perhaps as a result, Bacon scholars have generally shied clear of studying them.¹⁹

In addition to this, tucked away towards the back of the volume in their seventy-five page 'Commentary on Promus of formularies and elegancies', providing sources, information and commentary on each and every one of the entries in the *Promus* (the same entries where Pott had provided well in excess of a thousand resemblances, correspondences and parallels with the Shakespeare works), Stewart and Knight only once refer to an entry germane to a parallel to a Shakespeare play:

In providing a preface for Pott's book, the noted Bacon scholar Edwin Abbott cited this entry as the most persuasive for a link between Bacon and Shakespeare. Noting that 'Bacon, among a number of phrases relating to early rising, has these words, almost consecutively, "golden sleep" and "uprouse"', he was convinced that 'the *Promus* borrowed from the play' *Romeo and Juliet*, where Friar Laurence lectures Romeo 'But where unbruised youth with unstuff'd brain/Doth couch his limbs, there *golden sleep* doth reign:/Therefore thy earliness doth me assure/Thou art *up-roused* by some distemperature' (II.iii.40; Abbott's italics). Unfortunately, Pott had mistranscribed G23 as 'Court howres. Court oures. Abedd-rose you-owt bed. Uprouse. You are upp' (Pott 1213-15): there is no 'uprouse' in the *c-t*. Abbot, 'Preface' to Pott, *Promus*, pp. vii-xiv, at pp. vii-viii.²⁰

The above is a breath-taking example of systematic suppression and misrepresentation on an industrial scale violating any reasonable definition of what might be described as acceptable academic standards. It knowingly and deliberately leaves the reader with little or no idea of the importance and significance of the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* in relation to the true authorship of the Shakespeare works. A primary document which served as a source and wellspring for literally hundreds of words, phrases, lines, turns of speech, aphorisms, similes, metaphors, etc, found throughout the whole of the Shakespeare canon.

2.

From the *Promus* Resemblances, Correspondences and Parallels in Bacon's Acknowledged Writings and Works

The *Promus* provides us with a unique insight into Bacon's working methods of reading, note-taking and composition-and demonstrates how the three cannot be easily separated.

[Alan Stewart with Harriet Knight, eds., *The Oxford Francis Bacon: Early Writings 1584-1596* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 2012), p. 507]

Bacon's debt to this notebook culture was enormous. He must have kept files of his own from an early age, for the British Library possesses a strange compilation (Harleian MS 7017) called 'Promus of Formularies and Elegancies'...In it he seems to have set himself an exercise, writing from memory all the quotations he could remember, a total of 1,600 items, including 255 from Erasmus' *Adagia*, 110 from Virgil, 107 from the Bible, 46 from Ovid, a huge collection (443) of proverbs in Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian, together with a large number of metaphors, similes, and 'mottoes' or brief phrases...Many of these quotations reappear in his writings over the following thirty years, sometimes in illuminating configurations.

[Brian Vickers, *Francis Bacon A Critical Edition of the Major Works* (Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. xlii-xliii]

The private manuscript notebook the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* provides us with an invaluable opportunity to see how Bacon began with words, phrases, lines, and ideas that he afterwards developed, expanded and introduced into his writings and works. C. M. Pott identified about 160 *Promus* entries employed by Bacon in his prose works and letters.²¹ This was added to by orthodox scholar Charles Crawford in his *Collectanea Second Series: The Bacon-Shakespeare Question* published at Stratford-On-Avon by the Shakespeare Head Press in which he heavily criticised Pott, in the process of distorting and misrepresenting her work.²² In *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light* R. M. Theobald provides a list of around 500 *Promus* entries used by Bacon in his various prose works and writings.²³ In reference to this number of 500 Crawford maintains that 'Hundreds of notes, some of which Bacon used many times over, are not mentioned in Dr. Theobald's list.'²⁴ Following his detailed study of the *Promus* in *The Bacon Shakespeare Question* N. B. Cockburn observes 'I think the probable truth is that about as many appear in Bacon's prose works as in the Shake-Speare works. And Bacon will have used some in private conversation. About (say) 600 in the prose works is not so small a percentage of the total of about 1655 *Promus* entries as to say that Bacon is likely for that reason to have used a good many of them somewhere else.'²⁵ As with the first to the last plays in the Shakespeare canon, many of them published for the first time in the 1623 Shakespeare First Folio, Bacon made use of the *Promus* entries in his early acknowledged writings through to those published just prior to his recorded death in 1626.

An early example of Bacon making use of the *Promus* entries which acted as seeds for the development of various categories of his writings was his dramatic device *Of Love and Self Love* written by him to be presented by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex before Queen Elizabeth for the festivities celebrating the anniversary of her accession day on 17 November 1595:

The *Promus* also contains early notes for other genres of writing. It has not been previously noted that the four entries comprising section K are seeds of what became the Accession Day device of November 1595.²⁶

A copy *Of Love and Self Love* is found in The Bacon-Shakespeare Manuscript (formerly known as the Northumberland Manuscript) which once held copies of his Shakespeare plays *Richard II* and *Richard III* whose outer cover contains references to other Shakespeare poems and plays *The Rape of Lucrece*, *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Romeo and Juliet*.²⁷ Furthermore, scribbled all over the outer cover of The Bacon-Shakespeare Manuscript are various forms of his name Bacon and Francis Bacon and his pseudonym Shakespeare and William Shakespeare on around twenty occasions. Above the entry for *Richard II* appears the entry 'By Mr. ffrancis William Shakespeare', and further down the page the word 'Your' is twice written across his pseudonym William Shakespeare-so it reads 'Your William Shakespeare'. As if to emphasise this entry a second occurrence of the name 'ffrauncis' is written upside down above the first 'ffrauncis' thus reading from left to right 'ffrauncis William Shakespeare'. Below the entry for 'Rychard the second', and above it for 'Rychard the third', appears his name 'ffrauncis' and to the left 'Bacon' and to the right 'Shakespeare'. Below at the bottom of the outer cover his pseudonym 'William Shakespeare' is repeated numerous times, and as if to emphasise one more time Bacon is Shakespeare, we are met with the possessive entry 'your William Shakespeare'.

The device *Of Love and Self-Love* comprises six speeches 1] *The Squires first Speech in the Tiltyard* 2] *The Hermits first Speech* 3] *The Hermits Second Speech in the Presence, in wish of Contemplation or Studies* 4] *The Soldiers Speech in wish of Fame* 5] *The Statesman's Speech in wish of Experience* 6] *The Reply of the Squire*. The device finds correspondence and echo in several of his Shakespeare poems and plays: Sonnet 55, *Titus Andronicus*, *I Henry IV*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Richard II*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *As You Like It*, and it lies behind one of the central themes, of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.²⁸

The name of Francis Bacon first appeared in print for the first time in the 1597 edition of his *Essays* underneath the dedication to his brother Anthony Bacon dated 30 January 1597.²⁹ In Section G of the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* appears a set of entries on the topic of 'Play'.³⁰ In his edition of Bacon's *Essays* Professor Pitcher has proposed these entries in the *Promus* on the subject of Play 'could just as well be the basis of an unwritten and much shorter essay of *Play*. The *Sententiae* and proverbs are already written out, and in the right positions (there is a pointed opening and sharp conclusion), and the range of discussion is characteristic of the *Essays*. We cannot be sure, but this draft may well reveal how Bacon wrote up the *Essays* from the briefest of notes and quotations.'³¹ Regarding these entries under the heading 'Play' Pott places alongside them numerous resemblances, correspondences and parallels from his acknowledged writings and a substantial number of his Shakespeare plays.³²

Included in the 1597 edition of his *Essays* were the *Meditationes Sacre (Religious Meditations)* a collection of twelve essays and *Of Colours of Good and Evil A Fragment* (which I deal with at length in the following chapter).³³ In Section J of the *Promus* there are a series of entries that are found and developed in the *Meditation* entitled 'De Spe Terrestri' (*Of Earthly Life*) that are set out by Stewart and Knight in impressive detail showing how in a similar way to his essays Bacon took these seeds and ideas and worked them up and expanded them into larger works.³⁴

The unrelenting employment and development of words, phrases, lines, and ideas from the *Promus* transmuted and expanded into his earlier writings was continued and repeated by Bacon for the next thirty years of his recorded life across a simply incredible range of categories and genres that included private letters, unpublished speeches, unpublished dramatic writings,

Novill

Mr. Francis Bacon
of Tribute, or giving, what is dew

By Christ religio fons refuting
your religion, your selves
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most refusing of any
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ne vile velis all
ne vile velis Anthony Comfort and consort
refreshing ye hart

By Mr. Francis Thomas
By Mr. Francis Bacon of Gr
turner
Philipp Great Inu on the
against monsieur
revealed
Earle of Arundells letter to the Queen
from your service
Speeches for my Lord of Essex at the tyll
Speech for my Lord of Sussex etc
more than externally
Loycesters Common Wealth Incerto aulore
Creations at Graues Inne reuells

By Mr. Francis Bacon Bacon
letter to the Queens
Earle of A By Mr
By Mr
Essaues by the same author printed

By Mr. Francis Bacon William Shakespeare
Richard the second Shakespeare
Richard the third Shakespeare

Bacon end of the
Amund and Cornelia Thomas
reuealing Ile of Dogs format Thom Thom
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Shak
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William Shakespeare
Shakespeare

Fig. 3 The Outer Cover of the Bacon-Shakespeare Manuscript with his own name Francis Bacon and his pseudonym Shakespeare scribbled all over it

essays, religio-political tracts, legal writings, unpublished and published philosophical and scientific works that were itemised by Stewart and Knight in their extensively detailed seventy-five pages headed 'Commentary on Promus of formularies and elegances', from wherein I list the following:

PLAY:

The Misfortunes of Arthur

DRAMATIC DEVICE:

Of Tribute; of Giving That Which is Due

LETTERS:

Letter to Queen Elizabeth, Letter to Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, A Letter to his Aunt Cooke, Two Letters to Sir Robert Cecil, Three Letters to the Earl of Rutland, Two Letters to Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, Letter to Mr Cawfeilde, Letter to Dr Thomas Playfere, Letter to Lancelot Andrewes, Letters and Advice to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and a Letter to King James.

RELIGIO-POLITICAL TRACTS:

Advertisement Touching the Controversies of the Church of England, Certain Considerations Touching the Better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England, Colours of Good and Evil, Notes for a War with Spain and Considerations Touching a War with Spain.

ESSAYS:

Of Usury, Of Death, Of Nature in Men, Of Beauty, Of Riches, Of Faction, Of Ceremonies and Respects, Of Cunning, Of Despatch, Of Followers and Friends, Of Praise, Of Honour and Reputation, Of Truth, Of Friendship, Of Great Place, Of Fortune, Of Counsel, Of Unity in Religion, Of Empire, Of Delays, Of Studies, Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature, Of Fame, and Of Superstition.

LEGAL WRITINGS:

Charge Against Sir John Wentworth, Sir John Wallace and Mr Lumden, Charge Against the Countess of Somerset, Charge Against Oliver St John, Speech Taking his Seat in Chancery, and various other legal speeches, letters and writings.

UNPUBLISHED AND PUBLISHED PHILOSOPHICAL AND SCIENTIFIC WORKS:

Cogitationes de scientia humana, Valerius Terminus, The Advancement of Learning, The Wisdom of the Ancients, De Augmentis Scientiarum, Novum Organum, Sylva Sylvarum.

COLLECTION OF WITTY SAYINGS:

*Apophthegms.*³⁵

As listed above Bacon used the entries in the *Promus* one way or another in more than fifty of his various writings and works over a period of several decades as he did over the same time period in his thirty-nine Shakespeare Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, around half of which were first published in the 1623 Shakespeare First Folio.

3.

The Collection of Around One Hundred *Colours of Good and Evil* in the *Promus* Expansively Reflected in his Acknowledged Writings and his Shakespeare Plays

The need is to set up in the midst one bright and radiant light of truth,
shedding its beams in all directions and dispelling all errors in a moment.

[Francis Bacon, *The Masculine Birth of Time*; Benjamin Farrington, *The Philosophy of Francis Bacon* (Liverpool University Press, 1964), p. 70]

From his early days until his last the subject of good and evil profoundly engaged Bacon's vast intellect. Over the period of his lifetime he assembled a very large number of what he calls 'Semblances or popularities of good and evil with their regulations for deliberations' in his *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies*.³⁶ In the *Promus* there are around a hundred of his collection of colours of good and evil presented without any explanation indicating Bacon intended to publish a substantial treatise on the subject.³⁷ However the first published version entitled *Of the Colours of Good and Evil A Fragment* includes only ten from the hundred in the *Promus*.³⁸ The truncated treatise was first printed as part of the first edition of his *Essays with Meditationes Sacre (Religious Meditations)* a collection of twelve essays on theology and ethics complimenting his propositions on good and evil. A copy of *Colours of Good and Evil* appears to have been sent in manuscript to Lord Mountjoy to whom it was originally meant to have been dedicated as indicated by Bacon in a letter to Mountjoy referring to some form of the fragment 'that I think so well of the collection as I seem to do; and yet I dare not take too much from it, because I have chosen to dedicate it to you.'³⁹ Another paper headed 'Mr. Francis Bacon of the Collo^{rs} of good and evyll, to Lo. Mountjoye' was found by Robert Stephens among Lord Oxford's MSS and printed in his *Letters and Remains of the Lord Chancellor Bacon*.⁴⁰ Spedding states that he has no doubt that the letter in question was written by Bacon with the intention of prefixing it to the *Colours of Good and Evil* 'then perhaps meant only for private circulation in manuscript-by way of dedication.'⁴¹

Bacon briefly mentions the collection of the *Colours of Good and Evil* in *The Advancement of Learning* in his section discussing rhetoric:

Now we descend to that part which concerneth the illustration of Tradition, comprehended in that science which we call Rhetoric, or Art of Eloquence; a science excellent, and excellently well laboured ... as to the labouring of it, the emulation of Aristotle with the rhetoricians of his time, and the experience of Cicero, hath made them in their works of Rhetorics exceed themselves. Again, the excellency of examples of eloquence in the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, added to the perfection of the precepts of eloquence, hath doubled the progression in this art...

...*DE PRUDENTIA SERMONIS PRIVATI* ('The wisdom of private discourse'). We conclude therefore, that rhetoric can be no more charged with the colouring of the worse part, than Logic with Sophistry, or Morality with Vice. For we know the doctrine of contraries are the same, though the use be opposite....

...*COLORES BONI ET MALI, SIMPLICIS ET COMPARATI* ('The colours of good and evil, simple and comparative'). Now therefore will I descend to deficiencies, which (as I said) are but attendances. And first, I do not find the wisdom and diligence of Aristotle well pursued, who began to make a collection of the popular signs and colours of good and evil, both simple and comparative, which are as the Sophisms of Rhetoric...⁴²

When towards the end of his known life Bacon revised and greatly enlarged the *Advancement* for its Latin translation *De Augmentis Scientiarum Libri IX* he reprinted the original fragment of the *Colours of Good and Evil* printed in the first edition of his *Essays*, to which he added a further two colours, even though this was still only a small fraction of the material found in his private *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies*.⁴³

After the twelfth and final colour of good and evil (sophism) Bacon makes an astonishing admission:

I have by me indeed a great many more Sophisms of the same kind, which I collected in my youth; but without their illustrations and answers, which I have not now the leisure to perfect; and to set forth the naked colours without their illustrations (especially as those above given appear in full dress) does not seem suitable. Be it observed in the meantime that this matter, whatever may be thought of it, seems to me of no small value; as that which participates of Primary Philosophy, of Politics, and of Rhetoric. And so much for the Popular Signs or Colours of Apparent Good and Evil, both simple and comparative.

44

As stated, there are around one hundred colours of good and evil in the *Promus*, which Pott parallels alongside passages in the Shakespeare plays sharing similar and cognate language, ideas and concepts,⁴⁵ the manuscript storehouse Bacon was referring to in the passage from *De Augmentis* published about the same time as the Shakespeare First Folio in 1623. The concepts of good and evil were part of his intellectual and dramatic consciousness. As his complex mind developed, he acquired a cerebral state of awareness and realisation that these two fundamental pillars of the human mind, good and evil, governed and regulated attitudes, reason and the psychological and emotional processes of human behaviour.

This not only affected the individual themselves, but all those around them and those that they came into contact with-family, friends and their wider social circles, seeping into all areas and aspects of their private and public lives. Equally true in the cases of ordinary people, through all social classes, and right up to and including popes, kings and queens, whose good and evil values, attitudes and decisions created and destroyed kingdoms and empires, resulting in the cost of millions of lives and untold suffering. It is this polarity that forms the veins and arteries permeating his Shakespeare poems and plays in which there are *hundreds* of references to good (and its associated terms) and evil (and its associated terms), to virtue and vice, as well villains, evil-doers and hateful, destructive, malevolent characters held up to us before our eyes, in his attempt to steer the world away from evil and its terrible consequences for humankind.

In the Bacon-Shakespeare Manuscript (formerly known as the Northumberland Manuscript) there is a short essay entitled *Of Magnanimitie or Heroicall Vertue*. No other copy of this short essay is known either in manuscript or print. The substance of the piece emerges in a more mature form in *The Advancement of Learning*.⁴⁶ The concept of virtue with its association of goodness and morally good behaviour or character is the principle by which Bacon aspired to live his life and is a central tenet of his Rosicrucian-Freemasonry Brotherhood, whose cardinal virtues are Faith, Hope, and Charity (Love). Every member of the Brotherhood is encouraged to lead his life by the virtues of Fortitude, Prudence, Temperance, and Justice that are described in detail in the First Degree, by which he will become a virtuous man.

He later returned to the theme of the virtue of goodness in his essay *Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature*:

I take Goodness in this sense, the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call *Philanthropia*, and the word ‘humanity’ (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and Goodness of Nature the inclination. This of all virtues and dignities of the mind is the greatest; being the character of the Deity: and without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing; no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue Charity, and admits no excess, but error.

...The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shews he is a citizen of the world and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them.⁴⁷

The principle of virtue, expressed in the words, virtue, virtuous and virtuously, appear nearly three hundred times throughout the whole of the Shakespeare canon from the earliest to the last written over a period of several decades. In his paper ‘Virtue is not boring: Shakespeare and the Moral Life’, Professor Harp details the linguistical and thematic dimensions of virtue that permeate the fabric and essence of the Shakespeare histories, comedies and tragedies in what may be described as ‘a shared conception of the human good’:

It was by invoking the different shades of the accumulated meanings of words, as well as more recent, subtle changes to those meanings, that he revealed the features of virtue. These talents help account for why Shakespeare retains his relevance and stature four hundred years after his death. For his depictions of virtue not only illuminate the moral dimensions of the early modern period but also speak to the moral dilemmas of our own age.⁴⁸

In her Shakespeare birthday lecture at the Folger Shakespeare Library entitled ‘Shakespeare’s Virtues’ on the specific subject of virtue in the Shakespeare works, Professor Julia Reinhard Lupton says that it has not received the ‘kind of deep attention’, it so clearly warrants and deserves.⁴⁹ Which is now beginning to change. In the ‘Shakespeare and Virtue Seminar, SAA 2020’ (jointly chaired by professors Julia Reinhard Lupton and Donovan Sherman), a series of authors explore the theme of virtue in a wide range of Shakespeare plays: *Romeo and Juliet*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Henry V*, *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, *Measure for Measure*, *Othello*, *All’s Well That Ends Well*, *Macbeth*, *King Lear*, *The Winter’s Tale*, *Cymbeline* and *The Tempest*.⁵⁰ The chairs of the 2020 seminar professors Lupton and Sherman are also the joint editors of a forthcoming work *Shakespeare and Virtue* to be published by Cambridge University Press (planned for November 2022) comprising 38 essays that ‘maps Shakespearian virtue in all its plasticity and variety...that reveal a breadth and diversity exceeding any given morality or code of behaviour...[It] also considers how the virtuous horizons broached in Shakespearian drama have been tested anew by the play’s global travels and fresh encounters with different traditions. Including sections on global wisdom, performance and pedagogy, this handbook affirms virtue as resource for humanistic education and the building of human capacity.’⁵¹ No one more understood the profound importance of virtue delivered through the medium of drama than Bacon-Shakespeare:

Dramatic Poesy, which has the theatre for its world, would be of excellent use if well directed. For the stage is capable of no small influence for both of discipline and of corruption. Now of corruptions in this kind we have had enough; but the discipline has in our times been plainly neglected. And though in modern states play-acting is esteemed but as a toy, except when it is too satirical and biting; yet among the ancients it was used as a means of educating men’s minds to virtue. Nay, it has been regarded by learned men and great philosophers as a kind of musician’s bow by which men’s minds may be

played upon. And certainly it is most true, and one of the great secrets of nature, that the minds of men are more open to impressions and affections when many are gathered together than when they are alone.⁵²

In his *Shakespearean Tragedy* widely regarded as one of the greatest works of Shakespearean criticism of all time Professor A. C. Bradley presents a study of the four great tragedies-*Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear* and *Macbeth*-in which he brilliantly highlights their moral universe and their critical central theme of good and evil:

Let us attempt then to re-state the idea that the ultimate power in the tragic world is a moral order. Let us put aside the ideas of justice and merit, and speak simply of good and evil. Let us understand by these words, primarily, moral good and evil, but also everything else in human beings which we take to be excellent or the reverse. Let us understand the statement that the ultimate power or order is 'moral' to mean that it does not show itself indifferent to good and evil, or equally favourable or unfavourable to both, but shows itself akin to good and alien from evil. And, understanding the statement thus, let us ask what grounds it has in the tragic fact as presented by Shakespeare.

Here, as in dealing with the grounds on which the idea of fate rests, I choose only two or three out of many. And the most important is this. In Shakespearean tragedy the main source of the convulsion which produces suffering and death is never good: good contributes to this convulsion only from its tragic implication with its opposite in one and the same character. The main source, on the contrary, is in every case evil; and, what is more (though this seems to have been little noticed), it is in almost every case evil in the fullest sense, not mere imperfection but plain moral evil. The love of Romeo and Juliet conducts them to death only because of the senseless hatred of their houses. Guilty ambition, seconded by diabolic malice and issuing in murder, opens the action in *Macbeth*. Iago is the main source of the convulsion in *Othello*; Goneril, Regan and Edmund in *King Lear*. Even when this plain moral evil is not the obviously prime source within the play, it lies behind it: the situation with which Hamlet has to deal has been formed by adultery and murder. *Julius Caesar* is the only tragedy in which one is even tempted to find an exception to this rule. And the inference is obvious. If it is chiefly evil that violently disturbs the order of the world, this order cannot be friendly to evil or indifferent between evil and good, any more than a body which is convulsed by poison is friendly to it or indifferent to the distinction between poison and food.⁵³

In a more recent study 'The Battle of Good and Evil in Shakespeare' Erin K. Miller focuses on the four plays of *Titus Andronicus*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Othello* and *Macbeth*. In his exploration of the human condition and the conflict between virtue and vice traced back through the stories of Christ and his teachings, Shakespeare goes much further to develop the concept of evil. He delves, observes Miller, into the deep truths of humanity and through his villains he 'explores the causes and costs of evil.'⁵⁴ The conflict between vice and virtue which is subject to so many complex external factors become progressively internal as the battle between good and evil takes place in the mountains of the mind where evil gets the better of the villains in the tragedies:

There is no question that, in every tragedy, Shakespeare explores the extent to which evil brings about the downfall of a character. However, a study of his four plays demonstrates an evolution in his understanding of evil. Beginning with *Titus Andronicus* and ending with *Macbeth*, Shakespeare over time portrays his protagonists becoming more and more consciously aware of the inner battle between good and evil. Although echoes of the Vice figure and an outer corrupting force certainly do exist throughout Shakespeare's career, his later plays display a hero far more perceptive of evil's influence upon him and much more conscious of the consequences of such evil. At the beginning of his career,

Shakespeare crafts Titus, who simply thinks he is fighting against evil, without realizing the hold it then takes on him in the end. In what Shakespeare scholars generally accept as his second phase of writing, Shakespeare pens *Merchant of Venice* in which he complicates the portrayal of evil by writing a villain into comedy and by not relegating all the evil doing to this character alone. He then writes *Othello* in what is seen as the height of his career. In this play, Shakespeare depicts his most recognized villain, Iago, and portrays a protagonist who realizes the tragic cost of giving into vice only after it is too late. The playwright then ends his career with *Macbeth*, a man who is fully conscious of the battle of good and evil within himself, even though he too loses the fight against it.

...In *Richard III*, *Julius Caesar*, *King Lear*, and *Macbeth*, Shakespeare shows that an insatiable desire for power can destroy both a man and the kingdom he desires. Thus, in his examination of evil, Shakespeare attributes weaknesses to his heroes to suggest how and under what circumstances evil can take hold of even the most righteous and upstanding of men.⁵⁵

The black canvass of good and evil expressed through Shakespeare's miscreants and the like was widened in Professor Charney's aptly titled *Shakespeare's Villains* first published in 2012:

This book is about Shakespeare's villains, and calumniators and tyrants, too, as they are related to villains. When I first began this project, I was surprised that there was no single book on this subject, although a great deal has been written about individual characters. The topic is closely connected with an understanding of evil in Shakespeare...

...[These villains] establish an elaborate network of evil-what constitutes the world of the play –in which the good characters must function... Evil is rampant in Shakespeare and the villains seem to be able to overpower the virtuous characters-at least for a time...

Tarquin in *The Rape of Lucrece* and Aaron in *Titus Andronicus* are Shakespeare's first villains [and] it is noteworthy how strongly they set the pattern for future villains... Aaron is distinctively a laughing villain, like the Vice in the morality plays...

Richard, Duke of Gloucester (who becomes Richard III), is endlessly creative in his villainy. He pursues the crown, and despite many obstacles, he manages to kill everyone in his way...

Although he appears in a comedy, Shylock is clearly a villain because, once the due date is past, he refuses the money many times over that he has lent Antonio and insists on taking the pound of flesh that is stipulated in his "merry" bond...

In *Hamlet*, Claudius is a politic murderer who has killed his brother and usurped the throne of Denmark... he sends Hamlet to be murdered in England....

Macbeth is a villain-hero, an unusual role in Shakespeare. Even while he is committing murder, he is tormented by his own guilt...

King Lear has abundance of evil-doers... The evil deeds in this play penetrate to the very heart of a grim and uncompromising reality....

In *Measure for Measure*... Angelo is very soon proposing that he will spare the life of Claudio if Isabella has an assignation with him. Angelo, of course, is determined that Claudio be executed. This is at the heart of his villainy...⁵⁶

For Charney the short-tempered and violent Tybalt who revels in the conflict between the Montagues and the Capulets in *Romeo and Juliet* is also a villain typified by his killing of Mercutio that sets in motion the tragic action of the play and in his intention to kill Romeo.

He also devotes a chapter to calumniators who share many of the characteristics and qualities of other Shakespeare villains: Don John in *Much Ado About Nothing*, Iachimo in *Cymbeline*, and Lucio in *Measure for Measure*, even though he says being figures in the comedy plays mollifies their evil intents.

His final chapter is devoted to Shakespeare tyrants who, he writes, resemble villains, a roll call that includes the above-mentioned Richard III and Macbeth as well as Julius Caesar, whose

actions and subsequent death resulted in a bloody civil war. Lastly, Duke Frederick in *As You Like It* who usurped the kingdom from his brother, Duke Senior and in the late Shakespeare plays *The Winter's Tale* King Leontes because his jealous rage results in the deaths of his son Mamillius and his counsellor Antigonus as well as the supposed deaths of Queen Hermione and her daughter.⁵⁷

The concept of the semblances or colours of good and evil in the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* forms a key central theme of the Shakespeare canon, one woven into the fabric of the histories, comedies, and tragedies, personified in some of its most famous characters, which exemplify the struggle between good and evil, the central concept that dominates the human consciousness and the story of history itself.

4.

The entries from the Bible, Florio, Heywood and Erasmus in the *Promus* and these sources reflected in his Shakespeare Plays

For rightly truth is called the daughter of time.
[Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum*; Spedding, *Works*, IV, p. 82]

In his discussion of the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* Spedding observes that ‘In one place, for instance, we find a cluster of quotations from the Bible, following one another with a regularity which may be best explained by supposing that he had just been reading the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and then the Gospels and Epistles or (perhaps some commentary upon them), regularly through. The quotations are in Latin, and most of them agree exactly with the Vulgate, but not all; the differences however are more than might perhaps have been expected, if he quoted from memory.’⁵⁸ Stewart and Knight concur that many of the scriptural proverbs are taken from the Latin Vulgate before adding that ‘On occasion, Bacon seems to be closer to Theodore de Beza’s Latin translation of the New Testament (1574; reprinted in London by Richard Field in 1594)’.⁵⁹ The Bacon family had a close relationship with the Protestant scholar and reformer Theodore de Beza (1519-1605) stretching back decades. On his European travels in 1576 Edward Bacon (Francis’ elder half-brother) spent time living with Beza at Geneva as did Francis’ elder brother Anthony Bacon five years later in 1581 as well as enthusiastically attending his lectures at the Academy. While Anthony was in Geneva Beza dedicated to their mother Lady Anne Bacon his French publication of his mediations on the Penitential Psalms. In the dedicatory epistle he praises her father Sir Anthony Cooke who lived in exile in Geneva during the reign of Mary 1 and her own pious learning (in Greek and Latin) of ‘those great and holy doctors’ and paid tribute to other members of the Bacon family.⁶⁰ The Bacon family headed by Sir Nicholas Bacon who in allegiance with his brother-in-law Sir William Cecil was the Grand Architect of the Elizabethan Protestant Reformation and Lady Bacon the translator of *An Apology in Defence of the Church of England* the official voice of the Anglican Church,⁶¹ who were part of a Pan-European Protestant community, at whose heart on the continent stood the great Protestant reformer Theodore de Beza:

Beza was a linchpin in a network which Anthony established linking funding for the activities of the Protestant community of Geneva, intelligence, and the shipping back of books to England involving Francis’s correspondent and ‘cousin’ Thomas Bodley... These [Anthony Bacon’s] accounts testify to networks that were a powerful combination of religious support groups, intelligence systems, publishing distributors and intellectual circles. Sympathisers with the Genevan church criss-crossed Europe, from trusted community to trusted community, not only circulating God’s word but also providing trade routes for books, a courier service for goods and money, a reliable letter-carrying facility and a conduit for intelligence. All these materials entered and left England through the ports, and thus through the English customs houses, and contacts there were a valuable part of the network for the traffic in all kinds of information in which Francis and Anthony participated.⁶²

In 1593 Richard Field printed the Shakespeare narrative poem *Venus and Adonis* that carries underneath its dedication to Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton the first appearance of Bacon’s pseudonym William Shakespeare in print. Above the dedication appears a Baconian-Rosicrucian AA headpiece.⁶³ In the following year Field also printed *The Rape of Lucrece* with an even more intimate dedication to the Earl of Southampton, again signed by Bacon with his

pseudonym William Shakespeare.⁶⁴ Before and during this time Bacon was in close contact with Richard Field and it may well have been Bacon who directed and/or encouraged Field to print the 1594 edition of Theodore de Beza's Latin translation of the New Testament.

From almost the day he was born Bacon drank in from his mother Lady Bacon a profound understanding of the Bible and various early Christian writers, radical Protestant and Puritan teachings from the religious tutors and preachers hired and maintained by her at Gorhambury, and from his own studies at Cambridge supervised by John Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, in the ways and doctrines of the Church of England. Bacon was probably the most educated and well-read lay individual of the entire Elizabethan and Jacobean era, clearly evidenced by the hundreds and thousands of scriptural references and allusions in both his acknowledged writings and divine Shakespeare works.

