

Q1 and Q2 *HAMLET*

EVIDENCE OLD AND NEW, AND A CASE FOR A REVISED Q2

A thesis submitted for the degree of doctor of Philosophy

By

Emma Margrethe Jolly

School of Arts

Brunel University

September 2012

Abstract

The most widely disseminated narrative about the origins of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* describes the playwright completing the second quarto (Q2) c. 1600; that play was passed to his company, divided into parts, performed, and memorially reconstructed by an actor or actors-cum-reporter(s), for playing in the provinces. This text was then printed as the first quarto (Q1) in 1603. The thesis begins by questioning how secure the evidence is firstly for the date of c. 1600, and secondly for memorial reconstruction as the explanation for the relationship of the quartos. The review of contemporary documents regarding the date shows that neither Thomas Nashe's *Preface* (1589), nor Philip Henslowe's *Diary* entry (1594) nor Thomas Lodge's *Wits Miserie* (1596) indicate the author of the *Hamlet* they mention, and that Francis Meres' opposite style in his *Palladis Tamia* (1598) precludes the inference that *Hamlet* was omitted because it was not yet written. Together these texts leave open the possibility that the early *Hamlet* was by Shakespeare. The examination of the primary, underlying source of the play is more conclusive. This shows through the first three way comparison between the quartos and *Les Histoires Tragiques* that Q1 is closer to the French source than Q2 and that the density of echoes from the source in Q1 is approximately double that of the echoes in Q2. The comparison also offers an innovative, text-based reason for the very different scene 14 of Q1 and act IV scene vi of Q2. Further investigation shows that there is no evidence that Q1 was illegally printed, and new quantitative analysis demonstrates that the analogy of *The School for Scandal's* memorial reconstruction (1779) undermines rather than supports the hypothesis of memorial reconstruction. Instead the analyses point to the priority of Q1, and offer fresh evidence for a case that Q1 represents a first draft and Q2 a revised version, which probably was indeed dated c. 1600.

Contents

	page
References and abbreviations used within the thesis	iv
List of tables	vi
List of appendices	viii
Acknowledgements	ix
Author's declaration	ix
 <u>Chapters</u>	
1 Introduction	1
2 The Evolution of the Narrative: A Date of <i>c.</i> 1600, the ' <i>Ur-Hamlet</i> ', and Memorial Reconstruction	10
2. i A Date of <i>c.</i> 1600	11
2. ii The <i>Ur-Hamlet</i> Hypothesis	18
2. iii Memorial Reconstruction	25
3 Alternative Views	37
3. i The Date	37
3. ii The Relationship of Q1 and Q2	46
4 Reassessing the Evidence for the Date of Shakespeare's Composition of <i>Hamlet</i> : Contemporary Records	60
4.i An 'early' or 'late' start?	61
4.ii Nashe's <i>Preface</i> : 1589	67
4.iii University records <i>c.</i> 1590	80
4.iv Henslowe's <i>Papers</i> : 1594	81
4.v Thomas Lodge: 1596	84
4.vi Henslowe's <i>Papers</i> : 1598	84
4.vii Meres' <i>Palladis Tamia</i> : 1598	85
4.viii Gabriel Harvey	89
4.ix 'My Name's Hamlet, Revenge'	91

5	Historical allusions and literary sources, and dating <i>Hamlet</i>	94
5.i	Historical allusions	96
5.ii	Literary sources and influences	112
6	<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>, Q1 and Q2	122
6.i	Details shared by all three texts	124
6.ii	Adapted borrowings, and transpositions	125
6.iii	Differences in borrowings	129
6.iv	An evolution between the texts	132
7	Memorial Reconstruction	141
7.i	The Stationers' Register and the quartos	142
7.ii	Contemporary complaints	144
7.iii	Analogies: <i>The Duenna</i> and <i>The School for Scandal</i>	151
7.iv	Duthie's arguments for memorial reconstruction	165
7.v	Irace's Analysis	177
7.vi	Maguire's views and other points	183
8	Abridgement	196
8.i	The unusual status of abridgement, and its proponents	196
8.ii	The reasonableness of abridgement	199
8.iii	Internal evidence	204
9	First Draft and Revision	216
9.i	An argument from external evidence: performance, motive, and contemporaries' revisions	218
9.ii	An argument from internal evidence: linguistic features, Belleforest and character development	231
10	Conclusions	245
	Bibliography	250
	Appendices	261

References and abbreviations used within the thesis

Q1 the first quarto of *Hamlet*, printed in 1603

Q2 the second quarto of *Hamlet*, printed in 1604-5

F1 the first folio edition of *Hamlet*, printed in 1623

Les Histoires Tragiques: the title of François de Belleforest's series of volumes of 'tragic stories', but herein used to designate the third tale in volume V.

Nomenclature of the characters in, respectively, *Les Histoires Tragiques*, Q1, and Q2

	<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	Q1 <i>Hamlet</i>	Q2 <i>Hamlet</i>
1	Horvvendille	Old Hamlet	Old Hamlet
2	ombres, ombre	Ghost	Ghost
3	Le Roy de Norvege, Collere	Fortenbrasse of Norway	Fortinbras of Norway
4	Fengon	The King	Claudius
5	Geruthe	Gertred	Gertrud
6	Amleth	Hamlet	Hamlet
7	quelque belle femme	Ofelia	Ophelia
8	un Gentil-Homme	Horatio	Horatio
9	un ami de Fengon, le conseil	Corambis	Polonius
10, 11	deux des fideles ministres de Fengon	Rossencraft and Gilderstone	Rosencrans and Guyldensterne
12	le Roy des Anglois	The King of England	The King of England
		a centinel	Francisco
	-	Montano	Reynaldo
	-	Leartes	Laertes
	-	Voltemar	Voltemand
	-	Braggart Gentleman	Osric

Q1 line references are to Irace's edition (Kathleen O. Irace, *The First Quarto of Hamlet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)), and Q2's to Thompson and Taylor's *Hamlet* (Q2) (Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, editors. *Hamlet*. (Q2) The Arden Shakespeare (London: Thomson Learning, 2006)), unless otherwise stated.

List of Tables	page
Table 2.a Summary of principal facts regarding Q1, Q2 and F1	26
Table 2.b Examples of the principal variations of the hypothesis of memorial reconstruction to explain Q1's origins I	35
Table 4.a Parallels in Wilson's and Shakespeare's 'sonnets'	64
Table 4.b Facts and allusions regarding the age at which Shakespeare began writing	67
Table 4.c Animal mentions in Nashe's <i>Preface</i>	70
Table 4.d Parallels between Spenser's <i>May Eclogue</i> and Nashe's <i>Preface</i> : 'the Kid'	72
Table 4.e Receipts from performances 14 th - 16 th May, 3 rd - 13 th June and 15 th - 18 th June 1594, in Henslowe's <i>Diary</i>	81
Table 4.f A selection of English authors cited by Meres, with titles of works	88
Table 5.a Phrases/lines concerning drunkenness from <i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i> , <i>Pierce Pennilesse</i> , Q1 and Q2	115
Table 5.b Dates relating to the extant <i>Spanish Tragedy</i> , the speculative <i>Ur-Hamlet</i> , and the extant first two quartos of <i>Hamlet</i>	116
Table 7.a Details of the S. R. entry and printing of the early quartos of <i>Hamlet</i>	143
Table 7.b <i>The School for Scandal</i> : characters, and the length of their parts	153
Table 7.c <i>The School for Scandal</i> , and the presence of any of the eight known characters in each scene	154
Table 7.d Q1 <i>Hamlet</i> and the lines for suggested actors responsible for memorial reconstruction	158
Table 7.e Q2 <i>Hamlet</i> and the possible actors responsible for memorial reconstruction	159
Table 7.f Q1, and the presence of any of the three (seven) actor/reporters in each scene	160
Table 7.g Q2, and the presence of any of the three (seven) actor/reporters in each scene	160
Table 7.h A summary of one known and six alleged memorially reconstructed plays, showing the number of scenes in which the known or proposed actor/reporters appear	161
Table 7.i The possible actor/reporter(s)' contributions: corresponding lines	179

Table 7.j	Matching lines in Q1 and Q2 and the presence of a potential actor/reporter	181
Table 8.a	Q2 <i>Hamlet</i> , IV vi's opening, juxtaposed with a feasible abridgement leading into a two character Q1 scene 14 without the Queen	211
Table 9.a	Examples only of changes between Q1 and Q2 which may be due to Shakespeare's own revision	229
Table 9.b	Third person singular verb suffixes (all of Q1 and Q2)	232
Table 9.c	Informal or colloquial features in scene 16 of Q1 and act V scene i of Q2	234

List of Appendices	page
A. Photograph of entrance to The Golden Cross, Oxford, and correspondence with Angeli Vaid, Oxford City Archivist (chapter 3)	261
B. Extracts from Edward Arber (chapter 4)	264
C. Table summarising the alleged historical allusions and literary sources of Q1 and Q2 <i>Hamlet</i> , with dates (chapter 5)	266
D. Table summarising alleged historical allusions and literary sources, their dates, and their presence in Q1 and Q2 (chapter 5)	276
E. Phrases/lines concerning drunkenness from <i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i> , <i>Pierce Pennilesse</i> , Q1 and Q2 (fuller version of that in chapter 5)	280
F. A comprehensive three way comparison between <i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i> , Q1 and Q2 (chapter 6)	283
G. A simplified comparison between <i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i> , Q1, Q2 and F1 (chapter 6)	294
H. Duthie's apparent verbal echoes between <i>Hamlet</i> and <i>The Spanish Tragedy</i> (chapter 7)	302
I. Examples of features Bracy sees as demonstrating abridgement in <i>The Merry Wives of Windsor</i> (chapter 8)	304

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I should like to thank my supervisor, Dr William Leahy, for his support, gentle guidance and encouragement through the maze of arguments surrounding the first two quartos of *Hamlet*; it has been an exciting and liberating experience. Other Brunel staff who have also contributed to facilitating my research include Sean Gaston, Professor Philip Tew, Sue Ramus, and the library and computing staff. Professor James Knowles has offered provocative comments, exactly the valuable challenges necessary.

Kevin Gilvary, a fellow traveller on the PhD road, has generously offered me many opportunities to discuss and test ideas, as did Philip Johnson before his premature demise. Dr Colin Jolly, Dr John McGavin, Dr Karen Stephens and Dr Helen Jolly, and David Lewis, Marion Peel and Penny Edwards have also contributed valuable perspectives as successful PhD holders or as English colleagues, sometimes as both.

Staff at the British Library, Southampton University Library and Lymington Library have been unfailingly helpful in tracking down obscure references and locating various tomes. All are warmly thanked.

Professor Ann Scott and Dr Leslie O'Brien of the University of Western Australia, and two unknown Readers, are also warmly thanked for patiently advising and editing the article I submitted to *Parergon*, entitled '*Hamlet* and the French Connection'.

In particular I wish to thank my husband for his patience and advice over the past four years.

Author's declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. Authorisation for Brunel University to lend this thesis to others for the purpose of research will be granted when any further papers or other publications deriving from the research underlying the thesis have been completed.

Chapter 1

Introduction

In 1603 appeared an inferior text apparently assembled from actors' memories... It is our belief that Shakespeare wrote *Hamlet* about 1600, and revised it later; that the 1604 edition was printed from his original papers; that the Folio represents the revised version; and that the 1603 edition represents a very imperfect report of an abridged version of the revision.¹

The different editions of *Hamlet* almost always contain an introduction to inform readers about the play. This typically aims to contextualise *Hamlet*, perhaps situating it in relation to Shakespeare's life or his career as a playwright, or offering information about performances and the Elizabethan theatre generally. Most introductions will indicate that Shakespeare's composition of the play was around 1600, in other words well into his playwriting experience. Some editors will mention that there are three substantive texts of *Hamlet*, and then offer an account of their relationship to each other. Q2, printed in 1604-5, is usually presented as Shakespeare's first composition of *Hamlet*, and Q1, printed in 1603, is usually presented as a memorial reconstruction deriving from Q2 or perhaps from an acting version of Q2. The view that Q2 precedes Q1 is the most widely disseminated explanation of the origins of *Hamlet*. Stanley Wells' succinct summary, quoted above from his one page introduction for the compact edition of the 1988 *Complete Works*, is a fairly representative account.

Close readers of introductions to *Hamlet* rapidly recognise that these are not just summaries and factual accounts. The introductions may be brief, but they may also be extended essays written to adduce new arguments to support the editor's agreement to or belief in the date of *c.* 1600 and Q1's status as a memorial reconstruction, for while both of these are reasoned carefully and extensively they remain hypothetical. Few editors write with certainty; Edward Dowden is unusual in stating 'It is unquestionable that the copy for the Quarto of 1603 was surreptitiously obtained'.² Most editors now are circumspect: Q1 is 'the text of a play which appears to have been pieced together from

¹ Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, general editors, *William Shakespeare. The Complete Works*. Compact edition. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 653.

² Edward Dowden, editor, *Hamlet* The Arden Shakespeare. (London: Methuen, 1933), xvi.

memory';³ Q1 is 'generally recognised as a "bad" quarto';⁴ 'What we have to suppose is that a group of actors... would make a book from what could be remembered';⁵ or 'scholarship has established that Q1 represents a "memorial reconstruction"'⁶ - all these illustrate some caution. The same applies to the date: Q2 'belongs to 1601...just possibly even before the end of 1599'.⁷ G. R. Hibbard gives a range: 'The two terminal dates for the composition of *Hamlet* would be the late autumn of 1599 on the one side and the beginning of February 1601 on the other'.⁸ Generally the language in which the narrative is couched acknowledges the informed speculation underlying the description of the play's origins. Wells for example signals this with the adverb 'apparently', and the noun 'belief', which is followed by five dependent subordinate clauses, each expressing a separate, related 'belief'.

There are some exceptions to the general résumé above. Alfred Weiner's 1962 *Hamlet* is of Q1, and his introduction argues for that text being an abridgement, not a memorial reconstruction of Q2.⁹ Q2 remains the anterior text, so the chronology remains the same: Q2 -> Q1. Graham Holderness and Bryan Loughrey's 1992 introduction to their Q1 *Hamlet* places in parenthesis the comment that the theory of memorial reconstruction 'is considerably more controversial than is generally recognised'.¹⁰ Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor's 2006 editions are a little different. They print the three separate *Hamlets* as texts in their own right (as Wells and Taylor did with the two *King Lear* texts of 1608 and 1623). Thompson and Taylor's discussion is wide-ranging, including much that has been suggested by 20th century scholars.¹¹ Thompson and Taylor appear to support a similar view to Wells and

³ George Rylands, editor, *Hamlet* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 48.

⁴ Philip Edwards, editor, *Hamlet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 9.

⁵ Harold Jenkins, editor, *Hamlet. The Arden Shakespeare* (London and New York: Methuen, 1982), 20.

⁶ Nick de Somogyi, editor, *Hamlet* (London: Nick Hern Books, 2001), xxv.

⁷ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 13.

⁸ G.R. Hibbard, editor, *Hamlet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 4.

⁹ Weiner, Albert. *William Shakespeare: HAMLET: The First Quarto; 1603* (New York: Barron's Educational Series, 1962).

¹⁰ Graham Holderness and Bryan Loughrey, editors, *The Tragical Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmark* (Maryland: Barnes and Noble Books, 1992), 8.

¹¹ So extensive is *Hamlet* scholarship it is impossible to cover it all; Horace H. Furness' *New Variorum* two volume *Hamlet*, published in 1905, is probably the last which could claim to be a comprehensive synopsis. Horace Howard Furness, *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare. Hamlet* vol II (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1905).

Taylor but also allow that 'it is not illogically impossible that the play referred to by Nashe [in 1589] was an earlier version by Shakespeare'.¹²

It is the tentative phrasing of the narrative describing the origins of *Hamlet* and the contrasts between some scholars' views which have led to the investigations undertaken for this thesis. Two specific questions are the foci:

1. How secure is the date of c. 1600 for Shakespeare's first composition of a *Hamlet* play?
2. How secure is the proposal that Q2 is the anterior text, with Q1 deriving from it?

It is the result of the new evidence uncovered in the research undertaken to answer these questions that leads to the main conclusion of the whole thesis, that Q2 is a revised version of Q1. The principal approach has been to examine and reassess the primary sources and the arguments and accounts offered by scholars over the last two centuries. Those sources include the two quartos themselves, which are treated individually as discrete entities.

A convincing narrative about the origins of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is highly desirable, but there is relatively little that is totally certain. Indeed, new angles for investigations and new explanations for *Hamlet* are still emerging. For example, Lene Petersen considers whether known features of oral transmission are evident in the play,¹³ and Paul Menzer examines closely what the 'cues' in the 'Qs' might tell us about the construction of Q1.¹⁴ Moreover, as this thesis will show, the primary sources and scholars' arguments can and do still yield valuable indications about the dates of the two quartos. In this context it is worth recalling that Alan Nelson emphasises the importance of returning to original documents in his essay 'Calling All (Shakespeare) Biographers! Or a Plea for Documentary Discipline'.¹⁵

The thesis falls naturally into three parts. The first traces how the narrative describing the origins of the *Hamlet* quartos offered by for example Jenkins, Hibbard, Wells and Taylor, and Edwards has developed, and how alternative dates and alternative explanations for the relationship of the first two

¹² Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, editors, *Hamlet*. The Arden Shakespeare (London: Thomson Learning, 2006), 46.

¹³ Lene Petersen, *Shakespeare's Errant Texts. Textual Form and Linguistic Style in Shakespearean 'Bad' Quartos and Co-Authored Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹⁴ Paul Menzer, *The Hamlets. Cues, Qs and Remembered Texts* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008).

¹⁵ Alan Nelson, 'Calling All (Shakespeare) Biographers! Or a Plea for Documentary Discipline', edited by Takashi Kozuka and J.R. Mulryne, *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson. New Directions in Biography* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), 56.

quartos have also evolved. The second part reviews the primary evidence for the date, and the third part the primary evidence for the relationship of the quartos.

Chapter two shows how the date of *c.* 1600 and a Q2 -> Q1 chronology came about. It returns to Edmund Malone, the first person to attempt a chronology of the plays and to give a date for *Hamlet*. It tracks the rise of the early criticisms of Q1, and the arguments of scholars, starting with John Payne Collier and Tycho Mommsen in the 19th century, who begin to formulate a hypothesis to explain Q1. The chapter also follows the emergence of the idea of an '*Ur-Hamlet*', following Malone's suggestion of a pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet*.¹⁶ Chapter three reviews the other dates that have been proposed for Shakespeare's first composition of *Hamlet*, and the other proposals to explain Q1 and Q2, all currently less prominent views than those in chapter two, and disconcertingly evolving from the interpretation of the same evidence. Together these chapters show that the date and hypothesis espoused by most scholars and summarised by Wells do offer a seemingly coherent and detailed account, while those who offer alternative dates and hypotheses currently provide a less comprehensive and more fragmented account.

Chapters four and five begin the reassessment; both focus upon the date of *Hamlet*. Chapter four returns to the primary sources for the possible allusions to *Hamlet* prior to the play's entry in the Stationers' register in 1602 and the printing of Q1 in 1603, and entails a review of the references to a *Hamlet* up to 1602. The chapter begins with a key text, Thomas Nashe's 1589 *Preface* to Robert Greene's *Menaphon*. Analysis of the passage will show, for example, that Nashe does not offer unambiguous evidence for a *Hamlet* by Kyd, or Shakespeare, or any other author. The chapter will also demonstrate that Francis Meres in his *Palladis Tamia* does not claim to offer a comprehensive list of plays written by Shakespeare by September 1598; in other words, the absence of *Hamlet* in Meres' list does not prove that a *Hamlet* play was not written by Shakespeare at that date. The analysis of both these texts takes into account the context of the key passages, and offers new perspectives on them.

Chapter five collates the literary sources and historical allusions which are considered by many to be reflected in *Hamlet*. Usually these are mentioned in editions of conflated *Hamlets* but typically are not in editions of Q1. Chapter five discusses the most significant sources and allusions, and distinguishes whether each is present in either or both quartos. It reveals that virtually all allusions and sources can be found in both quartos, and that the shared references occur before 1589. The chapter shows that Q1 contains an exclusive speech which may allude to Richard Tarleton, who died

¹⁶ Furness, *Hamlet* vol II, 6.

in 1588, which has been seen as suggesting a *c.* 1588 date for *Hamlet*. On the other hand, Q2 contains several references which suggest parts of its text originate later than 1589. An obvious example is the counsellor's name; 'Polonius' is seen to echo a book entitled *The Counsellor*, translated from the Polish into English and published in 1598, consequently supporting a post 1598 date for Q2. The evidence is fragmentary, but what there is suggests that the quartos' shared references predate Nashe's *Preface*, that one reference in Q1 predates September 1588, and that several references in Q2 postdate Nashe's *Preface*. Together the two chapters reviewing the date indicate Q1 *Hamlet* could have been written in the 1580s, that Shakespeare cannot unequivocally be excluded as the author of an early *Hamlet*, and that Q2 is probably later than 1598 and could be later than 1601.

Chapters six to nine all focus upon the relationship between the two quartos. While F1 is occasionally referenced, the two quartos are the critical texts, because arguments are about their priority, not F1's. The chapters reassess each of the three principal hypotheses explaining the relationship, beginning with memorial reconstruction, followed by abridgement, and concluding with first sketch and revision. The first and second of these postulate a Q2 -> Q1 sequence, while the third hypothesis postulates the converse, a Q1 -> Q2 sequence. The model or method is the same for each reassessment: a consideration of the reason or motive for the hypothesis, the external evidence for it, and the internal evidence offered by each of the quartos themselves.

Firstly, however, chapter six begins by consulting the text unanimously seen as the underlying source for *Hamlet*, François de Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques* (volume 5, chapter 3). The chapter provides a detailed three way comparison of *Les Histoires Tragiques*, Q1 and Q2. While discussions about *Hamlet's* debt to *Les Histoires Tragiques* can be found, this comparison is original in that it examines the debts of the two quartos to the source separately and comprehensively, and it is crucial because the individual quarto's proximity to the source is a potential indicator of which text is anterior. The expectation was that since Q1 is widely believed to derive from Q2, and hence would be one text further away from *Les Histoires Tragiques*, it would have fewer borrowings than Q2. However, the comparison will show that while Q1 is noticeably shorter than Q2 (Q1 is 55% the length of Q2), nevertheless Q1 contains a slightly higher number of borrowings from the French source. It means that for its length Q1 has approximately double the borrowings. This finding is surprising; it is certainly not what might be anticipated when an actor/reporter is striving to remember Q2 and attempting to reconstruct it, nor would it be anticipated that an abridgement would reference more of the original source than the apparently 'unabridged' version. In addition, significant elements of *Les Histoires Tragiques* are also shown to be closer to Q1 than to Q2. Chapter six therefore provides a

critical first step in the case for Q2 as a revised version of Q1, and consequently for the priority of Q1.

Chapter seven reassesses the hypothesis of memorial reconstruction from three different angles. The first is the reason, or motive, which might explain why one or more actors might have tried to reconstruct the play. The second is the external evidence for plays which may have or appear to have been reconstructed, particularly the analogy offered in John Bernard's compilation of Sheridan's *School for Scandal*.¹⁷ New, quantitative analysis here will show, for example, that while the known actors who contributed to the reconstruction of *School for Scandal* had appeared in all its scenes and together spoke 78% of the script, the proposed actor(s) who may have reconstructed Q1 appeared in only 30% of Q2's scenes, and spoke only 2.3% of Q2's lines.¹⁸ The dramatic difference between the circumstances described by Bernard and the scenario suggested for *Hamlet* is so great that the analogy weakens rather than bolsters the memorial reconstruction hypothesis. The third angle is the internal evidence of the quartos themselves. George Ian Duthie's thorough examination of the quartos in *The 'Bad' Quarto of Hamlet* (1941) seems to have convinced many of the feasibility of memorial reconstruction, but chapters six and seven reveal significant fragility in some of his arguments. For example the alleged memorial borrowings from *The Spanish Tragedy* are shown to have alternative, credible explanations which require less of a leap of faith. Consequently the basis of the memorial reconstruction hypothesis is clearly not as secure as it often seems.