Throughout his acknowledged canon Bacon's works and writings are saturated with quotations, references and allusions from the Bible and other scriptural texts. He was familiar with among others the Latin Vulgate, the Geneva Bible, the Bishop's Bible, the Douay-Rheims and the Erasmus Bible. He drew on Genesis, Kings, Acts, Job, Matthew, Gospels, Psalms, Proverbs, Romans, Corinthians, Ecclesiastes and a range of other books and passages from the bible and other scriptural texts. All in all, the number of direct biblical quotations, references and allusions found in his acknowledged writings runs to several hundred and when the final total is fully told it will quite possibly exceed a number well in excess of a thousand as is the case with his Shakespeare poems and plays.⁶⁵

There are more than a thousand biblical references and allusions in the Shakespeare poems and plays with some estimates placing the figure at around 1300 drawn just as with Bacon's acknowledged writings from different versions of the Bible, the Geneva Bible, Bishop's Bible and Douay Rheims, The Book of Common Prayer and Book of Homilies. In mirroring his acknowledged writings, in his Shakespeare works which contain more allusions to the Bible than any other Elizabethan dramatist, Bacon made use of Genesis, Matthew Job, Psalms, the Gospels, Acts, Romans and Ecclesiastes. He also possessed an extensive knowledge and understanding of the books that make up the Bible. In his known writings and his Shakespeare works Bacon refers or alludes to around 40 books from the Sacred Text. It is deeply embedded in the Shakespeare works and it provides an undercurrent to some of the themes and plots, with Bacon dramatizing its stories and themes, often infusing them with Biblical significance and meaning.⁶⁶

In the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* there is a large collection of proverbs in English Spanish, Italian and French. Stewart and Knight point out that a significant number of the Italian phrases are to be found in Florio's *Giardino de recreatione*, a collection of about six thousand Italian proverbs appended to his 1591 edition of *Florios second frutes*.⁶⁷ His mother Lady Bacon was a renowned Italian scholar who often visited the Italian churches in London to hear sermons by the Sienese preacher Bernardino Ochino. She translated his Italian sermons into English which were published in a series of editions over a period of three decades from 1548-1570 culminating with *Sermons of Bernardine Ochine (to the number of 25) Concerning the Predestination and Election of God...Translated out of the Italian in to oure natyue tounge by A. C.*,⁶⁸ issued by the Protestant printer John Day who had a long open and secret relationship with the Cooke-Bacon-Cecil family, that continued through to the literary genius of the family Francis Bacon who had a love of all things Italian with thirteen of his Shakespeare plays set in or partly set in Italy: *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Much Ado About*

Nothing, Julius Caesar, Othello, All's Well That Ends Well, Coriolanus, The Winter's Tale and The Tempest.

The linguist, poet and translator John Florio (1552-1625) was the son of a Tuscan Franciscan friar Michael Angelo Florio who like his friend Bernardino Ochino had escaped the inquisition and fled to London during the reign of Edward VI whose tutor was Sir Anthony Cooke assisted by his daughter Anne Cooke, afterwards Lady Anne Bacon.⁶⁹ It was the policy of the English government to welcome continental reformers in the belief they would contribute to the reform of the English church and in a similar manner Michael Angelo was one of a number of Italian Protestants officially encouraged by the king and his advisers Archbishop Cranmer, Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Cooke and his son-in-law Sir William Cecil to settle in London. Soon after his arrival in England Bernardino Ochino was licensed as an Italian preacher and in 1550 an Italian church was formed under the protection of Cranmer and Cecil with Michael Angelo Florio appointed its preacher most probably attended by Anne Cooke. Patronised by the Cooke-Bacon-Cecil family the Protestant Italian reformers Ochino and Florio received protection and encouragement at the highest levels of government and the Italian churches became a staple part of London life. Florio was granted a royal annuity of £20 paid quarterly by the king and the community was to provide him with lodgings and an annual salary, although for a time he lived with William Cecil and his wife Mildred Cooke Cecil, elder sister of Anne Cooke, soon to be married to Nicholas Bacon.

He earned his living as a tutor of the Italian language and one of his pupils was Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke (1538-1601) to whom he dedicated an Italian grammar *Regole de lingua thoscana* (1553), the father of William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke (1580-1630) and Philip Herbert, first Earl of Montgomery and fourth Earl of Pembroke (1584-1650), to whom Bacon later dedicated the 1623 Shakespeare First Folio. In 1563 Florio dedicated his Italian translation of George Agricola's work on metallurgy *De re metallica* to Bacon's secret royal mother, Queen Elizabeth.

His son John Florio also earned his living as an Italian tutor and from the late 1560s or the early years of the following decade he may well have migrated in the direction of the Bacon family. His father at one time had resided in the house of Sir William Cecil and his wife Lady Mildred Cooke Cecil the elder sister of Lady Bacon who was on intimate terms with all the prominent members of the Italian exiles among them his father Michael Angelo Florio, Peter Martyr and Bernardino Ochino, whose sermons she translated out of the Italian into English. In the late 1560s and 1570s John Florio may have lived with the Bacon family at Gorhambury and York House in London the official residence of the Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon with many Baconians claiming that Florio was employed by Sir Nicholas and Lady Bacon as an Italian tutor to Francis during this period.⁷⁰

In 1578 Florio published his first manual for teaching Italian entitled *Florio his firste Fruites* which he dedicated to Bacon's biological progenitor Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester in whose household his own father Michael Angelo had previously tutored the favourite.⁷¹ The dedication to the work is signed from London 10 August 1578 and bears the arms of Leicester indicating he was moving in the same Leicester-Sidney circles and a frequenter visitor to Leicester House on the Strand. It was here at Leicester House in 1579 that Francis Bacon and Sir Philip Sidney and other members of the Areopagus group most likely including John Florio were meeting for discussions on politics, poetry, drama, literature and philosophy.⁷² The various commendatory verses written by members of the theatre company The Leicester's Men prefaced to the *firste*



Fig. 4 The title page of *Florio his Firste Fruites* (1578)



Fig. 5 The title page of *Florios Second Frvtes* (1591)

Fruits shows Florio was in close contact with its actors Richard Tarlton, Robert Wilson, Thomas Clarke and John Bentley. They thank him for having contributed to bringing Italian literature to the English theatre indicating he had long been involved with London theatre life. His collection of forty-two dramatic dialogues which contain translations from literature and philosophy also discusses the theatre and visits to see comedies and tragedies.⁷³

In 1591 he issued a second manual entitled *Florios Second Frvtes* together with *Giardino di Recreatione* a collection of about 6000 Italian proverbs the largest published in the sixteenth century, both dedicated to the right worshipful Nicholas Saunder of Ewell. The work contains only one commendatory poem in the form of a sonnet by an anonymous friend who refers to himself as Phaeton, and as if perhaps to emphasise or draw attention to its anonymous author, the Sonnet is also signed by Phaeton:

Phaeton to his friend Florio.

Sweete friend whose names agrees with thy increase,
 How fit a riuall art thou of the Spring?
 For when each branche hat left this flourishing,
 And green-lockt Sommers shadie pleasures cease:
 She makes the Winters stormes repose in peace,
 And spends her franchise on each liuing thing:
 The dazies sprout, the litle birds doo sing,
 Hearbes, gummes, and plants doo vaunt of their release.
 So when that all our English witts lay dead,
 (Except the Laurell that is euer greene,)
 Thou with thy Frutes our barrennes o're-spread,
 And set thy flowrie pleasance to be seene.
 Sutch frutes, sutch flowrets of moralitie,
 Were nere before brought out of Italy.
 Phaeton.⁷⁴

Numerous Stratfordians and Baconians believe this sonnet was written by Shakespeare (i.e., Bacon). On thematic and stylistic grounds Professor William Minto illustrated that the sonnet was none other than of 'Shakespearian parentage'. He compared the themes and language in the Phaeton sonnet with parallels from several Shakespeare sonnets and plays and frequent usage in the early Shakespeare plays of the word 'franchise'. The most remarkable example of the use of 'enfranchise' is when it occurs in very close proximity to 'Phaethon' or 'Phaeton' in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*:⁷⁵

What's here?
 'Silvia, this night I will enfranchise thee?'
 'Tis so, and here's the ladder for the purpose.
 Why, Phaeton, for thou art Merops' son
 Wilt thou aspire to guide the heavenly car,
 [*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*: 3:1: 150-4]

But Professor Minto was apparently unaware (as were others) or did not give notice to the fact that the name Phaeton was used in several other Shakespeare plays written around the same period in the late 1580s and early 1590s:

Now Phaeton hath tumbled from his car,
And made an evening at the noontide prick.

[3 *Henry VI*: 1: 4: 34-5]

O Phoebus, hadst thou never given consent
That Phaeton should check thy fiery steeds,
Thy burning car never had scorched the earth!

[3 *Henry VI*: 2: 6: 11-13]

Down, down, I come like glist'ring Phaethon,
Wanting the manage of unruly jades.

For night-owls shriek where mounting larks should sing.

[*Richard II*: 3 :3: 177-8 & 182]

Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds,
Towards Phoebus' lodging. Such a waggoner
As Phaeton would whip you to the west
And bring in cloudy night immediately.

[*Romeo and Juliet*: 3 :2: 1-4]

It is not known for certain when Florio was appointed Italian tutor to Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton however Clara Longworth de Chambrun suggested that he first began tutoring Southampton before 1590. She points to the dialogue in *Second Fruits* between Florio and Southampton, describing them playing tennis and seeing a play at the theatre.⁷⁶ In the years leading up to this period Southampton was residing with Bacon at Gray's Inn and by the time Florio had been appointed his Italian tutor the nature of their close relationship can be gauged by the dedications written by Bacon behind his pseudonym William Shakespeare addressed to the earl attached to the two Shakespeare narrative poems *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. Certainly, by this time Florio was in the pay and patronage of Southampton and was involved in the Essex-Bacon-Southampton circle centred around the English Secret Service operating out of Essex House, and a member of Bacon's secret Rosicrucian Brotherhood.⁷⁷

The *Giardino di Recreatione* contains six thousand Italian proverbs standing alone without any accompanying English translation. Stewart and Knight point out a 'sizable' number of the Italian proverbs in Bacon's *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* were taken from Florio's *Giardino di Recreatione*.⁷⁸ Foster Watson and Clara Longworth de Chambrun traced more than forty proverbs from Florio's Italian manuals in the Shakespeare plays.⁷⁹ Several hundred words, compounds and proverbs introduced by Florio were used, varied and adopted by Bacon in his Shakespeare poems and plays; and words, phrases and lines from the *First Fruits* and *Second Fruits* have been identified throughout the Shakespeare canon.⁸⁰

All in all, there are a total of 240 Italian, French and Spanish proverbs in the *Promus* but the source of the latter remain unidentified. According to Pott traces of about 151 are reflected in



Fig. 6 Engraving of John Florio by William Hole (1611)

the Shakespeare plays.⁸¹ There are moreover 203 English proverbs in the *Promus* nearly all of which are taken from John Heywood's *A Dialogue of Proverbs*.

The early years of the epigrammatist and playwright John Heywood (c. 1496-1578) remain obscure. He first came to notice as a singer and musician at the court of Henry VIII where payments were made to him throughout the decade of the 1520s and beyond. His principal activities as a dramatist were confined to the period from 1534 to 1545. Six complete plays are attributed to him *Witty and Witless* (in manuscript), *Johan Johan* (1533), *The Pardoner and the Friar* (1533) *The Play of Whether* (1533), *A Play of Love* (1534) and *Four PP* (1545). He wrote a play for Thomas Cranmer 'The Parts of Man' some lines of which are preserved in an autobiography of his pupil, Thomas Wythorne and Cromwell paid him for a 'Masque of King Arthur's Knights' which was performed twice in 1539. The rising star of the Henrician court Nicholas Bacon was then also moving in the circles of Thomas Cromwell who was responsible for his appointment to the Court of Augmentations the year before in 1538.⁸² For Princess Elizabeth Heywood and Sebastian Wescott presented a play performed by the children of St Paul's in 1552 and after her accession there was another performance of a play performed by children at Nonsuch in 1559.⁸³ His dramatic output is widely credited as being a bridge in the evolution of the Morality Play towards the more secular Elizabethan drama and his dramatic output would have been known to Francis Bacon who as a young man was fully immersed in the morality play tradition later amplified on a much larger canvass in his Shakespeare plays.⁸⁴

Aside from his contribution as a playwright Heywood was involved in several other literary activities for which he is now perhaps best remembered-his celebrated proverbs and epigrams. His first venture *A Dialogue Containing the Number in Effect of All the Proverbs in the English Tongue* was published in 1546 and in the following years and decades he built up a series of hundreds of epigrams and proverbs printed in a series of editions from 1549 to 1561 culminating in the popular edition of his *Works* in 1562, reprinted in 1566, 1576, 1587 and 1589.

During this period Heywood was also busy writing his allegorical poem *The Spider and the Fly* printed by Thomas Powell in 1566 and numerous ballads including the 'Willow Garland' sung by Desdemona in the Shakespeare play *Othello*. A manuscript of this important ballad remained unknown to posterity for three centuries meaning the author of the Shakespeare play (if this is the version he took it from) must have possessed or seen the Heywood manuscript or a copy of it, if another copy ever existed. In the seven-volume edition of *Shakespeare's Plays and Poems* it is mentioned that there is a song by John Heywood with the same burden as the ballad assigned to Desdemona.⁸⁵ After glancing at the aforementioned notice the anonymous author who signs himself 'A "Ballad-Monger"' in *The Shakespeare Society Papers* (London: printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1844) in referring to the ballad cryptically writes 'As the members of the Shakespeare Society may like to see this curious relic of a man of so much ability and distinction as the author of the interludes of "The Four Ps" "John Tib and Sir John," &c. I subjoin it, observing, that it is contained in a manuscript of the time, the property of the late B. H. Bright, Esq., who lent it me many years since, in order that I might transcribe such portions as I thought the most valuable: the whole of the manuscript well deserved to be copied, but I had then not the time to make more than a few extracts, one of which was the following, rendered peculiarly inviting by its obvious connection with one of the greatest works of our greatest dramatist. It has never been anywhere noticed but in the place referred to at the commencement: it is called "A BALLAD OF THE GREEN WILLOW."'"⁸⁶ A note at the end of the article says 'Mr. Bright's manuscripts have been sold and dispersed. It appears to have

formed lot 245 in the catalogue issued by Sotheby and Wilkinson in June, 1844.⁸⁷ This unique manuscript containing the Heywood ballad has now disappeared from view:

A BALLAD OF THE GREEN WILLOW

*All a grene wyllow, wyllow,
All a grene wyllow is my garland.*

Alas! by what meane may I make ye to know
The unkyndnes for kyndes that to me dothe growe,
That one, who most kind love on me should bestow,
Most unkind unkyndness to me she doth show.
For all the grene wyllow is my garland.

To have love, and hold love, where love is so sped,
Oh, delicate foode to the lover so fed!
From love won to love lost where lovers be led,
Oh desperate dolor! The lover is dead;
For all the grene wyllow is his garland.

She sayde she dyd love me, and would love me still;
She sware above all men I had her good will:
She sayde and she sware she would my will fulfil,
The promise all good, the performance all yll;
For all the grene wyllow is my garland.

Now, wo worth the wyllow, and wo worth the wyght
That wyndeth wyllow, wyllow garland to dyght:
That dole delt in almys is all amyss quyght,
Where lovers are beggars for almys in sight,
No lover doth beg for this willow garland.

Of this wyllow garland the burden seem'th small,
But my break-neck burden I may it well call:
Like the sow of lede on my hede it doth fall,
Break hed, and breack necke, back, bones, brayn, hart and all:
All parts prest in peces.

Too yll for her think I best things may be had;
Too good for me thynkethe she thyngs beyng most bad:
All I do present her that may make her glad;
All she doth present me that may make me sad.
This equyitie have I with this wyllow garland.

Could I forget thee as thou canst forget me,
That were my sound salve, which cannot nor shalbe:



Fig. 7 Engraving of John Heywood (1556)

Though thou lyke the soryng hawke every way fle,
I wylbe the turtle most stedfast still to thee,
And patiently weare this grene wyllow garland.

All ye that have had love, and have my lyke wrong,
My lyke trithe and paciens plant still you among.
When femynyne fancies for new love do long,
Old love can not hold them, new love is so strong.
For all.

FINIS qd. IHON HEYWOOD.⁸⁸

In *Othello* our secret Shakespeare Bacon makes Desdemona introduce his version of the ballad taken from the Heywood manuscript in the following manner:

My mother had a maid called Barbary.
She was in love, and he she loved proved mad
And did forsake her. She had a song of willow.
An old thing 'twas, but it expressed her fortune,
And she died singing it. That song tonight
Will not go from my mind. I have much to do
But to go hang my head all at one side
And sing it, like poor Barbary.

[*Othello*: 4:3:25-32]

Then with little more ado Desdemona bursts into song:

DESDEMONA (*sings*)

'The poor soul sat sighing by a sycamore tree,
Sing all a green willow.
Her hand on her bosom, her head on her knee,
Sing willow, willow, willow.
The fresh streams ran by her and murmured her moans,
Sing willow, willow, willow.
Her salt tears fell from her and softened the stones,
Sing willow'-
Lay by these.-

'willow, willow.'

Prithee, hie thee. He'll come anon.

'Sing all a green willow must be my garland.'

[*Othello*: 4:3:38-49]

After a brief interruption she continues her song:

DESDEMONA (*sings*)

I called my love false love, but what said he then?
Sing willow, willow, willow, willow.'
[*Othello*: 4: 3: 53-4]

Of the 203 Heywood proverbs in the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* Pott found 152 of them directly quoted or alluded to by Bacon in a wide range of his Shakespeare plays.

There is one final large category of Latin proverbs taken from the collection of the *Adagia* by Erasmus found in the *Promus* to a number in excess of 225 of which according to Pott '218 appear to be reproduced, and some literally translated in the plays.'⁸⁹ This remarkable presence of an enormous number of Latin quotations from Erasmus in the *Promus* is further reflected and magnified through the spectral presence of his various other works which weave their way through numerous Shakespeare poems and plays.

The great Dutch humanist scholar and reformer Desiderius Erasmus (c.1466-1536) became an Augustinian canon and a priest in 1492 ordained by the Bishop of Utrecht. He studied and taught in Paris and in 1499 accompanied the courtier and literary patron William Blount, fourth Baron of Mountjoy to England which provided Erasmus with the opportunity to make powerful connections and friends among the political and literary elite of English society, including his fellow humanist Sir Thomas More who introduced him to the young Prince Henry. In 1500 he dedicated his first published work *Adagiorum collectanea* (first edition of *Adagia* comprising 800 adages) to his patron and benefactor Lord Mountjoy. It was the genesis of his *Adagiorum chiliades* which through a series of successive editions grew to more than four thousand adages many of which later found their way into Bacon's private notebook the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* and his Shakespeare plays.

On the accession of Henry VIII in 1509 at the urging of his patron Lord Mountjoy Erasmus returned to England and for a time resided at the home of Sir Thomas More where he completed his *Moriae encomium* (*Praise of Folly*) a satirical critique on Christendom and the foolishness of humankind which first appeared in 1511. He was invited by John Fisher, then Chancellor of Cambridge, to take up a professorship where he resided and taught until 1514. His residency at Cambridge proved an immeasurable influence on the learned elite of the university, the court, and the educated classes throughout the kingdom. Some years after Erasmus departed for the continent Nicholas Bacon, the great future Elizabethan Lord Keeper and statesman of the realm entered Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in 1523 on a Bible scholarship. The writings and influence of Erasmus on Nicholas Bacon lasted a lifetime one that was afterward shared by his son Francis Bacon. His report commissioned by Henry VIII on the state of the Inns of Court known as the 'Denton-Bacon-Carey report' written c.1538-1540 and his proposed reforms for the Court of Wards clearly reveals Erasmus' influence: 'Bacon's scheme lay in the mainstream of humanist educational theory. His evident concern to educate the whole person rather than the intellect alone, and for relating education to the requirements of contemporary society, echoed earlier theorists from Erasmus, More, Castiglione to Starkey and Thomas Elyot.'⁹⁰ It was the broad humanist education theories of Erasmus, *et al*, that helped form and shape the educational approach and programme for his son the great future philosopher Francis Bacon whose own humanism permeates the very fabric of his Shakespeare poems and plays, a body of work which has had a greater cultural impact on the world and what it is to be human, than any other in the history of humankind.

The influence of the writings of Erasmus seen through Bacon's Shakespeare poems and plays can be traced to his first narrative poem *Venus and Adonis* where its theme and characters can



Fig. 8 Portrait of Erasmus of Rotterdam by Hans Holbein the Younger (1523)

1533
1533
1533

ADAGIORVM OPVS

DES. ERASMI ROTERODANI PER SVNDEM
exquisite quàm antehac unquam cura recogni-
tum, cui perter multa in medio uel unker ad-
dita uel uigilanter emendata, accesser-
unt ferme quinq; Centuror.
Quid actum sit in iudicib; cognosces ex ipsis in hoc Prefatione.



BASILEAE EX OFFICINA FROB-
NIANA, AN. M. D. XXXIII.

Guilielmi Cecelli ex dono M. Laurentij Gsbeij 1621.

Fig. 9 The title page of William Cecil's copy of the 1533 edition of Erasmus' *Adagia*

be interpreted as exemplifying proverbial examples of some of those found in the *Adagia*,⁹¹ and the powerfully poetical transmuting of the proverb ‘Nosce tempus’ (know you time) lies behind Lucrece’s lament in *The Rape of Lucrece* (lines 876-924).⁹² It has been pointed out by Spedding, Pott and others, that the entries in the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* is often a case of Bacon remembering words, phrases and ideas in his interaction with earlier classical writers in their original works and through Erasmus, which is reminiscent of the way Professor Lyne shows how Shakespeare interacted from memory with texts in ‘*Moving between sources: Ovid and Erasmus in Shakespeare’s Sonnets*’ from his *Memory and Intertextuality in Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 2016).⁹³ The influence of the writings of Erasmus on the Shakespeare Sonnets is pervasive. In his edition of *William Shakespeare: The Complete Sonnets and Poems* Professor Burrows in discussing the language of male love and sexuality writes ‘Sonnets 1-17, which urge a youth to marry, repeatedly echo the sage authority of Erasmus, as though seeking to turn his cultural authority into social standing.’⁹⁴ The debt to Erasmus in the first seventeen Sonnets is explored and discussed by Dr Katherine M. Wilson in *Shakespeare’s Sugared Sonnets*:

It was shocking of Shakespeare to begin his sonnet sequence by trying to persuade his [male] friend to marry...His private friends are also likely to have noticed that the first sonnets in their sweet, ornate tones, use arguments from a very lengthy, learned and earnest ‘Epistle to persuade a young gentleman to marriage’, which was written by Erasmus and had appeared in Thomas Wilson’s *The Arte of Rhetorique* in 1553.⁹⁵

Just as there are traces of the writings of Erasmus in the early Shakespeare poems this is also the case in some of the early Shakespeare plays. According to Baldwin the Erasmus collection of wise sayings *De Parabolis Sive Similia* is the ultimate source for the similitude in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1: 1: 42-50),⁹⁶ and Hosley points to the colloquy ‘Conjugium’ anonymously translated into English for *The Taming of the Shrew*.⁹⁷ The colloquy ‘Proci et puellae’ that contains the sentence ‘Ego rosam existimo felicior, quae maerescit in hominis manu, delectans interim et oculus et nares, quam quae senescit’, is the root for numerous resemblances in the poems and plays including the *Sonnets*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *As You Like It* and *All’s Well That Ends Well*, with various other verbal echoes from Erasmus in Act I of the latter.⁹⁸

His satirical *The Praise of Folly* served as a source for several Shakespeare plays and several Shakespeare characters, particularly the figure of the wise fool. The influence of the Erasmus Renaissance classic on the Shakespeare comedies was highlighted and explored by Aoki Kazuo in ‘*The Praise of Folly and Shakespeare’s Early and Middle Comedies*’.⁹⁹ In ‘*A Midsummer Night’s Dream and The Praise of Folly*’, T. N. Greenfield notes that several commentators have discussed Falstaff in connection with *The Praise of Folly* and ‘Like Falstaff, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* concerns itself extensively with the subject of folly.’¹⁰⁰ This is compounded by Birkinshaw in ‘“Past the Wit of Man”: *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*’s debt to *Praise of Folly*’ wherein she examined ‘the nature of Erasmus’s influence’ and ‘the play’s themes in the light of it’.¹⁰¹ In the Arden edition of *As You Like It* under the heading of ‘*A Wise man and a fool: Jacques and Touchstone*’, Professor Juliet Dusinberre observes ‘Just as Jacques is described laughing for an hour lamenting Touchstone, thus reversing the roles, so the paradox of which character wear’s the fool’s motley, and which the mantle of the sage, lies, in the true fashion of Erasmus’s *Praise of Folly*, at the centre of Shakespeare’s comedy.’¹⁰² The fool in *King Lear* a key figure in the play is also drawn from Erasmus’ satire ‘The undercurrent of scepticism in *King Lear* may be related to the multiplying ironies of the Fool’s role and dialogue, and the paradoxes about wisdom and folly in the play...Such paradoxes animate Erasmus’s *Praise of Folly*.’¹⁰³

The enigmatic figure of the fool appears in some twenty Shakespeare plays from the earliest *Titus Andronicus*, *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Two Gentlemen of Verona* through to the later plays *Timon of Athens*, *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*.

5.

The entries from the poets and dramatists Terence, Horace, Seneca, Virgil and Ovid in the *Promus* and the influence of their writings in the Shakespeare poems and plays

Of course, not all the classical quotations come via Erasmus. Bacon also draws (in descending order of frequency) on Virgil, Ovid, Seneca, Horace, and Terence...

[Alan Stewart with Harriet Knight, eds., *The Oxford Francis Bacon: Early Writings 1584-1596* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 2012), p. 507]

The story and heavy irony of (Publius Terentius Afer) known as Terence would have engaged and amused Bacon together with his love and admiration for the comedies that pass in his name that were a significant influence in the structure and content of his Shakespeare plays. He was suspected or known for being a mask for the writings of the Roman senators Scipio and Laelius who wished to keep their authorship secret just as the actor 'Will: Shake-peare' (the hyphenated 'Shake-speare' indicating it was a pseudonym), was a literary front or mask for Francis Bacon who wished likewise to conceal his secret authorship of the Shakespeare plays.

Very little is known about his early life. He was born at some unknown date at Carthage (with dates varying from 195 BC to 185 BC). He was sold as a slave to Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator, who it is said provided him with an education and freed him. It was from his Roman master Terentius Lucanus that he took his name Terentius. He appears to have been drawn into the Scipionic Circle, a group of politicians, philosophers and poets which took their name from the Roman statesman Scipio Africanus who regularly met to discuss Greek culture, literature and humanism as Bacon similarly did afterwards with Sir Philip Sidney, *et al*, as part of a group which called themselves the 'Areopagus' (named after the legal institution under the Athenian democracy) to discuss philosophy, poetry and drama at Leicester House on the Strand.¹⁰⁴

The first play to appear in his name was *Andria* (*The Girl from Andros*) in 166 BC that proved a great success, and its supposed author was widely celebrated and apparently welcomed into the upper echelons of Roman literary society. There are five other extant comedies that Terence is credited with: *Hecyra* (*The Mother-in-Law*), *Heauton Timorumenos* (*The Self-Tormentor*), *Eunuchus* (*The Eunuch*), *Phormio* (name of character in the play) and *Adelphoe* (*The Brothers*). Five of these comedies are represented in the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies*: *Andria*, *Adelphoe*, *Eunuchus*, *Heauton Timorumenos* and *Phormio*.¹⁰⁵ In his essays *Of Counsel*, *Of Seeming Wise* and *Of Vain-Glory* Bacon alludes to *Eunuchus* and *Heauton Timorumenos*,¹⁰⁶ and in *The Advancement of Learning* there appears a very telling passage where Bacon directly alludes to Terence and Plautus:

It decideth also the controversies between Zeno and Socrates, and their schools and successions on the one side, who placed felicity in virtue simply or attended; the actions and exercises whereof do chiefly embrace and concern society; and on the other side, the Cyrenaics and Epicureans, who placed it in pleasure, and made virtue, (as it is used in some comedies of errors, wherein the mistress and the maid change habits), to be but as a servant, without which pleasure cannot be served and attended ...¹⁰⁷

In a gloss on this passage its Oxford Clarendon editor Michael Kiernan comments 'comedies of errors-Bacon is thinking of Terence and Plautus, not Shakespeare'.¹⁰⁸ Another one of those comedy of errors: here Bacon is doubtless thinking of Terence and Plautus and his Shakespeare play *The Comedy of Errors*.

It was not long before Terence was suspected of being a mere literary front or mask for the real authors of the six comedies the statesmen Scipio and Laelius, who just like Bacon due to their position in Roman society, could not be seen to be writing comedies for the stage. The great Roman statesman, philosopher and writer Cicero (*Epsitulae ad Atticum*) wrote ‘Terence, whose plays, owing to the elegance of the diction, were considered to be written by C. Laelius’ and the Roman educator and rhetorician Quintilian (*Institutio Oratio*) ‘although the writings of Terence are attributed to Scipio Africanus; which, however, in this class (comedies) are most elegant’.¹⁰⁹ In the time of Bacon it was well-attested among the literati that Terence was not the author of the six plays attributed to him. In his essay ‘A Consideration Upon Cicero’ (translated from the French by Florio in 1603) the great philosopher and essayist Montaigne (a close friend of Anthony and Francis Bacon) wrote:

And if the perfection of well-speaking might bring any glorie sutable vnto a great personage, *Scipio* and *Lelius* would never have resigned the honor of their Comedies, and the elegancies, and smooth-sportfull conceites of the Latin tongue, vnto an African servant: For, to prove this Labor to be theirs, the exquisite eloquence, and excellent invention thereof doth sufficiently declare it: and Terence himself doth avouch it: and I could hardly be removed from this opinion.¹¹⁰

In 1611 John Davies of Hereford issued his *The Scourge of Folly Consisting of satyricall Epigramms, and others in honor of many noble and worthy Persons of our Land* containing a sonnet addressed to his Rosicrucian Master Sir Francis Bacon wherein he very clearly identifies him as a concealed poet:

To the royall, ingenious, and all-learned knight, Sr. Francis Bacon.

Thy *Bounty*, and the *Beauty* of thy Witt
 (Comprisd in Lists of *Law*, and learned *Arts*,
 Each making thee for great *Employment* fitt
 Which now thou hast, (though short of thy deserts)
 Compells my Pen to let fall shining *Inke*
 And to bedew the *Baies* that *deck* thy *Front*;
 And to thy health in *Helicon* to drinke
 As, to her *Bellamour* the *Muse* is wont:
 For, thou dost he embozom; and, dost vse
 Her company for sport twixt graue affaires:
 So vtterst *Law* the liuelyer through thy *Muse*:
 And for that all thy *Notes* are sweetest *Aires*;
 My *Muse thus notes thy worth in eu'ry Line*,
 With yncke which thus she sugers; so, to shine.¹¹¹

In the verse Davies contrasts Bacon’s public life with his private or secret life (which he was clearly privy to) with the Bounty Law which Bacon loathed and Beauty of his Wit, the learned arts of poetry and drama, which were his first and last love. He refers to the Bays, the poet’s laurel wreath (*OED*: ‘a wreath made of bay-leaves, for a victor or poet’) that ‘deck’ (which sits above what lies beneath) ‘thy *Front*’, a person behind which to conceal his identity (i.e., William Shakspeare of Stratford). Mount Helicon is home to the Helicon Muses the goddesses of poetical inspiration and poetry his divine ‘*Bellamour*’ (Bellamore: meaning Beautiful Love).