Chapter seven is extensive for several reasons. The hypothesis of memorial reconstruction has a whole book devoted to it – Duthie's – and many scholars have also contributed to the hypothesis, so there is much to examine. Chapter eight, reviewing the hypothesis of abridgement, possibly following adaptation, is markedly shorter, partly because some details argued by its proponents arise in chapter seven, and partly because far fewer scholars have added to the abridgement hypothesis. The chapter reviews the significance of the three way comparison, and considers motives for an abridged version and the evidence which might support abridgement. A need to reduce the length of Q2, at over four hours' playing time, provides the most obvious and uncontroversial reason or motive for any of the three principal hypotheses. However, new analysis will show, for instance, that curiously only 11% of Q2's lines are to be found in Q1. Alternately, this can be expressed as showing that 89% of Q2's lines were altered in some manner. This is a far more drastic form of abridgement

¹⁷ George Ian Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto of Hamlet. A Critical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941), 36.

¹⁸ This does assume all Q2's scenes were originally played, and that the actor(s) reconstructed his/their script from a full performance of Q2; it ignores the fact that actors were given 'parts', which would also include their cues. More precise analysis and its parameters are given in chapter seven.

than any Alfred Hart found in his examination of lines omitted from contemporary plays.¹⁹ Hart concluded that Q1 could not have been an abridgement of Q2, but was an abridgement of an acting version standing between Q2 and Q1; the figures support his first conclusion. The chapter's examination of the internal evidence focuses on specific lines in the quartos, and upon scene 14 in Q1. Little real discussion exists about why Q1's scene 14 and Q2's act IV scene vi are so different; the chapter offers a new exploration, and ultimately rejects the likelihood of abridgement.

Chapter nine, building upon the findings of chapter six and *Les Histoires Tragiques*, begins to assemble and evaluate a new argument for a first sketch (Q1) and revision (Q2). Motive, external and internal evidence for revision are all investigated. It will be argued that the rather mocking tone in which both author - the non-university wit, Shakespeare - and play were occasionally referenced in contemporary texts in the 1590s might be interpreted as providing a motive for revision and improvement. Analogies drawn particularly from Grace Ioppolo's *Revising Shakespeare* (1991)²⁰ will demonstrate that parts of Q2 are entirely consistent with the kinds of revision found among contemporary Elizabethan and Jacobean writers. Precise internal evidence of linguistic change between the two texts will show that Q1's morphology indicates that it is the anterior text; a sample comparison of informal features also places Q2 as the posterior text. Additionally, the chapter shows how specific characters and their relationships suggest a direction of development which begins with *Les Histoires Tragiques*, through Q1 to Q2. Cumulatively, the chapter does not seek to explain the vast number of differences between Q1 and Q2, but detailed, new analysis in a number of areas lays down the framework for a serious case to support a first sketch and revision relationship for the quartos.

The final chapter turns again to the question of the date of Q2. It is still probably dated between 1598 and 1604 – the research and the case for revision do not significantly change Q2's date. However, it is the second focus which evolved into the most critical part of this thesis. The research shows reasons which argue against memorial reconstruction, but more significantly the research provides at least four significant sets of evidence for the priority of Q1. The most persuasive of these is the result of the three way comparison between the French source and the two quartos. This comparison gives text-based evidence which argues against both memorial reconstruction and abridgement, and strongly for Q1 as the first (or at least an earlier) *Hamlet*, with Q2 as a revised version. It is an analogous situation to the two versions of *King Lear*.

¹⁹ Alfred Hart, *Shakespeare and the Homilies And Other Pieces of Research into the Elizabethan Drama* (New York: AMS Press, 1971), 121.

²⁰ Grace Ioppolo, *Revising Shakespeare* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991).

Consequently several vital questions arise, such as whether Q1 is Shakespeare's, when Q1 was composed, and whether the putative *Ur-Hamlet* did exist. These are all briefly discussed, based on the primary sources reviewed in chapters four and five. There is no reason to doubt Q1 is Shakespeare's, Q1 could be dated as early as 1588-9, and in those circumstances an *Ur-Hamlet* need not be hypothesized. A first draft and revision scenario is a simple solution, and offers what Brian Morris might call 'economy of hypothesis'.²¹

Overall, the research demonstrates that the primary sources do merit careful reassessment, that it is difficult to find incontrovertible evidence for the most widely held view of the date and of the quartos' relationship when the contemporary materials and the quartos themselves are consulted, and that it is easy to find major contraindications. An important part of that is drawn from the new, three way comparison between *Les Histoires Tragiques*, Q1 and Q2, which has recently been published under the title of '*Hamlet* and the French Connection'.²² This journal article is based on the findings in chapter six and points strongly to Q1's priority, though this thesis as a whole offers more evidence to support that conclusion. The comparison also has the potential to begin to tell us something of how Shakespeare practised his craft for each *Hamlet*, part of what Jonathan Bate calls 'intellectual biography'.²³

Such findings underline the fact that *Hamlet* is an awkward text for scholars. It is unusual in surviving in three versions, and in Q1 being discovered relatively late, in 1823. Q1 itself is both disconcertingly similar and markedly different from Q2, and it is not immediately obvious where Q1 would belong in what is in any case an uncertain chronology of the plays. It may also be that there is an unspoken expectation that scholars should be able to provide aficionados of the plays with apparently basic information such as when Shakespeare wrote each play. Rowe (1709) is only the first of many who are curious:

²¹ Morris is discussing explanations for the relationship of *A Shrew* and *The Shrew*, and favours a simple argument (Brian Morris, editor, *The Taming of the Shrew*. Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1981), 26).

²² The author's paper, entitled '*Hamlet* and the French Connection: The Relationship of Q1 and Q2 *Hamlet* and the Evidence of Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*', reports upon this comparison and is published in *Parergon*, the Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies (inc.) Vol 29, Number 1, 2012, pp 83-105.

²³ Jonathan Bate, *Soul of the Age: The Life, Mind and World of William Shakespeare* (London: Penguin, 2009), 4.

I should have been much more pleased to have learned from some certain authority, which was the first play he wrote; it would be without a doubt a pleasure to any man, curious in things of this kind, to see and know what was the first essay of a fancy like Shakespear's.²⁴

Moreover, the iconic status Shakespeare has gained over the centuries probably contributes to a belief that only the 'best' version of *Hamlet* could be Shakespeare's, which may indirectly encourage scholars to support explanations which distance him from Q1. John Keats saw Shakespeare as possessing 'Negative Capability', that is, 'when a man is capable of being in uncertainties, Mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason',²⁵ but perhaps scholars are denied that luxury. Much about *Hamlet* does remain a mystery. If an early, non-Shakespearean version of *Hamlet* or an acting version of Q2 existed, they are not known to be extant now, and hypotheses speculating on the role of either of them in a Q1 derived by memorial reconstruction or abridgement cannot be proved. Nevertheless, as the following chapters show, even in the extensively researched field of *Hamlet* studies there are still small, new slivers (or 'shreds and patches') of evidence, of 'fact and reason', which can at least remove some of the doubts surrounding the two quartos. And where it seems that conclusions are particularly carefully phrased, it is either because evidence is lacking or because in their enthusiasm a number of previous scholars have made contradictory and unsustainable claims about *Hamlet*, something to be avoided. Lacunae in accounts of plays and Shakespeare's career may be frustrating, but fictions dressed as fact are, for this writer, more problematic. Evidence-based conclusions may, however, tempt some of the scholars who couch their beliefs cautiously to edge away from the most widely disseminated account of *Hamlet* (as outlined at the beginning of the chapter) and embrace the nearly opposite view proposed by this thesis.

²⁴ Pierce Butler, *Materials for the Life of Shakespeare* (Chapel Hill: the University of North Carolina Press, 1930), 11.

²⁵ Letter to George and Thomas Keats, 21st December 1817.
<http://www.poetryfoundation.org/learning/essay237836?page=2>, accessed 27th July 2012.

Chapter 2

The Evolution of the Narrative

A Date of c. 1600, the 'Ur-Hamlet', and Memorial Reconstruction

The three substantive texts of *Hamlet* are exceptional among Shakespeare's plays; the references and allusions to a *Hamlet* play up to the printing of Q1 in 1603 are also unusual, since there is generally very little to help with dating the plays. Nevertheless, texts, references and allusions to 'Hamlet' have all been examined closely over the past 250 years, with many scholars contributing to a narrative describing the origins of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Typically this begins with Saxo Grammaticus' *Historiae Danicae* in Latin, written c. 1200 and including the Amlethus story. This was translated into French by François de Belleforest, and first privileged in 1570 in volume V of his *Histoires Tragiques* as the story of Amleth. Belleforest's version contains embellishments which indicate it is the French rather than the Latin tale which is the source of the English *Hamlet*. At some point before 23rd August²⁶ 1589 a play about *Hamlet* was written, with Senecan touches and 'Tragicall speeches'; its author is uncertain; perhaps it is Thomas Kyd, but in this narrative it is not Shakespeare. The early *Hamlet*, usually referred to as the 'Ur-Hamlet', was performed at Newington Butts on 9th June 1594, and is alluded to by Thomas Lodge in his *Wits Miserie* in 1596. Somewhere around the turn of the century Shakespeare wrote the script underlying Q2 *Hamlet*; it or an abridged or acting version of it was performed, and the actor or actors - playing Marcellus, and/or Voltemand and/or perhaps Lucianus - reconstructed the whole play from memory, perhaps for performing in the provinces. The recreated text was shorter and printed as Q1 in 1603; it is often seen as a 'corrupt and pirated version of Shakespeare's play'.²⁷ The exact relationship of F1 to either quarto is uncertain, but F1 is not seen as the first *Hamlet* written by Shakespeare. Q2, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, is printed in 1604-5, with further quartos following Q2, until the first folio in 1623, when the third substantive text is printed.

This narrative demonstrates the three principal conclusions many scholars have generally agreed: firstly, that Q2 is Shakespeare's first *Hamlet* and completed c. 1600; secondly, that pre 1600

²⁶ This date is drawn from the entry on the Stationers' Register, edited by Arber, vol II, 529, and quoted by Ronald McKerrow, editor, *The Works of Thomas Nashe: Edited from the Original Text* vol III (London: Sedgwick & Jackson Ltd., 1910), 300.

²⁷ Sidney Thomas, 'Hamlet Q1: First Version or Bad Quarto?' edited by Thomas Clayton, *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 249.

references to a *Hamlet* are to a non-Shakespearean play, usually called the *Ur-Hamlet*, and thirdly, that Q1 is an inferior text to Q2 and reconstructed from memory. It is a complex account which begins with Edmond Malone in 1778,²⁸ and to which scholars such as Kathleen Irace are still contributing, over 200 years later.²⁹ So what are the criteria and lines of reasoning that lead a date of c. 1600 for Shakespeare's writing of (Q2) *Hamlet*? Why is it thought that the early *Hamlet* should be attributed to someone other than Shakespeare? And how has the concept of memorial reconstruction to describe Q1's state come about? The following three sections summarise the main arguments leading to these conclusions. They also introduce the key contemporary texts relating to *Hamlet*, the most widely found interpretations of those texts, and the reasons why Wells and Taylor's summary at the head of chapter one is essentially an expression of belief in a particular set of those interpretations.

2.i A Date of c. 1600

The first endeavour to compile a chronology for the plays came in 1778, when Malone published his 'Attempt to Ascertain the Order in which the Plays attributed to Shakespeare were written'. In his 'Attempt to Ascertain' Malone allocated provisional dates for all the plays. His introductory paragraphs indicate his scrupulous thoroughness; he had collated all the ancient copies of the plays and read the 'meanest' books from the Elizabethan and Jacobean period. Despite this he was aware of the paucity of relevant information in the materials available to him, admitted 'nothing very decisive' could be produced, and made no claim beyond 'probability'³⁰ for those dates. His footnotes suggest an assumption that the order of the plays would be complemented by a progression in literary and playwriting merit. For example, Malone references Dr. Samuel Johnson, who thought Shakespeare would have grown 'wiser as he grew older' and 'could display life better...and instruct with more efficacy'.³¹ Malone also quotes Alexander Pope, who was equally explicit: 'the works of [Shakespeare's] riper years are manifestly raised above those of his former'. Malone does include an alternative view, that of Nicholas Rowe, Shakespeare's first biographer, who wrote in the 1709 *Preface* to his *Collected Works of Shakespeare*: '[Perhaps] we are not to look for his Beginning in his Least Perfect Works'. Malone, who omits Rowe's speculative sentence adverbial, insists that any person sharing Rowe's view is obliged to find in pre 1600 Shakespearean plays any to match post

²⁸ Edmond Malone, 'An Attempt to Ascertain the Order of Shakespeare's Plays' (British Library reference: 642.f.1, 1778).

²⁹ Kathleen O. Irace, *The First Quarto of Hamlet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), introduction.

³⁰ Malone, 'An Attempt to Ascertain', 270, 272

³¹ *Ibid.*, 270n.

1600 'composition of equal merit with *Othello*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, the *Tempest* and *Twelfth Night*.³² Malone's expectation appears clear, that later works are superior, and that Shakespeare's ability as a writer grew as he aged. This is one of Malone's criteria (or beliefs) for judging the dates of the plays, and it is shared by many of those who subsequently consider the chronology.

Malone's date for *Hamlet* in his first 'Attempt to Ascertain' is 1596. He therefore classed it as a pre 1600 play, but he was reluctant to do so; the play did not appear to be early, to him, and he preferred a date 'five or six years later than 1596',³³ i.e. 1601 or 1602. Several factors influenced this. At the time of compiling the first chronology Malone was familiar with Dr. Richard Farmer's 'Essay on the learning of Shakespeare' from 1767,³⁴ which referenced Thomas Lodge's pamphlet of 1596, the *Wits miserie and the worlds madnesse*. This included a contemporary allusion - a second criterion for judging the date - to a 'ghost who cried so miserably at the Theatre, like an oyster-wife, Hamlet, revenge'.³⁵ Malone concedes that Lodge indicates a *Hamlet* play was known by 1596, but speculates that it was 'probably but a rude sketch of that which we now possess'.³⁶ He was also aware of Nashe's *Epistle to the Gentlemen Students of Both Universities*, with its mention of 'whole *Hamlets*...handfuls of Tragical speeches'.³⁷ In 1778 Malone accepted Farmer's conjectural date of 1591 for Nashe's *Epistle*, though in a footnote he acknowledges that Mr Oldys³⁸ 'on I know not what authority' had attributed an even earlier date of 1589 for the *Epistle*, which Malone saw as 'still less probable' as a date for a Shakespearean *Hamlet*.

Malone read Nashe's *Epistle*, and claimed that there were three principal objections to interpreting the passage as Nashe referring to a Shakespearean *Hamlet*:

1. The whole passage refers to the trade of 'Noverint', or law clerk, which Shakespeare is not known to have followed;
2. Shakespeare does not appear to be at all indebted to the translation of Seneca, and

³² Malone, 'An Attempt to Ascertain', 270n.b contd.

³³ *Ibid.*, 292.

³⁴ Richard Farmer, 'An Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare' (British Library, 641.e.27, 1767).

³⁵ Farmer himself argued that Shakespeare derived most of his plots from English texts, and that *The Hystorie of Hamblet* was the source for *Hamlet*.

³⁶ Malone, 'An Attempt to Ascertain', 292.

³⁷ McKerrow, *The Works of Thomas Nashe* vol III, 311-325.

³⁸ William Oldys, 1696-1761, English antiquarian and bibliographer.

3. Nashe's phrase – "whole *Hamlets* ... of Tragicall speeches" ... might have only meant a large quantity' and need not entail a reference to the play.³⁹

Two factors which might have affected his consideration of the date were beyond Malone's control in 1778; he was simply unaware that Q1 was extant (though he suspected it had been printed), and he had not yet received the Henslowe manuscripts giving details of performances with Shakespearean titles, including *Hamlet*, at Newington Butts in 1594. These papers were only rediscovered in 1790, and therefore did not affect his initial chronology. The final version of his chronology was published posthumously in the 1821 *Third Variorum*, and suggested a date of *c.* 1600 for *Hamlet*.⁴⁰ When he discovered the Newington Butts entries Malone wrote:

I have stated my opinion that there was a play on the subject of Hamlet prior to our author's, and here we have full confirmation of that conjecture. It cannot be supposed that our poet's play should have been performed but once at the time of this account, and that Henslowe should have drawn from such a piece but the sum of eight shillings, when his share in several other plays came to three and sometimes four pounds. It is clear that not one of our author's plays was played at Newington Butts; if one had been performed, we should certainly have found more'.⁴¹

Malone was alone in the eighteenth century in tackling the question of chronology. The nineteenth century saw a number of scholars considering it, particularly in the 1870s. Edward Dowden, in *Shakspeare: A Critical Study of His Mind and Art* (1875), offered his version of the chronology. It blended Dowden's ideas about the frequency with which Shakespeare wrote, and his intellectual and creative progress. Dowden claimed that '[d]uring the first ten years of Shakspeare's dramatic career he wrote quickly, producing (if we suppose that he commenced authorship in 1590, at the age of twenty-six), on an average, about two plays⁴² in each year'.⁴³ Dowden identifies four main stages to Shakespeare's writing: his youthful work when he was experimenting with drama, his plays dealing

³⁹ Malone, 'An Attempt to Ascertain', 295.

⁴⁰ Boswell, James, editor for Edmond Malone, *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, vol II (London: printed for F.C. and J. Rivington et al, 1821), 370.

⁴¹ Malone in Boswell, 1821, vol III, 302 (quoted in Furness, *Variorum Hamlet* vol II, 9).

⁴² The rate of two plays a year is derived from the diary of John Ward, vicar of Stratford 1662-1681. Chambers quotes: 'M: Shakespeare frequented y^e plays all his younger time, but in his elder days lived at Stratford; and supplied y^e stage with two plays every year'. Edmund K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare. A Study of Facts and Problems* Vol II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), 249.

⁴³ Edward Dowden, *Shakespeare: A Critical Study of his Mind and Art* (London: Henry S. King & Co., 1875), 95.

with the matter of history and the real world, his imaginative inquiry into the darkest parts of human life, and the calm of maturity. His investigation took into account a wide range of features, much as Frederick Gard Fleay, F. J. Furnival and Reverend Henry Paine Stokes would also do.⁴⁴

In the first edition Dowden's chronology reads as follows for the *Hamlet* entry:

Third Period	Supposed Date	Earliest Allusion	Date of Publication
Hamlet	1602-3±	(?)	1605

Here ± denotes 'May be lookt-on as fairly certain'. In the third edition the date is almost identical, at 1602.⁴⁵ It follows a date of 1601 for *Julius Caesar*, which Dowden saw as completed just before *Hamlet*.

Published just after Dowden, Fleay's *Shakespeare Manual* in 1876 places the 'first draught' in 1601, and the completed *Hamlet* in 1603.⁴⁶ His book summarises rather than presenting reasons for these dates. Furnival's introduction to the *Leopold Shakspeare* (revised in 1881) includes his tentative date of 1602-3 for *Hamlet*, as part of his whole chronology, situated in Fleay's concept of the development of Shakespeare's style. *Hamlet* is part of the plays of his 'third period', specifically 'the Unfit-Nature or Under-Burden-failing group', including *Julius Caesar* and *Measure for Measure* as well as *Hamlet*, which appears to be an extension of Dowden's division of the writing of the plays. Delius' *Preface* to the same volume places *Hamlet* in 1602.

In 1878 Stokes published his 'Attempt to Determine the Chronological Order of Shakespeare's Plays'. He lists the external and internal evidence he employs in considering the dates for his chronology, a range of criteria now becoming more extensive. Like Malone and subsequent scholars Stokes examines versification; he also investigates the style of the plays, for example the number and quality of classical allusions, and what he terms 'aesthetic considerations' and 'moral purpose'.⁴⁷ His chronology places Shakespeare's first connection with the play *Hamlet* in '1599-1600 [R]', where '[R]' denotes 'subsequently revised'.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ F. G. Fleay, *A Shakespeare Manual* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1876). F.J. Furnivall, (Introduction) from the text by Nikolaus Delius. *The Leopold Shakspeare: The Poet's Works in Chronological Order* (London, Paris & Melbourne: Cassell & Company, 1881). Rev. Henry Paine Stokes, 'An Attempt to Determine the Chronological Order of Shakespeare's Plays'. *The Harness Essay 1877* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1878).

⁴⁵ Dowden, *Mind and Art*, x.

⁴⁶ Fleay, *Shakespeare Manual*, 23.

⁴⁷ Stokes, 'An Attempt to Determine', xii, xiv.

⁴⁸ '[R]' follows *Romeo and Juliet* 1591, *Love's Labours' Lost* 1591-2, *The Taming of the Shrew* 'before 1594', and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* 1598-9 (ibid., xiv).

In the early and mid twentieth century Edmund K. Chambers was a major force in shaping Shakespearean opinion, with his reappraisal of the chronology and dates in *William Shakespeare: Facts and Problems* (1930). His criteria for dating are principally references and allusions; he places *Hamlet* in 1600-1, noting five particular points to support this date. The first four are contemporary matters: the absence of *Hamlet* in Meres' list of Shakespearean plays in 1598, the mention of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in Gabriel Harvey's marginalia (seen as before the Earl of Essex's execution on 25 February 1601), the registration of Q1 (26 July 1602) and the publication of Q1 (1603). The last point is what Chambers sees as the allusion to the revival of the boy actors in 1599.⁴⁹ The reference to Meres is frequent; Weiner is one example of those who do not doubt that 'If *Hamlet* had been written in 1598 Meres would seemingly have listed it over the inferior plays'.⁵⁰

Peter Alexander's *Complete Works* includes an introduction which takes a deliberately broad brush approach to the 'Approximate Order of Composition of Shakespeare's Works'.⁵¹ Like Dowden, Alexander sees four main periods to Shakespeare's work, but he does not assign precise dates to individual plays. He places *Hamlet* in the third period, with a date range of 1599 - 1608. Within this *Hamlet* is positioned conventionally between *Julius Caesar*, which precedes it, and *Othello*. In the late twentieth century, in 1987, Wells and Taylor's *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion* provides the most extensive reassessment of the issue of the whole chronology. They include extensive tabulation of linguistic (for example 'colloquialisms') and literary (for example the percentage of rhyme) measurements, and place *Hamlet's* composition in 1600-1.⁵²

While all the above scholars are considering the chronology of the whole canon, the date of *Hamlet* individually is also given and frequently discussed in detail in editions of the play. A selection of examples over the past century shows that the date of c. 1600 is generally agreed by most *Hamlet* editors. Chambers, editing his Arden *Hamlet* in 1904, writes: 'One cannot suppose Shakespeare's masterpiece of tragedy to have been written in the sixteenth century' (i.e. before Shakespeare was at least thirty-six years old), and sees 1601 as the 'most likely date'.⁵³ In 1936 John Dover Wilson's introduction to the Cambridge University Press edition of *Hamlet* gives, unusually, a relatively wide span of years; Shakespeare may have first handled the play 'sometime after Lodge's reference of

⁴⁹ Chambers, *WS* vol I, 249.

⁵⁰ Weiner, *Hamlet*, 5.

⁵¹ Peter Alexander, editor, *William Shakespeare. The Complete Works* (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1951), xv.

⁵² Wells and Taylor, *Textual Companion*, 122.

⁵³ E.K. Chambers, editor, *Hamlet*. Arden edition (Boston: D.C. Heath and Co., 1904), 13.