The secret that William Shakspeare was a literary mask for Bacon was communicated to the initiated or those with eyes to see in the same *Scourge of Folly* in which Davies pointedly refers to 'Shake-speare' as '*our English Terence*'. In other words, just as Terence was a literary mask for Scipio and Laelius, the hyphenated 'Will: Shake-speare' (indicating it was a pseudonym) was a literary mask for his Rosicrucian Master Sir Francis Bacon:

*To our English Terence M^r. Will:
Shake-speare.
Epig. 159.*

Some say (good *Will*) which I, in sport, do sing)
Had'st thou not plaid some Kingly parts in sport,
Thou hadst bin a companion for a *King*;
And, beene a King among the meaner sort.
Some others raile; but, raile as they thinke fit,
Thou shalt no rayling, but, a raining Wit:
And honesty thou sow'st, which they do reape;
*So, to increase their Stocke which they do keepe.*¹¹²

In his enormous work *Shakspeare's Five-Act Structure* whose first chapter 'The Five Act-Structure of the Plays of Terence' which informs and shapes the whole work T. W. Baldwin indicates in adopting Terence's five-act structure he influenced Shakespeare in the overall writing of a whole play/plays. This influence extended to his use of *Andria*, *Eunuchus*, *Heauton Timorumenos*, *Hecrya*, *Aldephoe* and *Phormio* in *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *2 Henry IV*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Hamlet*, *Twelfth Night*, *Othello* and *All's Well That Ends Well*.¹¹³ In *Shakespeare's Books A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Sources* Gillespie adds that 'plot may in fact be the area in which Terence's effect on Shakespeare is at its strongest, both in the sense of overall scheme (benign doublings and redoublings, involutions and intrigues developing in certain ways at certain intervals) and individual ingredients (such as errors and lock-outs, twins and quasi-twins).¹¹⁴ Ruth Nevo moreover described the Shakespearean comedy genre as 'the function of...the Terentian formula for comic plots...and the battle of the sexes.'¹¹⁵ The full expanse of the influence of the so-called Terence comedies on the Shakespeare plays was written large by Professor Miola in his *Shakespeare and Classical Comedy: The Influence of Plautus and Terence* published by Oxford Clarendon Press in 1994, who like Dr Gillespie in *Shakespeare's Books A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Sources* (2004), for reasons best known to themselves did not once refer to the entries in Bacon's private notebook the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* drawn from the Terentian comedies which had such an enormous influence upon the structure and content of the Shakespeare plays.¹¹⁶

The names of Terence and Shakespeare were forever immortalised together in print in the curious and enigmatic epistle prefixed to the first edition of *Troilus and Cressida*. The play is believed to have been written in or around 1602 and was first entered on the Stationers' Register on 7 February 1603. For whatever reason publication of the play did not immediately follow. It was re-entered on the Stationers' Register on 28 January 1609 and two quarto editions of the play appeared afterwards during the same year. Apparently, at some point during the printing of the first Quarto edition its title page was changed so that it exists in two states. The original title page has the following title: *The Historie of Troylus and Cressida. As it was acted by the Kings Maiesties seruants at the Globe*.¹¹⁷ For the next edition the title page was cancelled and

replaced with a new title page as follows: *The Famous Historie of Troylus and Cresseid. Excellently expressing the beginning of their loues, with the conceited wooing of Pandarus Prince of Licia* that omits any reference of the play having been performed at the Globe.¹¹⁸ In addition to the new title page it contains an enigmatic address headed 'A neuer writer, to an euer reader. Newes.'¹¹⁹

To account for the contradiction several Shakespeare scholars have suggested that this challenging play with its grandiloquent verbosity and complex philosophical themes was never acted at the Globe or in any other public theatre, and due to its involved legalistic language and allusions, that it was specially written for an audience of lawyers at one of the Inns of Court. It finally received a full-length treatment at the hands of Professor Elton in *Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida and the Inns of Court Revels* which firmly placed the play in the historical context of the Inns of Court tradition written by its author for an audience of lawyers which 'manifests many of the elements of a law-revel, including misrule, inversion, mock rhetoric and logic, and mock trials',¹²⁰ a description that could easily double up for Bacon's 1594-5 Christmas Gray's Inn Revels. On his very first page of its introduction Professor Elton states 'At the Inns of Court law-student revels, we know of two Shakespearean comedies that were presented: *Comedy of Errors* at Gray's Inn revels, 28 December 1594; and *Twelfth Night* at Middle Temple revels, 2 February 1602.'¹²¹ Throughout his full-length treatise Professor Elton has occasion to refer to and discuss aspects of the Gray's Inn Revels on several other occasions but remarkably he does once mention the name of Francis Bacon, in fact he does not even warrant a single entry on his index,¹²² all the more astonishing when we consider that the Christmas Gray's Inn Revels were organised and directed by Bacon and for which he composed six speeches for the next Grand Night which took place days after the premier of *The Comedy of Errors* on 3 January 1595.¹²³

In the epistle prefixed to *Troilus and Cressida* written by Bacon he favourably compares his own masterpiece with the comedies of Terence and Plautus:

*Amongst all there is none more witty than this: And I had I time I would comment upon it, though I know I needs not, (for so much as will make you thinke your testerne well bestowd) but for so much more worth, as euen poore I know to be stuft in it. It deserues such a labour, as well as the best Commedy in Terence or Plautus.*¹²⁴

This is immediately followed by a reference to the 'Grand Possessors' of the play an allusion to Bacon himself and his divine Rosicrucian Brotherhood:

*Take this for a warning, and at the perill of your pleasures losse, and Iudgements, refuse not, nor like this the lesse, for not being sullied, with the smoaky breath of the multitude; but thanke fortune for the scape of it hath made amongst you. Since by the grand possessors wills I beleue you should have prayd for them rather then beene prayd.*¹²⁵

An important translation entitled *Terence in English* was printed in the name Richard Bernard by John Legatt, printer to the University of Cambridge in 1598, with facing Latin and English texts. Above the dedication 'To The VVorshipfvl Yong Gentleman And Of Vertvovs Edvcation M. *Christopher Wray*' appears an upside down Baconian-Rosicrucian AA headpiece.¹²⁶ A further edition of *Terence in English* appeared at London in 1614 with a Baconian-Rosicrucian AA headpiece printed on its title page,¹²⁷ indicating like the previous edition it was printed and published under the direction and supervision of Bacon and his Rosicrucian Brotherhood.

Terence in English.

FABVLAE COMICI FACETISSIMI ET ELEGANTISSIMI POETAE TERENTII OMNES ANGLICÆ FACTAE PRIMÛMQUE HAC NOVA FORMA nunc editæ: opera ac industria R. B. in Axholmiensi insula Lincolnshery EPVORTHEATIS.

* * *

EX HORATIO.

*Sunt delicta quidem, quibus ignovisse velimus:
Nam neque chorda sonum reddit, quem vult manus & mens:
Poscentiq; gravem persape remittit acutum.
Nec semper feriet, quodcunque minabitur arcus.*

Prodesse non obesse:

Illud ex animo fiet, hoc præter voluntatem accidet.



CANTABRIGIÆ
EX OFFICINA IOHANNIS LEGAT. 1598.

Fig. 10 The title page of the 1598 edition of *Terence in English*



TO THE VVOR- SHIPFUL YONG GENTLE-

MAN AND OF VERTVOVS EDVCA-
tion M. *Christopher Wray*, sonne and heyre to the Right
worshipfull Sir William VVray knight, and to the rest
of the toward yong Gentlemen his brethren, nephewes
to the vertuous and true religious Ladies, the Ladie
Bowes and the Ladie *Saintpoll* his very bountifull Pa-
tronesses, R. B. wisheth encrease of knowledge, vertue,
and honour, with happie daies.



I T is not the first time (Gentlemen) that
I haue affected to make knowne the
good will I doe, and shall for euer beare
to you, though now at this time first
effected. Because those who loue you
best, haue beene not the least friends to
me, to whome I worthily devote my
selfe, as *Agamemnon* did to *Diana*, confessing my selfe not
to be sufficient to pleasure them, that haue, next to *God* and
Nature, giuen me all that I haue. As also for that I euer
found in you, as pleasant branches sprouting from such
happie rootes, so inclinable nature to doe me good, ex-
pressed euer fully when at any time I happened to come
vnto your fathers, as either I could wish, or your tender
yeares in that well gouerned estate might affoord. For the
which, as an acknowledgement of the same, I offer you
here, that which *Fortune* hath vouchsafed to fauour me
withall, a Latin authortaught to speake English; a comi-
call Poet. pithie, pleasant, and very profitable: as merrie as
Entrapeles, as graue as *Cato*, as ethicall as *Plato*: he can play
craftily

Fig. 11 The Baconian-Rosicrucian AA headpiece above the dedication page to the 1598 edition of *Terence in English*

Terence in English.

FABVLAE COMICI
FACETISSIMI ET
ELEGANTISSIMI POETAE TEREN-
TII OMNES ANGLICAE FACTAE

& hac noua forma editae : opera ac industria

R. B. in Axholmiensi insula Lincolnsh-
rij Epwortheatis.

George Shephardus
Quarta editio multo emendatione

*110
88-125
please*

EX HORATIO.

*Sunt delicta quidem, quibus ignorasse velimus :
Nam neque chorda sonum reddit, quem vult manus & mens :
Poscentiq; grauem per sepe remittit acutum.
Nec semper feriet, quodcumque minabitur arcus.*

Prodesse non obesse:

Illud ex animo fiet, hoc prater voluntatem accidet.

Terentius Afer Publius



48-1d

LONDINI,
Ex officina IOHANNIS LEGATT Celeberrimae
Academiae Cantabrigiensis Typographi.

1614.

e

2

Fig. 12 The Baconian-Rosicrucian AA Headpiece on the title page of the 1614 edition of *Terence in English*

The poet Horace was born at Venusia in southern Italy in 65 BC and was educated in Rome and later travelled to Athens where he studied at The Academy founded by Plato. On his return to Rome Horace applied himself to poetry and his ability drew him to the attention of Virgil who recommended him to Emperor Augustus and the Roman patron Maecenas. From about 35 BC Horace produced the first works which established his reputation to posterity. His two Books of satirical poems entitled the *Satires*, the *Epodes*, a collection of iambic poems, the first three Books of his *Odes*, and the first two Books of his *Epistles* in 21 BC augmented by a second Book of *Epistles* in 14 BC. Between his two Book of *Epistles*, he composed *Carmen Saeculare*, commissioned by his patron Emperor Augustus, a sacred hymn or prayer addressed to Apollo and Diana. A fourth Book of *Odes* followed before the publication of his *Ars Poetica* (*The Art of Poetry*) in which Horace advises poets on the art of writing poetry.

It is little known that the first English translation of Horace's *Satires* was published under the patronage of Lady Anne Bacon and her sister Lady Mildred Cecil by the Church of England clergyman and poet Thomas Drant (c.1540-1578). He was a graduate and fellow of St John's College, Cambridge and when Queen Elizabeth visited the university in August 1564 Drant presented her with copies of verses he had composed in English, Greek, and Latin. In early 1565 Drant performed a public exercise on the doctrinal issue '*Corpus Christi non est ubique*' which was later printed in *A Medicinable Morall, that is, the two Bookes of Horace his Satyres, Englyshed* which he succinctly dedicated:

'TO THE RIGHT HONORable my Lady Bacon, and Lady Cicell, sisters, fauourers of learnyng and vertue.'¹²⁸

In 1567 Drant followed this with a translation of Horace's *Epistula ad Pisones* as *Horace his Arte of poetrie, Pistles and Satyrs Englyshed* dedicated to the Earl of Ormounte.¹²⁹ Both of these translated editions of Horace's writings are traceable in Bacon's Shakespeare works.

It is evident from at least the mid-1560s onwards that Drant was moving in the Bacon-Cecil family circles, and it was most probably through his mother Lady Anne Bacon and his sister Lady Mildred Cecil, that the young Francis Bacon made the acquaintance of Thomas Drant and his English translations of Horace. He was certainly familiar with the set of rules drew up by Drant for the metrification of English poetry. These Drant rules and precepts are not known to have survived but Bacon mentions them under the guise of one of his early literary masks (Edmund Spenser) in his correspondence with the Cambridge professor Gabriel Harvey in *Three proper, and wittie, familiar letters* (1580),¹³⁰ and the rules were also discussed by Philip Sidney, Edward Dyer and Fulke Greville, with whom Bacon discussed poetry and drama at Leicester House following his return from France in 1579.¹³¹

References, allusions and traces of Horace's writings appear in Bacon's early manuscript and printed works and writings. There is an allusion to Horace's observation that anger is a short-lived madness from *Epistles* (I.ii.62) in his *An Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England* (1589),¹³² and a quotation from Horace's *Odes* in Bacon's dramatic device *Of Tribute; or Giving that Which is Due* (c.1591-2).¹³³ A substantial number of entries from Horace's *Satires*, *Epistles*, *Odes* and *Ars Poetica* are found in his private notebook *The Promus of Formularies and Elegances* (1594-6) testifying to Bacon's intimacy with his writings.¹³⁴ His essay *Of Death* concludes with '*Extinctus amabitur idem*' which is glossed by Bacon's editor Kiernan as follows '*Extinctus amabitur idem*: Once dead, he will be loved just the same.' Horace, *Epist.* ii.I.14 (of Hercules); *Promus*, fo. 84',¹³⁵ and in *Of Honour and Reputation* Bacon



Fig. 13 Portrait of Lady Anne Bacon joint patron of the first English translation of Horace



Fig. 14 Portrait of Lady Mildred Cecil joint patron of the first English translation of Horace

observes that ‘There is an *Honour* likewise, which may be ranked amongst the Greatest, which happeneth rarely: That is, of such *Sacrifice themselves*, to *Death* or *Danger*, for the *Good* of *their Countrey*: As was *M. Regulus*, and the *Two Decii*.’ (Horace, *Carm.* 5, 13-56).¹³⁶ This is further extended in the first major work printed in his name *The Two Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the proficience and aduancement of Learning, diuine and humane* (1605) wherein Bacon on at least nine occasions quotes, refers, or alludes to Horace’s *Satires*, *Epistles*, *Odes*, *Carmen Saeculare* and *Ars Poetica*,¹³⁷ a pattern broadly mirrored in his Shakespeare poems and plays.

The early tragedy *Titus Andronicus* is sometimes claimed by orthodox Shakespeare scholars to be the first of the Shakespeare plays, and if it is not actually the first, it is undoubtedly one of the earliest. Its exact date of composition is unknown. Various dates have been suggested ranging from 1588 through to 1594 the date of the publication of the first Quarto edition under the title *The Most Lamentable Romaine Tragedie of Titus Andronicus*.¹³⁸ In the play Demetrius reads out the opening lines of Horace’s *Odes* (1.22.1-1-2):

*Integer vitae, scelerisque purus,
Non eget Mauri iaculis, nec arcu.*
[*Titus Andronicus*: 4: 2: 20-21]

[‘the man of upright life and free from crime does not need the javelins or bows of the moor’]
139

The Oxford and Arden editors, professors Eugene M. Waite and Johnathan Bate, also point to the passage:

The Greeks upon advice did bury Ajax
That slew himself, and wise Laertes’ son
Did graciously plead for his funeral
[*Titus Andronicus*: 1: 1: 379-81]

The story was dramatized by Sophocles in his *Ajax*, but Shakespeare may more likely have known it, as Maxwell says, from Lambrinus’ commentary on Horace (*Satires*, II. ii. 187).¹⁴⁰

Professor Bate suggests moreover that the Latin phrase uttered by Demetrius ‘*Sit fas aut nefas*’ (1:1:633) ‘perhaps adapts ‘a verse in Horace’’ (*Odes*, 1.18.10-11).¹⁴¹

In the later *Timon of Athens* our supreme poet similarly directly quotes from Horace’s Latin *Epistles* (1.2.62):

They say, my lords, *ira furor brevis est*,
[*Timon of Athens*: 1: 2: 128]
[‘anger is a brief madness’]¹⁴²

Still the most comprehensive orthodox account of the influence of Horace in the Shakespeare poems and plays is provided by Professor Baldwin in *William Shakspeare’s Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* who surveys some of the parallel examples identified by the previous eighteenth and nineteenth century Shakespeare editors which he incorporates into his own extensive account. One of the many direct debts to the *Odes* involves the *Pyrha* poem (1.5) and Hastings’

lament before his death in *Richard III* (3:4:98-103) first noted by Samuel Johnson. Which for Professor Baldwin cannot be understood without Horace and since no translation was available our poet must have known it from the original Latin.¹⁴³ He quotes Professor Collins who says ‘the fourth scene of the fifth act of *Henry VI*. part iii., is simply a paraphrase of Ode xiv. of Book 1’, an example of Horace’s thought highlighted by Dr Johnson in *3 Henry VI* (5:2:24-5), and cites a parallel pointed out by Malone a passage in *1 Henry VI* (3:1: 189-91).¹⁴⁴ In addition to two of the three plays from the early *Henry VI* trilogy there are similar echoes from the *Odes* (*Carm.* Book II *Ode* 18, 20-22) in *King John* the first Shakespeare play published anonymously in Quarto in 1591 and *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* written in 1594-5, and a whole host of Horatian ideas and themes from the *Odes* lie behind in the famous passage in *2 Henry IV* (3:1: 4-31).¹⁴⁵ In his recent edition of *Love’s Labour’s Lost* Professor Woudhuysen serves up a combination of Horace’s works possibly alluded to in the play beginning with its second line ‘Live registered upon or brazen tombs’ (1:1:2) from the *Odes* (3.30.1), regarding the explicit mention of the Roman poet ‘Horace says in his-What, my soul, verses?’ (*Love’s Labour’s Lost*: 4:2:101), an echo from the third precept of *Ars Poetica* and ‘When great things labouring perish in birth’ (*Love’s Labour’s Lost*: 5:2:518) shows traces of *Ars Poetica*, 139.¹⁴⁶

As one might the Shakespearean tragedies contain various traces and echoes from the various corpus of Horatian works. The eighteenth-century Shakespeare editor George Stevens points to the First Clown’s comments on Hamlet being sent abroad (*Hamlet*: 5:1:169-70) echoing the *Satires* (II, 3, 120-1),¹⁴⁷ one of several echoes from the *Satires* in the play.¹⁴⁸ Professor Baldwin cites the Baconian author William Theobald’s *The Classical Element in the Shakespeare Plays* for a phrase in *Macbeth* (5:3:22-3) deriving from Horace (‘*Epist.* I. xviii. 103. Francis.’) and Theobald also highlights a passage in *Macbeth* (3:1:53) he traces to *Epistle* II. ii. 187.¹⁴⁹ A series of verbal echoes in *King Lear* in Lear’s words to Edgar are traceable to two lines from the *Epistles* and one from the *Odes*. Most strikingly, Lear contemplates his position through the lens of lines 210-13 from *Epistle* II, i. with its memorable description of a poet.¹⁵⁰ And in *The Origins of Shakespeare* Professor Emrys Jones convincingly maintains that the eleventh *Ode* of Horace’s third book underlies the passage in *Othello* (5:2:134-40) relating to the impending death of Desdemona.¹⁵¹

In the late play *The Winter’s Tale* the device of the bear is taken from a reference in Horace’s *Epistle* II. i., that in order to appease the rabble at the theatre some boxers or bears should be brought onto the stage.¹⁵² However the most important and extensive use of Horace in the later plays is found in *Antony and Cleopatra* which Professor Emrys Jones says is underpinned by Horace’s *Odes*:

The stylistic qualities of *Antony and Cleopatra*, as they have just been described, are very much those of Horace’s *Odes*-or those qualities of Horace that could be freely imitated in a modern uninflected language...And it is not only matter of strictly verbal style: some of the themes of the play-empire, love, and wine-were already Horatian themes. Horace was of course a contemporary of Antony’s, and-more relevantly-wrote a famous ode on the defeat and death of Cleopatra.¹⁵³

Long before Professor Baldwin two Baconian scholars presented a long series of echoes, resemblances and correspondences between Horace’s writings and the Shakespeare works. The first in two anonymous articles printed in the private subscription *Baconiana* entitled ‘Francis Bacon’s Debts to Horace’ Part 1 and Part II and the second William Theobald in *The Classical Element in the Shakespeare Plays*. Between them they identified traces of Horace’s writings in a wide range of Shakespeare plays from the Comedies, Histories and Tragedies, from the very

earliest to the last incorporating virtually the whole canon, including some of those plays that were first published in the 1623 Shakespeare First Folio:

*The Rape of Lucrece, Sonnets, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, The Taming of the Shrew, King John, Titus Andronicus, 1 Henry VI, 2 Henry VI, 3 Henry VI, Richard III, The Comedy of Errors, Love's Labour's Lost, Richard II, Romeo and Juliet, A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Merchant of Venice, 1 Henry IV, 2 Henry IV, The Merry Wives of Windsor, Much Ado About Nothing, Henry V, Julius Caesar, As You Like It, Hamlet, Macbeth, Troilus and Cressida, Measure for Measure, Othello, All's Well That Ends Well, King Lear, Timon of Athens, Antony and Cleopatra, Coriolanus, The Winter's Tale, Cymbeline, The Tempest and Henry VIII.*¹⁵⁴

As we have seen the first English translation of Horace's *Satires* was published under the patronage of Bacon's mother Lady Anne Bacon and her sister Lady Mildred Cecil by Thomas Drant in *A Medicinable Morall, that is, the two Bookes of Horace his Satyres, Englished* dedicated: 'TO THE RIGHT HONORable my Lady Bacon, and Lady Cicell, sisters, fauourers of learnyng and vertue',¹⁵⁵ which Drant followed up the next year with a translation of Horace's *Epistula ad Pisones* under the title *Horace his Arte of poetrie, Pistles and Satyrs Englished*.¹⁵⁶ The first English translation of a selection of Horace's *Odes* was first published in a curious work entitled *Certain Selected Odes of Horace, Englished; And their Arguments annexed. With Poems (Antient and Modern) divers Subiects, Translated. Whereunto are added, both in Latin and English, sundry new Epigrammes, Anagrams, Epitaphes* in 1621.

The volume is attributed to one John Ashmore about whom virtually nothing is known. His entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004-22) reads 'Ashmore, John (fl. 1621)' (*fl.* denotes John Ashmore was alive or flourished in 1621), indicating that nothing is known of him outside that his name is associated with a work published in 1621.¹⁵⁷ This is all the entry in the *ODNB* surmises about his life: '[He] was probably a native of the area near Rippon in Yorkshire (to which his poems repeatedly refer), but his life appears obscure. There are no records of his attending university.'¹⁵⁸ No other work carries the name of Ashmore throughout the entire Elizabethan and Jacobean reigns and nor was he responsible for the *Certain Selected Odes of Horace* printed in his name. There are however several clues indicating who was responsible for his production and publication.

The work is dedicated in Latin and English to Toby Matthew, Archbishop of York (1544-1628) father of the writer and courtier Sir Tobie Matthew (1577-1655) Bacon's lifelong friend, whom he described as his *alter ego*, and who lived with Bacon for periods at Gorhambury. He was held in high esteem by Bacon who sent him his acknowledged works while Sir Tobie was abroad as well as works of his 'recreation' (his Shakespeare plays) for literary criticism and in 1617 Matthew contributed the dedication to Cosimo (II) de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in which he praised Bacon's incomparable learning prefixed to a collection of his thirty-eight essays printed under the title *Saggi Morali Del Sgnore Francesco Bacono, Cavaglire Inglese. Con vn altro Trattato Della Sapienza De Gli Antichi*.¹⁵⁹ It was to his father Tobie Matthew, Archbishop of York to whom its translator dedicated *Certain Selected Odes of Horace* for protection against potential detractors and carping critics:

IF Thee, the Muses sacred Rites that knowes,
And from whose Lips pure Attick Hony flowes,
These Lyrick Poet's Songs doo not displeas,

Tun'd (as I could) to my Pipe's homely Laies,
 But (doom'd to darknes) by thy gracefull Sight
 Bee brought abroad, to see the gladsome Light;
 No gleering Scorns I'll fear, nor spitefull Gibes,
 Nor crabbed Criticks, nor Grammarian Tribes.
 Thou, thou alone, 'gainst all these Darts shall bee
 An *Ajax*-Shield, and sweet Defence to mee.¹⁶⁰

A series of commendatory poems in English and Latin are prefixed to the volume from an anonymous 'G. S.', the epigrammatist John Owen and Samuel Pullein, that claims its translator would be another Horace if he had another Maecenas as a patron, whom he describes as having 'the same appearance, and type of intellect'.¹⁶¹ In the volume about one of the translations it is said 'This Ode following, came unto my hands under the name of Mr. *Ben Iohnson*: which (for the happy imitation of *Horace*) I have also published.'¹⁶² During the period of the publication of *Certain Selected Odes of Horace* Ben Jonson was living with Bacon at Gorhambury assisting him in the translation of his essays.

The *Latine* Translation of them [Bacon's *Essays*] were a Work performed by divers Hands; by those of Doctor *Hacket* (late Bishop of *Lichfield*) Mr. *Benjamin Johnson* (the learned and judicious Poet) and some others, whose Names I once heard from Dr. *Rawley*; but I cannot now recal them.¹⁶³

Many of the epigrams and anagrams in *Certain Selected Odes of Horace* are addressed to high ranking and distinguished individuals including Charles, Prince of Wales (to whom Bacon dedicated his *Touching a War with Spain*), Bacon's former protégé George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (to whom Bacon dedicated the 1625 edition of his *Essays*) and to Bacon himself:

To the *Right Honourable*, Sir FRANCIS BACONE, Knight, Lord High Chancelor of England.

Anagr.

BACONE.
 BEACON.

Thy Vertuous Name, and Office, ioyne with Fate,
 To make thee the bright BEACON of the State.¹⁶⁴

The persons and influences that shape our lives and minds begins early and Bacon was raised and surrounded by poets, writers and translators from his early childhood right through into adulthood and beyond. His love and extensive knowledge of the Roman philosopher, writer and playwright Lucius Annaeus Seneca (c.4 BC-65 AD) was inevitable as Seneca was Sir Nicholas Bacon's favourite author. In a poem written for his wife Lady Anne Bacon in 1558 in a time of his '*great sickenes*' he reveals how he took great comfort in Anne reading to him from her 'Tullye' (Cicero) and 'my Senecke':

Thinkeinge alsoe with howe good will
 The Idle tymes which yrkesome be
 You have made shorte throwe your good skill
 In readeinge pleasante thinges to me,
 Whereof profite we bothe did se,

As wittenes can if they coulde speake
Bothe your Tullye and my Senecke.¹⁶⁵

As a new man Nicholas Bacon without the advantages and privileges of nobility, status and wealth who had ‘few resources upon which to fall back upon in times of adversity’ writes his modern biographer ‘he was bound to follow the Stoic maxims of his ‘Senecke’,¹⁶⁶ as if the man and his writings, and what he stood for and represented, not only reflected his political and philosophical outlook, but ran through his veins:

In fact, so great was his admiration for the ideas and style of Seneca that his chosen motto, *Mediocria Firma*, is almost certainly taken from one of the choruses of that philosopher’s *Oedipus*, and, as Dr Elizabeth McCutcheon has recently pointed out and discussed in some detail, the Latin *sententiae* which Bacon chose to adorn his gallery walls at Gorhambury were largely Senecan in composition and substance.¹⁶⁷

Sir Nicholas Bacon purchased the manor of Gorhambury, near St Albans, in January 1557 where he built a new house on the site between 1563 and 1568. It seems work was continuing on the long gallery in 1574 and was likely completed shortly thereafter. The Latin verses or *sententiae* (gathered up from fifty-nine different sources) chiefly from Seneca and Cicero depicted above the wainscoting and portals are grouped together under twenty-two subjects or headings to prompt meditation that was ‘used to teach and guide, acting as a mnemonic system of precepts’,¹⁶⁸ which his son Francis contemplated and looked upon throughout his formative years and the following decades.

This Latin collection of *sententiae* was fortunately preserved in the form of an illuminated manuscript probably prepared in 1575 or 1576 and presented to Jane, Lady Lumley ‘At Her Desire’ sometime before her death in 1576/7 that is now held at the British Library (Manuscript Royal 17 A XXIII). Its Latin text together with its first English translation was published by Dr Elizabeth McCutcheon in 1977.¹⁶⁹ Its editor and translator Dr McCutcheon states that the manuscript provides ‘the autograph of Sir Nicholas’s mind’, and it comments ‘particularly, upon the impact of Seneca on Sir Nicholas himself’, and it ‘helps also to clarify the relationship between Nicholas Bacon and his youngest son Francis.’¹⁷⁰ The impact of his father Sir Nicholas and his love of Seneca on Francis and his shared love and admiration of Seneca was one and the same: for both father and son the profound impact of Seneca, the man and his writings, lasted a lifetime.

The pervasive influence of the Roman philosopher and dramatist on Bacon’s acknowledged writings simultaneously made itself felt from the commencement of both canons at the same date and continued throughout his lifetime up to the publication of his Shakespeare First Folio and his last known works.

In his dramatic device *Of Tribute; or Giving that Which is Due* (c.1591-2) which Bacon wrote for the Earl of Essex most probably to be presented as part of the festive celebrations for the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth’s accession day on 17 November 1592 he refers to Seneca’s *De Tranquillitate Animi* (xiv. 8-9),¹⁷¹ and further on in the text Seneca’s *Epist.* xcv.46.¹⁷² He also drew upon the great Roman philosopher and statesman’s tragedy *Troades* in his political tract *Observations Upon a Libel* (c.1592-3) commissioned by and written partly in defence of his uncle Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley,¹⁷³ and Seneca’s *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* (xciv.38) in his legal tract *Argument in Chudleigh’s Case* (1594).¹⁷⁴

A microcosm of Bacon's extensive intimacy with Seneca's writings is reflected in the entries of his private notebook the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* taken from his *De Beneficis* (moral essays or dialogues), *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* (moral epistles and letters), the satire on the Roman emperor Claudius *Ludus de morte Claudii*, and four of Seneca's tragedies *Troades*, *Herulces furen*, *Hercules Oetaeus* and *Oedipus*.¹⁷⁵ The extensive influence of these four Senecan tragedies can be traced in numerous Shakespeare plays throughout the canon.

During his lifetime Bacon published three separate editions of his *Essays* which in their entirety constitute the kinds of subjects and themes incorporated in his Shakespeare poems and plays. His Bacon-Shakespeare Manuscript (known as the Northumberland Manuscript) dated no later than later early 1597 once held along with his Shakespeare play *Richard II* and *Richard III* a copy of his collection of essays.¹⁷⁶ It was from this collection of manuscripts that his Shakespeare plays *Richard II* and *Richard III* were both published anonymously in Quarto editions in 1597 the year that also saw the publication of his first edition of *Essays* comprising ten short essays. Two variants of the first edition appeared in 1597 and 1598. A paginary reprint of the 1598 Hooper issue appeared in 1606 printed by William Jaggard and published by his brother John Jaggard,¹⁷⁷ and John Jaggard published another issue of this edition in 1612.¹⁷⁸ In the summer of 1612 Bacon prepared a new 241 page edition of his *Essays* comprising 38 essays which was entered on the Stationers' Register without any transfer on 12 October to William Hall and John Beale who produced an edition of it before the end of the year quickly followed by a second 1612 edition by John Jaggard containing the 38 essays.¹⁷⁹ Three further issues of this edition appeared in 1613 all according to their title pages printed by John Jaggard.¹⁸⁰ Ten years later the Shakespeare First Folio was printed and published by William Jaggard and his son Isaac Jaggard in November 1623.¹⁸¹ Soon after Elizabeth Jaggard published *The Essaies of Sr Francis Bacon Knight* in 1624.¹⁸² At the time of Bacon's supposed death in 1626 members of the Jaggard family owned the copyright to his *Essays* and part owned the copyright to his Shakespeare First Folio.¹⁸³

Traces of Horace's *Epistles* have been identified in a range of Bacon's essays: *Of Death*, *Of Adversity*, *Of Love*, *Of Great Place*, *Of Superstition*, *Of Riches* and *Of Vaine-Glory* wherein Bacon says 'Neither had the Fame of *Cicero*, *Seneca*, *Plinius Secundus*, borne her Age so well, if it had not been joyned, with some *Vanity* in themselves'.¹⁸⁴ In his *Of Anger* Bacon's refers to Seneca's *De Ira* (i. I) 'Seneca saith well; *That Anger is like Ruine, which breakes it Selfe, upon that it falls*',¹⁸⁵ and in his essay *Of Prophecy* Bacon quotes directly from Seneca's tragedy *Medea* (374-8), a source for several of his Shakespeare plays:

Senecæ the Tragedian hath these Verses.