1596 and then revised it in 1601'.⁵⁴ A decade later, in 1947, George Rylands, introducing *Hamlet* for the New Clarendon Shakespeare, sees Shakespeare as 'able and fitted to write [*Hamlet*] in the year 1599-1600'.⁵⁵

In the second half of the twentieth century there is another decade with a plethora of *Hamlet* editions, the 1980s. The discussion in these editions is extensive, beginning with references from Elizabethan times and allusions within the play which the respective editors judge critical to the date. Chambers' criteria are usually part of this discussion, with two additional points also commonly appearing. One of these is *Hamlet's* relationship with *Antonio's Revenge*,⁵⁶ and another the interpretation of the 'late innovation' - a possible reference to the Essex rebellion of February 1601.

The precise interpretation and weighting different scholars give these and the scholars' own responses to the three *Hamlets* result in different emphases. Jenkins (1982) concludes that the *Hamlet* 'as it has come down to us' (it is unclear whether this is Q1, Q2, F, or a conflation) 'belongs to 1601', but that a very close version of it 'was being acted on stage, just possibly even before the end of 1599, and certainly in the course of 1600'.⁵⁷ One of his emphases is that *Hamlet* 'cannot have been known to Francis Meres in the autumn of 1598',⁵⁸ which for Jenkins appears to rule out an earlier Shakespearean *Hamlet*. He also considers *Hamlet's* relationship with *Antonio's Revenge*, and the debate about which came first, favouring Marston's indebtedness to *Hamlet*. Edwards (1985) decides that *Hamlet* was written later than mid 1599 and earlier than July 1602, settling upon 'a possible date of mid 1601 for the completion of the play'.⁵⁹ He considers that *Hamlet* shares its composition period with *Twelfth Night* - possibly mid to end 1601.⁶⁰ Hibbard's conclusion (1987) is that Shakespeare's composition of *Hamlet* was completed between late autumn 1599 and the beginning of February 1601, or, more simply, in or about 1600. He sees the absence of *Hamlet* from Meres' *Palladis Tamia* as 'strong presumptive evidence that it had not yet been staged'.⁶¹ Hibbard also views Gabriel Harvey's marginalia as 'crucial' evidence; Harvey's use of the present tense -

⁵⁴ John Dover Wilson, editor, *Hamlet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), xxii.

⁵⁵ George Rylands, editor, *Hamlet* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 18.

⁵⁶ *Antonio's Revenge*, by John Marston, was supposedly written c. 1599-1600, entered on the Stationers' Register on 24th October 1601 and published in 1602.

⁵⁷ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 13.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵⁹ Edwards, *Hamlet*, 7-8.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁶¹ Hibbard, *Hamlet*, 3.

'The Earl of Essex much commends Albion's England' - and claims that '[i]t therefore follows that [Shakespeare's] *Hamlet* had been composed and presumably acted before that date'.⁶²

Over the last fifty years there have also been several editions not of conflated texts but of the individual versions of *Hamlet*.⁶³ Thompson and Taylor's Arden *Hamlet* (2006) is edited in two volumes, the first of Q2 and the second of Q1 and F1, thus offering all three texts. Their introduction, while still seeing that the latest date for Q2's composition would be spring 1601 or 'some time in 1600',⁶⁴ is distinctive in three respects. Their initial point recognises a series of significant dates: the completion of the manuscript, the first performance, and the first printing,⁶⁵ and the complications three distinct *Hamlets* supply; in other words the probably complex world of Elizabethan playwriting, performing and printing. This complexity is implicit elsewhere: Somogyi presents a flow diagram for *Hamlet's* 'Genealogy', starting with Shakespeare's manuscript and ending with the printing of the plays, via 'cuts', 'revisions', 'theatre copy', 'playhouse interpolations', performances and memorial reconstruction.⁶⁶ Edwards gives a 'hypothesis' in a flow diagram, referring to 'theatre transcript', a 'promptbook' and 'stage alteration',⁶⁷ and Wells and Taylor provide a 'stemma' including 'prompt book', 'performance' and 'report'.⁶⁸

Secondly, Thompson and Taylor offer the most substantial range of criteria, under the sub-heading of 'The Challenge of dating *Hamlet*',⁶⁹ for their discussion of date. They include reference to the epistle attached to the poem *Diaphantus*, published in 1604 but perhaps written before 1st June 1599; the epistle hopes that the poem might 'please all, like Prince Hamlet'. They also mention Robert Parry's *Moderatus* (1595), a romance in which a sealed letter is opened, read and resealed; could this reflect a visit by Parry to 'the *Ur-Hamlet*?⁷⁰ Thirdly, Thompson and Taylor's introduction is cautious in its conclusions. They see Harvey's reference as 'problematic', they concede 'an accidental omission by Meres, although unlikely, is not inconceivable', but their extensive discussion

⁶² Hibbard, *Hamlet*, 4.

⁶³ For example, Q1 edited by Weiner in 1962, and by Holderness and Loughrey in 1992.; F1 edited by Somogyi in 2001.

⁶⁴ Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, *Hamlet* (Q1 and F1), The Arden Shakespeare (London: Thomson Learning, London, 2006), 59.

⁶⁵ Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* (Q2), 44.

⁶⁶ Somogyi, *Hamlet*, xxiv.

⁶⁷ Edwards, *Hamlet*, 31.

⁶⁸ Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor editors. *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion* (London: W.W. Norton & Co., 1997), 401.

⁶⁹ Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* (Q2), 8ff.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 49.

of a range of texts' references and allusions lead them to 'admit that a version of *Hamlet* by Shakespeare may date back to 1589, or even earlier'.⁷¹

Malone, Dowden, Chambers, J. D. Wilson, Jenkins, Hibbard, Wells and Taylor: all the above are renowned scholars, and all in favour of a date c.1600 for Shakespeare's (Q2) *Hamlet*.⁷² James Shapiro has even written a book around this belief, *1599*.⁷³ The criteria used have widened since Malone's sense of *Hamlet* (Q2 and/or F1) being too sophisticated an achievement not to have been written well into Shakespeare's playwriting career, and his use of Lodge, Nashe and Henslowe. Aspects of style, further contemporary references and interpretations of apparent allusions within the play have all been added. There appears to be agreement that Q2 and F1 'cannot belong to the years before 1590',⁷⁴ although there are plenty of qualifiers such as 'probable', and 'opinion'.

2. ii The *Ur-Hamlet* Hypothesis

If Shakespeare wrote his Q2 *Hamlet* around the turn of the century, the previous references to a 'Hamlet' require explanation.⁷⁵ Just as the date of the play originates with Malone, so does the suggestion that the early *Hamlet* was not Shakespeare's but another's, '[p]erhaps' Thomas Kyd's.

In 1778 Malone noted firstly Lodge's references to 'Hamlet revenge' in 1596. He knew of Nashe's *Preface*, though initially he believed it to date to 1591. In 1790 Malone received the manuscripts now titled Henslowe's *Diary* and Henslowe's *Papers*. Malone found the date of a 'hamlet' performed in 1594, seeing this as confirmation of his suggestion of an earlier *Hamlet*. At some point after his 1778 'Attempt to Ascertain' he revisited a 1589 text of the *Preface* to Robert Greene's *Menaphon* (his initial examination of this text appears to have been of an edition later than 1589). He now viewed the matter differently:

⁷¹ Ibid., 47, 59.

⁷² Many have written supporting a date of c. 1600. Others include Clark and Wright (1872) who favour 1598-1602, Delius (1881) who favours 1602, Furnival (1881) 1602-3, Brandes (1901) 1601 onwards, G. W. G. Wickham (in Munro's *London Shakespeare*, 1958) 1601, Knights (1960) 1600 to early 1601, Hubler (1963) 1600-1, Geoffrey Bullough (1973) 1598-1601, Evans (1974) 1600-1, and Thomas (1992) 1598-9 at the earliest.

⁷³ James Shapiro, *1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare* (London: Faber and Faber, 2005).

⁷⁴ Wells and Taylor, *Textual Commentary*, 138.

⁷⁵ It is not known when Shakespeare began writing either plays or poetry; the 'lost' years when Shakespeare seems to be absent from the records are from 1585 and the christening of the twins - his presence is assumed, not known - to 1592, the year of Greene's reference to a 'Shake-scene'. Reports in *The Sunday Times* in December 2009, of 'three mysterious signatures on pages of parchment held at the Venerable English College in Rome' may contribute to reconsideration. The entry of a name reading 'Gulielmus Clerkue Stratfordiensis' (from 1589) has been deciphered as 'William the clerk from Stratford', but no further details about this have yet emerged.

Not having seen the first edition of this tract [by Nashe] till a few years ago, I formerly doubted whether the passage referred to the tragedy of *Hamlet*; but the word *Hamlets* being printed in different character from the rest, I no longer have any doubt upon the subject. It is manifest from this passage that some play on the story had been exhibited before the year 1589; but I am inclined to think that it was not Shakespeare's drama, but an elder performance, on which, with the aid of the old prose *Hystorie of Hamblet*, his tragedy was formed.⁷⁶

While all three texts – Q1, Q2 and F1- bear Shakespeare's name, there is reluctance to see Shakespeare writing a version of *Hamlet* early in his career, and Malone's speculation holds currency today: 'Perhaps the original *Hamlet* was written by Thomas Kyd'.⁷⁷ This attribution of an earlier *Hamlet* to Kyd rests upon scholars' interpretation of a passage of approximately thirty-five lines, in Thomas Nashe's fifteen page address *To the Gentlemen Students of both Universities*. The critical passage runs thus:

...It is a common practise now a days amongst a **sort(A)** of shifting companions(A), that runne through euery Art and thriue by none, to leaue the trade of **Noverint(B)**, whereto **they(A)** were borne, and busie **themselues(A)** with the indeuours of Art, that could scarcely Latinize **their(A)** neck verse if **they(A)** should haue neede; yet English **Seneca(C)** read by Candlelight yeelds many good sentences, as *Blood is a beggar*, and so forth; and if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, hee will afford you whole Hamlets, I should say handfulls of Tragicall speeches. But O grieffe! *Tempus edax rerum*, what that will last always? The Sea exhaled by droppes will in continuance bee drie, and Seneca, let blood line by line and page by page, at length must needs die to our Stage: which makes his famished followers to imitate **the Kid in Æsop(D)**, who enamoured with the Foxes newfangles, forsook all hopes of life to leape into a newe occupation; and these men, renouncing all possibilities of credite or estimation, to **intermeddle with Italian Translations: wherein how poorely they haue plodded(E)**, (as those that are neither prouenzall men, nor are able to distinguish of Articles,) let all indifferent Gentlemen that haue travelled in that tongue discern by their two-pennie Pamphlets. And no maruell though their home borne mediocritie bee such in this matter; for what can be hoped of those **that force Elisium into hell(F)**, and haue not learned, so long as they haue liued in the

⁷⁶ Furnivall, *The Leopold Shakspeare*, 5, 6.

⁷⁷ Boswell Malone, *The Plays* vol II, 371-2.

Spheres, the iust measure of the Horizon without an hexameter? Sufficeth them to bodge vp a blanke verse with **ifs and ands**(G)...⁷⁸

The emboldened points indicate the critical parts of the text which have been explained by scholars engaged with *Hamlet*, Kyd and Nashe as together pointing to Kyd as the author of the early *Hamlet*. The first group of emboldened lexemes (lettered (A)) are all plural, which would seem to preclude Nashe referring to one individual, but this has been seen as a rhetorical technique. Frederick Boas for example declares that the plural is a 'mere rhetorical device, as so elaborate an indictment could only be aimed at a single personage',⁷⁹ permitting Nashe to allude to Kyd less directly. 'Noverint' (B), is the beginning of the Latin phrase *Noverint universi per praesentes*, which began many of the legal documents in Elizabethan times. This is also seen as indicating Kyd, since his father was a scrivener; he served as Warden of the Company of Scriveners in 1580.⁸⁰ Kyd's work does show clear Senecan influences (C). 'The Kid in Æsop' (D), is the key part of Gregor Sarrazin's argument; Æsop does not have a story with a kid and a fox, so this choice of noun is regarded as proof of Nashe's deliberate, punning allusion to Kyd. Kyd also carried out a translation from Italian (E), from Tasso's *Padre di Famiglia*, published in 1588 as *The Householder's Philosophy*; the translation is not seen as particularly successful. Boas comments that *The Householder's Philosophy* contains some errors, for example the last of three passages from *The Aeneid* Kyd 'translates badly', and Boas concludes: '[Kyd's] English version of Tasso's *Padre di Famiglia* is crowded with blunders and fully deserves Nashe's sneer'.⁸¹ Boas opines that 'thrusting Elysium into hell...' (F) is aimed at Kyd's borrowing of details of the underworld from Book VI of *The Aeneid*. The last point (G) some⁸² see as a fair comment on II.i line 77 in *The Spanish Tragedy*:

Lorenzo: What villain, ifs and ands? (II.i.77)⁸³

However, Sarrazin prefers to quote two extracts from *The Spanish Tragedy*:

⁷⁸ Ronald B. McKerrow, editor, *The Works of Thomas Nashe edited from the original manuscripts Vol V* (London: Sedgwick & Jackson Ltd., 1910), 315-6.

⁷⁹ Frederick Boas, editor, *The Works of Thomas Kyd* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), xx.

⁸⁰ J. R. Mulryne, editor, *The Spanish Tragedy* (London: A & C Black, 1989), xi.

⁸¹ Boas, *Thomas Kyd*, xviii, xx.

⁸² For example Boas, *Thomas Kyd*, xxix.

⁸³ Mulryne, *The Spanish Tragedy*, 33.

And with that hand he fiercely waged war,
 And in that war he gave me dangerous wounds,
 And by those wounds he forced me to yield,
 And by yielding I became his slave. (II.i.122-125)

and

If love's effects so strive in lesser things
 If love enforce such moods in meaner wits,
 If love express such power in small estates... (III.xiii.98-100).

Nashe's *Preface* and its interpretation is debated extensively in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. Charles Herford and W. H. Widgey in their *First Quarto edition of Hamlet* in 1880 write that 'this Epistle [by Nashe] will refer far better to Kyd than it will to Shakespeare'.⁸⁴ An obvious example to support this would be that Shakespeare's father is not known to have been a scrivener or writer - he is usually seen as a glove maker - whereas Kyd's father was. It is Sarrazin who presents the critical, most persuasive interpretation, in *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, in 1892. Sidney Lee, in his *Dictionary of National Biography* entry for Nashe,⁸⁵ agrees, as would J. D. Wilson later, in 1936: 'because he [Nashe] wanted to hit at Kyd in a punning allusion, just as in his *Anatomie of Absurditie* he hits at Philip Stubbes's earlier *Anatomie [of Abuses]* when he speaks of those who "anatomise abuses and stubbe vp sine by the rootes"'.⁸⁶ J. Schick, who edited *The Spanish Tragedy* in 1898, is uncertain; his willingness to accept the attribution seems assured when he writes 'Surely Nashe points here with his very finger to the person of Kyd', but then Schick acknowledges that 'we have no absolute proof'. However, he decides, 'we may be allowed to interpret it in some such way'.⁸⁷ Peter B. Murray, also writing on Kyd, notes firstly that there is 'some reason to believe [Kyd] wrote the original version of *Hamlet*', and four pages later advances to saying the '*Ur-Hamlet*' was 'probably written by Kyd'.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Charles Harold Herford and W.H. Widgey, editors, *The First Quarto Edition of Hamlet* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1880), 103.

⁸⁵ Sir Leslie Stephens and Sir Sidney Lee, editors, *The Dictionary of National Biography* vol XIV (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921-22. Reprint of 1963-4), 103.

⁸⁶ Wilson, *Hamlet*, xix.

⁸⁷ Schick, J., editor, *The Spanish Tragedy* (London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1898), xvi.

⁸⁸ Peter B. Murray, *Thomas Kyd* (New York: Twayne, 1969), 5, 9. Murray's discussion includes the speculative attributions to Kyd - only *The Spanish Tragedy* being unquestionable - including the pre-Shakespearean *King Leir*, *Troublesome Reign* and *Titus Andronicus*: 'most of them are so bad that one hopes Kyd did not write them' (ibid., 5).

Again and again scholars link Kyd and *Hamlet*, although they are often hesitant in doing so. M.W. McCallum, in 'The Authorship of the Early *Hamlet*', homes in on Nashe's reference to translating Italian and concludes that until that evidence is 'explained away, Kyd's claim to the original *Hamlet* must be considered to have the preference'.⁸⁹ Nashe's editor of the time, Boas, reviewing the number of apparent allusions in the extract, concludes that 'evidences of Kyd's authorship of it have become practically conclusive'.⁹⁰ Ashley H. Thorndike writes at one point 'Thomas Kyd was the author...and probably, as Dr Sarrazin has shown, of the old *Hamlet*', though curiously Thorndike has shifted his position forty-three pages later, with 'we have not gone to the extent of accepting Sarrazin's conjecture that Kyd was the author'.⁹¹ Ronald McKerrow, editing Nashe in 1910, is non-committal, merely stating that the 'apparent' reference to *Hamlet* and its possible connection with Thomas Kyd has been 'for a century a battleground of critics'.⁹² Duthie's examination of the extract and its commentators showed he was particularly persuaded by V. Østerberg's argument from 1920, which comes 'very near to proving an allusion to Kyd'. Østerberg examines an extract from Edmund Spenser's *May Eclogue* which has a goat and a kid and concludes that the Spenserian story is inappropriate in Nashe's context. Therefore, argues Østerberg, Nashe is forcing the story into some sort of analogy - he 'awkwardly wrenches the story of the kid' - as a clumsy effort solely to achieve a pun on Kyd/kid.⁹³ Mulryne, Kyd's editor, simply uses the modal of possibility: 'Kyd may be the author of an early version of *Hamlet*', though Mulryne saw that as resting upon 'widely disputed allusions'.⁹⁴

The peak of the debate about an *Ur-Hamlet* and possible authorship appears to occur in 1905-6, in two articles in the *Publication of the Modern Languages Association*. In 1905 Albert E. Jack argued vigorously against scholars favouring an attribution to Kyd,⁹⁵ but a year later John W. Cunliffe produced an equally vigorous rebuff. He retraces Malone's reasoning: other 'evidence of an earlier *Hamlet*' includes the entry in Henslowe's *Diary* for 9 June 1594, and Lodge's reference, which 'proves conclusively the existence of a play on the subject of Hamlet at a date when Shakspeare's

⁸⁹ McCallum, M. W. 'The Authorship of the Early *Hamlet*', in *An English Miscellany* (first published in 1901, and reissued: New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969), 295.

⁹⁰ Boas, *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, xlix. Chambers, nearly thirty years later, would use the antonym, 'inconclusive' (Chambers, *WS* vol I, 424).

⁹¹ Ashley H. Thorndike, 'Hamlet and Contemporary Revenge Plays' (*The Publication of the Modern Languages Association*, 1902), 126, 169.

⁹² McKerrow, *Thomas Nashe* vol V, 15.

⁹³ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 75.

⁹⁴ Mulryne, *The Spanish Tragedy*, xiii.

⁹⁵ A.E. Jack, 'Thomas Kyd and the *Ur-Hamlet*' (*The Publication of the Modern Languages Association*, 1905), 729-748.

(sic) tragedy was unknown'. Cunliffe follows this with a reference to the omission of *Hamlet* from Meres' list, and a claim that Kyd as author of the early *Hamlet* was 'the unanimous opinion of Shakspearean (sic) critics'.⁹⁶

Malone's hypothesis, that the 'Hamlet' of 1589 was not Shakespeare's and was '[p]erhaps' Kyd's, casts a long shadow, for it is one which frequently resurfaces in writings upon *Hamlet*. Sometimes scholars have been sufficiently convinced to present that hypothesis either as fact, or with little qualification. Frederick Gard Fleay refers without evidence of doubt to 'Kyd's *Hamlet*, the Corambis *Hamlet*'.⁹⁷ George Brandes writes of 'the old *Hamlet* drama', 'this older play'.⁹⁸ Lee feels 'Nashe's English Seneca may safely be identified with Thomas Kyd'.⁹⁹ Chambers, in 1904, is circumspect, with the adjective 'probable' qualifying 'existence of a pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet*', and the use of the impersonal third person, the passive, and a qualifying prepositional phrase to distance himself from the theory: 'It has been suggested with some plausibility that this early *Hamlet* was written by Thomas Kyd'.¹⁰⁰ In his later study of the chronology of the plays Chambers phrases it a little differently: 'the old play' implies his acceptance of a pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet*, but nevertheless 'in view of Nashe's plurals' Chambers does not believe the *Epistle* necessarily carries the inference that Kyd was the earlier author.¹⁰¹

Editors of *Hamlet* often allude to the earlier *Hamlet* as a play existing before Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Dowden acknowledges that it is his 'opinion' that Kyd was the author of the *Ur-Hamlet*, and that that 'was decisively proved by Gregor Sarrazin in... *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis* (1892)'.¹⁰² Rylands writes that 'it seems clear that the author of this earlier *Hamlet* was Thomas Kyd'.¹⁰³ J.D. Wilson acknowledges the hypothesis, and explains why he in 1936 had 'little doubt... that a Danish tragedy on the Hamlet theme by Thomas Kyd was the talk of London in 1589'.¹⁰⁴ Edwards notes the closeness between Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, and while not committing

⁹⁶ John W. Cunliffe, 'Nashe and the Earlier Hamlet' (*The Publication of the Modern Languages Association*, 1906), 193-199, 193.

⁹⁷ Frederick Gard Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama 1559-1642* vol II (London: Reeves and Turner, 1891), 33.

⁹⁸ George Brandes, *William Shakespeare: A critical study* vol II (London: W. Heinemann, 1905), 4, 5.

⁹⁹ Sir Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (London: John Murray, 1925), 1357.

¹⁰⁰ Chambers, *Hamlet*, 7, 11.

¹⁰¹ Chambers, *WS* vol I, 412.

¹⁰² Dowden, *Hamlet*, xiii, xiv.

¹⁰³ Rylands, *Hamlet*, 15.

¹⁰⁴ Wilson, *Hamlet* (1936), xix.

himself to Kyd as the author, does see Nashe's reference to 'hamlets' as to 'an Elizabethan *Hamlet* which preceded Shakespeare's'.¹⁰⁵ Hibbard accepts an *Ur-Hamlet* but simply reports the attribution to Kyd as a 'long drawn out and inconclusive conflict'.¹⁰⁶ Wells and Taylor, like Chambers, considering the whole chronology, see the 1589 *Hamlet* as 'conjecturally attributed to Thomas Kyd or William Shakespeare', with a lack of evidence for either attribution. Their position aligns them with the majority: 'we agree with other modern editors in seeing no reason to identify Shakespeare as the author'.¹⁰⁷ Robert Miola, writing upon Shakespeare's reading, alludes to it as the 'lost revenge thriller'.¹⁰⁸ It is Thompson and Taylor who are the most circumlocutory; while referring to the 'general agreement' that stylistically, the texts of *Hamlet* printed in 1604-5 and 1623 (Q2 and F1) 'cannot belong to the years before 1590', they also comment that it is not 'logically impossible' that the 1596 reference by Lodge did not refer to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.¹⁰⁹

While there is not total unanimity among these scholars about Kyd being the author of the early *Hamlet*, Malone's hypothesis has been generally accepted and clearly persuades a considerable number. However, most of these scholars are (again) using 'probable', 'conjecturally', 'some plausibility', modifiers that connote uncertainty. Despite this, the existence of an earlier, non-Shakespearean *Hamlet* is accepted widely enough for several scholars to have attempted to reconstruct the principal components of this hypothetical, non-extant text. For example, Herford writes: 'probably the old Hamlet was a tragedy of vengeance, strongly tinged with Senecan rhetoric, and set in motion, like Seneca's 'Thyestes' and 'Agamemnon', by the appeal of the wronged man's ghost to his kin'. He considers that the old playwright 'added the ghost'.¹¹⁰ Chambers speculates that 'Probably [Shakespeare] kept the framework of the plot, including the ghost, the play within a play, and the somewhat bloodthirsty final scene'.¹¹¹ Edward Hubler, making 'informed surmises', writes: 'The Ghost is one of Kyd's contributions to the story'.¹¹² Edwards also looks at the Ghost: 'The *Ur-Hamlet*...had a ghost urging Hamlet to take revenge'.¹¹³ G. Blakemore Evans writes confidently that

¹⁰⁵ Edwards, *Hamlet*, 2.