*Venient Annis
Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula Rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat Tellus, Typhisques novos
Detegat Orbis; nec sit Terris
Ultima Thule:*

A Prophecie of the Discovery of America.

time shall in fine out break
When Ocean wave shall open every Realme.
The wandring World at will shall open lye.
And *TYPHIS* will some new founde Land survay
Some travelers shall the Countreys farre escrye,
Beyond small Thule, knowen furthest at this day.¹⁸⁶

In *The Advancement of Learning* his first published philosophical work with his name to it Bacon referred to Seneca the man, and quoted, referred and alluded to the following works on around a dozen occasions: *De Beneficis*, *Epistulae*, *Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium*, *Naturales Quaestiones*, and his tragedy *Hercules furens*,¹⁸⁷ another source for his Shakespeare plays.

In the year prior to the publication of the 1623 Shakespeare First Folio which at this time was making its way through the Jaggard printing workshop in 1622 Bacon published his *Historia Ventorum (The History of the Winds)* with a dedication to Prince Charles.¹⁸⁸ Its modern editors Professor Graham Rees and Maria Wakely point out that when addressing the question of the names of winds Bacon would have found several previous works from which to draw upon, among them, Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones*.¹⁸⁹ In his *Historia Vitae & Mortis (The History of Life and Death)* addressed 'To Present and Future Generations' published in the same year as the Shakespeare First Folio Bacon refers to Seneca on several occasions,¹⁹⁰ and alludes to his writings in a substantial number of his Shakespeare plays printed for the first time in the First Folio.

Many critics have pointed out that Shakespeare must have read and re-read Seneca throughout his lifetime.¹⁹¹ The modern editor of Seneca A. J. Boyle states 'Shakespeare ... plays re-write Senecan scenes and speeches constantly.'¹⁹² Modern twentieth century critics have attempted to define the nature and extent of Seneca's influence on the Shakespeare canon with often varying and conflicting outcomes which were summarized by Miola in the introduction to his recent *Shakespeare and Classical Tragedy The Influence of Seneca*.¹⁹³ Yet as Miola points out the study of Seneca's contribution to Shakespeare 'resides largely in isolated studies of individual plays; there exists no integrated assessment' and to partly 'remedy the deficiency this study examines Seneca's place in Shakespeare's tragedies and tragicomedies.'¹⁹⁴ While Professor Miola's important and incisive study offers fresh observations and insights and greatly increases our knowledge and understanding of Seneca's influence on Shakespeare it mainly focuses upon seven plays *Titus Andronicus*, *Richard III*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, and *King Lear* with a further chapter headed 'Tragicomedy' briefly discussing the Senecan influence on *Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, *A Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*. As extensive as this first full-length study particularly focussed on Seneca and Shakespeare is, extending to about a third of the Shakespeare canon, the influence of Seneca extends to an even greater number of Shakespeare plays. Irrespective of the total number of Shakespeare plays influenced by Seneca Miola correctly observes that 'throughout his career Shakespeare weaves Senecan materials-often combined with other fabrics, especially medieval-into complicated and surprising designs.'¹⁹⁵ And Miola points out 'Seneca continually provides Shakespeare with clusters of rhetorical and thematic ideas that shape his articulation of the tragic experience.'¹⁹⁶ Just as Seneca influenced the known writings of Bacon throughout the career of his acknowledged writings 'throughout Shakespeare's career, we shall see', says Miola, that: 'Seneca provides an important paradigm of tragic style, character and action. His influence surpasses the narrow limitations of genre and inspires moments in comedy as well as tragedy,

notably in *A Midsummer's Night's Dream*. This early use looks ahead to much later practice, as Seneca becomes finally for Shakespeare, as for Renaissance Europe, an important source of that new and fascinating hybrid-tragi-comedy.¹⁹⁷

In 2000 the American scholar M. L. Stapleton published his ground-breaking *Fated Sky the Femina Furens in Shakespeare* which addresses the complex intertextuality of the Elizabethan *Seneca, His Tenne Tragedies* containing the English translation of the Senecan tragedies with the Shakespeare canon. In a pointed instructive introduction Stapleton explains how what he describes as the *femina furens* (the angry woman) features in all ten of Seneca's plays, which provide models found throughout the Shakespeare plays and points towards the unmistakable intertextual nexus between *Seneca, His Tenne Tragdies* and the Shakespeare plays with a focussed clarity which has curiously eluded all previous critics and commentators:

I demonstrate Shakespeare's particular use of the topos throughout his canon with exemplary figures, and explain his reliance on the English translations *Seneca, His Tenne Tragedies, Translated into Englysh* (1581), as an intermediary for the Latin Seneca. I focus on intertextual connections that strike me as direct and unmistakable, broad analogues of rhetoric and character as well as direct verbal echoes and allusions...My first chapter analyses the critical history of the Senecan controversy and argues for Shakespeare's use of the *Tenne Tragedies* as his intertext, an idea that I extend through the next five chapters. Chapter 2 explains the centrality of John Studley's *Medea* to Shakespeare's conception of Joan la Pucelle (*I H6*), Margaret of Anjou (*2H6, 3H6, R3*), and *Tamora (TA)*, with particular attention to the transmigration of conventions such as stichomythia, and self-definition. Chapter 3 is devoted to the further transformations of the Senecan *femina furens* in Shakespeare's comic and angry Katherine (*Shr*) and Portia (*MV*). The next two chapters attempt to decode the strange parallels between Helena (*AWW*) and John Studley's *Phaedra (HIP)*, and between Cleopatra (*ANT*) and Jasper Heywood's *Juno (HF)*. Chapter 6 argues that Imogen and Cymbeline's Queen (*CYM*) represent an exorcism of *femina furens*. To limit the discussion to these dozen Shakespearean and Senecan plays seemed most judicious to me. Although much more could have been said....¹⁹⁸

In his penetrating essay 'Shakespeare and the History Play' Professor Hardin Craig states that our dramatist 'made his way into the history play through the door of Senecan tragedy, with its abundant use of rhetoric and oratory'.¹⁹⁹ He further highlights the Senecan-inspired rhetorical and oratorical elements in the Yorkist cycle of plays, and their declamations and Senecan prologues:

The duties of the prologue are, however, apt to be distributed over later acts of these plays. In *2 Henry VI* it is York's speeches (1:1: 213-59 and 3:1:331-83) that correspond to the Senecan prologue; in *3 Henry VI* this feature is seen more clearly in Richard of Gloucester's speech (3:2:124-95)....

...Almost all varieties of the Senecan declamation are to be found in the Yorkist plays. For example, Duke Humphrey's outburst of indignation over the surrender to the French of the duchies of Maine and Anjou (1:1:75-103) is a declamation expressive of grief and surprise; Margaret's denunciations of Duke Humphrey and his duchess (1:3:45-66, 78-90; 3:1:4-41) express hatred and envy; the Duchess of Gloucester's speech (2:4:27-69) is a lamentation; Duke Humphrey's analysis of the situation (3:1:142-71), one of the best declamations in the play is deliberative; King Henry's abandonment of Duke Humphrey (3:1:198-222), very Senecan in its mood, is expressive of surrender and defenceless suffering; the Queen's great effort to win Henry over to her side (3:2:73-121), incidentally a failure, is a *suasoria* and highly rhetorical; Suffolk's last speech (4:1:121-38), and indeed the whole scene of Suffolk's capture and death, is an example of conscious amplification and much overdone; and note, finally, Young Clifford's lamentation over his father's body (5:1:31-65).

...One other Senecan feature usually of some length which seems to appear consciously in the Yorkist

plays, particularly in 2 *Henry VI*, is the description of objects, physical or spiritual, in rhetorical terms. Shakespeare's object seems to be, as in *Titus Andronicus*, the accumulation of revolting and circumstantial horror, with exclamations, enumerations, and epithets.²⁰⁰

Kenneth Muir declared 'there can be little doubt that *Richard III* is the most Senecan of Shakespeare's plays.'²⁰¹ Harold F. Brooks demonstrates the pervasive influence of *Troades*, *Medea*, and *Phaedra* in *Richard III* and the play exhibits the kind of Senecan rhetorical features and recurring declamations highlighted above by Hardin Craig in the Henry VI trilogy.²⁰² Richard III is the archetypal Senecan tyrant who knows no bounds in his pursuit of power 'but I am in/So far in blood that sin will pluck on sin (*Richard III*: 4:2:65-6) sums up his attitude to evil cruel murder and continual slaughter. The tragedy '*Troades* contributes heavily to the characterisation, structure, and language of *Richard III*'²⁰³ and Brooks tells of the debt owed to *Troades* for its unhistorical amplifications showing that each of the four women in *Richard III* has her corresponding counterpart in the Senecan tragedy.²⁰⁴ The Shakespeare tragedy *Richard III* 'is Senecan in its royal houses under curse, and the chain that binds them, one generation after another. It is Senecan as a tragedy of blood...Senecan, again, are the ghosts demanding revenge, and the prominence of the revenge motive. As a criminal hero, Richard resembles Atreus the Senecan tyrant, Thyestes the murderous hypocrite, and, in his intellectual force and absence of moral feeling, the protagonist of *Medea*. In the play's form and expression, Senecan features are the prologue-like opening monologue; the choric function performed by Margaret; the forensic oratory; the gnomic sayings and the stichomythia.'²⁰⁵

In 1594 or 1595 Bacon turned his attention to comedy or the unseen magical world of the imagination and the unseen and invisible world around us in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, interweaving into his drama literature, legend and folklore, as well as tragedy, Senecan tragedy. In his Arden edition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* Harold Brooks identified several specific allusions to Seneca's *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, and *Oedipus*. Seneca, he declares, a major source for the *Dream*, had hitherto been overlooked even though Shakespeare's heavy debt to the Roman dramatist in tragedy and tragical history has previously been recognised 'a dramatist who remembers him in such plays does not lose his familiarity with him because he is writing comedy.'²⁰⁶ Nor is this the only comedy where the unlikely presence of Senecan tragedy is felt. In *Much Ado about Nothing* appears the following exchange:

BENEDICK Come, bid me do anything for thee.

BEATRICE Kill Claudio.

[*Much Ado about Nothing*: 4:1:289-90]

Emrys Jones was the first to point out that the exchange echoes the following from the *Medea*:

Jason: What can I do? Tell me.

Medea: For me? A crime...

[*Medea*: 2:514-5].²⁰⁷

Shifting genres from comedy to English and Roman history in fairly quick succession Bacon penned *Henry V* and *Julius Caesar*. For Theobald when Charles V of France remarks 'Rush on his host, as doth the melted snow/Upon the valleys' (3:5:50-1) it also recalls *Medea* (3:567).²⁰⁸ Simpson compares the famous passage from *Julius Caesar* 'How many ages hence/ Shall this our lofty scene be acted over,/In states unborn and accents yet unknown' (3:1:112-4) with

Troades (292-4),²⁰⁹ and Robert Ornstein finds a remarkable parallel between Seneca's attitude toward Brutus in his essay *De Beneficiis* (*On Benefits*) and Shakespeare's attitude to him.²¹⁰

For many reasons *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* is seen as the greatest landmark play in the history of English drama and as the ultimate complex revenge drama, a genre derived mainly from Seneca. The revenge tragedy is characterised by horrible and bloody excesses, murders and mutilations, the appearance of ghosts demanding revenge, the madness of the revenger, insanity or feigned insanity, evident in Seneca's tragedies *Theystes*, *Medea*, and *Agamemnon*. In *The Advancement of Learning* in addition to the *Epistles* Bacon, as was his way in the earlier Shakespeare plays, drew on some other Seneca writings *De Beneficiis* (echoed in *Julius Caesar*), *Naturales quaestiones* and the Senecan tragedy *Hercules Furens*, one of the Senecan sources for *Hamlet*:

Less often observed are *Hamlet's* debts to *Theystes* especially in the use and inversion of the fatal banquet motif ('*Hamlet* is *Thyestes* inverted'), or the transfusion of Atreus' entrance monologue (*Thyestes*, 176ff.) into *Hamlet's* 'dull and muddy-mettle rascal' soliloquy at 2.2. 550ff. *Agamemnon* too makes its way into *Hamlet* in the remodelling of the Clytemnestra-Electra exchange at *Agamemnon* 953ff. into that between *Hamlet* and his mother at 3.4.7ff.; so too *Hercules Furens* (see 970-3) in *Laertes'* outburst at 5.1.244-7.²¹¹

The influence of *Hercules furens* was previously noted by Cunliffe and Simpson both of whom suggested the influence of *Hercules Oetaeus*, with the latter also advancing *Troas* for the famous 'To be, or not to be' soliloquy, and *Agamemnon*, as did Kenneth Muir, excerpts of which were reprinted by Bullough.²¹² Departing from 'Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor Plautus too light. For the law of writ and the liberty, these are the only men' (*Hamlet*: 2:2:402-4) writing in 2004 Erica Sheen for the first time placed the 'relation between Seneca and Shakespeare in *Hamlet* in the context of sixteenth-century legal, political, and economic debates about monopoly and the Senecan discourse of benefits,'²¹³ i.e., *De Beneficiis*, quoted by Bacon in *Advancement*, who as a leading lawyer, both solicitor and attorney-general, Lord Keeper and Lord Chancellor devoted a great deal of time to the legal, political and economic debates about monopoly.

During the time Bacon was writing and publishing his *Advancement of Learning* he also composed three other Shakespeare plays which date from 1603 to 1605: *All's Well That Ends Well*, *Timon of Athens*, and *Othello*. In the *Advancement*, *Julius Caesar* and *Hamlet* Bacon drew on Seneca's *De Beneficiis* a treatise which Wallace argues served as an immediate and substantive source for *Timon of Athens* 'More than any other play of Shakespeare's, *Timon* is indebted for its ideas to... *De beneficiis*'.²¹⁴ For Wallace there was no mistaking its provenance 'Timon is unique in the Shakespearean oeuvre in making no attempt to disguise its indebtedness to a philosopher and in calling attention from the start to the subject it proposes to engage.'²¹⁵ He sets out at length and in some detail how our poet dramatized and critiqued Seneca's treatise in *Timon of Athens* with the protagonist Timon 'the agent here of Shakespeare's examination of *De Beneficiis*'.²¹⁶ A long time since Theobald presented an overlooked parallel between a passage in Seneca's tragedy *Hippolytus* (II. 608) and one in *All's Well That Ends Well* (1:3:132-36) 'The whole of this passage where Helena is interrogated as to her feelings is a masterly reproduction of the bearing of Phaedra under a similar overmastering passion for her stepson Hippolytus'.²¹⁷ A century later in his *Fated Sky The Femina Furens in Shakespeare* Stapleton devoted an entire chapter in his 'attempt to decode the strange parallels between Helena (*AWW*) and John Studley's Phaedra (*Hip*)'.²¹⁸

Seneca's portraits in *Hercules furens* and *Hercules Oetaeus* shades the portrait of the tragic figure of Othello 'Just as Shakespeare employed some version of the Hercules myth in drawing the figures of Orlando, Macbeth, and Antony, so he used Seneca's highly charged and influential portrait in the shaping of Othello'.²¹⁹ In his incisive analysis of the Senecan influences on *Othello* Miola states that 'in addition to providing strategies for structure and characterization, Seneca's *Hercules Furens*...supplies Shakespeare with a paradigm of tragic furor',²²⁰ and the death of Hercules 'given influential expression in *Hercules Oetaeus*, may have contributed further to *Othello*' specifically to the incident of the handkerchief.'²²¹

It 'seems no exaggeration to say' writes Mendell, that '*Macbeth* without Seneca would have been impossible',²²² if this be too strong for some, many would agree with Henry N. Paul, who describes *Macbeth* as 'the most Senecan of all of Shakespeare's plays.'²²³ Collectively, a number of scholars and critics have pointed to echoes and resemblances in *Macbeth* to Seneca's tragedies, in the original Latin, and the translations in the *Tenne Tragedies* including the two Hercules plays, *Hercules furens* and the *Hercules Oetaeus*, translated by Studley and the three other Studley translated Seneca tragedies *Medea*, *Agamemnon* and *Hippolytus* 'scattered through nearly all Shakespeare's scenes.'²²⁴ In her influential article 'The fiend-Like Queen: A Note On 'Macbeth' And Seneca's 'Medea'', Professor Inga-Stina Ewbank focussed her attention on the contribution of another Studley translated Seneca tragedy the *Medea* and its contribution 'towards the creation of *Macbeth*'.²²⁵ Verbal parallels and echoes between the *Medea* and *Macbeth* had been noted before including the witch-brew scene (4:1) and Lady Macbeth's appeal to the spirits of murder to unsex her (1:5:39-53) however beyond these and other verbal parallels it provided 'some Senecan dramatic moments a help towards crystallizing and articulating a main motif' for the Scottish tragedy and here 'Shakespeare saw Seneca's plays not as storehouses of plot and character material, but as ways of analysing and defining emotional situations.'²²⁶

The other great Shakespeare tragedy *King Lear*, 'is a tragedy of furor', declares Miola, 'which *Hercules Furens* serves as a model'.²²⁷ As we have often seen with earlier Shakespeare plays Bacon also amalgamated several other Senecan tragedies into the Senecan confluence running through *King Lear*. Professor Emrys Jones points out 'When in *Lear* Goneril and Albany exchange a few terse words about Goneril's future course of action, they echo what was once a well-known exchange in *Octavia*' (*King Lear*: 1:4:308-10) before adding 'for a moment the mild Albany speaks like a latter-day Seneca'.²²⁸ In passing Professor Muir observed that 'For Gloucester's attempted suicide he may have remembered, too, Seneca's *Thebais*, which opens with a scene in which the blinded Oedipus asks Antigone to let him fall over a precipice'.²²⁹ Yet the influence of *Thebais* on *King Lear* was much greater than he realized as Stapleton informed in some detail. The translation of *Thebais*, he writes, is an important text for the construction of the relationship between Cordelia and Lear. Shakespeare 'seems to have esteemed Thomas Newton's translation of the *Thebais*', a contention he substantiates with several comparative examples. Although he was reluctant to label the translation a source 'this play is analogous to *Lear*, the imperfect fragment from antiquity informing the Renaissance masterpiece, a transmigration, metamorphosis, metempsychosis. Oedipus is anatomized and reconstituted in *Lear* and Gloucester, Antigone in Cordelia and Edgar.'²³⁰

Afterwards Bacon turned his attention to his later Shakespeare plays, or as others prefer to describe them Shakespeare romances, the name given to *Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*. These are also known as tragicomedies in which elements of tragedy find their resolution through comedy. The Shakespeare tragicomedies writes Professor Miola

‘deploy Senecan subtexts’ and draw ‘upon his own tragedies, deeply inscribed with Senecan images of revenge, tyranny, and *furor*. *Hercules Furens* continues to be an important text, but Shakespeare’s debt to Senecan drama, in the end as in the beginning, is principally a matter of style, a matter of rhetorical pose and gesture, replete with a cluster of familiar images and motifs’; and these tragicomedies ‘often feature a character who works through Senecan passion to spiritual anagnorisis, to a change of heart that ultimately gives witness to a beneficent providence. The pattern is incipient in *Pericles*, clear in *Cymbeline* and *The Winter’s Tale*, transformed in *The Tempest*.²³¹ It is believed the first of these tragicomedies was *Pericles* ‘Beneath the thickly intertextual corpus’, writes Miola, ‘we can occasionally sense the Senecan pulse, though here Shakespeare’s use of it is subtle and mediated. Seneca appears to shape not the protagonists, but such secondary figures as the tyrant Antiochus and the wicked Dionyza.’ And ‘moreover Seneca appears here as an encoded tragic presence, powerfully present in the Shakespearean scenes—largely from *Macbeth* and *King Lear*—which *Pericles*’ recapitulates and transforms. This use of Seneca reveals by contrast *Pericles*’ character.’²³²

Professor Emrys Jones points out that in *The Winter’s Tale* once Leontes yields to his jealousy he takes on the characteristics of a tyrant especially in the scene with Paulina (2:3:122-30) which Jones and Miola concur takes its leave from Seneca’s tragedy *Agamemnon* (1003-4).²³³ Most important, observes Miola, the tyrant is a child-killer ‘Hovering in the background are the savage shades of Richard III, Macbeth, Lady Macbeth, Hercules, Atreus, and Medea.’²³⁴ A century earlier Theobald presented a parallel between *Cymbeline* (4:2:315-6) and *Troades* (1,000),²³⁵ and later modern scholars have discerned wider deeper Senecan influences ‘For the apparent political orthodoxy of this play is haunted by an unruly subliminal presence: *Hercules furens*, one of Seneca’s most ironic exposures of the imperial attitude.’²³⁶ In *Cymbeline* writes Miola ‘Shakespeare deploys Senecan energies in a plot of amatory intrigue’ and for the depiction of Posthumus’s repentance in Act 4 Scene 1 he ‘again draws upon *Hercules Furens*’, and like ‘Hercules, Posthumus discovers that he has murdered his innocent lady and then suffers remorse for his *furor*.²³⁷ Stapleton emphasizes the *Tenne Tragedies* make their presence felt in the later plays and demand interpretation. Originally titled *The Tragedy of Cymbeline* it ‘contains strange Senecan resonances’, he remarks, and ‘also possesses some of the features associated with Tudor-Senecanism’, namely, ‘ghosts, *furor*, stichomythia, rhetorical excesses, neo-Stoicism, the discussion of suicide, descriptive set-speeches, and the possibility of disgusting evils such as rape and murder.’²³⁸ He points to echoes from *Troades*, *Agamemnon* and *Thyestes*, and proposes that the most notorious soliloquy in *Cymbeline* (2:5:19-28) ‘has its genesis in Studley’s *Hippolytus* (559-66).²³⁹ *The Tempest* a great transformative work of art with its magician-philosophical-scientist Prospero (Bacon) orchestrating events which has been called a ‘revenge comedy’; sets up observes Boyle ‘the possibility for revenge and then substitutes forgiveness’:

Though with their high wrongs I am struck to th’quick,
 Yet with noble reason ’gainst my fury
 Do I take part. The rarer action is
 In virtue than in vengeance.
 [*The Tempest*: 5:1:25-8]

At the end of Seneca’s *Medea* the Colchian’s magic implements the most savage vengeance and she herself departs the world in apotheotic flight. In *The Tempest*’s concluding display of its protagonist’s ‘tender affections’, Prospero, the magician inverts Seneca’s ending: abjuring his magic, he replaces,

vengeance with virtue and compassion, and returns to the social world from which he had been expelled. In emphasising his forgiveness of the brother who had wronged him ('I do forgive thee/Unnatural though thou art', *Tempest* 5.1.78f.: 'I do forgive /Thy rankest fault', 5.1.131f.), Prospero inverts the ending of *Thyestes* too.²⁴⁰

In November 1623 William and his son Isaac Jaggard printed and published the Shakespeare First Folio and in the same year the Senecan inspired Shakespeare plays were first published to the world (sixteen of the plays were printed here for the first time) another work, a little less known to posterity and the world, was also printed at London, which if known to Seneca, Bacon and Shakespeare scholars, has been overlooked and ignored. This work (apparently) written by the lawyer, poet and author Thomas Powell entitled *The Attourneys Academy* is dedicated to the king, and several others, including Francis Bacon. The reason this revealing dedication to Bacon is not reproduced by his editors, biographers and commentators, is it very obviously alludes to Bacon's concealed authorship of the Shakespeare poems and plays with its theatrical metaphor momentarily pulling the curtain back before closing it again:

TO
TRVE NOBILITIE
AND TRYDE LEARNING,
BEHOLDEN
*To no Mountaine for Eminence,
Nor Supportment for his Height,
FRANCIS, Lord Verulam, and
Viscount S^t. Albanes.*
O Giue me leaue to pull the Curtaine by,
That clouds thy Worth in such obscuritie,
Good *Seneca*, stay but a while thy bleeding,
T'accept what I receiued at thy reading:
Heere I present it in a solemne straine,
And thus I pluckt the Curtaine backe againe.²⁴¹

A Senecan scholar from virtually the day he was born into a household of a Senecan statesman, with Senecan *sententiae* adorning the Gorhambury home he was raised in, versed in all the Latin and English Senecan plays from his youth, who went on to become the concealed author of the Senecan-inspired Shakespeare plays.

A contemporary of Virgil and Horace the great Roman poet Ovid (43 BC-18 AD) lived during the reign of Augustus who banished him to Tomis, a remote province in the Black Sea, where he remained until his death, apparently because one of his love poems had offended the Roman emperor. His extant work consists of a collection of love elegies, the *Amores*; two poems on the arts of love and seduction, the *Ars Amatoria and Remedia Amoris*; a collection of poems on the fictional letters of famous mythological heroines, the *Heroides*; a poem on the Roman calendar, the *Fasti*; collections of poetry and letters *Trista* and *Epistulae Ex Ponto* expressing his despair in exile and pleas to his friends in Rome to help secure his return; an invective *Ibis* cursing and attacking an enemy causing him harm in exile, and the epic mythological poem in fifteen books, for which he is now best remembered, the *Metamorphoses*.

THE
Attourneys Academy:

OR,

THE MANNER AND
forme of proceeding practically, vpon
any Suite, Plaint, or Action whatsoever, in any
Court of Record whatsoever, within
this KINGDOME:

ESPECIALLY,

IN THE GREAT COURTS AT
Westminster, to whose motion all other Courts of
Law or Equitie; as well those of the two Pro-
uinciall Counsailes, Those of Guild-Hall
London; as Those of like Cities
and Townes Corporate, And
all other of Record are diu-
nally moued:

*With the Moderne and most vsuall Fees of the
Officers and Ministers of such Courts.*

Publisht by his MAIESTIES speciall priuiledge,
AND
Intended for the publique benefit of all
His Subiects.

Summum hominis bonum, bonus ex hac vita exitus.

THO: POWELL
Londino-Cambrensis.

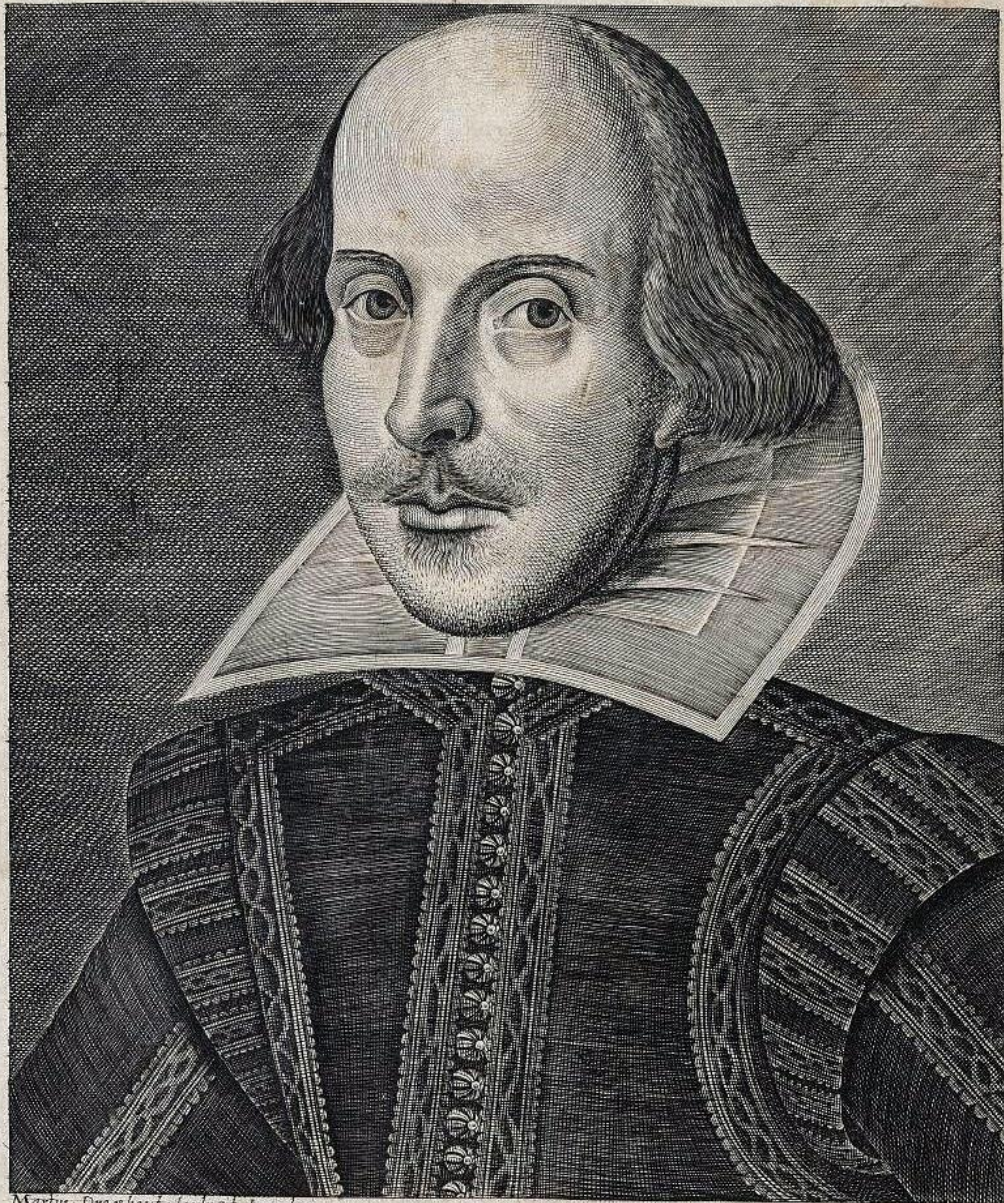
LONDON,
Printed for *Beniamin Fisher*: and are to be sold at his
Shop in *Pater-noster Row*, at the Signe of the
Talbot: 1623.

Fig. 15 The title page of Thomas Powell's 1623 edition of *The Attourneys Academy* alluding to Bacon's concealed authorship of the 1623 Shakespeare First Folio

MR. WILLIAM
SHAKESPEARES

COMEDIES,
HISTORIES, &
TRAGEDIES.

Published according to the True Originall Copies.



Martin Droeshouf sculpsit Londini.

LONDON
Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623.

Fig. 16 The title page of the 1623 Shakespeare First Folio

There are a sizable number of entries drawn from the *Amores*, *Ars Amatoria*, *Remedia Amoris*, *Herodies*, *Epistulae Ex Ponto* and the *Metamorphoses*, first completely translated into English supposedly by Arthur Golding, present in Bacon's private notebook the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies*,²⁴² which found their way into the fabric of his Shakespeare poems and plays.

The supposed translator of the *Metamorphoses* Arthur Golding (1535/6-1606) was the second son of the landowner and auditor of the Exchequer John Golding. His date and place of birth is not recorded but he spent his early years growing up in Belchamp Hall in Essex in the same county as Gidea Park, the country residence of Sir Anthony Cooke, where he raised his four daughters Mildred Cooke Cecil, Anne Cooke Bacon, Elizabeth Cooke Hoby and Katherine Cooke Killigrew.

The first instalment of the translation of Ovid was set forth in early 1565 as *The Fyrst Fower Bookes of P Ovidius Nasos worke intituled Metamorphosis, translated oute of Latin into English meter* dedicated 'To The Right Honorable And his singular goode Lorde, Robert Erle of Leycester' from 'Cecil House', which is dated 23 December 1564.²⁴³ It is possible that this work translated at Cecil House, the opulent residence of Sir William Cecil and his wife Lady Mildred Cooke Cecil, elder sister of Lady Anne Cooke Bacon, with its dedication to Leicester, was related to the fall out resulting from *A Declaration of the Succession of the Crown Imperiall of Inghland* believed to have been compiled by Nicholas Bacon and Cecil who was then trying to bring about a reconciliation between Leicester and Bacon, in order to rehabilitate the latter in the eyes Elizabeth.

It appears Golding left Cecil House sometime in 1565 moving first to Belchamp St Paul's, home of his brother from where the translation of Caesar's work is dated 12 October 1565, before at some point moving to Barwicke, a manor belong to the de Vere estates in Essex, from where is dated the completed translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 20 April 1567. The first complete English translation of all fifteen books of Ovid's poem over 400 pages was as with the translation of the first four books two years earlier dedicated 'To the right Honorable and his singular good Lord, Robert Erle of Leycester', in which its author proceeded to explain the hidden meaning of each of the fifteen books,²⁴⁴ in a work which itself also conveyed a hidden intent. During the interim between the first and completed translation of the *Metamorphoses* Cecil had worked his stuff with Elizabeth to help his embattled brother-in-law Sir Nicholas Bacon regain his former standing at court 'and even managed an eventual rapprochement' with the favourite Leicester.²⁴⁵

Even though he was still very young Bacon was perfectly placed to witness first-hand the translations of the *Metamorphoses*. And perhaps under the supervision of his mother Lady Anne Cooke Bacon and her sister Lady Mildred Cooke Cecil in whose house on the Strand (near to Lady Bacon's residence at York House) it is said to have been translated, together with the other Cooke sisters Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby and Katherine Cooke, all of them poets and translators, he was engaged and witnessed in some way the completed translation of the epic poem. However this may be, we can be confident that a copy of the full translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* adorned the shelves in the libraries at York House and Gorhambury, and that most likely his mother Lady Bacon gave him his own personal copy which (as we shall see) Bacon cherished for the rest of his days.

In the early *Titus Andronicus* in what has the distinct ring of an autobiographical moment about it, Bacon appears to recall those halcyon days:



Fig. 17 Portrait of Bacon's uncle Sir William Cecil at whose house the first four books of the English translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* took place



Fig. 18 Portrait of Bacon's biological father Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester dedicatee of the English translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

Grandsire, 'tis Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.
My mother gave it to me.
[*Titus Andronicus*: 4: 1: 42-3]

Perhaps the most obvious and immediate influence of Ovid is readily discernible in the early Shakespeare narrative poems *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* and the Sonnets. This is explicitly emphasised in the well-known passage in Francis Meres's *Palladis Tamia* praising Shakespeare as a dramatist and the best of our poets with its intriguing allusion to his private friends.

As the soule of *Euphorbus* was thought to liue in *Pythagoras*: so the sweete wittie soule of *Ouid* liues in mellifluous & hony-tongued *Shakespeare*, witnes his *Venus* and *Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugred Sonnets among his private friends, &c.²⁴⁶

The first of the narrative poems *Venus and Adonis* described in its dedication to the Earl of Southampton as the first heir of his invention across which stands a Baconian AA headpiece was printed by Richard Field in whose printing house worked the Bacon family calligrapher Petruccio Ubaldini as editor and proof-reader. On the title page to this edition appears an epigraph taken from Ovid's *Amores* (1.15.35-6):

*Vilia miretur vulgus: mihi flauus Apollo
Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua.*²⁴⁷
[Let base-conceited wits admire vile things,
Fair Phoebus lead me to the Muses' springs.]

The main sources for the Shakespeare narrative poem combine the stories of Venus and Adonis (10.519-59; 705-39), Salmacis and Hermaphroditus (4.285-388) and Narcissus (3. 427-42; 635-42) in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* with some of its aspects on love being after the manner of the *Amores* and the *Ars Amatoria*.²⁴⁸ He takes the short story of Venus and Adonis in Ovid told in less than a hundred lines and expands it into about thousand in an exercise of almost incomparable rhetorical eloquence. The whole of Book X in *Metamorphoses*, including the short story of Venus and Adonis, is narrated by the singer Orpheus, who turns to the love of boys after the death of his wife Eurydice. The figure of Orpheus reappears in three of the plays; in the early *The Taming of the Shrew* 'For Orpheus' lute was strung with poets' sinews,/Whose golden touch could soften steel and stones,/Make tigers tame, and huge leviathans/ Forsake unsounded deeps to dance on sands (3:2:77-80); in *The Merchant of Venice* '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' (5:1:79-82) and in one of the last of the Shakespeare plays *Henry VIII* (3:1: 3-14).

The second Shakespeare narrative poem *The Rape of Lucrece* is primarily based on Ovid's *Fasti* (2.721-852) which Bacon read in the Latin (most likely in the annotated Paulus Marsus edition published at Basle in 1550) and Livy's *History of Rome* (1.57-9). *The Rape of Lucrece* also combines the Ovidian narrative of Tarquin's act of rape with a long lament which descends from the *Heroides*.

A whole body of Shakespearean literature has grown up detailing and emphasizing Ovid's influence upon the early Shakespeare comedies *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Love's Labour's Lost* and especially in the case of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Its metamorphic world and atmosphere is populated with a cast of Ovidian characters.²⁴⁹ Few of these characters 'remain untouched by the *Metamorphoses*'.²⁵⁰ His favourite poet Ovid 'enters deep into the *Dream*' and 'other Ovidian elements abound in the *Dream*: sometimes as event, sometimes as image or nuance.'²⁵¹ The influence of Ovid is felt 'with varying degrees of strength, throughout the play',²⁵² and the play within a play *Pyramus and Thisbe* is clearly drawn from *Metamorphoses* etc, etc. With allusions also traced from Ovid's writings in *I Henry VI*, *2 Henry VI*, *3 Henry VI*, *Richard II*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *King John*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *I Henry IV*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Henry V*, *Julius Caesar*, *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Measure for Measure* and *Othello*.²⁵³

This Ovidian influence extended through to the later plays. In 1609 or early 1610 Bacon wrote *The Winter's Tale* described by Professor Bate as 'Shakespeare's most overtly mythic play title', and its Cambridge editors, as 'perhaps the most Ovidian of Shakespeare's plays'.²⁵⁴ In their Cambridge edition of the play Snyder and Aquino point out that 'to create a play rich with metamorphic change Shakespeare turned to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, as found in Arthur Golding's 1567 translation, specifically the myths relating to Autolycus (Book 11), Castillo (Book 2), Deucalion (Book 1), Proserpina (Book 5), Pygmalion (Book 10), and Orpheus and Eurydice (Book 10)-the last four closely intertwined in *The Winter's Tale*.'²⁵⁵ In reference to the three most important Professor A.D. Nuttall observes 'In *The Winter's Tale* the stories of Proserpina, Orpheus, and Pygmalion are woven together in a complex sequence of unrivalled power.'²⁵⁶ The consummate mastery of these closely intertwined myths which essentially constitute the structure and fabric of the play, is surpassing and sublime, an artistry unmatched in any other Shakespeare play, clearly written by an author saturated in the stories and fables of ancient Ovidian mythology.

In the seventh book of the *Metamorphoses* Ovid tells the story of Medea and Jason (1-403) which incorporates the rejuvenation of Aeson and the punishment and brutal killing of Pelias. It is from Ovid's account in the seventh book of *Metamorphoses* that provides the inspiration for the best known Ovidian imitation in all the Shakespeare plays, namely, one of Prospero's most famous speeches in *The Tempest*. It could be argued, observes the Cambridge Ovid and Shakespeare scholar Dr Raphael Lyne:

that no play conducts a deeper meditation on Ovid's thematic interests. Ariel's famous song in which a 'sea-change' results in 'something rich and strange' offers a potent version of metamorphosis (1.2.399-405). Specific myths of change also surface in the play, as when Prospero and Ariel mobilize themselves against Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo. The episode evokes Ovid's story of Actaeon as spirit hounds chase the conspirators (5.1.254-5). In the masque with which Prospero temporarily diverts Miranda and Ferdinand later in the play, Ceres recalls the story of her daughter Proserpina (*Met.* v.346-71), which is important to Shakespeare's late work (4.1.86-91).²⁵⁷

For the Prospero speech Bacon makes use of details from the Latin original and the language and vocabulary rendered in the supposed 'Golding' translation. The speech is closely based on the passage in Ovid on Medea's invocation which comes immediately before she removes the blood from Aeson's body and infuses with it herbs, in a cauldron full of magic potions, restoring him back to life in the full bloom of youth:

Ye Charmes and Witchcrafts, and thou Earth which both with herbe and weed
 O mightie working furnishest the Wizardes at their neede:
 Ye Ayres and windes: ye Elves of Hilles, of Brookes, of Woods alone,
 Of standing Lakes, and of the Night approche ye everychone.
 Through helpe of whom (the crooked bankes much wondring at the thing)
 I have compelled streames to run cleane backward to their spring.
 By charmes I make the calme Seas rough, and make the rough Seas plaine,
 And cover all the Skie with Cloudes and chase them thence againe.
 By charmes I raise and lay the windes, and burst the Vipers jaw.
 And from the bowels of the Earth both stoness and trees doe draw.
 Whole woods and Forestes I remove: I make the Mountaines shake,
 And even the Earth is selfe to grone and fearfully to quake.
 I call up dead men from their graves: and thee O lightsome Moone
 I darken oft, though beaten brasse abate thy peril soone.
 Oh Sorcerie dimmes the Morning faire, and darkes the Sun at Noone.
 [Golding: 7. 263-77]

Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves,
 And ye that on the sands with printless foot
 Do chase the ebbing Neptune, and do fly him
 When he comes back; you demi-puppets that
 By moonshine do the green sour ringlets make
 Whereof the ewe not bites; and you whose pastime
 Is to make midnight mushrooms, that rejoice
 To hear the solemn curfew; by whose aid,
 Weak masters though ye be, I have bedimmed
 The noontide sun, called forth the mutinous winds,
 And 'twixt the green sea and the azured vault
 Set roaring war-to the dread rattling thunder
 Have I given fire, and rifted Jove's stout oak
 With his own bolt; the strong-based promontory
 Have I made shake, and by the spurs plucked up
 The pine and the cedar; graves at my command
 Have waked their sleepers, oped, and let 'em forth
 By my so potent art.

[*The Tempest*: 5:1:33-50]

The magico-scientist-philosopher, Prospero (a portrait of Bacon himself), possesses the arcane occult powers to effect the transformation or metamorphosis of himself and others around him. His semi-divine God-like power enables him to control nature, the seasons, the weather on land and sea, as well as controlling the future of mankind, just as Bacon prophesized in his utopian *New Atlantis* governed by his invisible Rosicrucian philosopher-scientists secretly working on behalf of humankind. In his *Shakespeare and Ovid* Bate in his discussion of *The Tempest*, makes plain the connection:

Like language, magic is a mark of man's superiority over the beasts. In his *Magnalia Naturae*, Bacon proposed that the new philosophy would give man power to raise storms, control the seasons, and hasten the harvest; by studying nature, one could understand it and take control of its forces.²⁵⁸

Publius Vergilius Maro generally known by the anglicised form of his name Virgil (70 BC-19 BC) is widely regarded as the greatest of the Roman poets. He is believed to have been born on 15 October 70 BC in Andes a village near Mantua and raised in a rural setting. According to his commentators Virgil received a private education before removing to Cremona, Milan, and finally to Rome to study, rhetoric, medicine and philosophy. At Naples he is believed to have mixed with the Epicurean community where he began to write poetry. A small body of work attributed to a youthful Virgil by his commentators survive under the title *Appendix Vergiliana*, but their authorship is doubted by most scholars. One of these the 'Catalepton' comprises fourteen short poems, some of which may have been written by Virgil and a poem entitled the *Culex* or *Gnat* in 413 hexameters. He is believed to have written a poem with this title but many commentators believe the version we have is most probably by an imitator of Virgil.

His first collection of poems the *Eclogues* probably appeared around 39-38 BC. The *Eclogues* (*Bucolics*) are a group of ten short hexameter poems (the longest is one 111 lines long) in the pastoral poetry genre of the Hellenistic poet Theocritus. The central topical theme of work addresses the controversial land confiscations by Octavian which lead to the Perusine War. The ten poems are arranged around the central poem with Eclogues one and nine evoking the tragedy caused by the confiscation of the agricultural land while the second and eighth has 'long laments by star-crossed lovers'. The fourth 'Messianic Eclogue' that is 'structured around the magical number seven' describes the birth of a child and its connection to the return of a golden age. Its interpretation is controversial and much disputed. It is seen by some Christian readers to prophesize the birth of Christ but generally it is seen as an allegory of renewal. The fifth and eighth Eclogues frames the myth of Daphnis and the sixth the mythological song of Silenus. The seventh describes a poetic contest and the tenth the sufferings of the contemporary elegiac poet Cornelius Gallus.

Sometime after the writing and publication of the *Eclogues* Virgil became part of the circle surrounding the great statesman and patron of arts Maecenas as well as a coterie of leading literary figures including Horace in whose first book of *Satires* he is often mentioned. In the ensuing years Virgil devoted himself to his longer hexameter poem the *Georgics* ('On Working the Earth') which he dedicated to Maecenas. Following the tradition of the Greek poet Hesiod the didactic *Georgics* takes the form of poetical instruction in farming. Divided into four books it successively addresses the raising of crops in book one, in the second trees and shrubs, the third livestock and horses, and the fourth bees and beekeeping. The overall central concern of the poem is 'the place in the world of human beings and their possibilities of happiness.' Considered by many his great masterpiece it is the most finished and perfect of his works, yet it is undoubtedly his epic *Aeneid* which surpasses all his other works in its magnificence and grandeur.

The great Roman poet spent the final ten years of his life working on the *Aeneid* one of the most important and greatest poems in the history of western literature. The epic masterpiece consists of twelve books in hexameter verse which describe the journey of Aeneas fleeing from the sack of Troy as they journey to towards their destined home in Latium in Italy, his battles with Turnius, and the founding of a city which became Rome. Divided into two parts it is

founded upon the Homeric tradition with the first six books modelled on the *Odyssey* and the final six on the *Illiad*.

The first attempt at a full translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* was made by the writer and translator Thomas Phaer (1510-1560). He began his translation in 1555 and *The Seuen first Bookes of the Eneidos of Virgill conuerted in Englishe meter by Thomas Phaer Esuier* with its dedication to Queen Mary was published in 1558.²⁵⁹ He completed the translations of the eighth and ninth books and earnestly began work on the tenth before sustaining an injury to his right hand which led to his death in 1560.²⁶⁰ The partially translated tenth book was discovered by his close friend and literary executor William Wightman who found it amongst his unspecified '*secrete wrytynges at hys house in kilgarron*', possibly undertaken at the behest or with the knowledge of his special patron Sir Nicholas Bacon. Two years later Wightman arranged the publication of *The Nyne fyrst Bookes of the Eneidos of Virgil converted into Englishe vearse by Thomas Phaer Doctour of Phisike, with so much of the tenth booke, as since his death could be founde in unperfit papers at his house in Kilgarran forest in Penbroke shyre* with a dedication as Phaer had requested:

To the ryght honourable and my verye good Lorde Syr Nicholas Bacon,
Knyght, Lorde Keeper of the greate Seale of Englande.

Whilst God gaue lyfe and health to Thomas Phaer Doctour of Phisike, I had some moore frendly familiaritie with him then moste men had. In whych respecte he did before his last departynge downe from hence into Penbroke shire of speciall trust leaue in my handes the eyght and nynth bookes of Virgilles Eneidos, by him translated into Englyshe verse. And promised to vse all hys possible diligence for the finishing of the other three bookes then vtterly vnbegonne: Declarynge moreouer vnto me that hys verye mynde and purpose was not onely to prynt the former part agayne for reformation of some faults ouerslypt vpon the first impression, but also hauyng finished the same to dedicate the whole worke vnto your Lordship, whome he tooke for a speciall Patrone and frendly fauorer bothe of hym and hys doings. Albeit, it pleased God to preuent hym by death so as he coulde not make an ende thereof: yet since he lyked to commit these two bookes into my handes onely. The foarce of death shall not be able through my default to make hys worke dye. Neither shall hys good entent be frustrate in makyng your lordship the Patrone thereof. For as his frend that honoureth thys his vertuous acte, I do herewith present vnto your honour the first seuen bookes newly prynted, the two latter bookes as I had them with hys owne hande roughly written, not thoroughly corrected, and so much of the tenth booke as vpon diligent searche amongst his secret wrytynges at hys house in kilgarran foreste in Penbroke shire my selfe could fynde or come by. Marie it should appeare by the two verses in the ende of this booke by hym translated vpon his death bed the very day before he dyed, which he sent vnto me subscribed with his left hand (the vse of the right hande beyng taken awaye, through the hurte whereof he dyed) that he had gone so much further as those verses be in Virgilles tenth booke. But whether it were so or not so there can no certeintie be knowen: because there is or can no more be founde then here is prynted. I do therefore on his behalfe most humbly beseche your Lordship to receiue this his trauaile with fauour and your protection, whereby it shall not onely be the more welcome to the worlde, but also be defended from the blame whiche some perhappes wolde otherwise impute vnto it, commyng forth not so perfectlye pullyshed as it would haue been yf lyfe had lasted him so long as he

might haue had the ouerlooking of it him selfe. The God of all goodnesse guyde you with his continuall grace. From London the. vj. of July. 1562.

Your Lordshippes humbly
euer to commaunde.
William Wightman.²⁶¹

A long period of eleven years passed before the appearance of *The whole. xii. Bookes of the Aeneidos of Virgill. Whereof the first. ix. and part of the tenth, there conuerted into Englishe Meeter by Thomas Phaer Esquier, and the residue supplied, and the whole worke together newly set forth* in the name of one of Bacon's literary masks *Thomas Twyne* in 1573, dedicated to his father Sir Nicholas Bacon, who of course, knew the identity of its concealed translator:

To the Right honorable Sir Nicholas *Bacon Knight, one of the Queenes Maiesties* most honorable priuie Counsell, and Lorde Keeper of the great Seale of England.

Experiment partly, and partly Presumption, two bolde guides, haue mooued me to attempt your honour with the dedication of this booke. Hoping that as you haue already honorably receaued the latter two bookes and a parcell of another, ioygned with the former seauen of Virgils Aeneidos translated into English meeter by Thomas Phaer, and taken them to your honorable protectio[n]: So likewise your honour wil not refuse the same work agayne imprinted, & set forth with such diligence as co[n]ueniently might be. Which, to thintent it should not alwaies remaine vnperfect, but rather answer the purpose whereto M. Phaer had respect when he tooke it in hande, (which was to delight the nobilitie of this Realme, and others that should vouchsafe to reade it) and also that so noble a Poet should not sustaine so foule a mayme in the English tongue, as alwaies to lye vnfynded: I haue enterprised more ventrously then wisely, & with better courage than cun[n]ing to end that which he left vnperfect. Not that I thinke my selfe co[m]parable vnto him any thing that he tooke in hande, for would I not haue your honour, or any other to iudge of me. But being so many excellent wittes as since his time haue flourished, haue left it vntouched: I haue bin bold at length to spend Time, & hazard Estimation therin. The acceptation wherof, as it wilbe, I hope, as some mens hands: I embrace: and at others: I do not regard. Vnto your honour, whom I presume to make patron herof, with al humility, & dutiful reuerence I submit my self, and my trauailes. That if it shal hap the same in accepting, to co[n]ceare any good opinions therof, ether for wel doing, or wel meaning: I am fully satisfied. Wherof I stand in the greater hope, since your honour being aduanced unto dignitie wherin you now stand, through your owne industrie and vertu: can deem the better of such labours, and do use more entierly to embrace with fauour, such as beare godwil vnto learning. And hauing alredy stoared your self sufficie[n]tly with such plausible furniture: yet amongst al other good giftes wherwith god hath endued you, both for your owne ornament, and for the commodity of the co[m]mwealth of England, persuade your self that there is no one vertu that more amplifieth your title of honour, then that curtesie, & affability which you shew unto suters, and such as haue occasion to attend your honour. Wherein though som suppose that a disgracing of Nobilitie, and worship doth consist: yet then they shall know it to be contrarie, when they shall begin to know themselues, and to vnderstand that such meanes do make men not only noble aboue the Co[m]monaltie: but excellent also aboue the Nobilitie. Almighty God perserue your honour with wished increase, prolong your daies with happie delight.

Your honours most humble at commaundment: *Thomas Twyne.*²⁶²

THE
Nyne fyrst Bookes of the Enei-
DOS OF VIRGIL CONVERTED IN-
to Englishe vearse by Thomas Phaer Doctour of Phisike,
With so muche of the tenth Booke, as since his death
coude be founde in vnperfitt papers at his house in
Wigarran forrest in Denbrooke shyre.



PRINTED AT LONDON

by Rowland Hall, for Nicholas Englands.

1562.

Fig. 19 The title page of *The Nyne fyrst Bookes of the Eneidos of Virgil converted into Englishe vearse by Thomas Phaer* (1562)

To the ryght honorable and my
verye good Lorde Syr Nicholas Bacon knyght,
Lorde Keeper of the great Seale
of Englande.


 Hilest God gaue lyfe and health to Thomas
Phaer Doctour of Phisike, I had some moore
frendly familiaritie with him then moste men
had. In whych respect he did before his last de-
partynge downe from hence into Penbroke shire of speciall
trust leaue in my handes the eght and nynth bookes of
Virgilles Eneidos, by him translated into Englyshe verse,
And promised to vse all hys possible diligence for the fini-
shing of the other three bookes then vtterly vnbegonne:
Declarynge moreouer vnto me that hys verye mynde and
purpose was not onely to prynt the former part agayne for
reformation of some faultes ouerslypt vpon the first impres-
sion, but also hauyng finished the same to dedicate the whole
worke vnto your Lordship, whome he tooke for a speciall
Patrone and frendly fauorer bothe of hym and hys doings.
Albeit it pleased God to preuent hym by death so as he
coule not make an ende thereof: yet since he lyked to com-
mit these two bookes into my handes onely. The foarce of
death shall not be able through my default to make hys
worke dye: Neither shall hys good entent be frustrate in
makyng your lordship the Patrone thereof. For as his frend
that honoureth thys his vertuous acte, I do herewith pre-
sent vnto your honour the first seven bookes newly prynted,
* . 2 . the

Fig. 20 The dedication page of *The Nynne fyrst Bookes of the Eneidos of Virgil converted into Englyshe vearse* by Thomas Phaer addressed to its patron Sir Nicholas Bacon

The whole. xii.

Bookes of the Æneidos
of Virgill.

Whereof the first .ix. and part
of the tenth, were conuerted into Eng-
lish Meeter by Thomas Phaër Esquier,
and the residue supplied, and the
whole worke together newly set
forth, by Thomas Iwync
Gentleman.

There is added moreouer to this edition,
Virgils life out of *Donatus*, and the Ar-
gument before euery booke.

IMPRINTED AT
London by Wylliam How,
for Abraham Ueale, dwelling
in Poules Churchyearde, at the
signe of the Lambe.

1573.

a. p. 2

Fig. 21 The title page of *The whole. xii. Bookes of the Aeneidos of Virgill* (1573)

To the Right honorable Sir Nicholas
Bacon Knight, one of the Queenes
Majesties most honorable priuie Coun-
sell, and Lorde keeper of the great
Seale of England.

EXperiment partly, and partly Presumption,
two bolde guides, haue mooued me to attempt your
honour with the dedication of this booke. Ho-
ping that as you haue already honorably receaued the late-
ster two bookes and a parcell of another, ioygned with the
former seauen of Virgils Aeneidos translated into English
meeter by Thomas Phaer, and taken them to your honorable
protectiō: So likewise your honour wil not refuse the same
worke agayne imprinted, & set forth with such diligence
as cōueniently might be. Which, to thintent it should not
alwaies remaine vnperfect, but rather answer the purpose
wherto M. Phaer had respect when he tooke it in hande,
(which was to delight the nobilitie of this Realme, and
others that should vouchsafe to reade it) and also that so
noble a Poet should not sustaine so foule a mayme in the
English tongue, as alwaies to lye vnfynished: I haue en-
terprised more ventrouslly then wisely, & with better cou-
rage then cūning to end that which he left vnperfect. Not
that I thinke my self cōparable vnto him in any thing that
he tooke in hande, for so would I not haue your honour, or
any other to iudge of me. But seing so many excellent wits
as since his time haue flourished, haue left it vntouched:
I haue bin bold at length to spend Time, & hazard Esti-

A ij

mation

Fig. 22 The dedication page to *The whole. xii. Bookes of the Aeneidos of Virgill* (1573)
addressed to its patron Sir Nicholas Bacon

From this edition it was another eleven years before the publication of *The. xiii. Bookes of Aeneidos. The first twelue beeing the woorke of the diuine Poet Virgil Maro, and the thirteenth the supplement of Maphaeus Vegius. Translated into English verse to the fyrst third part of the tenth Booke, by Thomas Phaer Esquire: and the residue finished, and now the second time newly setforth for the delite of such as are studious in Poetrie: By Thomas Twyne, Doctor in Physicke* in 1584 with a dedication (Nicholas Bacon died in 1579) 'TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPfull Maister Robert Sackeuill Esquire, most worthie Sonne and heire apparent to the Right honorable Syr Thomas Sackuill Knight, Lord Buckehurst.'²⁶³ His father the poet and dramatist Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst (1536-1608) was the son of Richard Sackville, a first cousin of Anne Boleyn, mother of Queen Elizabeth, Bacon's royal mother. He was a close friend of Sir Nicholas Bacon and one of Francis' early mentors. In the year Francis was born Sackville (together with Thomas Norton) authored *Gorboduc*, the first English play written in blank verse that was first performed as part of the Inner Temple's Christmas Revels (1561-2) under the auspices of the favourite Robert Dudley (later Earl of Leicester), Bacon's biological father, a play Bacon later drew upon for *King Lear*.

A very large number of entries drawn from Virgil's *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* are present in Bacon's private notebook the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies*,²⁶⁴ three key historical poems which saturate the fabric of the Shakespeare poems and plays. The Virgilian presence is immediately felt in the first two Shakespeare narrative poems *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* respectively published in 1593 and 1594. Baldwin suggested that the steed in *Venus and Adonis* (289-300) reflected Virgil's horse in *Georgics* (III, 75-94).²⁶⁵ This was also reiterated by F.T. Prince in the Arden edition of *The Poems* who added 'the episode of the stallion and mare was probably suggested by a later passage in the same book (*Georgics* III 266-8).²⁶⁶ In more general terms says Professor Miola *Georgics* III 'inspires parts of *Venus and Adonis*' and the dramatist 'drew upon this poem to illustrate the power of sexual passion.'²⁶⁷ Furthermore 'In the progress from *Venus and Adonis*' remarks S. Clark Hulse 'Shakespeare travels the Virgilian path, beginning in a middle style akin to sonnet, pastoral and comedy, and ending in the regions of epic and tragedy.'²⁶⁸ Encoded in the poem are several key emblems and symbols pertinent to Bacon's secret and invisible Rosicrucian Brotherhood. In his *Origines* Drummond discloses that 'The Rossi-or Rosy-crucians' ideas concerning the emblematical red cross and red rose, probably came from the fable of Adonis, who was the sun, whom we have seen so often crucified-being changed into a red rose by Venus.²⁶⁹ Or as Wigston put it Adonis is the central 'key figure, or myth' centred 'round which the society of the Rosy Cross and their emblem revolve'.²⁷⁰

The Rosicrucian poem *Venus and Adonis* immediately followed by *The Rape of Lucrece* also linked by a second dedication to the Earl of Southampton. Sir Sidney Lee was one of the first to identify in some detail its indebtedness to Virgil:

The 217 lines (1366-582), which describe with exceptional vividness a skilful painting of the destruction of Troy, betray a close intimacy with more than one book of Vergil's *Aeneid*. The episode in its main outline is a free development of Vergil's dramatic account (BK. i 456-655) of a picture the identical scene which arrests Aeneas' attention in Dido's palace at Carthage. The energetic portrait of the wily Sinon which fills a large space in Shakespeare's canvas is drawn from Vergil's second book (II. 76 seq.).²⁷¹

Aside from traces of the *Georgics* and the enormous template of the *Aeneid* found in the first two Shakespeare narrative poems *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* Bate sees

Virgil's Eclogue II behind what he describes as the two plots of the Sonnets. He suggests that Shakespeare's sonnet sequence was created in the same manner as *King Lear* and numerous other plays by combining two plots which in part derive from the tradition of pastoral poetry and its influence on the sonnet tradition and the poems of Richard Barnfield. The two combined plots in the sequence are made up of the Poet, Fair Youth, and Rival Poet in the first 126 sonnets and the Poet, Youth, and Dark Lady in the second series of sonnets. Incisively, Bates observes that to show how the poet arrived at this framework 'we need to note two developments in the 1580's that have been largely overlooked.' The first was a growing interest in the second Virgil Eclogue in the 1580's and 'the tendency to fuse elements of pastoral with the sonnet tradition and even to write pastoral sonnet sequences.' This interest in the second Virgil eclogue was given impetus by Spenser in the *Shepherds Calendar* in 1579 and 'at the same time A. Fleming translated Virgil's eclogues'.²⁷²

The Virgilian influence in the poems *Venus and Adonis*, *The Rape of Lucrece*, and the *Sonnets* continues to be a shaping presence in the Shakespeare Roman canon that includes *The Rape of Lucrece*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Julius Caesar*, *Anthony and Cleopatra*, *Coriolanus* and *Cymbeline*. For Martindale *Titus Andronicus* first of the Roman plays is arguably where Shakespeare 'had his most sustained dialogue with Virgil.'²⁷³ In *Titus Andronicus* writes Miola Shakespeare invokes Virgil to 'help shape character and theme' and the play attempts to 'incorporate Vergilian motifs into a dramatic structure.'²⁷⁴ In *Titus* Virgil's most celebrated heroine Dido makes two of her ten appearances in the Shakespeare canon (2:3:22 & 5:3:81). The other eight occur in *Taming of the Shrew* (1:1:52), *2 Henry VI* (3:2:117), *Romeo and Juliet* (2:3:39), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1:1:173), *Hamlet* (2:2:449), *The Merchant of Venice* (5:1:10), *Anthony and Cleopatra* (4:15:53), and *The Tempest* (2:1:81). In his *Shakespeare's Rome* Miola in what he described as the first interpretation of all the works of 'Shakespeare's Roman canon' *The Rape of Lucrece*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Julius Caesar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Coriolanus* and *Cymbeline*,²⁷⁵ beginning with the earliest poems and plays in the Shakespeare canon, he sees an increasingly complex engagement and dialogue with Virgil.

In her chapter 'Cultural disintegration in *Titus Andronicus*: mutilating Titus, Vergil, and Rome' Professor Heather James writes Shakespeare's purpose in part in *Titus Andronicus* is to 'overgo' Virgil and Ovid and the 'classicizing and violent dramas' of Kyd and Marlowe but 'Shakespeare's *aemulatio* and *digesto* go further to perform a critique of imperial Rome on the eve of its collapse. Re-enacting literary history, Shakespeare first invokes the *Aeneid* as the epic of empire-building, order, and pietas, and then allows Ovid's *Metamorphoses* to invade, interpreting the fundamental impulses of Vergil's poem as chaotic, even apocalyptic.'²⁷⁶ Through her study *Shakespeare's Troy: Drama, Politics, and the Translation of Empire* from *Titus Andronicus* to *Troilus Cressida*, *Anthony and Cleopatra*, *Cymbeline* and *The Tempest* Professor James traces Shakespeare's complex use of Virgil in developing a national myth and clandestine translation of empire.²⁷⁷ A translation of empire which found its greatest expression in the English-speaking people of the United States of America which was deeply embedded in Bacon's Shakespeare Rosicrucian manifesto *The Tempest* and his *New Atlantis (Or, Land of the Rosicrucians)*.