¹⁰⁶ Hibbard, *Hamlet*, 13.

¹⁰⁷ Wells and Taylor, *Textual Commentary*, 398.

¹⁰⁸ Robert Miola, *Shakespeare's Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 169.

¹⁰⁹ Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* (Q2), 46.

¹¹⁰ C. H. Herford, *The Works of Shakespeare* vol viii (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd, 1926), 121, 123.

¹¹¹ Chambers, *Hamlet*, 11.

¹¹² Edward Hubler, *Hamlet*. Signet Classics (London: The New English Library Limited, 1963), 186.

¹¹³ Edwards, *Hamlet*, 3.

the playwright of the *Ur-Hamlet* added the ghost, the dumb show and the fencing match.¹¹⁴ Bullough thinks another aspect began in the early *Hamlet*: 'I incline to believe that accidental poisoning occurred in the *Ur-Hamlet*.'¹¹⁵ Or John Russell Brown: 'What we do know is ...this early *Hamlet* ... was very different from Shakespeare's both in story and in style. Its appeal had been crudely popular and, by following Latin models, unoriginal'.¹¹⁶ Marvin Hunt writes: 'We know from evidence... that it featured a ghostly father who commanded his son to avenge his murder'.¹¹⁷

The distribution of dates for the discussion about the *Preface* and subsequently the possible contents of the so-called *Ur-Hamlet*, from the late 19th century right up to the beginnings of the 21st century, suggest that Malone's thoughts about an *Ur-Hamlet* are beginning to be replaced by a different issue, what that play might have included. It is true that Malone's view is not unconditionally accepted by all; there are notes of caution, notably in the latest Arden Shakespeare editors Thompson and Taylor in the 21st century. The narrative, however, has one further thread, and that is the explanation for Q1.

2. iii Memorial Reconstruction

Memorial reconstruction originates from the finding and evaluation of Q1 *Hamlet*. Eleven years after Malone's death (1812), in 1823, Sir Henry Bunbury bought a collection of Shakespeare quartos, which included a Q1 *Hamlet*.¹¹⁸ While the last page was missing on Bunbury's copy, the second and only other known Q1 *Hamlet* was sold by a student to a bookseller in Dublin in 1856 and lacked only the title page, providing scholars with the equivalent of a complete copy of Q1. A reprint of Q1 was published in 1825, providing scholars with the third substantive text of *Hamlet*.

The basic details of the three *Hamlets* begin with their publication dates: Q1 in 1603, Q2 in 1604-5, and F1 in 1623. Their titles vary slightly: Q1's reads 'The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke', Q2's 'The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke' while F1 is more simply 'The Tragedy of Hamlet'. Each is attributed to William Shakespeare. Q1 was printed by Valentine Simmes for Nicholas Ling and John Trundell, Q2 by James Roberts for Nicholas Ling, and F1 by Issac and

¹¹⁴ G. Blakemore Evans, textual editor, *The Riverside Shakespeare* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974), 1137.

¹¹⁵ Bullough, *Narrative Sources* vol VII, 49.

¹¹⁶ John Russell Brown, *Hamlet: a guide to the text and its theatrical life* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 12.

¹¹⁷ Marvin Hunt, *Looking for Hamlet* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 23.

¹¹⁸ The other quartos were *Merchant of Venice*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Romeo and Juliet*, [*Hamlet*,] *2 Henry IV*, *1 Henry IV*, *Henry V*, *Richard III*, *Two Noble Kinsmen* (Furness, *Variorum Hamlet* vol II, 13).

William Jaggard. Q1 and Q2 includes additional information, Q1 claiming 'it hath beene diuerse times acted by his Highnesse seruants in the Cittie of London: as also in the two Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where'. Q2's claim is that it was 'Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppie'. F1 offers an address 'To the great variety of readers' in which they claim that 'as where (before) you were abus'd with diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious imposters' the first folio was offering the plays 'cur'd, and perfect of their limbes'. Irace gives the numbers of lines as 2,221 in Q1, 4,056 in Q2 and 3,907 in F1.¹¹⁹ The principal points are summarised in tabular form below. Later quartos deriving from Q2 are not discussed here.

Table 2.a Summary of principal facts regarding Q1, Q2 and F1

Version	Q1	Q2	F1
Publication Date	1603	1604/5	1623
Title	The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke	The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke	The Tragedy of Hamlet
Author	William Shake-speare	William Shakespeare	William Shakespeare
Claims	'As it hath beene diuerse times acted by his Highnesse seruants in the Cittie of London: as also in the two Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where'	'Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppie'	'as where (before) you were abus'd with diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious imposters' 'cur'd, and perfect of their limbes'
Printer	Valentine Simmes	James Roberts	William and Isaac Jaggard
Bookseller	Nicholas Ling and John Trundell	Nicholas Ling	Edward Blount
Lines (Irace)	2,221	4,056	3,907

Reactions to the 'new' *Hamlet*, Q1, from 1823, are varied, but considerable numbers saw and still see Q1 as an inferior text. The range of epithets describing it over the first hundred years is frequently uncomplimentary; some of the descriptors are emotive rather than factual, and examples of the criticised lines are not often given. Furness, echoing the vocabulary of many in his *Variorum*

¹¹⁹ Irace, *The First Quarto*, 2.

Hamlet volume II, poses the critical question; is Q1 'the first draught of Shakespeare's tragedy', or is Q1 'merely a maimed and distorted version "of the true and perfect coppie"'?¹²⁰ 'Maimed and distorted' are typical descriptors. W.W. Lloyd alliterates on 'marred and mangled'.¹²¹ Grant White describes Q1 as 'an imperfect, garbled, and interpolated version of the completed play, and its comparative brevity is caused by sheer mutilation, consequent upon the haste and secrecy with which the copy for it was obtained'.¹²² Such terms continue well into the twentieth century, with, for example, G. W. G. Wickham describing it as 'garbled'.¹²³ Alfred W. Pollard refers to Q1 as 'a botched text of the play',¹²⁴ and Martin Dodsworth sees Q1 as 'sometimes ludicrously incoherent'.¹²⁵

The claims of F1 and the derogatory comments about Q1 led to the question of its presumed relationship with Q2. Initially Q1 was thought to be an early draft and Q2 a revision (explored in chapter three), but within thirty years of its republication it was being suggested that Q2 is the anterior text and Q1 an inferior version deriving from it. Three statements, one from F1 itself and two from Thomas Heywood, are amongst those that have influenced some nineteenth and twentieth century scholars to suggest the derivation of Q1 from Q2. The first, in F1, is the phrase 'stolne, and surreptitious', used by Heminge and Condell apparently to describe earlier, pre F1 editions - almost all quartos - of the plays. A slightly earlier one is in Heywood's *Preface* to his *Lucrece*, printed in 1608, in which he claims earlier plays of his had 'accidentally come into the printers hands and therefore so corrupt and mangled (copied only by the eare) that I haue bin as vnable to know them, as ashamed to challenge them',¹²⁶ and the second is in a 1637 edition of his *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody, or The Troubles of Queen Elizabeth Part 1*, first published in 1605. Heywood claims in his prologue that 'some by stenography drew/The plot: put it in print: (scarce one word trew)'.¹²⁷ That some kind of 'memorial reconstruction' could have occurred is considered possible by

¹²⁰ Furness, *Variorum Hamlet* vol II, 14.

¹²¹ W.W. Lloyd, *Critical Essay on Hamlet*, contributed to Singer's second edition, 345 (*ibid.*, 24).

¹²² *Ibid.*, 27.

¹²³ Introduction by G.W.G. Wickham. John Munro, editor, *The London Shakespeare*, vol V *The Tragedies (1)* (London: Eyre and Spottiswode, 1958), 362.

¹²⁴ Alfred W. Pollard, *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates and the Problems of the Transmission of his Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 99.

¹²⁵ Martin Dodsworth, *Hamlet Closely Observed* (New Hampshire, London and Dover: The Athlone Press, 1985), 3.

¹²⁶ Pollard, *Fight with the Pirates*, 38.

¹²⁷ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 12.

analogy with the written evidence of John Bernard, who 'in a week' composed a version of *The School for Scandal* in 1779.¹²⁸

The first thought is that of stenography, proposed by John Payne Collier. His argument had three main points:

1. The play was largely taken down in shorthand;
2. Where the shorthand writer failed to transcribe, he supplemented from memory, or used an inferior writer, and
3. Despite differences, transpositions on scenes and omissions, Q1 was in all its main features the same as Q2.¹²⁹

That a Shakespeare play might be transcribed in shorthand is theorised by Collier not just for *Hamlet*, but also, for example, for the *King Lear* quarto. Alexander Schmidt in 1879, Chambers in 1930, and Greg in 1942 typify some of those theorists. However, Duthie examined the three shorthand systems available in Elizabeth's reign: Timothy Bright's *Characterie* of 1588, Peter Bales' *Brachygraphie* of 1590, and John Willis' *Stenographie*, published anonymously in 1602. Duthie considers the three systems and concludes that not one of them 'could have produced a text of the standard of fullness and accuracy' found in the first quarto of *Lear*.¹³⁰ Weiner's discussion of the systems also concludes with a rejection of the theory of the shorthand theory,¹³¹ suggesting that the 'most potent' argument against it is the improbability of a shorthand stenographer escaping detection as he scribbled away in broad daylight in the theatre.¹³²

Tycho Mommsen (1857) is the first to formulate the concept of 'memorial reconstruction' to explain the perceived inferiority of Q1. W.W. Greg defines 'memorial reconstruction' as 'any process of transmission which involves the memory no matter at what stage or in what manner'.¹³³ Wells and

¹²⁸ Ibid., 12, 36.

¹²⁹ Furness, *Variorum Hamlet* vol II, 24. Collier did not express this idea in his 1839 preface to *Hamlet*.

¹³⁰ George Ian Duthie, *Elizabethan Shorthand & the First Quarto of 'King Lear'* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1949), 1, 2.

¹³¹ Weiner, *WS: Hamlet*, 22-3.

¹³² Bright's system, (864 symbols plus variants) has 'characterical' words, and lexis associated semantically with these words, and requires a feat of memory to remember the symbols in the first place. Duthie - giving examples - sees the system as 'primitive and cumbersome', and the limit on the core vocabulary a significant constraint when engaged with transcribing Shakespeare's rich vocabulary. (Duthie, *Elizabethan Shorthand*, 7).

Bales' system employs letters of the alphabet with a limited range of punctuation and diacritical marks, each of which could have one of twelve positions around the letter. Again, there is a substantial demand

Taylor explain that 'a memorial reconstruction results from the attempt to remember and write down an entire play, without any access at all to a written copy'.¹³⁴ Mommsen, writing in the *Athenæum* in 1857, was studying Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*, and draws an extensive number of parallels between that and Q1 *Hamlet*. He sees it as a misrepresentation, some elements of his argument including:

1. Inconsistencies of the action, in addition to transpositions or omissions, which must have originated in interpolations;
2. It seemed unlikely a juvenile would have written dramas in a shorter form;
3. Deviations are less numerous at the beginning, where the reviser's patience may have been greater;
4. Mommsen discerned two hands, the one probably an actor who sketched in the frame of the play from memory, and the other perhaps a 'bookseller's hack' who made up the text from the actor's notes;
5. There is an absence of the bold style of Shakespeare's early work, or the metaphorical language generally typical of him, and
6. Blunders with regard to metre and scansion are found in the early versions.¹³⁵

The theory had early adherents, such as William G. Clarke and William A. Wright who in their *Preface to Hamlet* in 1872 consider 'a very slight examination' of Q1 would demonstrate that it was printed from a copy taken down hastily and perhaps surreptitiously obtained, seeing the source as either the performance or actors. Their 'conjectural' conclusion envisages an older *Hamlet*, some portions of which are 'still preserved' in Q1 *Hamlet*.¹³⁶

on the memory, and the error potential is high; a mid height acute accent on the left hand side of denotes 'bottom', while a low level acute accent on the same side of the same letter denotes 'breast'.

John Willis' system meets with greater approval. It is partly phonetic, though it does include twenty-six new symbols, can be used in large and small versions, with significance deriving from where the 'small characters' are affixed to the 'great characters'. Duthie also examines Edmond Willis' method, published 1618, and establishes that although this Willis became interested in shorthand in 1604, he was by 1608 'in all probability still a learner'. This method too is seen as inapplicable for reporting *Lear* (ibid., ubique).

The proposal of verbatim reporting of a Shakespearean or Jacobethan play might benefit from an investigation of Willis' method with the assistance of a modern expert in shorthand, perhaps even a courtroom stenographer, with the additional challenge of quill and ink.

¹³³ W.W. Greg, editor, *Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements: 'The Battle of Alcazar' and 'Orlando Furioso'* (Malone Society Publication, 1922, 256-9, and quoted by Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 10).

¹³⁴ Wells and Taylor, *Textual Commentary*, 23.

¹³⁵ Furness, *Variorum Hamlet* vol II, 25-6.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 31.

However, it appears to be W. H. Widgey, in his Harness Prize Essay of 1880, who begins to develop a possible model for the theory of memorial reconstruction, identifying Voltemar as the possible agent.¹³⁷ He notes that 'The speech of Voltemar in act II sc ii is suspiciously correct: he may also have taken the part of the player king, and in him I believe we have the thief who made a copy by stealth'.¹³⁸ Widgey speculates that the 'true and perfect coppie' being unavailable, [Nicholas] Ling used the actor performing Voltemand's part to create a transcript of 'Shakespeare's older play', and then 'sent pirates into the theatre to take shorthand notes of the first two acts in order to give this stolen transcript a more colourable likeness to the play running, so that anyone who picked up the book on the stalls and began to read it might imagine he had Shakespeare's drama'.¹³⁹ Munro reports on Grant White in 1881¹⁴⁰ offering a similar argument, for the actor of Voltemand providing the text partly from memory and partly from the *Ur-Hamlet*.¹⁴¹ Some thirty-five years later, in 1915, Henry D. Gray proposes instead the 'Marcellus' theory in *The First Quarto of Hamlet*. He notes that a 'careful comparison of [Q1] with the true [sic] Shakespearean text will reveal the fact that the pirated quarto was based upon a very corrupt version of the acted play supplied by the player who acted the part of Marcellus'. He speculates that a 'hack poet' provided the parts of the text where 'Marcellus's' memory could not supply the lines, perhaps attending a performance to help his part of the compilation. Gray suggests that because Marcellus was able to provide reasonably convincing text for the beginning of the play, perhaps a publisher was willing to deal with him; he also notes that Marcellus's lines were reasonably accurate throughout.¹⁴²

Thus by the early twentieth century the parts of both Marcellus and Voltemar in the two quartos are seen as very similar, and their respective actors are potential 'pirates'. At this point a new, bibliographical approach begins to evolve, exploring both these theories and the authority of the texts. Pollard, for example, explores the development of printing and licensing books and pamphlets in England. In *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates* he saw 'piracy' as initially mainly concerned with

¹³⁷ William Henry Widgey, *The First Quarto of Hamlet. 1603*. Harness Prize essay, 1880 (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1880. British Library reference: 11766.bbb.), 18

¹³⁸ F. G. Hubbard, 'The "Marcellus" Theory of the First Quarto of *Hamlet* (*Modern Language Notes*, 1918), 74.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 74-5.

¹⁴⁰ *Atlantic Monthly*, XLVIII, 467-8, quoted by William Bracy (William Bracy, *The Merry Wives of Windsor: The History and Transmission of Shakespeare's Text. University of Missouri Studies, vol xxv* (Columbia: The Curators of the University of Missouri, 1952), 35).

¹⁴¹ Munro, *The London Shakespeare* vol V, 363n.

¹⁴² Hubbard, 'The "Marcellus" Theory', 73-77. Hubbard juxtaposes Widgey's and Gray's theories in the article in 1918, principally to rescue Widgey from oblivion, though he himself also makes a contribution to the debate.

the works of dead authors, or those men 'whose rank would have forbidden them to receive payment for their books'.¹⁴³ When James I came to the English throne this issue was lessening in importance, for James was already the author of, for example, *Daemonologie* (1597), *The True Law of Free Monarchies* (1598), and *Basillikon Doron* (1599). Yet piracies did occur, Pollard explains, probably because there were more printers than work in London. Pollard examines Heminge and Condell's assertion, that purchasers of Shakespeare's plays had prior to F1 been 'abus'd with diuerse stolne and surreptitious copies', seeing this as applicable only to those quartos which were 'strikingly inferior' to their F1 versions.¹⁴⁴ He identifies and isolates a group of five Shakespearean plays which could retain the appellation 'bad quartos': *Romeo and Juliet* printed in 1597, *Henry V* 1600, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* 1602, *Hamlet* 1603, and *Pericles* 1609.

Pollard's exploration of F1's prefatory pieces led him also to consider Heminge and Condell's claim that [Shakespeare's] 'mind and hand went together: And what he thought he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarce receiued from him a blot in his papers'. Pollard comments that this would hardly have been remarkable if the manuscripts had been a scrivener's or copyist's, but that if the manuscripts had been Shakespeare's autographs this would be noteworthy, leading Pollard to hypothesise that some of the manuscripts from which at least some of the plays were printed were actually Shakespeare's.¹⁴⁵

But the critical text which advocates memorial reconstruction is Duthie's '*Bad' Quarto of Hamlet* in 1941.¹⁴⁶ In his highly influential book Duthie builds upon the unfavourable attitude to Q1 and upon the Marcellus and Voltemar theories. His opening position is that there was a pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet*, though not necessarily by Kyd. Duthie's angle is consistently that of explaining how the actor/reporter cum versifier cum interpolator(s) recreated Q1 following his/their acquaintance with Q2. Very occasionally Duthie considers an alternative explanation for his findings, only to dismiss it; the *raison d'être* of his book is to demonstrate how the actor/reporter(s) derived Q1 from Q2. Duthie's exploration follows several major threads, embracing parallel phrases, borrowing from other Shakespearean plays, or from Kyd, how the character of the Queen is dependent upon the *Ur-*

¹⁴³ Pollard, *Fight with the Pirates*, 32.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁴⁵ It is not known whether Shakespeare, like Robert Daborne, had to make his own fair copies. Henslowe's *Papers* include a note from Daborne defending himself to Henslowe: 'You accuse me with the breach of promise: trew it is I promised to bring the last scean, which that you may see is finished I send you the foul sheet & the fayre I was wrighting' (W.W. Greg. *Henslowe's Papers* (London: A.H. Bullen, 1907), 78).

¹⁴⁶ Only a small selection of Duthie's examples is given in this chapter, since chapter seven returns to examine his argument in more detail.

Hamlet, and the age of *Hamlet*. Q2 and F are described in consistently complimentary terms: 'the full Shakespearean text', 'the "good" texts', 'the authorized editions'.¹⁴⁷ Duthie's intention is to show that Q1 is a memorial reconstruction by a reporter cum versifier who was capable of rendering the less accurately recalled lines, or linking what he could remember, with satisfactory blank verse, sometimes with 'reminiscences' or verbal echoes from other plays. In a section entitled 'Blank verse peculiar to Q1', for instance, Duthie identifies Q1's scene 10 line 7

O these sinnes that are vn pardonable

as parallel with *3 Henry VI*, I.v.106:

Oh 'tis a fault too too unpardonable.¹⁴⁸

Duthie also sees the reporter-versifier echoing other plays, such as *The Spanish Tragedy*. Thus in Q1 *Hamlet* the king speaks:

wee'l haue Laertes, and our sonne,
Made friends and Louers, as befits them both (16.147-8),

which he sees as a 'reminiscence' of lines of the Duke of Castile in *The Spanish Tragedy*, III.xiv.154-7:

But here, before Prince Balthasar and me,
Embrace each other, and be perfect friends.¹⁴⁹

Duthie's book is extensive. He concludes that Q1 postdates Q2, and is a memorial reconstruction made for provincial performances, by an actor who had taken Marcellus' part, and perhaps another part or parts. The reporter was able to write blank verse of his own, with 'reminiscences' of other plays, and the only document he had access to was the manuscript or copy of that manuscript part of Voltemand. The reporter revised his work, or perhaps a second hand revised it.¹⁵⁰ Duthie's is a complex and persuasive description of the presumed relationship between Q1 and Q2, one which has won over influential scholars, and to which there are occasional added arguments. Chambers for instance writes that it is 'generally accepted' that many of Q1's features are due to a reporter and lists for example the reporter's omissions, how he gives beginning and ends of speeches without the middles, how he paraphrases, merges speeches, shifts the order of dialogue, produces lines which are 'unmetrical or bald', 'fakes' lines, and avoids reconstructing the longer speeches. Chambers is

¹⁴⁷ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 94, 93, 52.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 124.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 273-4.

inclined to believe Marcellus might have been the reporter, but not Voltemand, because of the corruption of his name as Voltemar.¹⁵¹ Munro states clearly that 'Q1 itself is a garbled and cut-down version of a Q2 prepared by "memorial reconstruction"'.¹⁵² Bullough simply summarises the relationship between the three texts as 'now generally agreed' that Q2 and F1 are authorised, and that Q1 was a pirated version, deriving from a performance of Q2 in full or in abridgement.¹⁵³ Hibbard's analysis in 'The Chronology of the Three Substantive Texts of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*' offers specific examples from the texts to support his own investigation into the relationship of the three texts, and his thoughts on the possibility of Q1 stemming from a version behind F1.¹⁵⁴ Wells and Taylor summarise much of the debate about Q1 and Q2 with a statement that it is 'generally agreed' that the copy for Q1 was a memorial reconstruction, an explanation they consider appropriate for other plays too.¹⁵⁵

Individual editors present variations of a similar picture. Dowden sees Q1 as 'like that of an ill-reported play'.¹⁵⁶ Andrew Cairncross - despite postulating a much earlier date for Shakespeare's *Hamlet* - still suggests the 'Bad Quarto' was written by one of the 'travelling actors'.¹⁵⁷ Rylands sees Q1 as 'pieced together from memory by the actor who played Marcellus and (perhaps) the Second Player'.¹⁵⁸ Jenkins supports the memorial reconstruction theory vigorously, seeing Q1 as a posterior version to Q2, abridged and corrupted in comparison with Q2.¹⁵⁹ Particularly vivid phrasing in support of memorial reconstruction can be found in Jenkins' introduction to his edition of *Hamlet*:

'Objectors to memorial reconstruction as the explanation of the bad quartos have sometimes complained that there is no contemporary 'testimony' to such a practice; but if you come upon a mutilated corpse you don't deny murder because no one has reported one. The evidence is in the texts themselves'.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵¹ Chambers, *WS* vol I, 415-6.

¹⁵² Munro, *The London Shakespeare* vol V, 362.

¹⁵³ Bullough, *Narrative Sources* vol VII, 3.

¹⁵⁴ G. R. Hibbard, 'The Chronology of the Three Substantive Texts of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*', edited by Thomas Clayton. *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities*, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 79.

¹⁵⁵ Wells and Taylor, *Textual Commentary*, 198.

¹⁵⁶ Dowden, *Hamlet*, xx.

¹⁵⁷ Andrew S. Cairncross, *The Problem of Hamlet * a Solution* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd, 1936), xvi.

¹⁵⁸ Rylands, *Hamlet*, 48.

¹⁵⁹ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 19.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 19-20.

Not everyone would describe Q1 as a 'mutilated corpse'.

Wells and Taylor provide more analogous evidence: 'In Spain Lope de Vega complained about the pirating of his plays as early as 1603'. Wells and Taylor - as Duthie does - refer also to accounts of the illegitimate reconstruction of Sheridan's *The School for Scandal*, and *The Duenna*, and to reconstructions of speeches of Sir Christopher Blunt. Their most modern example is of Senator Sam Ervin's quotation from *Othello*, accurately recited, but inaccurately recorded by the stenographer.¹⁶¹ Their conclusion is that memorial reconstruction is the right explanation for a number of Shakespeare's 'bad' quartos.¹⁶²

Several of *Hamlet's* editors in the last half century agree. Edwards describes Q1 as a 'corrupt, unauthorised version of an abridged version of Shakespeare's play'.¹⁶³ Irace, editing Q1 in 1998, notes that one of the most convincing arguments for memorial reconstruction is the striking correspondence between Q1 and F1 when one character in particular is on stage, and refers to the 'orthodoxy supporting memorial reconstruction'. She reports that her computer aided analysis - for the six short quartos - 'provided strong evidence confirming the hypothesis'. While Q1 is 57% of F1's length, 93% of Marcellus' lines in F closely parallel his Q1 lines, with the roles of Voltmar/Voltemand and Lucianus nearly identical in Q1 and F1. She sees the pattern of correspondence suggesting that 'one to three players reconstructed a script linked to create Q1'. Irace's analysis and findings extend beyond *Hamlet*, to other so-called 'bad' quartos, specifically *Richard Duke of York (3 Henry VI)*, *Henry V* and *Merry Wives*. This is a new approach to examining memorial reconstruction.¹⁶⁴ Paul Menzer, who also takes a new approach, examines the cues in the 'Qs' and notes that 167 (over 50%) of the shared 267 Q1/Q2/F1 cues occur where the possible Marcellus reporter appears.¹⁶⁵ Somogyi too presents Q1 as a memorial reconstruction by 'Marcellus'.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ This analogy is weak; in the possible memorial reconstruction of *Hamlet*, the actor/reporter was familiar with the play and with Shakespearean language. The modern American stenographer is (probably) in a different position, since his/her qualifications and experience are more likely to be in the field of stenography than in Shakespeare's plays and language.

¹⁶² Wells and Taylor, *Textual Commentary*, 23-28.

¹⁶³ Edwards, *Hamlet*, 9.

¹⁶⁴ Irace, *The First Quarto of Hamlet*, 6, 7.

¹⁶⁵ Menzer's investigation of the cues offers a little, selective support for memorial reconstruction. Paul Menzer, *The Hamlets: Cues, Qs and Remembered Texts* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 59.

¹⁶⁶ Somogyi, *Hamlet*, xxiv. The memorial reconstruction theory is promoted too in *Hamlet* programmes; for example, the National Theatre production of *Hamlet* in October 2010, with Rory Kinnear as the Prince,

While there is a general consensus among these scholars that Q1 post dates Shakespeare's composition of Q2, and is derived from Q2, it is clear that the exact method of 'memorial reconstruction' embraces some variants: for example, Q1 was created by the actor playing Marcellus (Gray's suggestion, with Widgery's candidate, Voltemar, seen as less likely), perhaps also playing Lucianus, and there may have been a 'hack poet' who assisted (Gray). Q1 may include portions of 'the old play', the hypothetical pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet*.¹⁶⁷ It may have been reconstructed for a tour of the provinces (Duthie). A brief summary of the variations on the orthodox hypothesis and examples of the proponents is offered in Table 2.b below.

Table 2.b Examples of the principal variations of the hypothesis of memorial reconstruction to explain Q1's origins

Variation	Example of proponent/supporter	Reference
(Q1 postdates Q2; stenographic reconstruction)	(J. P. Collier)	(Edition of Shakespeare 1843)
Q1 postdates Q2; memorial reconstruction; actor plus bad poet	Tycho Mommsen	<i>Athenaeum</i> quoted by Furness, 25
Q1 postdates Q2; Marcellus as actor/pirate, perhaps also Lucianus	H. Gray	Hubbard, 'The "Marcellus" Theory', 73-77
Q1 postdates Q2; Voltemar as actor/pirate	W.H. Widgery	Widgery, <i>Harness Essay</i> , 138
Q1 postdates Q2; stage adaptation	W. Poel	Duthie, ' <i>Bad' Quarto</i> , 88
Q1 postdates Q2; pirate actor who had played in an abridgement	Alfred Hart	Duthie, ' <i>Bad' Quarto</i> , 88
Q1 postdates Q2; authorised abridgement	J. Dover Wilson in 1918	Dover Wilson, <i>The Manuscript</i> vol I, 159
Q1 postdates Q2; Marcellus; hack poet filled in parts	Gray	Duthie, ' <i>Bad' Quarto</i> , 26
Q1 postdates Q2; reporter/versifier, familiar with other plays	Duthie	Duthie, ' <i>Bad' Quarto</i> , 273, 274
Q1 postdates Q2; may derive from text behind F1	Hibbard	Hibbard, <i>The Chronology</i> , 79

gave in its programme notes that the first edition was 'a pirate edition, heavily truncated, and possibly transcribed (badly) by the actor who played Marcellus at the Globe'.

¹⁶⁷ Dowden, *Hamlet*, xviii.

Accounts of memorial reconstruction are often accompanied by phrases such as 'it is generally agreed'. Some of the uncertainty of this hypothesis is apparent in the many variations in how and why scholars think it occurred, as table 2.b shows; these differences do not instil confidence in the reader, despite the alleged general agreement. Jenkins' emotive language, drawing a comparison between Q1 and a 'mutilated corpse', may seem a powerful confirmation of his views, but it is also a rhetorical flourish which requires the reader to share his condemnation of Q1. As chapters three and nine show, not everyone agrees with that.

Although the three aspects - the date, the existence of an *Ur-Hamlet* and the explanation that Q1 is 'corrupt' because it is a memorial reconstruction - have been reviewed separately here, they are all part of a cohesive account for the origins of the two quartos. If Kyd or another is the author of the early, so-called *Ur-Hamlet*, Q2 can be dated around 1600. If a universally admired Q2 is published only a year after a 'garbled' Q1, perhaps Q2 does indeed provide 'the true and perfect Coppie', to replace a pirated Q1. And since the 'Marcellus', 'Voltemar' and 'Lucianus' speeches in the quartos do bear a marked similarity to each other, perhaps indeed one or more actors of those parts did reconstruct a *Hamlet* from memory, maybe leaning also on their memories of an *Ur-Hamlet* and of *The Spanish Tragedy*, and achieving the highest level of accuracy in their own lines. A popular play (e.g. a third quarto is printed in 1611) may well have been worth the recreation of a *Hamlet* to take on tour in the provinces. The accumulation of external analogies and the analysis of the play itself all appear to render the narrative coherent and plausible.

Yet while significant numbers of scholars support the hypothesis of memorial reconstruction, some cautiously qualify each aspect of the arguments and the narrative, as this chapter begins to show. A date of c. 1599 to 1601 for Q2 shows a fair convergence of opinion, but it is opinion. The *Ur-Hamlet* hypothesis depends upon the interpretation of several small details, but scholars do not wholly agree upon these, and the variations in how memorial reconstruction might have occurred underline its speculative status. This may be the most widely disseminated account of the first two quartos of *Hamlet*, but it is not a totally assured account. It is therefore not surprising to discover that a number of different scholars have argued against many aspects of the narrative reported in this chapter; it is their alternative views which are the subject of chapter three.

Chapter 3

Alternative views

Duthie's *'Bad' Quarto of Hamlet* is a major bulwark in the cases both for an early, non-Shakespearean *Hamlet*, and for the memorial reconstruction of Q1; it is a whole book devoted to details supporting that narrative. However, there is no equivalent book for any of the alternative views.¹⁶⁸ Instead there are a range of scholarly articles which propose counterarguments for one aspect or another. All these writers have one advantage over Malone; they post-date the rediscovery of Q1 in 1823 and its reprinting in 1825.¹⁶⁹ The alternative views include for example different interpretations of Nashe's *Preface*, and the two other principal explanations for the relationship between Q1 and Q2, namely that Q1 is a first draft pre-dating Q2, a revised *Hamlet*, or that Q1 is an abridgement post-dating Q2.

The first section of this chapter returns to the question of date. It reviews the interpretations of the evidence for the date, beginning with the reasoning which has led some scholars to reject the claim that Nashe is alluding to Kyd in 1589. One consequence of such a rejection could be to remove the need for an *Ur-Hamlet*. It also includes mention of those who have argued for an early Shakespearean *Hamlet*. The second section returns to the relationship between Q1 and Q2, summarising firstly why some believe Q1 was the 'original sketch'¹⁷⁰ and Q2 a revised *Hamlet*, while secondly others have proposed that Q1 represents an abridgement of Q2, or perhaps of an acting version of Q2, and thirdly how others still have challenged the hypothesis of memorial reconstruction. Together these critics dispute most aspects of the narrative presented in chapter two. The disputes between the scholars in chapters two and three reveal what might be called the fault lines in narratives about *Hamlet*, and provide the foci for this thesis.

3.i The Date

There is no disagreement about the existence of an early *Hamlet*, one which was sufficiently well-known for Nashe to allude fleetingly to it in his fifteen page *Preface* and, presumably, to feel

¹⁶⁸ Although Andrew Cairncross' book, *The Problem of Hamlet * A Solution* (1936), focuses on the date of the play and its situation within the chronology of all the plays, there is little examination of the quartos' relationship. *Hamlet* is at the centre of the book, but the level of detail is much less than in Duthie's book.

¹⁶⁹ Malone died in 1812.

¹⁷⁰ Charles Knight, quoted in Furness, *Variorum Hamlet* vol II, 10.

confident that his readership would understand the allusion. The disagreement arises from interpreting Nashe; does he refer to a Kyddian, or non-Kyddian, *Hamlet*? The main period when debate upon this issue flourished was in the late 19th and early 20th century; however, it is the matter addressed first here, since the concept of a possibly Kyddian authorship originated with Malone.

The analysis of the critical passage in Nashe's *Preface* in the preceding chapter focuses principally upon those favouring Malone's view. The passage, repeated below with different emboldening and supplementary brackets, contains a small number of additional points which have been used to argue against the theory of a pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet*, whether by Kyd or another.

...It is a common practise now a days amongst a **sort(A)** of shifting companions(A), **that runne through euery Art(H)** and thriue by none, to leaue the trade of *Noverint*, whereto **they(A)** were borne, and busie **themselues(A)** with the indeuours of Art, that could **scarcely Latinize their(A) neck verse(I)** if **they(A)** should haue neede; yet English *Seneca(C)* read by Candlelight yeelds many good sentences, as *Blood is a beggar*, and so forth; and if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, hee will afford you whole Hamlets, I should say handfuls of Tragicall speeches. But O grieffe! *Tempus edax rerum*, what that will last always? The Sea exhaled by droppes will in continuance bee drie, and Seneca, let blood line by line and page by page, at length must needs die to our Stage: which makes his famished followers to imitate **the Kid in Æsop(J)**, who **enamoured(J)** with the **Foxes(J)** newfangles, forsook all hopes of life to leape into a newe occupation; and these men, renouncing all possibilities of credite or estimation, to intermeddle with Italian Translations: wherein how poorely they haue plodded, (as those that are neither prouenzall men, nor are able to distinguish of Articles,) let all indifferent Gentlemen that haue travelled in that tongue discern by their two-pennie Pamphlets. And no maruell though their home borne mediocritie bee such in this matter; for what can be hoped of those **that force *Elisium* into hell(K)**, and haue not learned, so long as they haue liued in the Spheres, the iust measure of the Horizon without an hexameter? Sufficeth them to bodge vp a blanke verse with **ifs and ands(L)**...

The retention of point (A) functions as a reminder that these plurals may indicate that more than one writer was alluded to. Howard Staunton comments that "the "shifting companions, that runne through every arte" brings so distinctly to mind the epithet "an absolute *Johannes Factotum*", which Nash's sworn brother, Greene, in his *Groatsworth of wit*, &c applied to Shakespeare'(H).¹⁷¹ Nashe's claim that the writer(s) would have had difficulty in demonstrating his/their facility with Latin and therefore

¹⁷¹ Furness, *Variorum Hamlet* vol II, 7.

an ability to save his/their neck(s), point (I), is seen as inapplicable to Kyd; Boas, Kyd's editor in 1901, comments that Kyd had 'a fairly wide, if not very accurate knowledge of classical literature, and he knew his Seneca thoroughly in the original'.¹⁷² Point (J) is made by Emil Koeppel,¹⁷³ who undermined Sarrazin's argument that Nashe had deliberately changed the name in the original fable in order to fit 'Kyd'.¹⁷⁴ Koeppel illustrated that instead Nashe was alluding to *The May Eclogue* in Edmund Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*.¹⁷⁵ Spenser wrote:

Tho out of his packe a glasse **he** tooke:
Wherein while **kiddie** vnawares did looke,
He was so **enamored** with the **newell**
That nought he deemed deare for the iewell. Lines 274-7.¹⁷⁶

It was a decade later that Nashe wrote:

which makes his famished followers to imitate the **Kid** in Æsop, who **enamoured** with the
Foxes newfangles, forsook all hopes of life to leape into a newe occupation.

The verbal echoes (emboldened) are part of Koeppel's argument. (In this context the third person singular masculine pronoun, 'he', in Spenser is an anaphoric reference to 'the Foxe', mentioned much earlier, in line 252.) Boas provides another note of doubt when he claims that the criticism that the writer(s) 'force[d] *Elisium* into hell' (K) is also inappropriate for Kyd; instead, Boas argues that in *The Spanish Tragedy* Kyd borrows from Virgil's *Aeneid*, book VI, in order to describe Hades. Boas sees parallels in the hellish picture drawn in *The Spanish Tragedy* l.i.60-75, with the more detailed account that Virgil gives of Aeneas' visit to the underworld, 'our journey to Elysium', in *Aeneid* VI 440-702.

Jack's paper, which assembles the key points in the case against a Kyddian *Hamlet*, ends with a comment upon those who wish to claim Kyd 'bodge[d] vp a blanke verse with ifs and ands'. Jack agrees that these conjunctions are indeed to be found in *The Spanish Tragedy*, but that on both occasions the lexis is appositely used. Furthermore, Jack contends that 'no one can reasonably

¹⁷² Boas, *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, xlv.

¹⁷³ Referenced by McKerrow. Koeppel's comment comes from *Engl. Stud.* xviii, 1893, 130 (McKerrow, *The Works of Thomas Nashe* vol IV, 449).

¹⁷⁴ Jack, 'Thomas Kyd and the Ur-Hamlet', 736.

¹⁷⁵ First published in 1579, i.e. ten years before Nashe's *Preface*.

¹⁷⁶ J.C. Smith, and E. De Selincourt, editors. *Spenser, Poetical Works* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 438.

assent to the contention ... when those¹⁷⁷ making the contention do not agree as to what line or lines the words refer to'.¹⁷⁸ He concludes that Nashe does not have Kyd in mind - nor indeed does the paragraph shed any light upon the authorship of an early *Hamlet*. Jack is not alone. McKerrow, the editor of *The Works of Thomas Nashe* in 1910, also doubts the 'Kid' reference. He points out that Nashe refers earlier in the *Preface* to an Æsop tale, which includes mention of a Glowworm - but nobody sees that as an allusion to a Mr Glowworm. As a result McKerrow rejects the 'Kid' is 'Kyd' argument; 'to me it seems impossible to recognise the validity of the arguments which have been put forward in its favour'.¹⁷⁹ Another who had doubted the interpretation is Arnold Schröer who was sceptical of the theory in 1891.¹⁸⁰

For a century now there has been little further debate about Nashe, though the flatly contradictory readings of his *Preface* must give pause for thought. If he is not referring to a Kyddian *Hamlet*, whose *Hamlet* was it? E. A. J. Honigmann in *Shakespeare: the 'lost years'* (1985) alludes briefly to the date of *Hamlet* when discussing the phrasing of Nashe and Greene; 'I suggested long ago that Nashe's phrasing pointed to Shakespeare as the author of [the] early *Hamlet*', thus also placing the play's date in approximately 1589.¹⁸¹ Eric Sams, in *Taboo or not Taboo*, and in *The Real Shakespeare*,¹⁸² is confident that the reference is to a Shakespearean *Hamlet*, and devotes chapter XXIII to a list of arguments detailing why Nashe's attack on *Hamlet* and its author was an attack on 'the young Shakespeare'. Consequently Sams dates (Q1) *Hamlet* c. 1589. The most recent Arden editors cautiously state that it is 'possible to admit that a version of *Hamlet* by Shakespeare may date back to 1589, or even earlier', which presumably refers obliquely to Nashe's *Preface*.¹⁸³

Other scholars also advocate an early date for Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, whether or not they cite Nashe. In the early 19th century, shortly after the rediscovery of Q1 in 1823 and its reprinting in 1825, several question Malone's later date for *Hamlet*.¹⁸⁴ The earliest scholars to examine Q1 appear to accept it as Shakespeare's. These include Caldecott (1832), Charles Knight, a writer in *The*

¹⁷⁷ A sideways glance at Boas and Sarrazin.

¹⁷⁸ Jack, 'Thomas Kyd and the Ur-Hamlet', 738.

¹⁷⁹ McKerrow, *The Works of Thomas Nashe* vol IV, 449.

¹⁸⁰ Jack, 'Thomas Kyd and the Ur-Hamlet', 731-2.

¹⁸¹ E.A.J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: the 'lost years'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 70.

¹⁸² Eric Sams, *Taboo or Not Taboo? The Text, Dating and Authorship of Hamlet, 1589-1623*. http://www.ericams.org/sams_taboo.pdf. Accessed 15th February 2012. Eric Sams, *The Real Shakespeare. Retrieving the Early Years, 1564 - 1594* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995).

¹⁸³ Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* (Q2), 59.

¹⁸⁴ Published in the Boswell Malone edition, 1821, nine years after Malone's death in 1812.

Edinburgh Review (1845), Delius, Elze, Staunton and Dyce.¹⁸⁵ Knight, for example, takes an early stand against Malone. Knight writes that 'Not a tittle of distinct evidence exists to show that there was any other play of *Hamlet* but that of Shakspere'.¹⁸⁶ He inspects Henslowe's record for Newington Butts, and observes the juxtaposition of 'hamlet', and 'the tamyng of A shrowe'. Greg's transcription shows:

y ^e 9 of June 1594	R/ at hamlet	viii ^s
y ^e 10 of June 1594	R/ at heaster	v ^s
y ^e 11 of June 1594	R/ at the tamyng of A shrowe	ix ^s . ¹⁸⁷

Malone, in a note, had commented on 'the taming of the shrew' being 'the play which preceded Shakspere's'.¹⁸⁸ In his second essay on the 'Chronological Order' of the plays Malone believes *Taming* is one of Shakespeare's early productions. And when Knight examines Henslowe's records, he concludes: 'There is nothing to prove that *both* these plays thus acted were not Shakspere's'.¹⁸⁹

Knight also argues that although *Hamlet* is not mentioned by Meres, this does not exclude a pre 1598 date for *Hamlet*. Knight draws attention to Meres' verb 'witness' ('...So *Shakespeare* among ye English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for Comedy, witness his *Gentlemen of Verona*...'), seeing it as used simply to denote that examples will follow.¹⁹⁰ Knight is very precise, and logical, in his reading and his interpretations. In Germany, Karl Elze examined both Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques* and the anonymous *Hystorie of Hamblet*. He too disputes the common assumption that an absence from Meres' list indicates that a play had not (yet) been written by Shakespeare, contending that Meres only seeks to proffer enough examples to demonstrate that Shakespeare was the Plautus and Seneca of his day.¹⁹¹ Elze suggests a date of 1585-6, the earliest any critic ascribes a *Hamlet* to Shakespeare.¹⁹²

In the early twentieth century Boas takes a different approach. He considers the statement on the title page of Q1: 'As it hath beene diuerse times acted by his Highnesse seruants in the Cittie of

¹⁸⁵ Furness, *Variorum Hamlet* II, 14-21

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁸⁷ R.A. Foakes, and R.T. Rickert, editors. Henslowe's *Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 21-2.

¹⁸⁸ Furness, *Variorum Hamlet* II, 10.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁹² Karl Elze, in his *Einleitung* to his *Hamlet* (Leipzig: G. Mayer, 1857), xvi.

London: as also in the two Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where', and investigates the Oxford City Chamberlain accounts. He notes a string of payments made between 1589 and 1604 to actors to leave the University without playing. Boas deduces from this that the university bought off the travelling companies and their 'ludos inhonestos', and thus that the title page statement refers to performance in the city. Boas identifies Shakespeare as a member of the Lord Chamberlain's servants in 1594, and, prior to that, of Lord Strange's men. The latter's players were paid six shillings and eight pence on 6th October 1593,¹⁹³ and it is this sum which Boas believes could have been paid for a performance of *Hamlet*. One matter which this account of the records in Oxford makes clear is that players visited Oxford regularly at least once a year from 1586-1601, but that not one of the entries names a specific play.¹⁹⁴ However, Boas' argument was sufficiently convincing for a plaque to be erected at the entrance to The Golden Cross Courtyard in Oxford, declaring

1593 *The play "Hamlet" by William Shakespeare was produced in the courtyard.*

It was displayed in the entrance to The Golden Cross Courtyard in the late 1990s. Consultation with Oxford P.R.O.¹⁹⁵ has established that the assertion derived from Boas' deductions. However, the *Records of Early English Drama* for Oxford, and the records held at Oxford University and in the P.R.O. do not state explicitly that *Hamlet* was the play which was performed at The Golden Cross, and the entrance notice is now withdrawn. And plays must have been performed in Oxford. Robert Leicester (sic), the Chancellor of Oxford, is the signatory to a text noting that:

this vniuersitye of late hath often times bin greuoslye visited by reson of the extraordinary concourse of people at vnseasonable times of the yeare to see stage playse and games... no common stage players be permitted... with in the precinct of the vniuersitye... and if it happen by extraordinary means yat stage players shall get or obtane leaue ... yet it shall not be lawfull for anye master bachiler or scoller aboue the age of eighteen to repaire or go to see anye such thinge vnder paine of imprisonment... and if any vnder the age of eighteen shall so presume... the party so offending shall suffer open punishment...

It seems a real effort was to be made to ban enjoyment of such plays, yet the note continues:

¹⁹³ Boas is quoting from the Oxford City Chamberlain's accounts, the date reading '1592-3', and the relevant entry being 'geuen to the Lord Stranges players the vith of October vi^s viii^d (Frederick Boas, 'Hamlet at Oxford: New Facts and Suggestions' *The Fortnightly Review* (1913), 248).

¹⁹⁴ The entries include: the Queen's Majesties, Lord Admiral's, Earl of Leicester's, Lord Strange's, Earl of Derby's, Earl of Pembroke's, Earl of Essex's and 'three companies of players (ibid., 248).

¹⁹⁵ See Appendix A for photographs, and for correspondence with Angeli Vaid, Oxford City Archivist.

...the prohibicion of common stage players very requisite so wolde I not haue it meant theare
bye theat the tragedies commodies & other shewes of exercises of learning ... should be
forbidden...¹⁹⁶

A concern with such plays being performed at Oxford is hinted at in the records for Cambridge too; there is a Privy Council letter (1593) which comments that the 'common Plaiers do ordinarily resorte to the Vniuersytie of Cambridge there to recite Interludes and Plaies... besides the gathering together of multitudes of People...'.¹⁹⁷ Moreover, students' familiarity with, for example, the actors Richard Burbage and William Kempe, and with 'sweet Mr Shakespeare' and Ben Jonson can be inferred from the mention of these in the *Parnassus Plays*.¹⁹⁸ The claim on Q1's title page is unusual, and direct evidence is lacking, but Menzer for one sees that it might be 'stretching back to the mid 1590s to include performances at Cambridge and Oxford'.¹⁹⁹ The matter remains unresolved, but logically some performances of *Hamlet* at the university towns cannot be excluded; we simply do not know the titles of many of the 'Plaies' performed there.