The translation of empire transmuted by Bacon's invisible Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross into the early settlement of Jamestown and the first colonies into the political and philosophical framework of the United States of America with its Freemasonic republican Declaration of Independence and Constitution, is also reflected in the neo-Roman architecture of the White House, the Congress, and other civic buildings. The new Rome of the United States of America

which discarded the shackles of religion and monarchical and all other forms of monstrous dictatorship found an echo in the Virgilian inspired *Julius Caesar*.

The great Roman tragedy explores the responsibility and limitations of rulers. Following his defeat of Pompey Caesar assumed absolute power and some members of the ruling council the Senate become increasingly concerned about his tyranny and fear he might even be made king. Cassius approaches Brutus and persuades him and several others they must take act against their tyrannical leader. On reaching the Senate Caesar is stabbed in turn by each one of the eight conspirators. With Brutus delivering the final blow Caesar is slain and Cinna cries 'Liberty! Freedom! Tyranny is dead/Run hence, proclaim it about the streets'(3:1:77-8) which reminds us of the cry of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity borne out of the French Revolution and the immortal line in the Declaration of Independence 'It is a self-evident truth that all men are borne equal' followed by the prophetic 'How many ages hence/Shall this our lofty scene be acted over,/In states unborn and accents yet unknown!'(1:3:113-4).

In what is the most detailed examination of the Virgilian influence of the Shakespeare Roman canon Professor Miola identifies numerous allusions and echoes in *Julius Caesar* to Virgil's *Eclogues* IV, *Georgics* I, II, III and *Aeneid* I, II, V, VI, VII.²⁷⁸ The play Miola confirmed:

marks an important point in Shakespeare's ongoing dialogue with Vergil. Here the poet effectively incorporates and transforms the images from the *Aeneid*...Like Shakespeare's other Roman works, *Julius Caesar* explores the tragic paradoxes implicit in Vergilian pietas. It is, finally, the dramatist's most compelling response to Vergil's musing, *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem* (*Aen.* I. 33), "so vast was the struggle to found the race of Rome."²⁷⁹

And so vast would the struggle be to establish a Universal Brotherhood of Humankind.

The final Roman play *Cymbeline* takes its name and is set in the reign of the legendary British King Cymbeline who is said to have reigned from 33 BC shortly after the birth of Christ and in the times of Augustus Caesar. King Cymbeline appears in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* as one of King Arthur's predecessors on the British throne prior to the conquest of Britain by the Romans. The play is with reason placed last in the 1623 First Folio and is closely connected with the old town of Verulam close to the site of the Bacon's country estate Gorhambury and from whence he took his title Baron Verulam. The site of old Verulam was the ancient seat of Cassibulan, uncle to Cymbeline.²⁸⁰ Interest in the Virgilian aspects of the play have received lengthy attention by Miola and James.²⁸¹ The latter states that in some respects *Cymbeline* advances 'Posthumus as the inheritor of Aeneas' and ultimately 'trains a relentless eye on the greatest fissure in the *Aeneid* commemoration of imperial Rome-Aeneas' abandonment of Dido-and uses it to propose a radical critique of Roman values.'²⁸² While both Miola and James revealed the Virgilian themes and allusions in the play it was the modern French scholar Paul Arnold in an important work unfamiliar to the English reader *Histoire des Rose-Croix* published at Paris in 1935 (of which there has never been an English translation) who was the first to reveal other subterranean layers concealed below the surface recurrent to some extent in Dr Yates' *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* and *Shakespeare's Last Plays: A New Approach*.²⁸³ In the second of these works Dr Yates saw *Cymbeline* as a masque-like reflection of the marriage of Princess Elizabeth with the Elector Palatine and the hoped-for culmination in the religious and historical themes swirling around the wedding the subject which begins the first chapter of *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*. The 'Rosicrucian' wedding acted as a prelude to the publication of the two Rosicrucian manifestos the *Fama Fraternalitatis* and *Confessio Fraternalitatis* at Cassel in 1614 and 1615 respectively followed by a third Rosicrucian document

The Chemical Wedding at Strasbourg in 1616. Speaking of the central mystery of the cave in *Cymbeline* Dr Yates writes:

There is some further hidden, or esoteric, meaning in the cave which makes one wonder whether Rosicrucian symbolism, or something like it, might already have been current before the actual publication of the Rosicrucian manifestos. The central symbol of the *Fama* is the vault or cave in which something long lost is found, the tomb of Christian Rosencreutz which was accidentally discovered in a vault (according to the fiction recounted in the *Fama*) and the opening of which was the signal for the revival of the Rosicrucian Order. The revived chivalrous magic of *Cymbeline* leads in due course to a vast religious peace, an outpouring of new religious revelation in which all discord is harmonised.²⁸⁴

The role of Virgil in *The Tempest* is a complex and extensive subject which has long exercised the minds and pens of Shakespeare scholars for decades. In the preface to *Shakespeare and the Courtly Aesthetic* Professor Schmidgall states that he would be suggesting ‘more fully...what Frank Kermode, J. M. Nosworthy and most recently Jan Knott have suggested before: the *Aeneid* figures far more powerfully in the background of *The Tempest* than we have hitherto imagined.’²⁸⁵ The play Schmidgall says ‘is a highly compact version of Virgil’s epic of a lost civilization rewon: the *Aeneid* focuses on a *Troia recidiva*, *The Tempest* on Milan *recidiva*.’²⁸⁶ Furthermore Schmidgall continues:

The Tempest is his most Baconian. The play mounts in theatrical dress Bacon’s arguments for the advancement of useful knowledge. The characterizations of the play are virtually all reflected in Bacon’s theorem that true learning “doth make the minds of men gentle, generous, maniable, and pliant to government; whereas ignorance makes them churlish, thwart, and mutinous”. Even more Baconian is the play’s emphatic conclusion that the best knowledge is not won by those who become “transported /And rapt in secret studies” (1.2.76-7). Rather, the best knowledge gives us power to understand the “infinite doings of the world” more perfectly and then to shape a more perfect world.²⁸⁷

6.

Over 200 Resemblances, Correspondences and Parallels Between Bacon's Private Notebook the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* and his Shakespeare Plays and Poems

Ijsdem e'literis efficitur tragaedia et comedia.
Tragedies and comedies are made of one alphabet.
(Er. Ad. 725.)

[*Promus* 516]

BACON'S PROMUS

SHAKESPEARE

The law at Twickenham for mery tales.
[*Promus* 1165]

I had my good
wit out of the Hundred Merry Tales-
[*Much Ado About Nothing*: 2: 1: 119-120]

All is well that endes well.
[*Promus* 949]

All's well that ends well
[*All's Well That Ends Well*: 4: 4: 35]

Thought is free.
[*Promus* 653]

Thought is free.
[*The Tempest*: 3: 2: 125]

thought is free.
[*Twelfth Night*: 1: 3: 66]

A fool's bolt is soon shot.
[*Promus* 106]

'a fool's bolt is soon shot'
[*Henry V*: 3: 7: 118-19]

All is not gold that glisters.
[*Promus* 477]

'All that glisters is not gold;'
[*The Merchant of Venice*: 2: 7: 65]

Seldome cometh the better.
[*Promus* 472]

seldom comes the better.
[*Richard III*: 2: 3: 4]

Good wine needes no bush.
[*Promus* 517]

good wine they do use good bushes,
[*As You Like It*: Epilogue]

A beck is as good as a dieu vous garde.
[*Promus* 479]

Dieu vous garde, monsieur.
[*Twelfth Night*: 3: 1: 70]

Qui n'a patience n'a rien.
He who has not patience has nothing.
[*Promus* 1566]

How poor are they that ha' not patience!
[*Othello*: 2: 3: 360]

Nadar y nadar y ahogar a la
orilla. (*To swim and swim and
drown close to the shore.*)
[*Promus* 926]

'Tis double death to drown in ken of shore;
[*The Rape of Lucrece*: line 1114]

Chi semina spine non vada discalzo.
(*He who sows thorns should
not go barefoot.*)
[*Promus* 45]

The world runs on wheells.
[*Promus* 669]

To cast beyond the moon.
[*Promus* 629]

For the moonshyne in the water.
[*Promus* 648]

It may ryme but it accords not.
[*Promus* 649]

An yll wind that bloweth no man
to good.
[*Promus* 498]

Happy man happy dole.
[*Promus* 940]

Pride will have a fall.
[*Promus* 952]

He that resolves in haste
repents at leisure.

the care you have of us
To mow down thorns that would annoy our foot
[*2 Henry VI*: 3: 1: 66-67]

But O, the thorns we stand upon!
[*The Winter's Tale*: 4: 4: 585]

Then may I set the world on wheels
[*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*: 3: 1: 308]

I aim a mile beyond the moon.
[*Titus Andronicus*: 4: 3: 66]

O vain petitioner, beg a greater matter.
Thou now requests but moonshine in the water.
[*Love's Labour's Lost*. 5: 2: 206-207]

is neither rhyme nor reason
[*The Comedy of Errors*: 2: 2: 48]

in despite of the teeth of all rhyme and reason
[*The Merry Wives of Windsor*: 5: 5: 124-25]

Not the ill wind which blows no man to good.
[*2 Henry IV*: 5: 3: 87]

Ill blows the wind that profits nobody.
[*3 Henry VI*: 2:5: 55]

happy man be his dole.
[*The Merry Wives of Windsor*: 3: 4: 61-62]

Happy man be his dole.
[*The Taming Of The Shrew*: 1: 1: 138]

happy man be's dole!
[*The Winter's Tale*: 1: 2: 164]

Since pride must have a fall
[*Richard II*: 5: 5: 88]

My pride fell with my fortunes.
[*As You Like It*: 1: 2: 241]

And Richard falls in height of all his pride.
[*Richard III*: 5: 5: 130]

Men shall deal unadvisedly sometimes,
Which after-hours gives leisure to repent.

[<i>Promus</i> 603]	[<i>Richard III</i> : 4: 4: 5-6. Addit passage K]
	Who wooed in haste and means to wed at leisure. [<i>The Taming Of The Shrew</i> : 3: 2: 11]
Beggars should be no chuzers. [<i>Promus</i> 478]	LORD Would not the beggar then forget himself? FIRST HUNTSMAN Believe me, lord, I think he cannot choose. [<i>The Taming of The Shrew</i> . Induction 1. 39-40]
God sendeth fortune to fools. [<i>Promus</i> 493]	‘Good morrow, fool,’ quoth I. ‘No, sir,’ quoth he, ‘Call me not fool till heaven hath sent me fortune.’ [<i>As You Like It</i> : 2: 7: 18-19]
Out of God’s blessing into the warme sunne. [<i>Promus</i> 661]	Thou out of heaven’s benediction com’st To the warm sun. [<i>King Lear</i> : 2: 2: 152-53]
It is in action as it is in ways; commonly the nearest is the foulest. [<i>Promus</i> 532]	Yet do I fear thy nature. It is too full o’th’ milk of human kindness To catch the nearest way. [<i>Macbeth</i> : 1: 5: 15-17]
Let them that be a’ cold blowe at the coal. [<i>Promus</i> 637]	For it is you Have blown this coal betwixt my lord and me, [<i>Henry VIII</i> : 2: 4: 76-77]
	You charge me That I ‘have blown this coal’. [<i>Henry VIII</i> : 2: 4: 91-92]
He had rather have his will than his wish. [<i>Promus</i> 113]	Whoever hath her wish, thou hast thy Will, [Sonnet 135]
	Bidd’st thou me rage? Why, now thou hast thy wish. Wouldst have me weep? Why, now thou hast thy will. [3 <i>Henry VI</i> : 1: 4: 144-45]
	so the maid that stood in the way for my wish shall show me the way to my will. [<i>Henry V</i> : 5: 2: 323-24]
Jactare jugum. - Eras. <i>Ad.</i> 798. (<i>To shake the yoke.</i>) [<i>Promus</i> 692]	If then we shall shake off our slavish yoke [<i>Richard II</i> : 2: 1: 293]
To stumble at the threshold. (<i>In limine offendere.</i> -Eras. <i>Ad.</i> 184.) [<i>Promus</i> 751]	For many men that stumble at the threshold [3 <i>Henry VI</i> : 4: 8: 11]

Things doone cannot be undoone.
(*Factum infectum fieri non potest.*
- Eras. *Ad.* 450.)
[*Promus* 951]

Optimum non nasci.-Eras. *Ad.* 440.
(*Tis best not to be born.*)
[*Promus* 1004]

fumos vendere. - Eras. *Ad.* 112.
(*To sell smoke. Make empty*
promises.)
[*Promus* 899]

Plumbeo jugulare gladio (a tame
argument. *To kill with a leaden*
sword.-Eras. *Ad.* 490.)
[*Promus* 725]

Chameleon, Proteus, Euripus.
(Chameleon, Eras. *Ad.* 418, 709;
Proteus, 413, 709; Euripus, 312.)
[*Promus* 794]

Nec fandi fictor Ulisses.-
Virg. *AEn.* ix. 602.
(Ulysses sly in speech.)
[*Promus* 463]

To myngle heaven and earth together.
(*Mare coelo miscere.* - Eras. *Ad.* 124.)
[*Promus* 719]

What's done cannot be undone.
[*Macbeth:* 5: 1: 65]

cause to wish
Things done undone.
[*Julius Caesar:* 4: 2: 8-9]

better my mother had not borne me.
[*Hamlet:* 3: 1: 125-26]

They shoot but calm words folded up in smoke.
[*King John:* 2: 1: 229]

You leer upon me, do you? There's an eye
Wounds like a leaden sword.
[*Love's Labour's Lost:* 5: 2: 480-81]

To you our swords have leaden points, Mark Antony.
[*Julius Caesar:* 3: 1: 174]

I can add colours to the chameleon,
Change shapes with Proteus for advantages,
And set the murderous Machiavel to school.
[*3 Henry VI:* 3: 2: 191-193]

I'll play the orator as well as Nestor,
Deceive more slyly than Ulysses could
[*3 Henry VI:* 3: 2: 188-89]

Nestor and that same dog-fox Ulysses
[*Troilus And Cressida:* 5: 4: 10-11]

And the premised flames of the last day
Knit earth and heaven together.
[*2 Henry VI:* 5: 3: 41-42]

O heavenly mingle!
[*Antony And Cleopatra:* 1: 5: 58]

Make mingle with our rattling taborins,
That heaven and earth may strike their
sounds together.
[*Antony And Cleopatra:* 4: 9: 37-38]

Have heaven and earth together demonstrated
[*Hamlet:* 1: 1: 17. Addit. passage A]

BIBLE TEXTS

Silui a bonis et dolor meus
renovatus est.-Ps. xxxix. 2.
(*I was silent from good words,
and my grief was renewed.*)
[Promus 4]

'Tis very true: my grief lies all within,
And these external manner of laments
Are merely shadows to the unseen grief
That swells with silence in the tortured soul.
[Richard II: 4: 1: 285-288]

What shall Cordelia speak? Love and be silent.
Then poor Cordelia -
And yet not so, since I am sure my love's
More ponderous than my tongue.
[King Lear: 1: 1: 62, 77-78]

Credidi propter quod locutus
sum.-Ps. cxvi. 10.
(*I believed, therefore have I
spoken.*)
[Promus 5]

DON PEDRO By my troth, I speak my thought.
CLAUDIO And in faith, my lord, I spoke mine.
BENEDICK And by my two faith and troths,
my lord, I spoke mine.
[Much Ado About Nothing: 1: 1: 210-13]

. . .for what his heart thinks
his tongue speaks.
[Much Ado About Nothing: 3: 2: 12-13]

By my troth, I will speak my conscience of
the King.
[Henry V: 4: 1: 117-18]

Justitiamque omnes cupida de
mente fugamus. (*And we all chase
justice from our covetous heart.*)
[Promus 7]

In the corrupted currents of this world
Offence's gilded hand may shove by justice,
And oft 'tis seen the wicked prize itself
Buys out the law.
[Hamlet: 3: 3: 57-60]

Qui festinat ditari non erit innocens.
- Prov. xxviii. 20. (*He who hasteth
to be rich shall not be innocent.*)
[Promus 10]

. . .with a robber's haste
Crams his rich thiev'ry up. . .
[Troilus And Cressida: 4: 5: 41-42]

Nolite dare sanctum canibus.
- Matt. vii. 6. (*Give not that
which is holy unto dogs.*)
[Promus 11]

CELIA Why cousin...not a word?
ROSALIND Not one to throw at a dog.
CELIA No, thy words are too
precious to be cast upon curs.

[As You Like It. 1: 3: 1-5]

Quorundam hominum peccata
praecedunt ad iudicium, quorundam
sequuntur.-1 Tim. v. 24. (*Some
Men's sins go before to judgment;*

Machinations, hollowness, treachery,
and all ruinous disorders follow us
disquietly to our graves.
[King Lear: 1: 2: 110-12]

some they follow after.)
[Promus 18]

Lilia agri non laborant neque nent. -
Matt. vi. 28. (*The lilies of the
field toil not, neither spin.*)
[Promus 124]

Mors omnia solvit. (*Death
dissolves all things.*)
[Promus 125]

Prudens celat scientiam, stultus
stultus *proclamat* stultitiam.
- Prov. xii.23. (*The prudent man
concealeth knowledge; but the
fool proclaimeth his folly. 'The
heart of' is omitted by Bacon.*)
[Promus 228]

Vos adoratis quod nescitis.-
John iv. 22. (*Ye worship
ye know not what.*)
[Promus 239]

Like the lily,
That once was mistress of the field and flourished,
I'll hang my head and perish.
[Henry VIII: 3: 1: 150-52]

Alas,
Dissolve, my life
[The Two Noble Kinsmen: 3: 2: 28-29]

'Let me not live', quoth he,
I after him do after him wish to,
I quickly were dissolved from my hive
[All's Well That Ends Well: 1: 2: 58, 64, 66]

Dissolve my life!
[Antony And Cleopatra: 3: 13: 165]

Who gently would dissolve the bonds of life,
[Richard II: 2: 2: 71]

dissolve the life
That wants the means to lead it.
[King Lear: 4: 3: 18-19]

Till then 'tis wisdom to conceal our meaning.
[3 Henry VI: 4: 8: 60]

CAPULET
And why, my lady Wisdom? Hold your tongue,
Good Prudence. Smatter with your gossips, go!
NURSE May not one speak?
CAPULET Peace, you mumbling fool,
[Romeo And Juliet. 3: 5: 170-73]

This fellow is wise enough to play the fool,
And to do that well craves a kind of wit.
[Twelfth Night: 3: 1: 59-60]

I follow you
To do I know not what; but it sufficeth
That Brutus leads me on.
[Julius Caesar: 2: 1: 331-33]

you stand on distance-your passes, stoccados,
and I know not what.
[The Merry Wives of Windsor: 2: 1: 211-12]

I do I know not what, and fear to find
Mine eye too great a flatterer for my mind.
[*Twelfth Night*: 1: 5: 298-99]

Virj fratres liceat audenter
Di(s)cere ad vos.-*Acts* ii. 29.
[*Men and brethren, let me
freely speak unto you.*]
[*Promus* 245]

SATURNINUS
Noble patricians, patrons of my right,
And countrymen, my loving followers,
Plead my successive title...
BASSIANUS
Romans, friends, followers, favourers
of my right,
[*Titus Andronicus*: 1: 1: 1, 3-4, 9]

Romans, countrymen, and lovers, hear me
for my cause, and be silent that you may hear
Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears.
[*Julius Caesar*: 3: 2: 13-14, 74]

Quid vult seminator hic verborum
dicere? - *Acts* xvii. 18. (*What will
this babbler [sower of words] say?*)
[*Promus* 246]

Shall she live to betray this guilt of ours-
A long-tongued, babbling gossip?
[*Titus Andronicus*: 4: 2: 148-49]

Sit omnis homo velox
ad audiendum tardus ad
loquendum. *Jam.* i. 19.
(*Let every man be swift
to hear and slow to speak.*)
[*Promus* 259]

Give every man thine ear but few thy voice.
[*Hamlet*: 1: 3: 68]

Nolite confidere in principibus.-
Ps. cxlvi. 3. (*Put not your trust
in princes.*)
[*Promus* 368]

O, how wretched
Is that poor man that hangs on princes' favours!
There is betwixt that smile we would aspire to,
That sweet aspect of princes, and their ruin,
More pangs and fears than wars or women have,
[*Henry VIII*: 3: 2: 367-71]

Veruntamen vane conturbatur
omnis homo.-*Ps.* xxxix. 6.
(*Surely every man walketh
in a vain shadow: surely
they are disquieted in vain.*)
[*Promus* 407]

KING RICHARD
O Ratcliffe, I have dreamed a fearful dream.
RATCLIFFE
Nay, good my lord, be not afraid of shadows.
[*Richard III*: 5: 5: 166, 169]

CLASSICAL QUOTATIONS

ERASMUS
Conscientia mille testes.-*Eras.*
Adagia, 346; *Quintilian*, v. xi. 41.
(*Conscience is worth a thousand*

My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
And every tongue brings in a several tale,
And every tale condemns me for a villain.

witnesses).
[Promus 53]

All several sins, all used in each degree,
Throng to the bar, crying all, 'Guilty, guilty!'
[Richard III: 5: 5: 147-49, 152-53]

the witness of a good conscience,
[The Merry Wives of Windsor: 4: 2: 193-94]

Non est apud aram
consultandum. - Erasm.
Ad. p. 714. (*Consultation
should not go on before
the altar- i.e. Deliberate
before you begin a business,
not in the middle of it.*)
[Promus 327]

Cease, cease these jars, and rest your minds in peace.
Let's to the altar
And whilst a field should be dispatched and fought,
You are disputing of your generals.
[1 Henry VI: 1: 1: 44-45, 72-73]

Vita salillum. (*Life is a little salt
cellar.- from Eras. Adag. p. 1046,
where, quoting Plautus, Erasmus uses
the expression, 'Salillum animae,' for
a brief span of life.*)
[Promus 409]

Some, how brief the life of man
Runs his erring pilgrimage,
That the stretching of a span
Buckles in his sum of age.
[As You Like It: 3: 2: 126-129]

O, man's life's but a span,
[Othello: 2: 3: 66]

You have scarce time
To steal from spiritual leisure a brief span
[Henry VIII: 3: 2: 140-41]

Magnorum fluviorum
navigabiles fontes.-Eras.
Adagia, 122. (*The sources
of great rivers are navigable.
i.e. A little coming from a
great man outweighs the
whole merits of smaller men.*)
[Promus 412]

You are the fount that makes small brooks to flow.
Now stops thy spring - my sea shall suck them dry,
And swell so much the higher by their ebb.
[3 Henry VI: 4: 10: 22-24]

The spring, the head, the fountain of your blood
Is stopped, the very source of it is stopped.
[Macbeth: 2: 3: 98-99]

That all the treasons for these eighteen years
Complotted and contrived in this land
Fetch from false Mowbray their first head and spring.
[Richard II: 1: 1: 95-97]

Fere Danaides. (*Almost [like]
the daughters of Danus, whose
punishment in hell was to pour
water into an empty sieve.*)
[Promus 521]

thy counsel,
Which falls into mine ears as profitless
As water in a sieve.
[Much Ado About Nothing: 5: 1: 4-5]

I know I love in vain, strive against hope;
Yet in this captious and intenable sieve

I still pour in the waters of my love
[*All's Well That Ends Well*: 1: 3: 197-99]

Virj juregurando (sic), pueri talis
fallendij.-Er. *Ad.* 699. (*Men are to
be deceived with oaths, boys with dice.*)
[*Promus* 528]

As false as dicers' oaths-
[*Hamlet*: 3: 4: 44]

Ubi non sis qui fueris non est cur
velis vivere.-Er. *Ad.* 275.
(*When you are no longer what
you have been, there is no cause
why you should wish to live.*)
[*Promus* 530]

Nay, take my life and all, pardon not that.
You take my house when you do take the prop
That doth sustain my house; you take my life
When you do take the means whereby I live.
[*The Merchant of Venice*: 4: 1: 371-74]

'Let me not live', quoth he,
'After my flame lacks oil, to be the snuff
Of younger spirits,
[*All's Well That Ends Well*: 1: 2: 58-60]

Compendiaria res improbitas.-
Er. *Ad.* 681. (*Villainy is a thing
quickly learnt-or arrived at.*)
[*Promus* 531]

The villainy you teach me I will execute
[*The Merchant Of Venice*: 3: 1: 66-67]

Do villainy; do, since you protest to do't,
Like workmen. I'll example you with thievery.
[*Timon Of Athens*: 4: 3: 436-37]

Anger of all passions beareth the
age best. (*Ira omnium tardissime
senescit.*- Eras. *Ad.* 231-i.e.
It is last to decay.)
[*Promus* 547]

From ancient grudge break to new mutiny
[*Romeo and Juliet*: Prologue, 3]

If he appeal the Duke on ancient malice
[*Richard II*: 1: 1: 9]

A root of ancient envy.
[*Coriolanus*: 4: 5: 104]

Romanus sedendo vincit.-Er.
Ad. 329. (See *Isaiah xxx. 9*:
'*The Roman conquers by
sitting down*'- i.e. *by patience,
scheming, or wearing out his
adversary.*)
[*Promus* 562]

LIEUTENANT
Sir, I beseech you, think you he'll carry Rome?
AUFIDIUS
All places yields to him ere he sits down,
[*Coriolanus*: 4: 7: 27-28]

Mentiuntur multa cantores. Fair
pleasing speech true. (Er. *Ad.* 421.
Poets tell many lies.)
[*Promus* 564]

The age to come would say 'This poet lies;
[*Sonnet* 17]

Those lines that I before have writ do lie,
Even those that said I could not love you dearer;
[*Sonnet* 115]

Thou hast by moonlight at her window sung
With feigning voice verses of feigning love,
[*A Midsummer Night's Dream*: 1: 1: 30-31]

AUDREY

I do not know what 'poetical' is. Is it honest in
deed and word? Is it a true thing?

TOUCHSTONE

No, truly; for the truest poetry is the most
feigning,

[*As You Like It*: 3: 3: 14-17]

And all that poets feign of bliss and joy.

[*3 Henry VI*: 1: 2: 31]

Creta notare (chaulking and coloring).-
Eras. *Ad.* 176. (*To mark with chalk-*
as a note of approval of good omen.)

[*Promus* 710]

whose grace

Chalks successors their way

[*Henry VIII*: 1: 1: 59-60]

For it is you that have chalked forth the way

[*The Tempest*: 5: 1: 206]

To keep stroke (fitt conjunctes).

(*Pariter remum ducere.* -

Eras. *Ad.* 1009)

[*Promus* 718b]

thou keeps't the stroke

Betwixt thy begging and my meditation.

[*Richard III*: 4: 2: 117-18]

Ex eodem ore calidum et frigidum.

- Eras. *Ad.* 270. (*Out of the*
same mouth hot and cold.)

[*Promus* 797]

' . . . very tragical mirth.'

'Merry' and 'tragical'? 'Tedious' and 'brief'? -

That is, hot ice and wondrous strange black snow.

[*A Midsummer Night's Dream*: 5: 1: 57-59]

I was too hot to do somebody good,

That is too cold in thinking of it now.

[*Richard III*: 1: 3: 309-10]

Like to the time o'th' year between the extremes

Of hot and cold, he was nor sad nor merry.

[*Antony And Cleopatra*: 1: 5: 50-51]

O perilous mouths,

That bear in them one and the selfsame tongue

Either of condemnation or aproof

[*Measure For Measure*: 2: 4: 172-74]

Promus magis quam condus.-

Eras. *Ad.* 480. (*Butler, rather*
than storer. Drawer-out, rather
than storer-up. The supplies drawn
out are greater than the store; or,

'True is it, my incorporate friends,' quoth he,

'That I receive the general food at first

Which you do live upon, and fit it is,

Because I am the storehouse and the shop

Of the whole body.

*the raw materials in the storehouse
furnish a larger quantity of
ready-made articles.)*

[Promus 819]

To quench fyre with oyle. {Oleo
incendium restinguere.-
Eras. *Ad.* 62. }

[Promus 823]

Riper than a mulberry. (Maturior
moro.-Eras. *Ad.* 975. Of a mild,
soft-mannered man, &c.)

[Promus 869]

Viam qui nescit ad mare
(fluvium sequatur.-Eras.
Ad. 559. (Viamqui nescit,
qua deveniat ad mare, &c.-
Plautus. *He who does not
know the way leading
down to the sea should
follow a river.* The ignorant
must consult the wiser, &c.)

[Promus 875]

Clavum clavo pellere.-Eras.
Ad. 61. (With one nail to drive
out [another] nail)

[Promus 889]

HORACE

Dulce et decorum est pro patria
mori.-Hor. *Odes*, iii. 2, 13. (*It
is sweet and becoming to die
for one's country.*)

[Promus 78]

[*Coriolanus*: 1: 1: 128-132]

I think the devil will not have me damned, lest
the oil that's in me should set hell on fire.

[*The Merry Wives of Windsor*: 5: 5: 33-34]

When oil and fire, too strong for reason's force,
O'erbears it and burns on.

[*All's Well That Ends Well*: 5: 3: 7-8]

Such smiling rogues as these,
Being oil to fire,

[*King Lear*: 2: 2: 73, 77]

Now humble as the ripest mulberry

[*Coriolanus*: 3: 2: 79]

SEBASTION

What relish is in this? How runs the stream?

OLIVIA

Nay, come, I prithee, would thou'dst be ruled
by me.

SEBASTION

Madam, I will.

[*Twelfth Night*: 4: 1: 59, 63-64]

Or as one nail by strength drives out another,
So the remembrance of my former love
Is by a newer object quite forgotten.

[*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*: 2: 4: 191-93]

One fire drives out one fire, one nail one nail;
Rights by rights falter, strengths by strengths do fail.

[*Coriolanus*: 4: 7: 54-55]

My lord, I'll yield myself to prison willingly,
Or unto death, to do my country good.

[*2 Henry VI*: 4: 8: 42-43]

I had rather had eleven die nobly for their
country than one voluptuously surfeit out of

action.

[*Coriolanus*: 1: 3: 24-25]

If any think brave death outweighs bad life,
And that his country's dearer than himself,
Let him alone,

[*Coriolanus*: 1: 7: 71-73]

Mors et fugacem persequitur virum.
-Hor. *Odes*, iii. 2, 13. (*Death pursues
even the man that flies from him.*)
[*Promus* 79]

Away-for death doth hold us in pursuit!
[*3 Henry VI*: 2: 5: 127]

I fly not death to fly his deadly doom.
[*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*: 3: 1: 185]

Where death and danger dogs the heels of worth.
[*All's Well That Ends Well*: 3: 4: 15]

Death and destruction dogs thee at thy heels.
[*Richard III*: 4: 1: 39]

Fabulaeque manes. - Hor. 1 *Od.*
iv. 16. (*The manes of fable-i.e.,
the shades of the departed ghosts.*)
[*Promus* 456]

Ad manes fractrum sacrifice his flesh
That so the shadows be not unappeased
[*Titus Andronicus*: 1: 1: 98, 100]

per manes vehor.
[*Titus Andronicus*: 2: 1: 136]

Sed tamen amoto quaeramus seria
ludo.-Hor. *Sat.* i. 2. (*However,
playing ended, let's to business.*)
[*Promus* 1042]

CASSIO (*at a drinking bout*)
Let's ha' no more of this. Let's to our affairs.
God forgive us our sins. Gentlemen, let's
look to our business.
[*Othello*: 2: 3: 103-05]

Let me request you off. Our graver business
Frowns at this levity.
[*Antony and Cleopatra*: 2: 7: 117-18]

Projicit ampullas et sesquipedalia
verba.-Hor. *Ars Poet.* 97. (*Cast
aside inflated diction and
foot-and-a-half-long words.*)
[*Promus* 1062]

O, they have lived long on the alms-basket
of words. I marvel thy master hath not eaten
thee for a word, for thou art not so long by
the head as honorificabilitudinitatibus.
[*Love's Labour's Lost*: 5: 1: 38-41]

Three-piled hyperboles, spruce affectation,
Figures pedantical-these summer flies
Have blown me full of maggot ostentation
I do forswear them,
[*Love's Labour's Lost*: 5: 2: 407-410]

Ergo fungor vice cotis, acutum (sic).

(Nature) who perceiveth our natural

Reddere quae possis ferrum exors
ipsam secandj.
Hor. *Ars Poet.* 304.
(*Therefore I discharge the office of
a whetstone, which, itself incompetent
to cut, can render iron sharp.*)
[Promus 1066]

Dum vitant stulti vitia in contraria
currunt. - Horace, *S. i.* 2, 24.
(*While fools try to avoid faults,
they run into the opposite extremes.*)
[Promus 1443]

JUVENAL

Dat veniam corvis vexat censura
columbas.-Juvenal, *Sat.* ii. 63.
(*Censure extends pardon to
ravens (but) bears hard on doves.*)
[Promus 41]

OVID

Tuque invidiosa vetustas.-Ovid.
Met. 15, 234. (*And thou envious
(odious) old age.*)
[Promus 121]

wits too dull to reason of such goddesses,
and hath sent this natural for our whetstone;
for always the dullness of the fool
is the whetstone of the wits.
[*As You Like It*: 1: 2: 50-53]

Be this the whetstone of your sword. Let grief
Convert to anger:
[*Macbeth*: 4: 3: 230-31]

Now she sharpens. Well said, whetstone.
[*Troilus And Cressida*: 5: 2: 77]

you are a fool,
And turned into the extremity of love.
[*As You Like It*: 4: 3: 23-24]

O brother, speak with possibility,
And do not break into these deep extremes.
[*Titus Andronicus*: 3: 1: 213-14]

Degrees, observances, customs, and laws,
Decline to your confounding contraries,
And let confusion live!
[*Timon Of Athens*: 4: 1: 19-21]

Seems he a dove? His feathers are but borrowed,
For he's disposed as the hateful raven.
[*2 Henry VI*: 3: 1: 75-76]

The foul witch Sycorax, who with age and envy
Was grown into a hoop?
[*The Tempest*: 1: 2: 259-60]

the oppression of aged tyranny,
[*King Lear*: 1: 2: 50-51]

A man can no more separate age and
covetousness
[*2 Henry IV*. 1: 2: 229-30]

Crabbed age and youth cannot live together:
Age, I do abhor thee; youth, I do adore thee.
[*The Passionate Pilgrim*: 12: 1,

Aliquisque malo fuit usus in illo.-Ovid.
(*And there was some use in that evil.*)
[Promus 168]

But from deceit, bred by necessity.
[3 *Henry VI*: 3: 3: 68]

And vice sometime's by action dignified.
[*Romeo And Juliet*: 2: 2: 22]

There is some soul of goodness in things evil,
Would men observingly distil it out-
[*Henry V*: 4: 1: 4-5]

Utilitas magnos hominesque deosque
efficit auxiliis quoque favente suis.-
Ov. *Ex Pont.* ii. 9, 35. (*It is usefulness
that makes men and gods great, as
everyone favours what is of help to
himself.*)
[Promus 359]

I will use him well; a friend I'th' court
is better than a penny in purse. Use
his men well, Davy, for they are
arrant knaves, and will backbite.
[2 *Henry IV*: 5: 1: 26-28]

Nec sua vesanus scripta poeta legat.
- Ov. *A. A.* ii. 508. (*Nor let the
frenzied poet recite his own works.*)
[Promus 1027]

The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
[*A Midsummer Night's Dream*: 5: 1: 12]

Non honor est sed onus.
- Ovid, *Her.* ix. 31. (*Not
an honour, but a burden.*)
[Promus 1110]

The King has cured me.
I humbly thank his grace, and from these shoulders,
These ruined pillars, out of pity, taken
A load would sink a navy-too much honour.
O, 'tis a burden, Cromwell, 'tis a burden
Too heavy for a man that hopes for heaven.
[*Henry VIII*: 3: 2: 381-86]

An nescis longas regibus esse
manus.-Ovid, *Her.* xvii. 166.
(*Or dost thou not know that
the arms of kings are long?*)
[Promus 1115]

'Is not my arm of length,
That reacheth from the restful English court
As far as Calais...'
[*Richard II*: 4: 1: 10-12]

Utilis interdum est ipsis injuria
passis.-Ovid, *Her.* xvii. 187.
(*Injury is sometimes useful
to those who have suffered it.*)
[Promus 1116]

O sir, to wilful men
The injuries that they themselves procure
Must be their schoolmasters.
[*King Lear*: 2: 2: 474-76]

TERENCE

Licentia sumus omnes deteriores.-
Terence, *Heaut.* iii. 1, 74. (*We are
all made worse by licence.*)
[Promus 122]

From too much liberty, my Lucio, liberty.
As surfeit is the father of much fast,
So every scope, by the immoderate use,
Turns to restraint. Our natures do pursue,

Like rats that raven down their proper bane,
A thirsty evil; and when we drink, we die.
[*Measure for Measure*: 1: 2: 117-22]

That fellow is a fellow of much licence.
[*Measure for Measure*: 3: 1: 463]

VIRGIL

Atque animis illabere nostris.
-*AEn.* iii. 89. (*And glide
into our minds.*)
[*Promus* 22]

Nequicquam patrias tentasti lubricus
artes.-*AEn.* xi. 716. (*In vain hast
thou with slippery tricks tried the
arts of thy country.*)
[*Promus* 55]

Nusquam tuta fides.-*AEn.* iv. 373.
(*Firm faith exists nowhere.*)
[*Promus* 57]

Frangimur heu fatis (inquit)
ferimurque procella.-Virg.
AEn. vii. 594. (*We are wrecked,
alas! by the fates and hurried on
by the storm (of misfortune).*)
[*Promus* 165]

Love's heralds should be thoughts,
Which ten times faster glides than the sun's beams.
[*Romeo And Juliet*: 2: 4: 4-5]

You see how all conditions, how all minds,
As well of glib and slipp'ry creatures as
Of grave and austere quality, tender down
Their service to Lord Timon.
[*Timon Of Athens*: 1: 1: 53-56]

If for I want that glib and oily art
To speak and purpose not-
[*King Lear*: 1: 1: 224-25]

Trust nobody, for fear you be betrayed.
[*2 Henry VI*: 4: 4: 57]

O, where is faith? O, where is loyalty?
If it be banished from the frosty head,
Where shall it find a harbour in the earth?
[*2 Henry VI*: 5: 1: 164-66]

Trust none, for oaths are straws, men's faiths
are wafer-cakes,
[*Henry V*: 2: 3: 47]

But, lords, we hear this fearful tempest sing,
Yet seek no shelter to avoid the storm.
We see the wind sit sore upon our sails,
We see the very wreck that we must suffer,
And unavoids is the danger now
For suffering so the causes of our wreck.
[*Richard II*: 2: 1: 264-66, 268-270]

WILLIAMS

what thinks he of our estate?

KING HARRY

Even as men wrecked upon a sand, that look
to be washed off the next tide.
[*Henry V*: 4: 1: 96-98]

Mitte hanc de pectore curam.-
Virg. *AEn.* vi. 85. (*Drive away
this care from your mind.*)
[Promus 182]

Eu haec promissa fides est?-
Virg. *AEn.* vi. 346. (*Is this
the promise true?-ironically.*)
[Promus 221]

Orpheus in sylvis, inter delphinias
Arion.-Virg. *Ecl.* viii. 56. (*An
Orpheus in the woods, an Arion
among the dolphins.*)
[Promus 353]

Animos nil magnae laudis egentes.-
Virg. v. 751. (*Minds that have
no craving for high praise.*)
[Promus 416]

Si nunquam fallit imago.
-Virg. *Ecl.* ii. 2. (*If the
glass be true.*-Dryden.

Lit. *if the reflection does
not deceive.*)
[Promus 420]

Sensit enim simulata voce (*sic*)
locutam.-Virg. *AEn.* iv. 105.
(*For she perceived that she*

What sport shall we devise here in this garden,
To drive away the heavy thought of care?
[*Richard II:* 3: 4: 1-2]

Is this the promise that you made your mother?
[*Coriolanus:* 3: 3: 90]

Is this the promised end?
[*King Lear:* 5: 3: 237]

Is this your promise?
[*King John:* 4: 1: 96]

Orpheus with his lute made trees,
And the mountain tops that freeze,
Bow themselves when he did sing.
To his music plants and flowers
Ever sprung, as sun and showers
There had made a lasting spring.
[*Henry VIII:* 3: 1: 3-8]

For Orpheus' lute was strung with poets' sinews,
Whose golden touch could soften steel and stones,
Make tigers tame, and huge leviathans
Forsake unsounded deeps to dance on sands.
[*The Two Gentlemen of Verona:* 3: 2: 77-80]

Where, like Arion on the dolphin's back,
I saw him hold acquaintance with the waves
So long as I could see.
[*Twelfth Night:* 1: 2: 14-16]

My lord, 'tis but a base ignoble mind
That mounts no higher than a bird can soar.
[*2 Henry VI:* 2: 1: 13-14]

as yet the glass seems true
[*Twelfth Night:* 5: 1: 263]

CLIFFORD

Why, what a brood of traitors have we here!

YORK

Look in a glass, and call thy image so.
[*2 Henry VI.* 5: 1: 139-140]

Thou hast by moonlight at her window sung
With feigning voice verses of feigning love,
[*A Midsummer Night's Dream:* 1: 1: 30-31]

spoke with a feigned voice.
Virgil has 'mente' for 'voce.'
[Promus 1009]

Quid me alta silentia cogis
Rumpere et obductum verbis
vulgare dolorem. -
Virg. *AEn.* x. 64.
(*Why dost thou compel me to
break a deep silence, and publish
in words a close covered grief?*)
[Promus 1018]

Respice res bello varias. -
Virg. *AEn.* xii. 43. (*Weigh
in your mind the various
chance of war.*-Dryden.)
[Promus 1101]

Must I do so? And must I ravel out
My weaved-up follies? Gentle Northumberland,
If thy offences were upon record,
Would it not shame thee in so fair a troop
To read a lecture of them?
[Richard II: 4: 1: 218-22]

Consider, sir, the chance of war. The day
Was yours by accident.
[Cymbeline: 5: 6: 75-76]

Now, good or bad, 'tis but the chance of war.
[Troilus And Cressida: Prologue, 31]

Thou know'st, great son,
The end of war's uncertain;
[Coriolanus: 5: 3: 141-42]

METAPHORS AND APHORISMS

Ametallado, fayned inameled.
[Promus 83]

I see the jewel best enamelled
Will lose her beauty. Yet the gold bides still
[The Comedy of Errors: 2: 1: 108-109]

Galen's compositions, not
Paracelsus' separations.
[Promus 85]

LAFEU To be relinquished of the artists-
PAROLES So I say-both of Galen and Paracelsus.
LAFEU Of all the learned and authentic Fellows -
[All's Well That Ends Well: 2: 3: 10-12]

A stone without foyle.
[Promus 89]

A base, foul stone, made precious by the foil
Of England's chair, where he is falsely set;
[Richard III: 5: 5: 204-205]

The sullen passage of thy weary steps
Esteem as foil wherein thou art to set
The precious jewel of thy home return.
[Richard II: 1: 3: 254-56]

And like bright metal on a sullen ground,
My reformation, glitt'ring o'er my fault,
Shall show more goodly and attract more eyes
Than that which hath no foil to set it off.
[1 Henry IV: 1: 2: 209-12]

Optimi consiliari mortui. (*The dead are the best counsellors.*)
[Promus 364]

(Hamlet pointing to the dead body of Polonius)

This counsellor
Is now most still, most secret, and most grave,
Who was in life a foolish prating knave.
[*Hamlet*: 3: 4: 187-89]

Two may keep counsel when the third's away.
(*kills the nurse*)
[*Titus Andronicus*: 4: 2: 143]

Pulchrorum autumnus pulcher.
(*Beautiful is the autumn of beauty.*)
[Promus 370]

A beauty-waning and distressed widow
Even in the afternoon of her best days,
[*Richard III*: 3: 7: 175-76]

Viderit utilitas. (*Let expediency take care of itself-I'll none of it.*)
[Promus 383]

Throw physic to the dogs; I'll none of it.
[*Macbeth*: 5: 3: 49]

Variam dant otia mentem. {Leisure gives change of thoughts.}
[Promus 405]

O absence, what a torment wouldst thou prove
Were it not thy sour leisure gave sweet leave
To entertain the time with thoughts of love,
[Sonnet 39]

Qui bene nugatur
Ad mensam saepe vocatur.
(*He who plays the fool well is often invited to dinner.*)
[Promus 427]

Let me play the fool.
With mirth and laughter let old wrinkles come,
And let my liver rather heat with wine
Than my heart cool with mortifying groans.
[*The Merchant of Venice*: 1: 1: 79-82]

Al confessor, medico e avvocato non si de tener il re celato. (*From the confessor, the doctor, and the lawyer, one should hide nothing.*)
[Promus 578]

I am confessor to Angelo,
and I know this to be true.
[*Measure for Measure*: 3: 1: 168-69]

Diuturniora minus diuturnis.
(*Things more lasting [are better] than things less lasting*)
[Promus 1256]

For violent fires soon burn out themselves.
Small showers last long, but sudden storms are short.
He tires betimes that spurs too fast betimes.
[*Richard II*: 2: 1: 34-36]

Magis minus malum. (*Too much, too little, is an evil.*)
[Promus 1279a]

they are as sick that surfeit with too much
as they that starve with nothing.
[*The Merchant of Venice*: 1: 2: 5-6]

Cocilia homines mala (*sic*).
A forin warne (? *warning*)
to parties at home.

Be it thy course to busy giddy minds
With foreign quarrels. . .
[2 *Henry IV*: 4: 3: 342-43]

[Promus 1304]

Media via nulla est quae nec
amicos parit nec inimicos tollit.
(*There is no middle way which
will neither procure [for us]
friends nor remove enemies.*)
[Promus 1444]

. . .no midway
"Twixt these extremes at all.
[*Antony And Cleopatra*: 3: 4: 18-19]

The middle of humanity thou never knewest,
but the extremity of both ends. When thou
wast in thy guilt and thy perfume, they
mocked thee for too much curiosity; in thy
rags thou know'st none, but art despised for
the contrary.
[*Timon Of Athens*: 4: 3: 302-06]

ENGLISH PROVERBS

Black will take no other hue.
[Promus 38]

Coal-black is better than another hue
In that it scorns to bear another hue;
For all the water in the ocean
Can never turn the swan's black legs to white,
[*Titus Andronicus*: 4: 2: 98-101]

No man loveth his fetters
though they be of gold.
[Promus 475]

To bear the golden yoke of sovereignty,
Which fondly you would here impose on me.
[*Richard III*: 3: 7: 3-4. Addit. passage H]

The nearer the Church
the furdur from God.
[Promus 476]

Name not religion, for thou lov'st the flesh,
And ne'er throughout the year to church thou go'st,
Except it be to pray against thy foes.
[*1 Henry VI*: 1: 1: 41-43]

When thieves fall out, trow
men come to their good.
[Promus 497]

A plague upon't when
thieves cannot be true one to another!
[*1 Henry IV*: 2: 2: 27-28]

Rich preys make true men thieves
[*Venus And Adonis*: line 724]

As he brewes so he must drink.
[Promus 631]

She says she drinks no other drink but tears,
Brewed with her sorrow, mashed upon her cheeks.
[*Titus Andronicus*: 3: 2: 37-38]

To bear two faces under a hood.
[Promus 633]

Why, you bald-pated lying rascal, you must be
hooded, must you? Show your knave's visage,
with a pox to you! Show your sheep-biting face,
and be hanged an hour! Will't not off?
(*He pulls off the friar's hood, and discovers the Duke.*)
[*Measure for Measure*: 5: 1: 349-52]

The common curse of mankind,
folly and ignorance
[*Troilus and Cressida*: 2: 3: 26-27]

I say there is no darkness but ignorance,
[*Twelfth Night*: 4: 2: 43-44]

O thou monster ignorance, how deformed dost
thou look!
[*Love's Labour's Lost*: 4: 2: 22-23]

Love me little love me long
[*Promus* 959]

Therefore love moderately. Long love doth so.
Too swift arrives as tardy as too slow.
[*Romeo And Juliet*: 2: 5: 14-15]

Saieing and doing are two things.
[*Promus* 969]

And ever may your highness yoke together,
As I will lend you cause, my doing well
With my well-saying.
[*Henry VIII*: 3: 2: 151-53]

Faith, I have heard too much, for your words
and performances are no kin together.
[*Othello*: 4: 2: 187-88]

Alwaies let losers have their woordes.
[*Promus* 972]

for losers will have leave
To ease their stomachs with their bitter tongues.
[*Titus Andronicus*: 3: 1: 231-32]

But I can give the loser leave to chide.
Far truer spoke than meant. I lose indeed;
Beshrew the winners, for they played me false!
And well such losers may have leave to speak.
[*2 Henry VI*: 3: 1: 182-85]

Better coming to the ending of a feast
than to the begynning of a fray.
[*Promus* 977]

Well, to the latter end of a fray
And the beginning of a feast
[*1 Henry IV*: 4: 2: 79-80]

FRENCH PROVERBS

Quand beau vien sur beau yl
perd sa branse. (*When one
good follows upon another,
a man loses his balance*).
[*Promus* 1497]

And wherefore should these good news make me sick?
Will fortune never come with both hands full,
But write her fair words still in foulest letters?
I should rejoice now at this happy news,
And now my sight fails, and my brain is giddy.
If he be sick with joy, he'll recover without physick.
[*2 Henry IV*: 4: 3: 102-104, 109-110, 145]

I am giddy. Expectation whirls me round.

Th'imaginary relish is so sweet
That it enchants my sense...
 I do fear besides
That I shall lose distinction in my joys,
As doth a battle when they charge on heaps
The enemy flying.
[*Troilus And Cressida*: 3: 2: 16-18, 24-27]

ITALIAN PROVERBS

Buon vin favola lunga. (*Good wine talks long-makes a long tongue.*)
[*Promus* 583]

 Drunk, and speak parrot, and squabble?
Swagger, swear, and discourse fustian with
one's own shadow? O thou invisible spirit of
wine, if thou hast no name to be known by,
let us call thee devil.
[*Othello*: 2: 3: 273-77]

 The red wine first must rise
In their fair cheeks, my lord, then we shall have 'em
Talk us to silence.
[*Henry VIII*: 1: 4: 44-45]

Tanto buon che val niente.
(*So good that he is good for nothing.*)
[*Promus* 1147]

Poor honest lord, brought low by his own heart,
Undone by goodness! Strange, unusual blood
When man's worst sin is he does too much good!
[*Timon of Athens*: 4: 2: 37-39]

SPANISH PROVERBS

Quien nesciamente pecca
nesciamente va al inferno.
(*He who ignorantly sins,
ignorantly goes to hell.*)
[*Promus* 47]

FESTE I say there is no darkness but ignorance,
MALVOLIO I say this house is as dark as
ignorance, though ignorance were as dark as
hell.
[*Twelfth Night*: 4: 2: 43-44, 46-47]

I have said my prayers, and devil Envy say
'Amen...The common curse of mankind, folly
and ignorance, be thine in great revenue! Heaven
bless thee from a tutor, and discipline come not
near thee!
[*Troilus And Cressida*: 2: 3: 20, 26-29]

El buen suena el mal v(u)ela.
(*Good dreams, ill waking.*)
[*Promus* 608]

 Poor wretches that depend
On greatness' favour dream as I have done,
Wake and find nothing.
[*Cymbeline*: 5: 5: 221-23]

Di mentira y sagueras verdad.
(*Tell a lye to know a truth.*)
[*Promus* 610]

 See you now,
Your bait of falsehood takes this carp of truth;
And thus do we of wisdom and of reach

With windlasses and with assays of bias
By indirections find directions out.
[*Hamlet*: 2: 1: 61-65]

So disguise shall, by th' disguised,
Pay with falsehood false exacting,
[*Measure For Measure*: 3: 1: 536-37]

En fin la sogla quiebra por el mas
delgado. (*At length the string
cracks by being overstrained.*)
[*Promus* 612]

Now cracks a noble heart.
[*Hamlet*: 5: 2: 312]

The tackle of my heart is cracked and burnt,
My heart hath one poor string to stay it by,
Which holds but till thy news be uttered,
[*King John*: 5: 7: 52, 55-56]

Era mejor lamiendo que no
mordiendo. (*He was better
when he fawned than when he bit.*)
[*Promus* 934]

O Buckingham, take heed of yonder dog.
Look when he fawns, he bites;
[*Richard III*: 1: 3: 287-88]

Despues d'yo muerto ne vinna
ne huerto. (*After my death no
hurt can come to me.*)
[*Promus* 936]

Duncan is in his grave.
After life's fitful fever he sleeps well.
Treason has done his worst. Nor steel nor poison,
Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing
Can touch him further.
[*Macbeth*: 3: 2: 24-28]

Baragar (*To shuffle, Sp.*)
Perpetuo juvenis
(*Perpetually youthful.*)
[*Promus* 1434]

When we have shuffled off this mortal coil
[*Hamlet*: 3: 1: 69]

Your life, good master,
Must shuffle for itself.
[*Cymbeline*: 5: 6: 103-04]

SAYINGS

Small matters need solicitation.
Great are remembered of
themselves.
[*Promus* 136]

LEPIDUS
But small to greater matters must give way.
ENOBARBUS
Not if the small come first.
[*Antony and Cleopatra*: 2: 2: 11-12]

You use the lawyer's
form of pleading.
[*Promus* 150]

My heart doth plead that thou in him dost lie,
But the defendant doth that plea deny,
And says in him thy fair appearance lies.
To 'cide this title is empanelled
A quest of thoughts, all tenants to the heart,
And by their verdict is determined
The clear eye's moiety and the dear heart's part,

[Sonnet 46]

The difference is not between
you and me, but between your
proffitte and my trust.
[Promus 151]

Who join'st thou with but with a lordly nation
That will not trust thee but for profit's sake?
[1 Henry VI: 3: 7: 62-63]

Let the King know,
As soon he shall by me, that thus the Cardinal
Does buy and sell his honour as he pleases,
And for his own advantage.
[Henry VIII: 1: 1: 190-93]

All is not in years to me; somewhat
is in houres well spent.
[Promus 152]

Yet hath Sir Proteus for that's his name-
Made use and fair advantage of his days:
His years but young, but his experience old;
His head unmellowed, but his judgement ripe.
[The Two Gentlemen of Verona: 2: 4: 65-68]

Had you been as wise as bold,
Young in limbs, in judgement old,
Your answer had not been enscrolled.
[The Merchant of Venice: 2: 7: 7]

Thou shouldst not have been old till thou hadst
been wise.
[King Lear: 1: 5: 43-44]

An aged interpreter, though young in days.
[Timon of Athens: 5: 4: 6]

Shut the door, for I mean
to speak treason.
[Promus 156]

AUMERLE
Then give me leave that I may turn the key,
That no man enter till my tale be done.
KING HENRY
Have thy desire.
Aumerle locks the door.
The Duke of York knocks at the door and crieth
YORK (*within*)
My liege, beware! Look to thyself!
Thou hast a traitor in thy presence there...
Open the door, secure foolhardy King!
Shall I for love speak treason to thy face?
Open the door, or I will break it open.
[Richard II: 5: 3: 35-38, 41-43]

And bid suspicion double-lock the door
[Venus And Adonis: line 448]

You speak colorably;
you may not say truly.

Pompey, howsoever you colour it...
Come, tell me true

[Promus 205]

Be the day never so long, at
last it ringeth to evensong.

[Promus 408]

[Measure for Measure: 2: 1: 210-12]

We see yonder the beginning of the day,
but I think we shall never see the end of it.

[Henry V: 4: 1: 89-90]

Yet this my comfort: when your words are done,
My woes and likewise with the evening sun.

[The Comedy of Errors: 1: 1: 26-27]

O that a man might know
The end of this day's business ere it come!

[Julius Caesar: 5: 1: 123-24]

It is the cat's nature and
the wenches' fault.

[Promus 575]

If the cat will after kind,
So, be sure, will Rosalind.

[As You Like It: 3: 2: 101-102]

URNS OF EXPRESSION AND SINGLE WORDS

No wise speech, though easy and voluble.

[Promus 98]

voluble is his discourse

[Love's Labour's Lost: 2: 1: 76]

If voluble and sharp discourse be marred,
Unkindness blunts it

[The Comedy of Errors: 2: 1: 91-92]

Then I'll commend her volubility

[The Taming of The Shrew: 2: 1: 175]

Notwithstanding his dialogues
(of one that giveth life to his
speech by way of question).

[Promus 99]

And so, ere Answer knows what Question would,
Saving in dialogue of compliment,
It draws toward supper in conclusion so.

[King John: 1: 1: 200-201, 204]

'So on the tip of his subduing tongue
All kind of arguments and question deep,
All replication prompt, and reason strong,
And dialogued for him what he would say,

[A Lover's Complaint: 120-122, 132]

so skipping a dialogue.

[Twelfth Night: 1: 5: 193]

Ceremonies and green rushes
are for strangers.

[Promus 118]

Where's the cook? Is supper ready, the house
trimmed, rushes strewed...every officer his
wedding garment on?

[The Taming of the Shrew: 4: 1: 40-41, 43]

FIRST GROOM More rushes, more rushes!

SECOND GROOM The trumpets have sounded twice.
FIRST GROOM 'Twill be two o'clock ere they come
from the coronation.

[2 *Henry IV*: 5: 5: 1-4]

How do you? They have a better
question in Cheapside-What lack you?
[*Promus* 119]

Still and anon cheered up the heavy time,
Saying 'What lack you?
[*King John*: 4: 1: 47-48]

PALAMON How do you, noble cousin?

ARCITE How do you, sir?

[*The Two Noble Kinsmen*: 2: 2: 1-2]

. . .in Cheapside

shall my palfrey go to grass.

[2 *Henry VI*: 4: 2: 70-71]

My lord, when shall we go to Cheapside and take
up commodities upon our bills?

[2 *Henry VI*: 4: 7: 141-42]

Poore and trew; not poore,
therefore not trew.
[*Promus* 120]

LAVATCH I am a poor fellow.

COUNTESS Well, sir?

LAVATCH No, madam, 'tis not so well that I am poor,
though many of the rich are damned.

[*All's Well That Ends Well*: 1: 3: 13-17]

FLAVIUS An honest poor servant of yours.

TIMON Then I know thee not. I never had
Honest man about me; ay, all I kept were knaves,
To serve in meat to villains.

Look thee, 'tis so. Thou singly honest man,
Here, take. The gods, out of my misery,

Has sent thee treasure. Go, live rich and happy,

[*Timon Of Athens*: 4: 3: 477-479, 524-526]

Honest men hardly change their name.
[*Promus* 139]

When we were happy, we had other names.

[*King John*: 5: 4: 8]

Thou speak'st as if I would deny my name.

[1 *Henry IV*: 5: 4: 58]

He never did harm that I heard of...

He will keep that good name still.

[*Henry V*: 3: 7: 97-99]

Gualtier or Walter-which it is I care not.

Never yet did base dishonour blur our name

[2 *Henry VI*: 4: 1: 39-40]

The matter though it be new (if that
be new which hath been practized in
like case, though not in this particular).
[*Promus* 140]

All this while.
[*Promus* 283]

Let it not displease you.
[*Promus* 286]

You put me in mynd.
[*Promus* 287]

Few woordes need.
[*Promus* 292]

The mean. The tyme.
[*Promus* 295]

Nothing lesse.

and there begins new matter.
[*As You Like It*: 4: 1: 75-76]

We need not put new matter to his charge.
[*Coriolanus*: 3: 3: 81]

examine me upon the particulars
[*1 Henry IV*: 2: 5: 379-380]

Let me question more in particular.
[*Hamlet*: 2: 2: 242]

Now the dog all this while sheds not a tear
[*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*: 2: 3: 30]

And let it not displease thee,
[*The Taming of the Shrew*: 1: 1: 76]

you are not displeased with this?
[*Titus Andronicus*: 1: 1: 270]

Let me put in your minds
[*Richard III*: 1: 3: 131]

I am thus bold to put your grace in mind.
[*Richard III*: 4: 2: 112]

the bells of Saint Bennet, sir,
may put you in mind-
[*Twelfth Night*: 5: 1: 35-36]

Will you be put in mind of his blind fortune,
[*Coriolanus*: 5: 6: 119]

if you bear in mind,
[*Pericles*: 18: 14]

Few words suffice
[*The Taming of the Shrew*: 1: 2: 65]

Is it sad and few words?
[*Measure For Measure*: 3: 1: 318]

What needs more words?
[*Antony and Cleopatra*: 2: 7: 122]

As they fell out by time, by means, and place,
[*Hamlet*: 2: 2: 128]

Was nothing less than bloody tyranny.

[*Promus* 308]

Tamen quaere. (*Yet ask.*)
[*Promus* 316]

Well remembered.
[*Promus* 317]

Peradventure.
[*Promus* 324]

Interrogatory.
[*Promus* 325]

An instrument in tunyng.
[*Promus* 355]

[*1 Henry VI*: 2: 5: 100]

RICHARD I have no need to beg.
BOLINGBROKE Yet ask.
[*Richard II*: 4: 1: 299-300]

Marry, well remembered.
[*The Merchant of Venice*: 2: 8: 27]

which peradventure prings goot discretions with it.
[*The Merry Wives of Windsor*: 1: 1: 39-40]

that peradventures shall tell you another tale
[*The Merry Wives of Windsor*: 1: 1: 70-71]

he tells me that if peradventure
[*Measure for Measure*: 4: 6: 5]

if peradventure this be true.
[*Much Ado About Nothing*: 1: 2: 20-21]

Peradventure, to make it the more gracious
[*A Midsummer Night's Dream*. 4: 1: 214-215]

Peradventure this is not Fortune's work,
[*As You Like It*: 1: 2: 49]

Some, peradventure, have on them the guilt
[*Henry V*: 4: 1: 160]

though peradventure some of the best of 'em
[*Coriolanus*: 2: 1: 90-91]

The first inter'gatory
That my Nerissa shall be sworn on
[*The Merchant of Venice*: 5: 1: 300-301]

And charge us there upon inter'gatories,
[*The Merchant of Venice*: 5: 1: 298]

let me answer to the particular of the inter'gatories.
[*All's Well That Ends Well*: 4: 3: 187-188]

What earthy name to interrogatories
[*King John*: 3: 1: 73]
Will serve our long inter'gatories.
[*Cymbeline*: 5: 6: 393]

HAMLET Will you play upon this pipe?
GUILDENSTERN My lord, I cannot....

HAMLET You would play upon me, you would seem to know my stops...you would sound me from my lowest note to the top of my compass; do you think I am easier to be played on than a pipe? Call me what instrument you will, though you can fret me, you cannot play upon me.

[*Hamlet*: 3: 2: 338-340, 352-355, 357-360]

The Athenian's holiday.
[*Promus* 363]

Now, fair Hippolyta, our nuptial hour
Draws on apace. . .

Go, Philostrate,
Stir up the Athenian youth to merriments.
Awake the pert and nimble spirit of mirth.
[*A Midsummer Night's Dream*: 1: 1: 1-2, 12-14]

They owe bloomed May, and the Athenians pay it
To th' heart of ceremony.