Three decades later Andrew Cairncross wrote *The Problem of Hamlet * A Solution* (1936). He comments on how much easier it is to 'fix a posterior limit of date', but that how much earlier a play is written is harder to determine: 'It may have been written one year before, or ten years, or twenty'.²⁰⁰ His book proposes that *Hamlet* 'as we have it' (this must denote Q2 in the context) was written at the end of 1588 or the beginning of 1589, by Shakespeare, for the Queen's Men.²⁰¹ In his evidence Cairncross discusses the topicality of an extract peculiar to Q1, where Hamlet advises the players to adhere to the script, and continues by describing the technique of one who appears to 'speake/ More then is set downe':

¹⁹⁶ J. R. Elliot, Jr., editor, *Records of Early English Drama* (REED). 'Oxford: The Records' vol I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 195. Folio reference: f 242v. Date: 1583-4.

¹⁹⁷ Alan Nelson, editor, *REED*, 'Cambridge: The Records' vol I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 348. The letter from the Privy Council to the University is PRO: PC2/20 pp 516-7, and dated 19th July 1593. The numbers - 'multitudes' - might contribute to why the title page of Q1 seems to suggest the play has been performed widely.

¹⁹⁸ The three *Parnassus Plays*, whose authorship is uncertain, date from the very end of the 16th century and were produced at St. John's College, Cambridge

¹⁹⁹ Menzer, *The Hamlets*, 166.

²⁰⁰ Cairncross, *The Problem*, xvi.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, xv-xvi. Fully aware of the implications of this, Cairncross concludes his book with a chapter, heavily laden with qualifications, on the chronology of the plays as he now hypothesises it might be (*ibid.*, 179ff.).

And then you have some agen, that keeps one sute
 Of feasts, as a man is knowne by one sute of
 Apparel, and Gentlemen quotes his iests downe
 In their tables, before they come to the play, as thus:
 Cannot you stay till I eate my porridge? And, you,
 A quarters wages: and my coate wants a cullison:
 And your beere is sowre... (9.21-25)

Cairncross argues that this refers to Richard Tarleton, Dover Wilson having noted that two of the jests belonged to, or are attributed to, Tarleton, who died in September 1588. These are found in *Tarleton's Jestes*, published in 1611.²⁰² Cairncross is also interested in a second allusion, from F1, the critical lines including 'I thinke their Inhibition comes by meanes of the late Innouation', and 'an ayrie of Children, little Yases'. While most scholars consider the whole passage to refer to the Wars of the theatres of c. 1602, and Cairncross does not exclude that possibility, he suggests another interpretation might be to a 'similar war' in 1588-9. At this time John Lyly was writing for the Children of St. Paul's, who were 'enjoying considerable popularity, especially at Court'. In 1590 the Children's company was suppressed; 1589 was the year in which the adult companies 'suffered most from the competition of the Boys' and 'thus the natural date for the reference'.²⁰³

A third aspect of Cairncross' argument rests upon the satire on euphuism. Both he and Elze comment on the origins of the style in John Lyly's *Euphues and his England*, published 1579, and how the style permeated society's speech. Cairncross notes that Hamlet alludes to the 'three years' since the 'age has grown so picked', and places the peak of euphuism and its 'fashionable jargon' around 1585. Cairncross is therefore comfortable with a date of around 1588-9 for *Hamlet*. He also sees F1's omission of much of Osric's euphuistic speech as natural, because 'the fashion had passed'.²⁰⁴ A final point he makes for topical allusions is to the naval preparations referred to in act I scene i; the 'daily cast of brazen cannon...' perhaps refers to the Armada.²⁰⁵

²⁰² Cairncross, *The Problem*, 102-3.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 103-6. Uniquely, Cairncross has aspects of all three *Hamlets* dated to almost the same year; he is also prepared to support the idea of the 'Bad Quarto' being written by one of the travelling actors around the same time, i.e. memorial reconstruction (*ibid.*, xvi).

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 81. At this point the reader might infer that Cairncross sees F1 as later than Q1 or Q2, even though he sees the 'late innouation' in F1 alluding to events of 1589-90. It might be considered a little odd that an early allusion might survive but a stylistic feature affecting the text more widely might not.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 82.

Sams is one of the last 20th century scholars to propose an early Shakespearean *Hamlet*. He observes that Meres compares Shakespeare and Seneca, both being famous for tragedy, among English and Latin speakers respectively. Sams sees that link between Shakespeare and Seneca as supporting Shakespeare as the author of *Hamlet*. He notes that in the paragraph following Nashe's most famous one (also citing Seneca and *Hamlet* in close proximity), Nashe is also mocking those who 'must' 'take vp choise of words by exchange in Tullies Tusculans', a colloquial reference to Marcus Tullius Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*.²⁰⁶ In these the first dialogue is about life after death, the subject of Hamlet's 'To Be or not to be' soliloquy. Sam's argument also includes Gabriel Harvey's marginalia, which he considers could have been as early as 1598, when the only *Hamlet* known up until then was that mentioned by Nashe.²⁰⁷ Sams also draws attention to the records of performances of *Titus Andronicus*, *Hamlet*, and *The Taming of a Shrew*, all at Newington Butts in 1594.²⁰⁸ Interestingly, the points which Cairncross and Sams raise are quietly ignored by many scholars.

A range of scholars from nearly a hundred and fifty year period - Knight, Caldecott, Staunton, Dyce, Elze, Boas, Cairncross, Honigmann and Sams - all consider the possibility that the early *Hamlet* was Shakespeare's. More generally, Honigmann is not alone in thinking that there are arguments for Shakespeare having started writing earlier than, for instance, Chambers' chronology would suggest.²⁰⁹ Thompson and Taylor see it as possible.²¹⁰ On the whole the question of the date is whether Shakespeare wrote a *Hamlet* in his mid twenties or rewrote another's *Hamlet* - the *Ur-Hamlet* - in his mid to late thirties, although the question is not usually phrased as explicitly as that. However, while the question regarding the date can be simplified thus, the relationship of the quartos

²⁰⁶ Sams, *The Real Shakespeare*, 122.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 123.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 115. Sams' book received mixed reviews. Michael Bristol is not persuaded by it, but does not dismiss the possibility of some of its arguments: 'I would like to stipulate here that it is altogether possible that a young Shakespeare wrote plays in the 1580s and that some of them have survived in unattributed form'. (Michael D. Bristol, Review. *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol 50, no. 2. (University of Chicago Press, Summer 1997), 608). Another reviewer, Hugh Richmond finds that 'Sams' portrayal of a precociously prolific ... Shakespeare is attractive' (Hugh M. Richmond, Review. *Albion, a Quarterly Journal concerned with British Studies*, vol 28, no 1 (Spring 1996), 98), while John Burke's reflections on the same book lead him to conclude that 'Shakespeare was most likely an early starter' (John J. Burke, Jr., Review. *South Atlantic Review*, vol 62, no 4 (*South Atlantic Modern Languages Association*, Autumn 1995), 82).

²⁰⁹ Apart from Cairncross, there are also Peter Alexander in *Shakespeare's Life and Art*, F.P. Wilson in *Marlowe and the Early Shakespeare*, and T. W. Baldwin in *Shakespeare's Five-Act Structure*.

²¹⁰ The difficulty of dating the play is underlined by the fact that the different views are based principally upon the same key evidence.

is more complex, with three main possibilities; is Q1 a result of a memorial reconstruction of Q2 as outlined in chapter two, a first draft, or an abridgement?

3.ii The Relationship of Q1 and Q2

When Q1 was first reprinted in 1825 it was described as the 'only known copy of this tragedy *as originally written by Shakespeare*, which he afterwards altered and enlarged'.²¹¹ This 'altered and enlarged' view, presumably drawn from Q2's title page ('Newly imprinted and enlarged...') was shared by several early readers of Q1; it is sometimes referred to as the 'first sketch' and revision hypothesis. For example Caldecott in his 1832 *Preface* sees Q1 as 'the first conception and comparatively feeble expression of a great mind', 'afterwards wrought into a splendid drama'.²¹² Furness extends Caldecott's comments, suggesting Q1 was an early version of the play, remodelled and 'enlarged to almost as much againe as it was' as Q2. Furness believes that a close study of the two should show readers the 'growth, not only of the great poet's command over language ... the higher qualities of his intellect ... his profound philosophy, his wonderful penetration into what is most hidden and obscure in men's characters and motives'.²¹³ Furness devotes some three sides to his argument before reverting to his review of scholars' commentaries.

These scholars continue with a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* of 1845 who argues, like Furness, that Q1 shows 'the progress of the poet's mind from the unique fervour of early manhood to the calmer and more philosophic inspiration of perfect maturity'.²¹⁴ Staunton is more circumspect, concluding: 'we find no cause to conclude that the first sketch of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, as published in 1603, was not the piece to which Henslowe refers to in his entry'.²¹⁵ Furness himself expresses the belief that Q1 is the 'original sketch', 'an early production of our poet'.²¹⁶ Another nineteenth century scholar is Samuel Timmins who sees Q1 as a "'rough-hewn" draft of a noble drama (written probably 1587-9)', and enlarged in 1602 or so.²¹⁷ He comments that 'no trace is found of any other *Hamlet* than that which bears Shakespeare's name'. He suggests that Q1 'may have been a recognised work of Shakespeare, publically performed several years before that date [1603],

²¹¹ Furness, *Hamlet* vol II, 14.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 14.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 15.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 18, quoting from *The Edinburgh Review* vol lxxxii (April, 1845), 378.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

and 'surreptitiously' printed in that year'.²¹⁸

The early responses to Q1 might be termed the early revisionism. By the mid 19th century some scholars were becoming more critical of Q1 and evolving the theory of memorial reconstruction outlined in chapter two. However, a century later, in the second half of the 20th century, the idea of revision was returning - a new revisionism. This seems to have begun with new thinking about *King Lear*. In 1960, in Wilson and Duthie's Cambridge edition of *King Lear*, Duthie retracted his 1949 theory that Q1 *Lear* was a memorial reconstruction made by the whole company:

'I thought of the company as being in the provinces, temporarily deprived of its prompt-book, and desirous of producing a new one; and I imagined its personnel gathered round a scribe, each actor dictating his own speeches in a kind of performance without action'.

Duthie accepted that his 'thought' and his 'imagined' scenario needed to be 'abandoned';²¹⁹ his vocabulary is hardly like to inspire confidence in his previous arguments. His retraction and Steven Urkowitz's book on 'Shakespeare's Revision of *King Lear*' (1980) has contributed significantly to the recognition that the 1608 quarto *Lear* and the 1623 folio *Lear* are individual texts and do demonstrate Shakespeare as a reviser. Indeed, Wells and Taylor are sufficiently convinced to have published both the 1608 quarto and 1623 folio *Lear* in 1987, as separate texts in their own right, in their *Complete Works*. Honigmann in *The Stability of Shakespeare's Texts* (1965) 'subscribe[s] wholeheartedly to Chambers' scepticism about literary revision', but nevertheless explores the possibility of authorial "'second thoughts" before [a play's] delivery to the actors'.²²⁰ This may be revision by another name, a form of rewriting occurring before the actors receive a script and perform it, rather than afterwards. Grace Ippolo in *Revising Shakespeare* (1991) explores some of the evidence showing how some of Shakespeare's contemporaries did revise their plays, though she is quite content to use 'revision' rather than 'second thoughts'.

Urkowitz strongly argues for Shakespeare as a revising playwright in *Hamlet*, in two major essays: "'Well-sayd olde Mole": Burying Three *Hamlets* in Modern Editions' (1986) and 'Back to Basics: Thinking about the *Hamlet* First Quarto' (1986).²²¹ His focus is upon his persuasion, as a theatre

²¹⁸ Samuel Timmins, *Hamlet* (London: Sampson Low, Son and Co., 1860), viii.

²¹⁹ J.D. Wilson & G.I. Duthie, editors, *King Lear* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 131.

²²⁰ E.A.J. Honigmann, *The Stability of Shakespeare's Text* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd, 1965), 2.

²²¹ Steven Urkowitz, "'Well-sayd olde Mole": Burying Three *Hamlets* in Modern Editions', edited by Georgianna Ziegler, *Shakespeare Study Today*. New York: AMS Press, 1986. Steven Urkowitz, 'Back to Basics: Thinking about the *Hamlet* First Quarto', edited by Thomas Clayton, *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities* (Newark: University of Delaware Press), 1986.

director, of the evidence of revision between Q1, Q2 and F1 *Hamlet*. In the earlier essay he initially applauds the 'New Bibliographers' whose analysis of textual changes has often been 'very very good', but also identifies the narrowness of their approach, and the limits of expertise in 'literary and theatrical interpretation'.²²² What is noticeable about Urkowitz's approach is his attention to very specific parts of the texts to illustrate Shakespeare's skills as a reviser. A typical example is taken from V ii (Q2, F), after the challenge proffered by Osric. In Q1 Hamlet declares to Horatio: '...my hart is on the sodaine/Very sore all here about...'; while in Q2 '...how ill all's here about my hart...'; and F reads '...how all here about my heart...'. Urkowitz with his theatrical experience identifies this as an occasion when the text indicates the actor's actions. Syntactically, the proximal adverbial 'here' in Q1 suggests a gesture of hand to heart; in Q2 the same move is suggested, but the syntax has changed, with a little inversion of the adjectival complement 'ill' brought to the head of the clause (where it is stressed), before the subject 'all' and elided predicator 'is'. Urkowitz notes that by F1 the verb has gone. He sees that 'incomplete sentence' as 'actor's code for revealing the presence of an unarticulated feeling'. 'The performer playing Hamlet must feel the qualm, begin to mention it, and then dismiss it before he allows himself to give it full expression'.²²³ The example suggests the order of conception is Q1 -> Q2 -> F, the chronology matching that of publication; it is in stark contrast to the view expressed by Thompson and Taylor in *Hamlet: the Texts of 1603 and 1623*, that 'most scholars... believe that the order of composition of the three texts in their original forms is not Q1 -> Q2 -> F, but Q2 -> F -> Q1'.²²⁴

In his latter essay, *Back to Basics: Thinking about the Hamlet First Quarto*, Urkowitz criticises the 'beliefs' of those who neither believe Shakespeare could have written anything as poor as some of Q1's lines or that Shakespeare would never have spent time revising or extending shorter plays into longer ones. Urkowitz contrasts sharply with for example Jenkins' opinion:

'all those theories which view Shakespeare's *Hamlet* as progressing towards its final shape via one or more rewritings and which have contributed to the conception of Shakespeare as an artist much given to the revision of his own past work are quite without evidence or

²²² Urkowitz, 'Well-sayd', 40. It is of course problematic to produce a new argument when it must contradict and indeed overturn apparently established views on 'bad' quartos before it begins, which is in essence what Urkowitz must do.

²²³ Ibid., 56-7. Urkowitz could analyse the colloquial grammar complementing gesture more precisely; Q1 and Q2 are explicit with the use of adjectival complements, 'sore' and 'ill' respectively, while F is without not just the elided predicator in 'all's', but also the adjectival complement 'ill'.

²²⁴ Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, *Hamlet: The Texts of 1603 and 1623*. The Arden Shakespeare (London: Thomson Learning, 2007), 9.

plausibility'.²²⁵

Urkowitz then turns to the reputation Q1 has in some quarters as 'garbled', but works to reveal an alternative view, again through specific examples. One is the King's line to Hamlet, 'How now son Hamlet, how fare you, shall we have a play?' (9.53). The King asks two questions - and Urkowitz points out that Hamlet offers an answer to each.²²⁶ Urkowitz also invites a review of what might be seen as an acceptable length for a play; whether it must really be one that fits the 'two hours traffic of the stage'. Alternative explanations other than memorial reconstruction for aspects of typesetting and orthography examined by Hibbard, Dover Wilson and Duthie are proffered; for example Duthie explains the use of 'tender' (used as a premodifier in Q1 when the king declares 'tender preservation of your health', while in Q2 'tender' has become a verb - 'for thine especiall safety/Which we do tender') by the 'reporter's mind' recalling 'tender preservation' from *Henry VII.ii.58*. Urkowitz claims that Duthie is overlooking the possibility that an author revises his/her own work by substituting lexis, or other changes, and that Duthie is assuming that the reporter is able to perform 'all the wild and wonderful linguistic exercises'²²⁷ that might more usually be associated with poets.

These examples are selected to demonstrate how Urkowitz examines parallel passages in the texts themselves in detail for his arguments. He demonstrates a level of subtlety in Q1 which contrasts with labels like 'garbled' and 'maimed', and he argues for a revising Shakespeare. His detail is greater than Duthie's, although his range is narrower. The contrast between Urkowitz's views and others' could hardly be greater.

In *Revising Shakespeare* Ioppolo assembles examples of surviving manuscripts which show the type of revision that some Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights did execute. (These are considered later in chapter nine.) One interesting example is Marston's *Malcontent*. This declares on the title page that the version is 'augmented by *Marston*', and also acknowledges non-authorial additions, 'With the Additions played by the Kings Maiesties servants. Written by *Ihon Webster*'.²²⁸ Further contemporary evidence that plays were revised comes from Henslowe's *Diary*. Here he records

²²⁵ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 19.

²²⁶ Again, Urkowitz could develop this; linguists have identified the confusion that reigns when a parent or a teacher asks more than one question at a time, because the child or student has to select which question to answer, and in which order. Linguists would also note the convention of the conversation opener or greeting, to which most people do not reply with a relevant answer. Here Hamlet breaks the convention by responding to 'how fare you', and responding unconventionally. It suggests his opinion of the king effectively.

²²⁷ Urkowitz, 'Back to Basics', 279

²²⁸ Ioppolo, *Revising Shakespeare*, 59-60.

payments to William Byrd, Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Heywood, Thomas Middleton and Samuel Rowley, to alter old plays.²²⁹

Clearly, revision among Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights cannot be denied. There is, however, a third explanation offered for the quartos' relationship, namely abridgement, which has been discussed intermittently during the 20th century. Views upon this are, again, varied. Alfred Hart, in *Shakespeare and the Homilies*, provides evidence of the cutting of lines from contemporaries' plays. He considers Q1 *Hamlet* to be an abridgement not of Q2 directly, but of an intermediate acting version of Q2. Robert Burkhart's title, *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos: Deliberate Abridgements Designed for Performance by a Reduced Cast* (1979), indicates his support for abridgement as a technique applied to some of Shakespeare's plays.²³⁰ William Bracy focuses upon one particular 'bad' quarto, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor: The History and Transmission of Shakespeare's Text* (1952).²³¹ Alfred Weiner, publishing an edition of Q1 *Hamlet*, is concerned with that play specifically. Hardin Craig, writing the *Foreword* to Weiner's edition, thinks Q1 is an abridgement but also 'degenerated' in the hands of a travelling company; Q2 is Shakespeare's revised and amplified version of the earlier play, 'although not Q1 as we have it'.²³²

In his introduction Weiner argues that Q1 is a 'consistently and methodically cut' version abridged for 'an economical tour'.²³³ Players might tour the provinces in the summer and in plague years. To reduce a London production to around ten men - a possible troupe size, according to Chambers²³⁴ - would entail simplification and re-writing, possibly including new scenes to complete the abridged dramatic account. Weiner uses an analogy with Greene's play *Orlando Furioso* and the extant script of actor Edward Alleyne's part of the eponymous hero. In this verse and prose lines are abridged, and fifty-six lines interpolated. Abridgements are claimed to excise classical allusions and reduce the complexity of vocabulary and syntax in demanding passages. Weiner sees Q1 also as 'almost completely purged of poetry and rhetoric'. Bar Hamlet, Corambis, the King, Horatio and Ofelia, characters have fewer than 100 lines apiece, and seven have fewer than ten lines. Examination of

²²⁹ Walter W. Greg, editor, Henslowe's *Diary*, Part I, Text (London: A.H. Bullen, 1904), 137,175,182, 206-7, 216, 224.

²³⁰ Robert E. Burkhart, *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos: Deliberate Abridgements Designed for Performance by a Reduced Cast* (The Hague: Mouton, 1979).

²³¹ William Bracy, *The Merry Wives of Windsor: The History and Transmission of Shakespeare's Text. University of Missouri Studies*, vol xxv (Columbia: The Curators of the University of Missouri, 1952).

²³² Weiner, *Hamlet*, iv.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 48, 50.

²³⁴ E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), 332n.

omitted scenes²³⁵ shows 'a very direct and thoughtful abridgement'. Weiner concludes that Q1 is a 'legally abridged, legally acquired and adapted' play.²³⁶ Q2's length, approximately four hours' playing time, renders abridgement a logical suggestion. Its proponents, however, do not reach a consensus regarding how this occurred, just as those advocating memorial reconstruction also differ. (Chapter eight expands upon the proposed abridgement hypothesis.) They do share one characteristic with those believing in memorial reconstruction, that is, that there was a pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet*. Craig, in his essay 'Revised Elizabethan Quartos', writes: 'It is generally believed on good grounds that there was a pre-Shakespearian *Hamlet*, possibly by Thomas Kyd'.²³⁷ Weiner too accepts a pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet*. His account of the play focuses specifically on the likely origins of Q1 and its relationship to Q2. He conjectures Shakespeare's first version of *Hamlet* might have been in 1600, with his foul papers going to the Chamberlain's Men, and the fair copy becoming the official prompt book. The foul papers were abridged in 1600, or 1601, or 1602, for a provincial tour, and offered to the printers in 1603. By 1604 *Hamlet* was no longer popular, and the fair copy, the prompt book (Q2), was then offered to the printers.²³⁸ This results in both the hypotheses of memorial reconstruction and abridgement implying a sequence, in its simplest form, of *Ur-Hamlet* -> Q2 -> Q1, in contrast with the hypothesis of first sketch and revision, which implies a sequence, again in its simplest form, of Q1 -> Q2.

There is a third perspective which surfaces intermittently in discussion of the quartos' relationship. It is the questioning and challenging of the idea of memorial reconstruction. (It appears that while memorial reconstruction supporters are more likely to provide additional arguments for the hypothesis, those proposing revision or abridgements are more likely to challenge memorial reconstruction, implicitly the 'established' view, before advocating their own argument.) Most outspoken amongst those not just querying but fulsomely rejecting memorial reconstruction is Sams: 'It is the house of cards known as "memorial reconstruction", which now lies in ruins'.²³⁹ Sams is vigorous in his denunciation of memorial reconstruction by actors, describing 'MRA'²⁴⁰ as an

²³⁵ For example, IV.ii, IV.vi, IV.vii lines 1-50, V.ii lines 1-74.

²³⁶ Weiner, *Hamlet*, 71.

²³⁷ Hardin Craig, 'Revised Elizabethan Quartos: An Attempt to Form a Class', in *Studies in The English Renaissance Drama*, edited by J. Bennett, O. Cargill, V. Hall, Jr. (New York: New York University Press, 1959), 53.

²³⁸ Weiner, *Hamlet*, 59-60.

²³⁹ This is a rather optimistic obituary notice for the hypothesis: it was first published in Eric Sams, 'Assays of Bias'. *Notes and Queries*, CCXXXVI, March 1991, 60-3.

²⁴⁰ 'Memorial reconstruction by actors'. Memorial reconstruction is also sometimes called 'communal memorial reconstruction'.

'outmoded myth', and 'a tissue of fabrications, not a material hypothesis'. In *Encounter* in 1989 he attacks it: 'The various MRA speculations are thus not only unnecessary, untestable, incompatible and unevicenced, but also counter-factual. They are, further, flagrantly self-contradictory'.²⁴¹ More explicitly, he rejects it in an individual chapter in *The Real Shakespeare*, adducing a reference to the retraction of the same theory for the 1608 *King Lear* (different from F1 *Lear*), by Duthie in 1960.²⁴² Sams' reviewer, John Burke, is equally dismissive of the theory: 'It is hard to believe that such a theory - one that sounds so preposterous on the surface of things - could ever have held such sway in modern Shakespearean studies'.²⁴³

Certainly memorial reconstruction does not have universal support. (Holderness and Loughrey are not alone in their parenthetical remark that the theory 'is considerably more controversial than is generally recognised'.²⁴⁴) The difficulty of discussing the feasibility of memorial reconstruction can be inferred from Hardin Craig's *Foreword* to Weiner's 1963 edition of Q1. Craig refers carefully to the 'brilliant theories of certain great Shakespeare scholars', and to disagreeing with 'great scholars' whom he - and Weiner - 'profoundly respect'. This is the very courteous prelude to a summary of his views regarding the origins of some of Shakespeare's quartos, specifically Q1 *Hamlet*, in which Craig 'objected' to the theory of stenography, of the pirate actor theory, and of 'so-called' memorial reconstruction.²⁴⁵ Craig's is a more restrained expression of what Sams and his reviewer Burke say, but the conclusion is the same.

Another scholar treading the tightrope of disagreement cautiously is Paul Werstine. In his essay *Narratives about Printed Shakespearean Texts: "Foul Papers" and "Bad" Quartos* he comments that 'by the 1950s the idea that all imperfect texts were transmitted into print by reporters had ... a grip on textual criticism'.²⁴⁶ Werstine writes persuasively to encourage a reconsideration of the so-called 'imperfect texts' and their origins, which from the number of dissenting voices referenced in this chapter alone seems very reasonable. Urkowitz, however, rejects memorial reconstruction more decidedly. He offers alternative explanations for a variety of features usually proffered as evidence of

²⁴¹ Eric Sams, 'Shakespeare, or Bottom? *The Myth of "Memorial Reconstruction"*, *Encounter*, January 1989. http://www.ericams.org/sams_bottom.html. Accessed 6th March 2012.

²⁴² '...I was forced to suggest...that the scribe wrote down (as best he could) all that he heard (or thought that he heard) in a very hasty manner' (Duthie, editor with J. D. Wilson, *King Lear*, 131).

²⁴³ John J. Burke Jr. Review of Eric Sams' *The Real Shakespeare*. *South Atlantic Review*, vol 62, no 4. South Atlantic Modern Languages Association, Autumn 1995, 82.

²⁴⁴ Holderness and Loughrey, *Hamlet*, 8.

²⁴⁵ Weiner, *Hamlet*, i.

²⁴⁶ Paul Werstine, 'Narratives about Printed Shakespearean Texts: "Foul Papers" and "Bad" Quartos' (*Shakespeare Quarterly*, 41:1, 1990), 79.

memorial reconstruction, for example typesetting features, orthography, and apparently incoherent passages.²⁴⁷

It is useful to return to Weiner. His argument for abridgement is prefaced by a series of questions about the propositions underlying the theory of memorial reconstruction and its application to Q1. He draws these principally from Greg and Harry Hoppe.²⁴⁸ Each point is summarised, discussed and rejected, prior to his presentation of his own proposal. The propositions begin with the expectation that a reporter could reconstruct a play after attending a relatively small number of performances. Weiner sees this as partly subjective - how many times would an audience member need to see a play in order to reproduce it? - but also difficult, for the records, such as they are, do not indicate long runs of plays which might assist a would-be reporter.²⁴⁹ Secondly, Weiner considers it problematic that an actor, for instance Marcellus, if capable of recalling over twenty parts, is not word-perfect on his own. Proponents of memorial reconstruction might claim it was not normal for actors to be absolutely word perfect. This is, Weiner argues, surely a difficulty since a paraphrased cue could easily be missed in performance.

Weiner is also concerned with the assumption that an actor/reporter would tend to substitute more commonplace words for rarer ones, whereas Weiner believes such an actor might have a more vivid memory of some parts than others. Yet Q1 seems consistently simplified. Another argument for memorial reconstruction has been the presence of redundant stage directions, redundant because the script supplies or implies the action - this is supposed to evidence reporting, because the reporter has seen the action. However, Weiner points out that redundant stage directions exist in Q2, and are not uncommon in plays. Fifthly, he asserts that the account of the reconstruction of *The School for Scandal* does not resemble the circumstance under which *Hamlet* was - hypothetically - reconstructed.²⁵⁰ That reconstruction is used elsewhere (for example by Duthie) as an analogy with little examination of its appropriateness for *Hamlet*; it would have been interesting to see more detail

²⁴⁷ Urkowitz, 'Back to Basics', 258-9.

²⁴⁸ In Greg's *Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements: The Battle of Alcazar and Orlando Furioso, Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor, and Editorial Problem* and Hoppe in *The Bad Quarto of Romeo and Juliet* (Weiner, *Hamlet*, 24-45).

²⁴⁹ While there are no documents showing long runs, there were presumably sufficiently frequent performances for Nashe to be able to assume his readers would comprehend his allusion, and for Lodge to claim that [even] the oyster women called out 'Hamlet Revenge'.

²⁵⁰ Weiner does not elaborate upon this. It is an analogy used by Duthie, and is an account by an actor of how a play has been reassembled for performance. An analysis of the reconstruction of *The School for Scandal* and a comparison with the alleged reconstruction of *Hamlet* is carried out in chapter seven. The analysis supports Weiner's assertion.

following Weiner's assertion. A final example of the propositions which Weiner queries is again based on an assumption. Implicitly, a reported text would be more vivid and pictorial. The reporter would recall what he had seen as much as what he had heard. The expectation must be that the reporter has read only his part. Yet there is evidence that the supposed reporter saw the manuscript and reproduced parts which could only be seen upon the page, not heard upon the stage. For example Q1's Corambis, speaking to Montano, uses 'viz.' – 'or entring/Of a howse of lightnes viz. brothell'²⁵¹ - which Weiner does not believe would have been spoken, though it might have come from an author's manuscript. And if the incident was vivid on the stage it should be clearly marked in Q1, but, for instance, the Gravedigger's song is *not* presented on the page as a song in any way.²⁵²

Weiner's second point, regarding the need for accurate cues, leads into the findings of Menzer. His study begins with the cues of the various *dramatis personae* in the *Hamlets*, working from the assumption that since the cues were the only part of the text that was committed to memory by more than one player, there would be a premium attached to preserving them.²⁵³ However, he does not find the cues show Q1 to be a memorial reconstruction.²⁵⁴ '[R]oughly 267' cues align in all three texts, 123 of them in scenes where Marcellus appears, five during Voltemar's brief appearance, and thirty-nine when the visiting players are on stage, i.e. 167 - over fifty per cent - where an alleged reporter appears.²⁵⁵ Furthermore, he finds an unusually high correspondence between the cue alignment of Q1, Q2 and F roles for Corambis and Polonius.²⁵⁶ Menzer notes that this needs explanation - did the anonymous 'author' of Q1 have access to Corambis' part? 'If we imagine, just possibly, that the Q1 author had access to a part from an earlier *Hamlet*, we can reverse the memorial vector and consider that Q2's Polonius is, in fact, Shakespeare's "memorial reconstruction" ... of Corambis from the earlier *Hamlet*.'²⁵⁷

Indeed, Menzer complicates the semantics of 'memorial reconstruction', since he writes: 'Given that William Shakespeare rewrote an earlier *Hamlet* in which he had certainly played, was he not also

²⁵¹ N.B. '[V]iz' is 'corrected' to 'videlicet' in Irace's Q1 *Hamlet* (6.25). The assumption that the clipping or abbreviation 'viz' would not have been used in speech might be true, but in Modern English 'gym', 'pram', 'exam' are commonplace, and even the three letter abbreviation text message 'lol' can be heard today, as a 'word'.

²⁵² Weiner, *Hamlet*, 24-45.

²⁵³ Menzer, *The Hamlets*, 18.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 59.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 59.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 121.

"memorially reconstructing" *Hamlet*?²⁵⁸ Menzer goes further: 'I do believe that the man or men responsible for Q1 played in *Hamlet*, Shakespeare's play and possibly the earlier play'.²⁵⁹ He speculates upon a Shakespeare acting in the early *Hamlet*, plus a perhaps communal group reconstructing a *Hamlet* Q1, giving a text or memory of a text from which Shakespeare works. 'The longer Q2 version expands the counsellor's volubility and, in the first ten lines, his sycophancy.' 'If Q2 rewrites Q1...'.²⁶⁰ Menzer's approach combines the evidence of the quartos with the possible effects of performances that Shakespeare may have seen or participated in (it is Nicholas Rowe who reports that Shakespeare played the Ghost in his own *Hamlet*²⁶¹). Menzer's findings and ideas suggest different and complex origins for Q1 and Q2.

Werstine also suggests a complex relationship between the *Hamlets*. He recalls the early thoughts of Alfred Pollard and J.D. Wilson, that the 'bad' quartos might have been non-Shakespearean plays that had been shortened for provincial playing, and partially revised by Shakespeare.²⁶² Werstine points out that 'foul papers' and 'memorial reconstruction' are 'hypothetical constructs that have yet to be empirically validated with reference to any extant Shakespeare quarto',²⁶³ a strong reminder of how uncertain the hypothesis of memorial reconstruction really is. Werstine also reminds us of Moseley's *Preface* to Beaumont and Fletcher's first folio in 1647, which explained how actors transcribed what they had acted when 'private friends desir'd a copy', while the folio included *all* that was acted and that which had been omitted. This would suggest a proliferation of manuscripts, with alterations which might be introduced accidentally or purposefully by Shakespeare, fellow actors, transcribers, adapters, and censors, for example; a whole host of possible hands might have touched the script before it reached the printers.²⁶⁴

A different approach, and one in which the author declares his non-partisanship, is found in Alan Dessen's essay, *Weighing the Options in Hamlet Q1*. In considering the two major theories of revisionism and memorial reconstruction he asks the critical question: '[I]f x is not in Q1, does that mean that x has been cut by an adapter or forgotten by a reporter, or that x has not yet been

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 114.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 121, 122.

²⁶¹ Furness, *Variorum Hamlet* vol II, 9. It is a third or fourth hand account, involving Sir William Davenant and the actor Betterton who was making enquiries for Rowe.

²⁶² Werstine, 'Narratives about Printed Shakespearean Texts', 66.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 81.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 85-6.

conceived?'²⁶⁵ He concedes that differences between Q1 and F1 'can be explained in terms of faulty reporting, abridgement, and sloppy printing'. Yet an absence of a line or lines from Q1 does not guarantee the line or lines was/were present in the version from which Q1 supposedly derives. Dessen points to Hibbard's genuine dilemma in trying to ascertain whether passages in Q2 or F for which there is no sign in Q1 are absent because of a reporter's forgetfulness, or 'have been deliberately excised from it'.²⁶⁶ Dessen's approach is important, because he implies that any finding or speculation should be evaluated against memorial reconstruction, and abridgement, and revision; it is the approach taken in subsequent chapters.

The criticisms of memorial reconstruction have led to some recent re-examination and a defence of the hypothesis. A systematic investigation into the theory is found in Laurie E. Maguire's *Shakespeare's suspect texts: The 'bad' quartos and their contexts* (1996).²⁶⁷ Maguire identifies assumptions underlying the theory - that actors were responsible, that memorial reconstructions were for performance, that dramas for provincial touring were shortened - which are unevidenced. She notes the theory's flexibility in explaining almost any textual problem, invaluable when other explanations were rejected: 'bad' quartos seen as source plays required a dramatist with Shakespeare's gifts for plotting, characterisation and poetry but who has left no other trace; rough drafts required a Shakespeare whose progress was remarkably rapid; longhand or shorthand thieves went curiously unnoticed and unchallenged. Maguire's study came about as a consequence of the changed view of Q1 and F *King Lear*, from Q1 as memorial reconstruction to F as Shakespeare's revised version of the play, and the re-interpretation of the 'evidence' supporting this. She questions the diagnoses of memorial reconstruction in other Shakespearean and contemporary texts, forty-one in total.

Maguire suggests that the status and influence of the theory was due in part to the unified front presented by a select group of prominent twentieth century scholars: Greg, McKerrow, Pollard, Dover Wilson and Duthie, particularly Greg. While ultimately disagreeing with some of the interpretations of these scholars, Maguire acknowledges the bibliographical details they identified, and the qualifications regarding their own interpretations. Her approach is a meticulous re-examination of the arguments the majority of scholars proposed for memorial reconstruction, the questions posed by a minority opposing the theory, and her own interrogation of the 'evidence'.

²⁶⁵ Alan C. Dessen, 'Weighing the Options in *Hamlet* Q1', edited by Thomas Clayton. *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 71.

²⁶⁶ Hibbard, *Hamlet*, 88.

²⁶⁷ Laurie E. Maguire, *Shakespeare's suspect texts: The 'bad' quartos and their contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Maguire's lists of the characteristics posited by bibliographers as evidence of memorial reconstruction include: abbreviation, transposition of material, synonyms, recollections internal and external, inferior metre, verse divided as prose, anticipations, paraphrases, summaries, repetitions, omissions, lack of literary merit, weakness in meaning, incompetent story-telling, and superfluous stage directions.²⁶⁸ For her own analysis, she concentrates on twenty-eight features.²⁶⁹ The occurrence of these she identifies in a wide range of Renaissance play texts, 'evaluating possible alternative explanations for their occurrence'.²⁷⁰ She concludes that only two or possibly three are relevant to memorial reconstruction. Tables II to XLII in her book present an overview of her findings in those suspect texts in lettered note form. Point S summarises 'previous verdicts' and demonstrates the lack of consensus. Thus for Q1 *Hamlet* (Table XII) Maguire summarises previous verdicts as abridgement, memorial reconstruction, memorial reconstruction of an abridged version, authorial draft and adaptation of memorially reconstructed version, and Point T's conclusion is that Q1 *Hamlet* is 'Possibly MR, but if so, a very good one'.²⁷¹ Her table XLIII is a summary of the preceding forty-one analyses: in brief she concludes not one is unquestionably memorial reconstruction, though a strong case can be made for four (three Shakespearean), some case for three (including Q1 *Hamlet*), two are probably not memorial reconstruction, and the remaining thirty-two are not. Maguire's significance is not only her view on *Hamlet*, but also the challenge she presents to the theory of memorial reconstruction of the other plays she considers.

Other defences can be found. Wells and Taylor defend it partly by arguing against revision, claiming that those promoting revision isolate 'for discussion individual passages in individual texts, rather than surveying each text or the whole group of texts in their entirety'.²⁷² Sidney Thomas also provides a spirited defence for memorial reconstruction and the 'corrupt' text view of Q1 against revisionism in *Hamlet Q1: First Version or Bad Quarto?*²⁷³ He argues that even if Q1 is generally

²⁶⁸ Maguire, *Shakespeare's suspect texts*, 9-10.

²⁶⁹ Maguire uses three categories: 1. Repetition, with external echoes/recollection, internal repetition, paraphrase, connective repetition, formulae, banal and stereotyped exit lines, insertion, extra-metrical connectives, local/topical references, expanded clowning, omission, transposition, submerged or wrecked verse, aural error, length of speeches, fractured allusions; factual errors, unevenness, character vignette, poor jesting; 2. the play: plot unconformities, reduced casting, staging requirements; 3. the text: brevity, stage directions, descriptive stage directions, vestigial characters, massed entries, mislined verse, punctuation (ibid., 159-223).

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 223.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 255-6.

²⁷² Wells and Taylor, *Textual Companion*, 27.

²⁷³ Sidney Thomas, 'Hamlet Q1: First Version or Bad Quarto?' edited by Thomas Clayton, *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986).

coherent and can function as an acting version, these qualities do not 'destroy the argument that Q1 is a "bad" quarto'.²⁷⁴ He claims: 'Any pirate actor or actors, working with or without outside editorial help, would have been capable of putting together a dramatically plausible version of the play, and of substituting new stage business for the imperfectly remembered action of the original'.²⁷⁵ He comments on the 'gross corruptions of language' in Q1, and declares that: 'To accept feeble or coherent verse as truly Shakespearean is to reveal a basic incomprehension of Shakespeare's achievement as a poetic dramatist'.²⁷⁶ (Of course, Shakespeare might have needed a second attempt to achieve that greatness.) Thomas dismisses the Q1 'To be, or not to be' speech as a 'farrago of nonsense', questioning how it could be seen other than as the 'desperate improvisations of a reporter jumbling up the bits and pieces supplied by his fallibility?'.²⁷⁷ His essay includes a series of juxtaposed Q1 and Q2 passages to illustrate the 'compiler's or compilers' memory lapses and fumbling attempts to improvise',²⁷⁸ and argues that it would be a 'move backwards' if the mainstream view of some quartos including *Hamlet* were not regarded as on the whole pirated, corrupt texts.²⁷⁹ Certainly his examples show differences. He writes as forcefully as Sams; they represent two polar opposites on the subject of the quartos' relationship.

Alternative views such as abridgement and revisionism and disputes about memorial reconstruction may be emerging as a result of changing views on Q1. The derogatory descriptors such as 'mangled', 'maimed' and 'corrupt' of the 19th century have not disappeared - Sidney Thomas is evidence of that. But a small number of productions of Q1 have revealed a text regarded as having pace and dramatic effectiveness. Stephen Orgel has commented that '[i]f we were less concerned with the authority of texts, and more with the nature of plays, these would be good quartos'.²⁸⁰ Holderness and Loughrey, editing Q1 *Hamlet*, also argue for its merits. Their introduction begins with four complimentary quotations following a 1985 performance of Q1, for example 'the most entirely satisfactory piece of tragic acting of the year'.²⁸¹ Peter Guinness, interviewed by Loughrey about

²⁷⁴ Thomas, 'Hamlet Q1: First Version or Bad Quarto?', 250.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 250.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 251.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 251. One can only become suspicious when a scholar resorts to emotive language.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 254.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 255.

²⁸⁰ Stephen Orgel, *Imagining Shakespeare* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 4.

²⁸¹ Holderness and Loughrey, *Hamlet*, 13.

performing in Q1, commented on the play's 'energy', its 'muscularity and directness'.²⁸² Thompson and Taylor report Donald Wolfitt's statement regarding the position of the 'To be or not to be' speech and the Queen's declaration that she never knew of the murder: 'I consider Shakespeare showed superior craftsmanship in the first Quarto than in the later editions'.²⁸³

Whether or not the occasional appreciative response to Q1 is the reason, the two quartos remain subjects for debate, on date and chronology. While chapter two shows a fairly well agreed narrative of an early *Hamlet*, Q2 dating from c.1600, and Q1 as a memorial reconstruction, chapter three shows that there is a wide variation of opinion, much of it wholly conflicting with the views of those in chapter two. Perhaps Shakespeare wrote Q1 as early as 1585-6 (Elze). Or it could be that he wrote Q2 first in late 1588, with Q1 being derived from it (Cairncross). Perhaps he wrote Q1 first and revised it at some point (for example Knight), or wrote Q2 first c.1600, which was converted to an acting version and then abridged (Hart). Or Q2 was abridged (for example Weiner). Even a résumé as brief as this illustrates the uncertainty surrounding the quartos and their composition.

Although Cunliffe wrote of the 'unanimous' opinion of scholars, it is easy to find considerable variation among those writing about *Hamlet*. Together chapters two and three illustrate fundamentally contradictory interpretations of Nashe's *Preface*, Henslowe's *Diary* and Meres' *Palladis Tamia*, and even of the priority of the quartos and their relationship; also illustrated are emotive language, assumptions, hypotheses, and careful reasoning. While many scholars offer enlightenment, some through qualifiers or rhetoric hint at weaknesses in the positions they adopt. The background reading for chapters two and three raises questions and issues: if the (alleged) *Ur-Hamlet* was performed by 1589, in 1594, and was still known in 1596, it must have been popular, and there was presumably a script for it. Why did Marcellus (*inter alia*) need to reconstruct Shakespeare's version? Cunliffe's dismissal of Jack is sweeping, but it is *not* supported by responses to each of Jack's points. Why does Dover Wilson drop his suggestion about Tarleton? Is it significant that later Dover Wilson works with Pollard and Duthie, who support a Q2 -> Q1 sequence? And why is it that Thompson and Taylor, in the latest edition of *Hamlet* examined here, are so circumspect about Nashe? The result of the research brought together in these chapters has been to throw considerable doubt upon many of the arguments espoused in chapter two, and, very usefully, to indicate areas for closer investigation. This begins in chapter four, with Nashe's *Preface*.

²⁸² Bryan Loughrey, 'Q1 in Recent Performance: An Interview', edited by Thomas Clayton. *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 125.

²⁸³ Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet 1603 and 1623*, 22.

Chapter 4

Reassessing the Evidence for the Date of Shakespeare's Composition of *Hamlet*:

Contemporary Records

The two preceding chapters show that scholars have considered dates from the mid 1580s to the early 1600s for Shakespeare's first composition of *Hamlet*. For some, that late sixteenth century *Hamlet* is the text of Q1 (for example, Elze, Sams), but for many, Shakespeare's first *Hamlet*, as it has come down to us, is Q2. The variation and divergence in the dates is found despite scholars' examination of the same sources.²⁸⁴ It is one of the notable peculiarities of *Hamlet* that there are references to a play of that name more than a decade before its first publication in 1603.

Two lines of approach are taken in chapter four. The first offers a brief summary of the few key points which can be adduced to argue for an 'early' or 'late' start to Shakespeare's writing career. It is true that proof of when Shakespeare began to write is far from conclusive, but some hints can be deduced from contemporary documents relating to Shakespeare. The second approach reviews the contemporary references considered to allude to *Hamlet* prior to Q1's publication in 1603, beginning with a re-evaluation of Nashe's *Preface*, critical to any discussion of *Hamlet*. Analysis demonstrates for example that the *Preface* does not offer any evidence that 'Kid' denotes Thomas Kyd; indeed, there is evidence that excludes 'Kid' from alluding to Thomas Kyd. Next a key excerpt from Henslowe's *Diary* is examined; the 'hamlet' played at Newington Butts and its context show no evidence of authorship. Thomas Lodge in his *Wits Miserie* does mention a 'Hamlet' with a Ghost and a revenge theme; its context indicates the combination was well-known by 1596, though there is no mention of an author. Meres' *Palladis Tamis* is shown to be inconsistently interpreted by Shakespearean scholars, and to contribute nothing definitive at all to the existence or absence of a Shakespearean *Hamlet* in 1598. Gabriel Harvey's two sets of relevant marginalia are also mentioned, and it is suggested that the marked passages or 'sententiae' in *Lucrece* and *Hamlet* may have been of interest to him, as one of the 'wiser sort'.²⁸⁵ Together the reassessment of contemporary records demonstrates that there is some slight evidence for Shakespeare writing in his early twenties, and that early references to a *Hamlet* do not hint at a named author.

²⁸⁴ It is true of course that Malone did not see Q1 *Hamlet*, and could therefore not adjust any of his comments. However, many subsequent scholars have supported his dating of *Hamlet* c. 1600.

²⁸⁵ Presumably Harvey would have seen himself as one of the 'wiser sort'.

4.i An 'early' or 'late' start?

One of the difficulties of estimating the point at which Shakespeare may have started writing is related to the lack of knowledge of his education and his whereabouts during the 'lost' years. The only contemporary records relating to the Free School in Stratford in the 1570s give the names of the masters (Simon Hunt, Thomas Jenkins, and John Cotton).²⁸⁶ There is no list of pupils, and no account of its curriculum. Shakespeare is assumed to have attended; the curriculum is assumed to be similar to, for instance, Leicester's Free Grammar School, and aspects of what he learnt is inferred from the plays and the then current educational books.²⁸⁷ Nothing is known of his facility in learning, whether he was exceptional as an eidetic or echoic pupil, or how he became a polyglot, though the plays prove familiarity with at least Latin, French, and Italian, according to Kenneth Muir in *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays*.²⁸⁸ Katherine Duncan-Jones, for whom Shakespeare was an 'early starter', points out that Richard Field, also from Stratford, went to London, was apprenticed (aged eighteen) to the Huguenot printer Vautrollier, and was involved in publishing books in, for example, French, Italian, Spanish and Welsh, the implication being that Field must have acquired a facility in some modern languages.²⁸⁹ Indeed, some of the translations from Italian that Field printed even advertised his name as 'Ricardo del Campo'.²⁹⁰ While it is known that Shakespeare was lodging with a French Huguenot family in 1604,²⁹¹ that is too late for him to learn French for the source of *Hamlet*, or indeed for the French conversation in act 3 scene iv in *Henry V*, published in 1600.