[*The Two Noble Kinsmen*: 3: 1: 3-4]

A skulker.
[*Promus* 396]

Is whispering nothing?...
Skulking in corners?
[*The Winter's Tale*: 1: 2: 287, 291]

Rather men than maskers.
[*Promus* 404]

A peevish schoolboy, worthless of such honour,
Joined with a masquer and a reveller!
[*Julius Caesar*: 5: 1: 61-62]

And I would have thought.
[*Promus* 421]

DON PEDRO You amaze me. I would have
thought her spirit had been invincible...
LEONATO I would have sworn it had. . .
[*Much Ado About Nothing*: 2: 3: 112-15]

He must needs swymme
that is held up by the chynne.
[*Promus* 473]

I have ventured,
Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,
This many summers in a sea of glory,
But far beyond my depth; my high-blown pride
At length broke under me, and now has left me
Weary, and old with service, to the mercy
Of a rude stream that must forever hide me.
[*Henry VIII*: 3: 2: 359-365]

The strives of demy goddes demi men.
[*Promus* 523]

Thus can the demi-god Authority
Make us pay down for our offence,
[*Measure for Measure*: 1: 2: 112-13]

Like a demigod here sit I in the sky,
[*Love's Labour's Lost*: 4: 3: 76]

What demi-god
Hath come so near creation?

[*The Merchant of Venice*. 3: 2: 115-116]

The tongue trippes upon teeth.
[*Promus* 543]

Speak the speech. . .trippingly on the tongue;
[*Hamlet*: 3: 2: 1-2]

You are not for this world.
[*Promus* 1146]

His nature is too noble for the world.
[*Coriolanus*: 3: 1: 255]

I am sick of this false world,
[*Timon Of Athens*: 4: 3: 378]

Abomination.
[*Promus* 1158]

Antony, most large
In his abominations,
[*Antony and Cleopatra*: 3: 6: 93-94]

Recreation and putting
away of melancholy.
[*Promus* 1171]

Your honour's players, hearing your amendment,
Are come to play a pleasant comedy,
For so your doctors hold it very meet,
Seeing too much sadness hath congealed your blood,
And melancholy is the nurse of frenzy.
Therefore they thought it good you hear a play
And frame your mind to mirth and merriment,
Which bars a thousand harms and lengthens life.
[*The Taming of The Shrew*: Ind. 2, 125-32]

When I am dull with care and melancholy,
Lightens my humour with his merry jests.
[*The Comedy of Errors*: 1: 2: 20-21]

Thou sayst his sports were hindered by thy brawls.
Sweet recreation barred, what doth ensue
But moody and dull melancholy,
Kinsman to grim and comfortless despair,
And at her heels a huge infectious troop
Of pale distemperatures and foes to life?
In food, in sport, and life-preserving rest
To be disturbed would mad or man or beast.
[*The Comedy of Errors*: 5: 1: 78-85]

Come now, what masques, what dances shall we have
To wear away this long age of three hours
Between our after-supper and bed-time?
Where is our usual manager of mirth?
What revels are in hand? Is there no play
To ease the anguish of a torturing hour?
[*A Midsummer Night's Dream*: 5: 1: 32-37]

Of many hands, or of receyt;
of few; of quick return; tedious;
of present judgment; of uncertain

And pride of their contention did take horse,
Uncertain of the issue any way.
[*1 Henry IV*: 1: 1: 60-61]

yssue.

[*Promus* 1177]

Several playes or ideas of play.
Frank play, wary play; venturous,
not venturous; quick, slowe.

[*Promus* 1178]

Oversight; dotage.

[*Promus* 1179]

Betts; lookers on; judgment.

[*Promus* 1180]

Odds; stake; sett.

[*Promus* 1183]

He that playeth not the beginning
of a game well at tick tack, and the
later end at Yrish shall never wyne.

[*Promus* 1186]

O, he is as tedious

As a tired horse,

[*1 Henry IV*: 3: 1: 155-56]

And will this brothers' wager frankly play.-

Give us the foils.

[*Hamlet*: 5: 2: 199-200]

'Now the King drinks to Hamlet'.

Come, begin.

And you, the judges, bear a wary eye.

[*Hamlet*: 5: 2: 224-26]

Ne'er heard I of a warlike enterprise
More venturous or desperate than this.

[*1 Henry VI*: 2: 1: 45-46]

you do draw my spirits from me

With new lamenting ancient oversights.

[*2 Henry IV*: 2: 3: 46-47]

HAMLET

But on: six Barbary horses against six French swords

...that's the French bet against the

Danish. Why is this 'imponed', as you call it?

OSRIC The King, sir, hath laid, sir, that in a dozen passes
between you and him he shall not exceed you three hits.

He hath on't twelve for nine, and it would come to
immediate trial if your lordship would vouchsafe the
answer.

HAMLET I do embrace it freely,

And will this brothers' wager frankly play...

HAMLET One.

LAERTES No.

HAMLET Judgement.

[*Hamlet*: 5: 2: 122-130, 199-200, 229-231]

CLAUDIUS You know the wager?

HAMLET Very well, my lord.

Your grace hath laid the odds o'th' weaker side.

CLAUDIUS I do not fear it; I have seen you both.

But since he is bettered, we have therefore odds.

[*Hamlet*: 5: 2: 207-210]

I would be sorry should be thus foolishly
lost at a game of tick-tack.

[*Measure for Measure*: 1: 2: 177-79]

Good-morrow.
[*Promus* 1189]

Good morrow, cousin.
[*Romeo and Juliet*: 1: 1: 157]

Good morrow to you both.
[*Romeo and Juliet*: 2: 3: 44]

Bids them good morrow with a modest smile
[*Henry V*: 4: Chorus: 33]

Good travaile.
[*Promus* 1191]

You have made good work,
[*Coriolanus*: 4: 6: 155]

Why, so! You have made good work.
[*Coriolanus*: 5: 1: 15]

thy lovely argument
Deserves the travail of a worthier pen,
[*Sonnet* 79]

As if with grief or travail he had fainted,
[*The Rape of Lucrece*: line 1543]

Good matens. (From Bon matin).
[*Promus* 1192]

The glow-worm shows the matin to be near,
[*Hamlet*: 1: 5: 89]

I have not said all my prayers till
I have bid you good-morrow.
[*Promus* 1196]

Parting is such sweet sorrow
That I shall say good night till it be morrow.
[*Romeo and Juliet*: 2: 1: 229-30]

Albada. (A serenade. Music
with which young men salute
their lady-loves at the break
of day; from alba, the dawning.)
[*Promus* 1206]

Good dawning to thee, friend.
[*King Lear*: 2: 2: 1]

CLOTEN It's almost morning, is't not?
FIRST LORD Day, my lord.
CLOTEN I would this music would come.
I am advised to give her music o' mornings;
they say it will penetrate.
[*Cymbeline*: 2: 3: 8-12]

A mery world when such fellowes must correct
A mery world when the simplest may correct
[*Promus* 1384]

Well, I say it was never merry world
in England since gentlemen came up.
[2 *Henry VI*: 4: 2: 8-10]

'Twas never merry world
Since lowly feigning was called compliment.
[*Twelfth Night*: 3: 1: 97-98]

'Twas never merry world since, of two usuries,
the merriest was put down,
[*Measure for Measure*: 3: 1: 275-76]

His knowledge lieth about him
[Promus 1388]

And pluck my magic garment from me.
*Miranda removes Prospero's cloak, [and he
lays it on the ground]* Lie there, my art.
[*The Tempest*: 1: 2: 24-25]

Such thoughts I would exile into my dreams
[Promus 1389]

We are such stuff
As dreams are made on,
[*The Tempest*: 4: 1: 156-57]

A good crosse poynt
but woorst cinq a pase.
[Promus 1390]

For hear me, Hero, wooing, wedding, and
repenting is as a Scotch jig, a measure, and a
cinquepace. . . And then comes repentance, and
with his bad legs falls into the cinquepace faster
and faster till he sink into his grave.
[*Much Ado About Nothing*: 2: 1: 65-67, 69-72]

I will prove Why goe and prove it
[Promus 1402]

MOTE All those three I will prove.
ARMADO What wilt thou prove?
[*Love's Labour's Lost*: 3: 1: 35-37]

KING HENRY My title's good, and better far than his.
WARWICK Prove it, Henry,
[*3 Henry VI*: 1: 1: 131-32]

RICHARD I'll prove the contrary
YORK Thou canst not-
[*3 Henry VI*: 1: 2: 20-21]

Troilus will stand to the proof if you'll prove
it so.
[*Troilus and Cressida*: 1: 2: 125-26]

Mineral wytt strong poyson
yf they be not corrected.
[Promus 1403]

the thought whereof
Doth, like a poisonous mineral, gnaw my inwards;
[*Othello*: 2: 1: 295-96]

The Moor already changes with my poison.
Dangerous conceits are in their natures poisons,
Which at the first are scarce found to distaste,
But, with a little act upon the blood,
Burn like the mines of sulphur.
[*Othello*: 3: 3: 329-33]

A nose cut of; hacked up
[Promus 1424]

That noseless, handless, hacked and chipped come to
him.
[*Troilus and Cressida*: 5: 5: 34]

To drench to potion to infect
[Promus 1436]

Their drenched natures lies
[*Macbeth*: 1: 7: 68]

Out, loathed med' cine; O hated potion, hence.
[*A Midsummer Night's Dream*: 3: 2: 265]

They are infected, in their hearts it lies.
[*Love's Labour's Lost*: 5: 2: 420]

ROMEO AND JULIET

Bon iouyr Bon iour Bridegroom.
[*Promus* 1194]

Now, when the bridegroom in the morning comes
[*Romeo and Juliet*: 4: 1: 107]

Make haste, the bridegroom he is come already.
[*Romeo and Juliet*: 4: 4: 26]

those dulcet sounds in break of day
That creep into the dreaming bridegroom's ear
[*The Merchant of Venice*: 3: 2: 51-52]

Signor Romeo, *bonjour*.
[*Romeo and Juliet*: 2: 3: 41]

we'll give your grace *bonjour*.
[*Titus Andronicus*: 1: 1: 4 90]

Bonjour, Monsieur Le Beau,
[*As You Like It*: 1: 2: 93]

Late rysinge-fynding a-bedde.
Early risinge-sumons to rise.
[*Promus* 1197]

CAPULET
Nurse! Wife! What ho, what, Nurse, I say
Go waken Juliet. Go and trim her up...
Make haste, the bridegroom he is come already.
NURSE Mistress, what, mistress! Juliet! Fast, I
warrant her, she.
Why, lamb, why, lady! Fie, you slug-abed!
Why, love, I say, madam, sweetheart, why, bride!
What, not a word? You take your pennyworths now
How sound is she asleep!
I needs must wake her.
[*Romeo and Juliet*: 4: 4: 23-24, 26, 28-31, 35-36]

Golden sleepe.
[*Promus* 1207]

thy golden sleep
[*1 Henry IV*: 2: 4: 40]

there golden sleep doth reign.
[*Romeo and Juliet*: 2: 2: 38]

the golden dew of sleep,
[*Richard III*: 4:1: 83]

	Our pastimes done, possess a golden slumber [<i>Titus Andronicus</i> : 2: 3: 26]
The wings of ye morning. [<i>Promus</i> 1209]	the wings of night [<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> : 3: 2: 18]
For growth and spring of ye day. [<i>Promus</i> 1210]	As flaws congealed in the spring of day. [2 <i>Henry IV</i> : 4: 3: 35]
The Cocke. [<i>Promus</i> 1211]	the second cock hath crowed. [<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> : 4: 4: 3]
	since the first cock. [1 <i>Henry IV</i> : 2: 1: 18]
	The cock, that is the trumpet to the morn, [<i>Hamlet</i> : 1: 1: 131]
The Larke. [<i>Promus</i> 1212]	It was the lark, the herald of the morn, [<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> : 3: 5: 6]
Abedd-rose you-owt bed. [<i>Promus</i> 1214]	Now, when the bridegroom in the morning comes To rouse thee from thy bed [<i>Romeo And Juliet</i> : 4: 1: 107-108]
You have an alarm in yr head. [<i>Promus</i> 1225]	Come, stir, stir, stir! The second cock hath crowed. The curfew bell hath rung. 'Tis three o'clock
Block heads and clock heads. [<i>Promus</i> 1226]	Make haste, make haste. Sirrah, fetch drier logs Thou shalt be loggerhead. [<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> : 4: 4: 3-4, 15, 20]
There is a law against lyers abedde. [<i>Promus</i> 1227]	Juliet! Fast, I warrant her, she.
You have no warrant to lye a-bedde. [<i>Promus</i> 1228]	Why, lamb, why, lady! Fie, you slug-abed! [<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> : 4: 4: 28]
Good night. [<i>Promus</i> 1231]	Good night, good night. [<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> : 2: 1: 229]
Well to forget. [<i>Promus</i> 1232]	JULIET I have forgot why I did call thee back. ROMEO Let me stand here till thou remember it. JULIET I shall forget, to have thee still stand there, Rememb'ring how I love thy company. ROMEO And I'll stay, to have the still forget, Forgetting any other home but this. [<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> : 2: 1: 215-220]

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...when one remembers that Florio was publicly associated with the Essex party there is something rather queer about his receiving missives from Sir Robert Cecil at this date. For the Cecils (Burleigh was now dead but his mantle had descended upon his son) were the determined enemies of Essex and his ambitions. Essex might try, with the aid of the Bacons to organise a private secret intelligence service to rival theirs, but they had been longer at that game and knew more about it.

[Frances A. Yates, *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge University Press, 1934), pp. 108, 217]

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76. Clara Longworth de Cambrun, *Giovanni Florio, Un Apotre De La Renaissance En Angleterre A L'epoque De Shakespeare* (Paris: Payot & cie, 1921), p. 23.
77. The important Rosicrucian work the *Ragguagli di Parnasso* published at Venice in 1612 in the name Trajano Boccalini who died in in 1613. The 77th from the Advertisement in *Ragguagli di Parnasso* appeared in German as *The Universal Reformation of the Whole World* in a booklet or pamphlet containing the first anonymous Rosicrucian manifesto the *Fama Fraternitatis* (written by Bacon) published at Cassel in 1614. It is an account of how Apollo (repeatedly likened to Bacon in the *Memoriae* containing 32 verses conveying he was the secret poet and dramatist Shakespeare) sets his sights on a general reformation of the world. When Queen Anne died in 1619 Florio lost his position at court and spent his last years with his new wife living in poverty at Fleet Street in Fulham. From his house in Fulham Florio worked on the third edition of his dictionary published many years after his death and he also translated into English parts of Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso* issued by William Vaughan under the title of *The New-found Politicke* in 1626.

In his final years at Fulham his literary relationship with Bacon stretching back decades continued to the end of his days. In the collection of the Pembroke Papers at the British Library published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission C. M. Pott discovered documents 'which prove that John Florio was among the "able pens" who aided Bacon in the production of his voluminous works.'¹ In a letter to Mons. Jurnall Florio states by order of King James he has 'translated the King's works and printed some of them beyond the seas, also Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, and some of Lord Bacon's writings.' A petition dated 1621 presented by Mons. Jurnall to 'the Duke' (Buckingham) relates that James promised Florio an annuity of £50 as interpreter of foreign languages, and translator 'not only of his Majesty's works, but of *Arcadia* and the whole of the works of Visct. St Albans.'² It remains to be seen wrote Pott 'under what names the books were published which Florio translated and published abroad',³ that she supposed were translated into French and Italian.⁴ And writes Reed 'in some of the Pembroke MSS he [Florio] figures as a member, with Herbert, Hobbes, and Jonson, of Bacon's literary bureau at Gorhambury.'⁵ It was in this period that Florio along with William Vaughan and one unnamed other partly translated the historically important *The New found-Politicke* issued the year after his death. The very existence of this rare, overlooked, and little-known work was first pointed out to the English-speaking world for the first time in a brief notice in the journal of *Modern Language Notes* by M. W. Croll in 1919 'I have', he says, 'happened upon an apparently unrecorded work by John Florio' published by Vaughan in 1626 adding the work 'is not mentioned by Sidney Lee in the *DNB.*, or in any other bibliography that I have consulted.'⁶ In his article 'The First English Translators of Trajano Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso*: A Study of Literary Relationships' William F. Marquardt remarked 'The influence of Bocallini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso* in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth has received almost no attention in the histories of English literature' and there has been no 'complete account of the first attempts to adapt the *Ragguagli* to the tastes of English readers' in the anonymous tract *Newes from Pernassus* (1622) and *The New-found Politicke*.⁷

The original work issued in the name of Traiano Boccalini is divided into three parts or three centuries with the 'centuria prima' published in 1612, the 'seconda centuria' 1613 and the 'Pietra del Paragone Politico' 1615, which formed part of the *Ragguagli* in later editions. Similarly, *The New-found Politicke* is divided into three parts and in his dedication to Charles I Vaughan informs the work is translated by three different hands, by himself, Florio, and one other, who he carefully chooses not to name:

The First was translated by M. Florio, sometime Seruant to your Royall Mother of blessed memory. The Second by one, vnto whom the common wealth cannot not yet be beholding for his name; And the Third part by me, although farre inferiour vnto either of them for any knowledge which I dare arrogate to my selfe in the Italian Tongue, hauing discontinued the vse thereof since my returne out of Italie, being aboute 24. yeeres

past, vntill this present time.⁸

The three centuries of the *Ragguagli di Parnasso* contains two hundred and ninety-six chapters and the *New-found Politicke* fifty-eight. The English translation of the *New-found Politicke* does not correspond with the three divisions in the *Ragguagli* nor does the order or sequence of the chapters in the former correspond to the original. The first part of the translation for which Florio is credited contains chapters from all three parts of the Boccalini original; eight from the first part of the *Ragguagli*, twelve from the second, and eight from the third. The second part by the unnamed translator are all taken from the third century of *Ragguagli* and the third part translated by Vaughan, all the chapters except two are taken from the first part of the original.⁹ It is clear the two named translators Vaughan and Florio were on intimate terms and had long moved in the same circles. In *The Golden Fleece* (which is modelled on the *Ragguagli*) published in 1626 Vaughan mentions Florio on several occasions and introduces him into an imaginary conversation between Vaughan, Florio and Robert Burton.¹⁰ It is almost entirely on this basis that Burton (a literary mask for Bacon) has been put forward as a candidate for the unnamed translator of *The New-found Politicke* and to the present day the identity of the anonymous translator who could not be named has never been satisfactorily determined. As with his secret concealed authorship of the Shakespeare works, the author to whom the *Commonwealth* cannot yet be beholding for his name, is Francis Bacon.

[1. C. M. Pott, 'Michel De Montaigne; His Autobiography Compared With Francis Bacon', *Baconiana* (London: printed by Robert Banks and Son), vol. IV, New Series, April 1896, no 14, p. 61. 2] Government Commission Historical MSS., vol. 10, xiv, pp. 276-7 cited in C. M. Pott, 'Michel De Montaigne; His Autobiography Compared With Francis Bacon', *Baconiana*, (London: printed by Robert Banks and Son), vol. IV, New Series, April 1896, no 14, p. 61. 3] *Ibid.*, p. 61. 4] C. M. Pott, *Francis Bacon and his Secret Society An Attempt to Collect and Unite the Lost Links of a Long and Strong Chain* (Chicago: Francis J. Schulte & Company, 1891) p. 43; C. M. Pott, *Francis Bacon and his Secret Society An Attempt to Collect and Unite the Lost Links of a Long and Strong Chain Second and Revised Edition* (London: Robert Banks & Son, 1911), pp. 40-1. I have not seen the Pembroke Papers nor am I aware which Bacon works Florio translated presuming he did so, and none have surfaced with his name to them. 5] Edwin Reed, *Bacon vs. Shakspeare* (Boston: Joseph Knight Company, 1897), pp. 85-6. The substance of Pott and Reed is repeated by Bertram G. Theobald, *Enter Francis Bacon* (London: Cecil Palmer, 1932), p. 25. 6] Morris W. Croll, 'John Florio', *Modern Language Notes*, vol. XXXIV (1919), p. 376. He was however anticipated by Rudolf Brotanek 'Trajano Boccalinis Einfluss auf die englische Literatur', *Archiv fur das Stadium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CXI (1903), pp. 405-14, at p. 411, as pointed out by William F. Marquardt, 'The First English Translators of Trajano Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso*: A Study of Literary Relationships', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. XV, (1951-2), p. 3 n1. 7] William F. Marquardt, 'The First English Translators of Trajano Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso*: A Study of Literary Relationships', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. XV, (1951-2), pp. 1-2. 8] William Vaughan, *The Nevv-found Politicke. Disclosing The Secret Natvres and dispositions as well of priuate persons as of Statesmen and Courtiers; wherein the Gouvernments, Greatnesse, and Power of the most notable Kingdomes and Common-wealths of the world are discovered and censured. Together with Many Excellent Caueats and Rules fit to be obserued by those Princes and States of Christendome, both Protestants and Papists, which haue reason to distrust the designes of the King of Spain, as by the speech of the Duke of Hernia, vttered in the Counsell of Spaine, and hereto answered, may appeare. Written in Italian By Traiano Boccalini Gentleman of Rome, and priuiledged by sundry Princes of Italy, and also out of Italy by the most Christian King. And now translated in English for the benefit of this kingdome* (London: printed for Francis Williams, 1626), A2r. 9] Frances A. Yates, *John Florio The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge University Press, 1934), p. 302. 10] William Vaughan, *The Golden Fleece Diuided into three Parts, Vnder which are discovered the Errours of Religion, the Vices and Decayes of the Kingdome, and lastly the wayes to get wealth, and to restore Trading so much complained of. Transported From Cambrioll*

- Colchos, out of the Southermost Part of the Iland, commonly called the Newfovdndland. By Orpheus Iunior, For the generall and perpetuall Good of Great Britaine* (London: printed for Francis Williams, 1626), Part I, p. 26; Frances A. Yates, *John Florio The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), pp. 85-6. In addition to the conversation between Vaughan, Florio and Burton Dr Yates also discusses other mentions by Vaughan of Florio on p. 264 and his appearance before the imaginary court of Apollo on pp. 260-64]
78. Alan Stewart with Harriet Knight, eds., *The Oxford Francis Bacon: Early Writings 1584-1596* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 2012), p. 515.
79. Clara Longworth de Chambrun, *Shakespeare Actor-Poet* (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1927), pp. 96-98; Foster Watson, "'Resolute" John Florio and His Friends', *The Anglo-Italian Review*, vol. III, no. 9 (January 1919), pp. 19-21.
80. Lamberto Tassinari, *John Florio: The Man Who Was Shakespeare*, trans., by William McCuaig (Montreal: Giano Books, 2009), *passim*.
81. C. M. Pott, *The Promus Of Formularies And Elegancies (Being Private Notes, circ. 1594, Hitherto unpublished) By Francis Bacon Illustrated and Elucidated By Passages From Shakespeare* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1883), pp. 26-28. See also Alan Stewart with Harriet Knight, eds., *The Oxford Francis Bacon: Early Writings 1584-1596* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 2012), p. 515.
82. Robert Tittler, *Nicholas Bacon: The Making of a Tudor Statesman* (Ohio University Press, 1976), pp. 24-25.
83. Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses. An Exact History Of All The Writers and Bishops Who have had their Education in the most Antient and Famous University of Oxford, From The Fifteenth Year of King Henry the Seventh, A. D. 1500, to the Author's Death in November 1695*, (London: printed for R. Knaplock, D. Midwinter, and J. Tonson, 1721), I, 149-50; Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry From The Eleventh To The Seventeenth Century A full Reprint-Text and Notes of Edition, London, 1778 & 1781* (London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler), p. 683-89; A. W. W., John Heywood, *Dictionary of National Biography* and Peter Happe, John Heywood, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004-22).
84. A. Phoenix, 'The Earliest Play Written By Francis Bacon When He was Only Seven Years Old Like Will To Like One Of Three Works Written In The Name Of His Literary Mask Ulpian Fulwell And Their Links To His Shakespeare Plays', (2012), pp. 1-133 available at www.sirbacon.org & www.francisbaconsociety.co.uk
85. *The Shakespeare Society Papers* (London: printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1844), I, p. 44; Thomas Warton, *History Of English Poetry From The Twelfth To The Close Of The Sixteenth Century*, ed. W. Carew Hazlitt (London: Reeves and Turner, 1871), IV, p. 216 there is the following footnote 'In some Miscellany of the reign of Elizabeth, I have seen a song called *The Willow Garland* [by John Heywood: probably a different production] licensed to T. Colwell in 1564-5, [beginning "I am not the fyrste that hath taken in hande the wearynge of the willowe garlande." The former, which is printed in the *Shakespeare Society's Papers*, i., from the Bright MS. and (from a modern copy) in Percy's, *Reliques*, seems to be the production referred to] in *Othello* with the burden [*Sing, all a green willow, must be a garland.*'] See almost the same in Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry From The Eleventh To The Seventeenth Century: A full Reprint-Text and Notes of Edition, London, 1778 & 1781* (London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler), p. 811 n4.
86. *The Shakespeare Society Papers* (London: printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1844), I, p. 44.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
88. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-46. Percy in his *Reliques* (I, 212, ed. 1812) from a copy in the Pepysian Collection at Cambridge produces a comparatively modern re-impression (1640-50) of a much older production 'though perhaps not so ancient as the song by John Heywood' see 'Art. XI.-Ballad of "The Green Willow," by John Heywood, with the same burden as the song of "The Willow," in *Othello*. By a BALLAD-MONGER', in *The Shakespeare Society Papers* (London: printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1844), I, p. 46; it is also found in *Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (London: J. M. Dent, New York: P. Dutton & Co, 1910), I, pp.193-96.

89. C. M. Pott, *The Promus Of Formularies And Elegancies (Being Private Notes, circ. 1594, Hitherto unpublished) By Francis Bacon Illustrated and Elucidated By Passages From Shakespeare* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1883), p. 17.
90. Robert Tittler, *Nicholas Bacon: The Making of a Tudor Statesman* (Ohio University Press, 1976), p. 60. See also John Gittings, *The Glorious Art of Peace* (Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 110-11.
91. For two articles that provide a context for the poem see Catherine Besley, 'Love as Trompe-l'oeil: Taxonomies of Desire in *Venus and Adonis*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 46 (1995), pp. 257-76 and S. Clark Hulse, 'Shakespeare's Myth of *Venus and Adonis*', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 93 (1978), pp. 95-105. For a possible echo of Erasmus' manual *De Copia Verborum ac Rerum* see Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen, eds., *Shakespeare's Poems* (Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2013), p. 203.
92. Douglas Bush, 'Notes On Shakespeare's Classical Mythology', *Philology Quarterly*, 6 (1927), pp. 301-2. See also Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen, eds., *Shakespeare's Poems* (Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2013), p. 45.
93. Raphael Lyne, *Memory and Intertextuality in Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 76-112. See also Goran Stanivukovic, 'The Erasmian Echo in Shakespeare's Sonnet 60', *Notes and Queries*, 37 (1990), pp. 173-75 and John F. Reichert, 'Sonnet XX and Erasmus' "Epistle To Perswade A Yong Gentleman To Mariage", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 16 (1965), pp. 238-40; Katherine Duncan-Jones, ed., *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (The Arden Shakespeare, 2004), p.348n.
94. Colin Burrow, ed., *William Shakespeare: The Complete Sonnets and Poems* (Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 128, see also, p. 382.
95. Katherine M. Wilson, *Shakespeare's Sugared Sonnets* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1974), pp. 146-71, at p. 146.
96. T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1944), II, p. 350.
97. Richard Hosley, 'Sources and Analogues of *The Taming of the Shrew*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 27 (1964), pp. 289-308, at pp. 299-300.
98. T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1944), I, pp. 737-8; G. K. Hunter, ed., *All's Well That Ends Well* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1967), pp. 8, 11; Susan Snyder, ed., *All's Well That Ends Well* (Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 6-8, 'Erasmus' *Colloquies*', pp. 233-39; Sheldon P. Zitner, ed., *Much Ado About Nothing* (Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 23; Claire McEachern, ed., *Much Ado About Nothing* (The Arden Shakespeare, 2006), p. 258; Juliet Dusinberre, ed., *As You Like It* (The Arden Shakespeare, 2014), p. 327; Stuart Gillespie, *Shakespeare's Books A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Sources* (London and New York: Continuum, 2004), pp. 156-7. I benefited from Dr Gillespie's discussion of the influence of the writings of Erasmus in the Shakespeare canon and profited from his list of sources. See also Kent Cartwright, *The Comedy of Errors* (Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2017), pp. 9, 199, 309.
99. Aoki Kazuo, 'The Praise of Folly and Shakespeare's Early and Middle Comedies', *Shakespeare Studies* (Japan), 18 (1980), pp. 1-27 cited in Stuart Gillespie, *Shakespeare's Books A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Sources* (London and New York: Continuum, 2004), p. 157.
100. Thelma N. Greenfield, 'A *Midsummer Night's Dream* And *The Praise of Folly*', *Comparative Literature*, 20 (1968), pp. 236-44, at p. 236.
101. Catherine Birkinshaw, "'Past the Wit of Man": *A Midsummer Night's Dream's* debt to *Praise of Folly*', *Shakespeare in Southern Africa: Journal of the Shakespeare Society of Southern Africa*, 5 (1992), pp. 43-58, at p. 43. See also Sukanta Chaudhuri, ed., *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (The Arden Shakespeare, 2017), p. 94.
102. Juliet Dusinberre, ed., *As You Like It* (The Arden Shakespeare, 2014), p. 106.
103. R. A. Foakes, ed., *King Lear* (The Arden Shakespeare, 1997), p. 105. For a discussion see John X. Evans, 'Erasmian *Folly* and *King Lear*: A Study in Humanist Intertextuality', *Moreana*, 103 (1990), pp. 3-23.
104. Julian Martin, *Francis Bacon, and the State, and the Reform of Natural Philosophy*

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105. Alan Stewart with Harriet Knight, eds., *The Oxford Francis Bacon: Early Writings 1584-1596* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 2012), pp. 539, 555, 556, 558, 539, 562.
 106. Michael Kiernan, ed., *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. 65/216, 78/226, 162/303, see also, pp. 7/179.
 107. Brian Vickers, ed., *Francis Bacon A Critical Edition Of The Major Works* (Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 247/651; Michael Kiernan, ed., *The Advancement of Learning* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. 137/329.
 108. Michael Kiernan, ed., *The Advancement of Learning* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 329.
 109. A. W. Sutton 'Like Is Likely', *Baconiana*, Vol. VIII, Third Series, No. 30, April 1910, pp. 88-92, at pp. 90-1. For Terence and Bacon see also Henry Seymour, 'Analogies In The Lives of Scipio And Bacon', *Baconiana*, Vol. XX, Third Series, No. 75, February 1929, pp. 40-47; and 'Notes', *Baconiana*, Vol. XXVI, No. 103, April 1942, p. 101.
 110. John Florio, trans., *The Essayes Or Morall, Politcke and Millitarie Discourses of Lo: Michaell de Montaigne, Knight* (London: printed by V. Sims for E. Blount, 1603), I, p. 124.
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 117. William Shakespeare, *The Historie of Troylus and Cressida. As it was acted by the Kings Maiesties seruants at the Globe. Written by William Shakespeare* (London: printed by G. Eld for R. Bonian and H. Walley, 1609).
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 122. *Ibid.*, pp. x, 1, 3, 7, 126, 135-36, 143-44.
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 125. *Ibid.*, second page of the address to the reader.
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127. Richard Bernard, *trans.*, *Terence in English* (Londini: Ex Officina Johannis Legatt, Celeberrimae Academiae Cantabrigiensis Typographia, 1614), title page.
128. Thomas Drant, *A Medicinable Morall, that is, the two Bookes of Horace his Satyres, Englished acording to the prescription of saint Hierome* (London: printed by Thomas Marshe, 1566), the brief dedication is found at the back of the title page. For a discussion of this text and how it was deeply embedded in the politics of its time see N. Mukherjee 'Thomas Drant's Rewriting of Horace' *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 40/1 (2000), pp. 1-20. For details of his life see A. H. Bullen., Thomas Drant, *National Dictionary of Biography* and R. W. McConchie, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004-22).
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145. *Ibid.*, p. 505.
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