A small number of details about Shakespeare's domestic life in the 1580s and very early 1590s can be found in the records. The bond of sureties of 28th November 1582 for 'William Shagspere' and 'Anne Hathwey' permits them to solemnize matrimony lawfully, when he was eighteen.²⁹² The Stratford records note the baptism of their daughter Susanna on 26th May 1583 and of their twins on

²⁸⁶ Peter Quennell, *Shakespeare* (London: Readers Union, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1964), 21.

²⁸⁷ Park Honan, *Shakespeare: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 45.

²⁸⁸ Kenneth Muir, *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd., 1977), 4, 6.

²⁸⁹ Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare: Scenes from his Life* (London: Thomson Learning, 2001), 5.

²⁹⁰ For example Spanish translations of the Bible by the Italian Cipriano de Valera (1532-1602).

²⁹¹ The information comes from the Belott-Mountjoy case. Curiously, a James Bellott is entered in the Stationers' Register for 'A grammer in Frenche and Englishe', to be published by Robert Robinson and dated 14th February 1588 (Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640 A.D.* vol II (London, privately printed, 1875), 225v.

²⁹² Chambers, *WS* vol II, 41-2.

2nd February 1585.²⁹³ In 1592, when Shakespeare was twenty-eight, he lent seven pounds to John Clayton.²⁹⁴ The years from approximately the conception of the twins to 1592 are sometimes referred to as the 'lost years'; it is not certain where Shakespeare was at this time, or what he was doing. Peter Levi comments that there is 'no evidence whatever that [Shakespeare] left home while his three children were so extremely young'.²⁹⁵ While this is true, there is no evidence that Shakespeare stayed in Stratford either. Robert Bearman comments that for additions to the family to stop after two conceptions 'was most unusual. A large family was regarded as necessary for a number of reasons...Shakespeare's improving social position and increasing wealth made a male heir essential...'.²⁹⁶ Of course reasons other than an absence from Stratford may have led to the lack of further children, and an absence from Stratford does not necessarily place Shakespeare in London.

There is a little to suggest Shakespeare was an actor, though it is uncertain when he began acting. On 20th September 1592 a pamphlet entitled *A Groatworth of Wit*, apparently by Robert Greene,²⁹⁷ was published. Greene addresses 'those Gentlemen his Quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making plays', and warns them of an 'upstart Crow, beautified with our feathers', who is 'the only Shake-scene in a country'. If the play on 'Shake-scene' is accepted as referring to Shakespeare, and if the metaphor 'beautified with our feathers'²⁹⁸ can be read as denoting that the actor was successful ('beautified') because of the excellent lines ('feathers') written by the three playwrights Greene is addressing, this would support the idea of Shakespeare as an actor by 1592. Nicholas Rowe, writing up the first biography of Shakespeare in 1709, claims that the height of Shakespeare's performance was as the Ghost in his own *Hamlet*, but offers no date for this. More convincing is the playwright's name, 'Will. Shakespeare', at the head of the cast list in the front of Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour* in 1598, and in the cast list for *Sejanus* - 'Will Shake-Spear' - in 1603. The dates 1592, 1598 and 1603 might indicate that Shakespeare was acting in his (late) twenties and well into his thirties.

²⁹³ Robert Bearman, *Shakespeare in the Stratford Records*. The Shakespeare Birth Trust: Alan Sutton Ltd. (Trowbridge, Wiltshire: Redwood Books, 1994), 79.

²⁹⁴ Willelmus Shackspere was the lender: Diana Price, *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography* (Westport Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2001), 15.

²⁹⁵ Peter Levi, *The Life and Times of William Shakespeare* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 39.

²⁹⁶ Bearman, *Shakespeare in the Stratford Records*, 8.

²⁹⁷ The pamphlet has been attributed to Henry Chettle on stylistic grounds, by Warren B. Austin (Price, *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography*, 28-30).

²⁹⁸ It would be very satisfying to know whether Greene is echoing 'beautified' in *Hamlet*, or *Hamlet* echoes Greene, or whether the use of the word in each context is purely fortuitous.

There is a little speculation about when Shakespeare first started writing poetry. Andrew Gurr has suggested sonnet 145 puns on 'hate away'/ 'Hathaway'; it might even appear to present 'young William's courtship of Anne in late summer 1582', when Shakespeare was eighteen.²⁹⁹ Honan sees the sonnet as 'not beyond the skill of a bright grammar school boy', and continues with 'it is likely he wrote more ambitious works during his courtship'.³⁰⁰ Lee writes more generally: 'In matter and in manner the bulk of the poems suggest that they came from the pen of a man not much more than thirty',³⁰¹ though he offers no evidence for this in the context. Duncan-Jones places sonnet 144, later published in *The Passionate Pilgrim* in 1599, as 'also written relatively early', because it was published in 1599. 'Early' is not defined.³⁰²

It is tempting to place sonnet 130 early - in the mid 1580s - because it parodies a poem in Thomas Watson's *Hecatopathia* or *Passionate Centurie of Love*, published in 1582. Watson's publication at least marks a probable *terminus post quem*, when Shakespeare is eighteen. The parody, presented in parallel with Watson's sonnet in table 4.a overleaf, is witty and convincing, but it is not possible to determine how soon after Watson's publication the parody was executed.³⁰³ Analogies are unhelpful here; for example Nashe's parody, *Anatomie of Absurdities*, was printed six years after Stubbes' *Anatomie of Abuses*. There are other texts of the period which are linked, such as Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* and Fletcher's 'sequel', *The Woman's Prize* or *The Tamer Tamed* (Shakespeare's *Shrew* may be c. 1590-1,³⁰⁴ while Fletcher's play is usually dated 1609-11³⁰⁵), and *Hamlet* is clearly parodied in Thomas Middleton's³⁰⁶ *Revenger's Tragedy* (printed 1603, 1604-5 and 1606 respectively). This shows that, regrettably, little can be deduced by analogy about the time span between Watson's and Shakespeare's sonnets. Thus the first formal record of Shakespeare's writing career begins with the entry on the Stationers' Register of *Venus and Adonis* on the 18th April 1593, and the poem's printing that year. How long his apprenticeship in poetry was is unknown.

²⁹⁹ Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare*, 18.

³⁰⁰ Honan, *Shakespeare: A Life*, 120.

³⁰¹ Lee, *A Life*, 86.

³⁰² Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare*, 107.

³⁰³ Peter Quennell proposes the same sonnet may parody Drayton's sonnet lxxi, but the parallels are fewer and markedly less convincing (Quennell, *Shakespeare*, 130).

³⁰⁴ Wells and Taylor, *Textual Companion*, 111.

³⁰⁵ Lucy Munro, editor, *John Fletcher: The Tamer Tamed* (London: Methuen Drama, 20102) xv-xvi.

³⁰⁶ Or Cyril Tourneur's: there is debate about the play's authorship.

Table 4.a Parallels in Watson's and Shakespeare's 'sonnets'³⁰⁷

<i>Passion</i> , in original line order ³⁰⁸	Sonnet 130, parallel lines matched (line number)
Harke you that liste to heare what sainte I serue:	I grant I never saw a goddess go, (11) My mistress when she walks treads on the ground. (12)
Her yellow lockes exceede the beaten goulde;	If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head (4)
Her sparkeling eies in heau'n a place deserue;	My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun, (1)
Her forehead high and faire of comely moulde;	
Her words are musicke all of siluer sounde;	I love the hear her speak, yet well I know, (9) That music hath a far more pleasing sound: (10)
Her wit so sharpe as like can scarce be found:	
Each eyebrowe hanges like <i>Iris</i> in the skies;	
Her <i>Eagles</i> nose is straight of stately frame;	
On either cheeke a <i>Rose</i> and <i>Lillie</i> lies;	I have seen roses damasked, red and white (5) But no such roses see I in her cheeks (6)
Her breath is sweete perfume, or hollie flame;	And in some perfumes is there more delight, (7) Than in the breath that from my mistress reeks. (8)
Her lips more red than any <i>Corall</i> stone;	Coral is far more red, than her lips red, (2)
Her necke more white, then aged Swans yat mone;	
Her brest transparent is, like <i>Christall</i> rocke;	If snow be white, why then her breasts are dun: (3)
Her fingers long, fit for <i>Apolloes</i> Lute;	
Her slipper such as <i>Momus</i> dare not mocke;	
Her vertues all so great as make me mute:	And yet by heaven I think my love as rare, (13) As any she belied with false compare. (14)
What other partes she hath I neede not say,	
Whose face alone is cause of my decaye.	

³⁰⁷ The parody was pointed out by Patrick Cruttwell, *The Shakespearean Moment and its place in the poetry of the 17th century* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1954), 18, and is repeated by Dover Wilson, *Sonnets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), cx.

³⁰⁸ Wilson, *Sonnets*, cx.

Early references to Shakespeare as a player/playwright are more convincing than to him as a poet. Greene's Groatsworth 'upstart Crow' continues:

... beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tyger's heart wrapped in a Player's hide*, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you: and being an absolute *Johannes fac totum*, is in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a country...³⁰⁹

Greene seems to be alluding to *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York* (3*Henry VI* 1.4.137), and with the term '*Johannes fac totum*' seems to be identifying Shakespeare as both actor and playwright.³¹⁰ In the same year Nashe's *Pierce Pennilesse* apparently pays tribute to *1Henry VI*:

...How it would have joyed brave Talbot, the terror of the French, to think that after he had lain two hundred years in his tomb, he should triumph again on the stage, and have his bones new embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators at least...³¹¹

The casual allusion by Greene would suggest Shakespeare was reasonably well-known; the tribute by Nashe, even allowing for exaggeration in 'ten thousand', would suggest the play had been performed several times³¹² and was also reasonably well-known. There is another contemporary allusion that is, however, often disregarded. Ben Jonson in his *Induction to Bartholomew Fair*, published in 1614 writes:

Hee that will sweare, *Ieronimo*, or *Andronicus* are the best playes, yet, shall passe vnexcepted at, here, as a man whose Iudgement shews it is constant, and hath stood still, these fiue and twentie, or thirtie yeeres'.³¹³

This indicates a date of 1584-1589 for *Titus Andronicus*, and an age of twenty to twenty-five for Shakespeare - but Jonson's statement is not straightforwardly accepted. J.C. Maxwell comments, 'No doubt Jonson need not have meant his arithmetic to be taken too literally',³¹⁴ and Wells and Taylor 'are inclined to interpret Jonson more loosely'.³¹⁵ Thus, despite Jonson who is a contemporary

³⁰⁹ Price, *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography*, 48.

³¹⁰ '[B]ombast out a blank verse as the best of you' is potentially ambiguous; does it refer to writing or speech?

³¹¹ <http://www.luminarium.org/renlit/penniless.htm>. Accessed 27th February 2012.

³¹² The Globe theatre in Shakespeare's time seems to have had a capacity of about 1500, with perhaps the same number again outside. <http://www.globe-theatre.org.uk/globe-audience.htm>. Accessed 17th June 2012.

³¹³ J.C. Maxwell, *Titus Andronicus*. Arden Shakespeare (London: Routledge, 1993), xxii.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, xxii.

³¹⁵ Wells and Taylor, *Textual Companion*, 114.

witness, Chambers suggests 1593-4 for *Titus Andronicus*, partly because of the Stationers' Register's entry for 6th February 1594 of 'A Noble Roman Historie of Tytus Andronicus',³¹⁶ and Wells and Taylor, while seeing the most probable date for composition as 'late 1580s or early 1590s', actually date *Titus Andronicus* as 1592.³¹⁷ Maxwell suggests 'about 1589-90'.³¹⁸ The issue is complicated by the reluctance of some to attribute such a play partly to or wholly to Shakespeare, with, for example, Maxwell seeing George Peele having a share in the play,³¹⁹ and Dowden prepared to 'set aside *Titus Andronicus* as the work of an unknown writer'.³²⁰ Brian Vickers offers an extensive account of studies on *Titus*, effectively reclaiming it as an early Shakespearean play.³²¹ It is odd that Ben Jonson's testimony is not received the same way as Greene's. It could be because of the unwillingness to attribute *Titus Andronicus* to Shakespeare; it could be because the allusion functions retrospectively; it could be because although Jonson names 'Andronicus' he does not name Shakespeare, or 'Shake-scene', or it could even be because the writer does not believe Shakespeare's writing career started that early.

A possible, fourth allusion to those 'lost' years is that of Nashe to 'Hamlets' (1589), discussed below in 4.ii. Much later comes John Aubrey's comment, that '[h]e began early to make essayes...';³²² this comment was published in 1681, at least two generations after Shakespeare's death. Once again, 'early' is not defined.

The paucity of facts and the need to bridge the 'vertiginous expanse'³²³ between his assumed education and the breadth of learning and reading displayed in his plays perhaps make the argument for a late start to Shakespeare's writing career persuasive. However, it is a little odd to place Shakespeare as both the greatest of playwrights and a late developer, later than Marlowe, or Jonson, for example. Moreover, Greene and Nashe appear to allude to a writer who is well-known already, and it is most unlikely that *Venus and Adonis* was not preceded by apprentice pieces. It seems reasonable to infer that Shakespeare was writing in the 1580s, and that his contemporaries

³¹⁶ Chambers, *WS* vol I, 370.

³¹⁷ Wells and Taylor, *Textual Companion*, 114.

³¹⁸ Maxwell, *Titus Andronicus*, xxiv.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, xxiv.

³²⁰ Dowden, *Mind and Art*, 95.

³²¹ Brian Vickers, *Shakespeare as Co-Author* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 148-243.

³²² Chambers, *WS* vol II, 253.

³²³ Samuel Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare's Lives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 767.

were indeed 'Lily' (1554-1606), 'Kid' (1558-1594), and 'Marlowe' (1564-93).³²⁴ Table 4.b summarises fact, allusion and some speculation.

Table 4.b Facts and allusions regarding the age at which Shakespeare began writing

Date	Text	Date of text	Status of text: Fact, Speculation, Possible/probable allusion	Shakespeare's age
1582, 28 th Nov	Bond of sureties for marriage	1582	Fact	18
1582	Thomas Watson's <i>Hecatompithia</i> and subsequent parody in sonnet 130	1582	Allusion – date of parody speculative	18+
1582 ?	Sonnet 145 ('hate away')	1582 ?	Speculation	18+
1583, 26 th May	Susanna's baptism	1583	Fact	20
1585, 2 nd Feb	Twins' baptism	1585	Fact	21
1584-9	Jonson's Introduction to <i>Bartholomew's Fair</i> stating <i>Andronicus</i> dates from 1584-9	1614	Allusion -doubted	20-25
1589, August	Nashe's <i>Preface</i> and first known mention of <i>Hamlets</i>	1589	Allusion - minority accept as Shakespeare's	25
1592, 20 th September	Green's <i>Groatsworth</i> and reference to 'Shake-scene' and <i>3HVI</i>	1592	Allusion - generally accepted	28
1592	Nashe's <i>Pierce Pennilesse</i> and reference to brave Talbot i.e. <i>IHVI</i>	1592	Allusion - generally accepted	28
1593	<i>Venus and Adonis</i>	1593	Fact	29

4.ii Nashe's *Preface*: 1589

Nashe's *Preface* is critical both to whether Shakespeare was writing in the 1580s, and to whether a Shakespearean *Hamlet* was in existence by August 1589. Since there has been vigorous debate but not unanimity in the elucidation of Nashe's *Preface*, it is perhaps superfluous to state that Nashe is

³²⁴ '...how farre thou didst our Lily out-shine,/Or sporting Kid or Marlowe's mighty line...' From Ben Jonson's dedication to F1 (Peter Alexander, *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1951), xxviii).

not the easiest author to interpret. The challenge of understanding his *Preface* results from a number of different factors, such as his use of irony, metaphor, ambiguity, contemporary reference, his sustained use of alliteration as part of his euphuistic and rhetorical style, dramatic switches in tone, and a desire to display his wit and erudition to his contemporaries. All of these can blur his intended meaning for the modern reader. Nevertheless, his *Preface* was central to nineteenth and very early twentieth century discussion of *Hamlet*, as a consequence of Malone's suggestion that '[p]erhaps' Kyd was the author of the '*Hamlets*' mentioned in that *Preface*, and it remains so today. As discussion will refer not only to the principal extract but also to a small number of shorter extracts from the same *Preface*, these are printed below, in the order in which they occur. The critical passage is given in full again, for easy reference. As in the previous chapters McKerrow's edition has been used, and page and line references are included; emboldened passages are central to the discussion following.

Extracts from Nashe's *Preface* to Greene's *Menaphon*:

TO THE GENTLEMEN STVDENTS OF BOTH VNIVERSITIES

Cvrteous and wise (page 311, line 1)

I come (**sweet friend**) to thy *Arcadian Menaphon* (312, 15-16)

a tale of loane of Brainfords will, and the vnlucky frumenty, will be as soone entertained into their libraries as the best Poëme that euer *Tasso* eternisht: which, being the effect of an vndiscerning iudgment, makes drosse as valuable as gold, and losse as wel-come as gaine, the **Glowworme** mentioned in *Æsops Fables*, namely the **Apes** folly, to be mistaken for fire (314, 15 - 21)

But lest I might seeme, with these nightcrowes, *Nimis curiosus in aliena republica*, I will turne backe to my first text of Studies of delight, and talke a little in friendship with a few of our triuall translators....It is a common practise now a days amongst a sort of shifting companions, that runne through euery Art and thriue by none, to leaue the trade of *Noverint*, whereto they were borne, and busie themselues with the indeuours of Art, that could scarcely Latinize their neck verse if they should haue neede; yet English *Seneca* read by Candlelight yeelds many good sentences, as *Blood is a begger*, and so forth; **and if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, hee will afford you whole Hamlets, I should say handfulls of Tragicall speeches.** But O grieve! *Tempus edax rerum*, what that will last always? The Sea exhaled by droppes will in continuance bee drie, and Seneca, let blood line by line and page by page, at length must needs die to our Stage: which makes his famished followers to imitate the **Kid in**

Æsop, who enamoured with the **Foxes newfangles**, forsooke all hopes of life to leape into a **newe occupation**; and these men, **renouncing all possibilities of credite or estimation**, to intermeddle with Italian Translations: wherein how poorely they haue plodded, (as those that are neither prouenzall men, nor are able to distinguish of Articles,) let all indifferent Gentlemen that haue travelled in that tongue discern by their two-pennie Pamphlets. And no maruell though their home borne mediocritie bee such in this matter; for what can be hoped of those that force *Elisium* into hell, and haue not learned, so long as they haue liued in the Spheres, the iust measure of the Horizon without an hexameter? Sufficeth them to bodge vp a blanke verse with ifs and ands, and otherwhile for recreation after their Candle-stuffe, hauing starched their beards most curiously, to make a Peripateticall path into the inner parts of the Citie, and spend two or three howers turning ouer French Dowdie, where they can attract more infection in one minute than they can do eloquence all daies of their life, by conuersing with Authors of like argument ... (315 - 316, 21 - 25)

Saint Johns in Cambridge... her students; hauing (as I haue heard graue men of credite report) moe Candles light in it, eury Winter morning before foure of the clocke... (317, 10-16)

But Fortune, the Mistrisse of change, with a pittying compassion respecting **Maister Stanihursts** praise ... **whose heroicall poetry, infired, I should say inspired, with a hexameter furie** ... and reuiued by his ragged quill such carterly varietie as no hodge plowman in a country but would haue held as the **extremitie of clownerie** (319, 23-31)

diuine Master Spencer, the miracle of wit (323, 9-10).

Anatomie of Absurdities (324, 27)

A significant characteristic of Nashe's style is its rambling nature; like Molly Bloom in her stream of consciousness in *Ulysses*, Nashe touches upon a subject only to digress, often returning to the original matter later on. Unravelling some of the threads by reference to points elsewhere in the fifteen page *Preface* permits some useful deductions to be made about the issues which concerned the scholars who first analysed the passage. The matters addressed include the typography of 'Hamlets' and of 'Kid', the meaning of 'the Kid in Aesop', Nashe's use of plurals, his diatribe and its application to Kyd, Nashe's naming of a specific target of his satire, his employment of second and third person pronouns, and his parallel phrasing.

The first inquiry is into the accuracy of Jack's ultimate conclusion that it was not 'perfectly clear that

Nash knew of a Hamlet drama'.³²⁵ McKerrow's footnotes to the critical passage reveal that in the 1589 edition³²⁶ 'Hamlets' was italicised and capitalised.³²⁷ In modern typography this would suggest a title, and indeed in the *Preface* italics are used for titles, for example Greene's '*Arcadian Menaphort*',³²⁸ and Nashe's promotion of his own writing, '*Anatomie of Absurdities*'.³²⁹ It is true italics are used for other purposes, such as Latin, fictional Latin names, classical authors' names, fifteenth and sixteenth century names, places, apparent quotations and for 'Dowdie',³³⁰ but this does not detract from 'Hamlets' being presented as a title. 'Hamlets' occurs in the same sentence as Seneca, associated with revenge tragedies, and 'Tragicall speeches'. Typography and context make it a reasonably safe interpretation that '*Hamlets*' is a text, probably one Nashe is gently mocking, and probably a play.

A second question concerns 'Kid', and what it does or may denote. Cunliffe and others considered 'Kid' alluded to Thomas Kyd, as well as denoting a young goat. Like 'Hamlets', 'Kid' is capitalised. In fact the *Preface* contains a surprising number of animals, as table 4.c below shows, and fifteen out of seventeen, or 88% of them, have capitals. It is unsurprising to find an inconsistent use of capital letters in English Renaissance writing, but it is clear that Nashe or his printer have been fairly consistent in typography, capitalizing animals. As a result, the presence of an initial capital letter alone does not prove any connection between 'Kid' (small goat) and 'Kyd/Kydd/Kidd' (Thomas Kyd). The words are usually taken to be homophones, but to rest the argument for Kyd as the author of an early *Hamlet* upon a homophone alone is to make a very precarious case. Additionally McKerrow pointed out that there happens to have been no writer of the name of 'Glow-worm', another animal mentioned earlier in the *Preface*.³³¹ It is only because there *was* a writer called 'Kyd' that the link between a 'kid' and 'Kyd' can be proposed. Duthie rightly points out that Nashe can and does pun on names; in Nashe's *Anatomie of Absurdities*, parodying Philip Stubbes' *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583), Nashe writes about those who are 'pretending to anatomize abuses and stubbe up sin by the

³²⁵ Jack, 'Thomas Kyd and the Ur-Hamlet', 748.

³²⁶ McKerrow printed his edition from the 1610 edition (McKerrow, *Thomas Nashe* vol III, 309).

³²⁷ McKerrow has a footnote for the relevant line, line 33, which simply reads '*Hamlets* 89' (*ibid.*, 315).

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 312.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 324.

³³⁰ For example, Latin - '*Tempus edax rerum*' (315-6), fictional Latin names - '*Boreas*' (311), classical authors' names - '*Tully*' (312), fifteenth and sixteenth century names - '*Peter Ramus*' (313), places - '*Cambridge*' (317), apparent quotations - 'Blood is a begger', though this is not known (315), and '*Dowdie*' (316), which appears to anticipate Pepys's use of it as a noun to denote a plain or homely woman, though in Nashe 'turning ouer French *Dowdie*' may connote visiting a prostitute.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 449.

rootes'.³³² The cases, however, are not analogous. Nashe, in his parodying title and the content of his *Anatomie*, has already clearly signalled his target, and 'stubbe' simply reinforces it. In the *Preface* 'Kid' stands alone, unreinforced, and is easily, and better, explained with reference to Spenser's *May Eclogue*.

Table 4.c Animal mentions in the *Preface*

Animals with capitals	Reference (page/line)	Animals with capitals and associated with Æsop and 'Æsop'	Reference (page/line)	Animals without capitals	Reference (pageline)
Bull	311, 24	Glowworme	314, 19-20	nightcrowes	315,21-2
Mouse	312, 21	Apes	314, 20	swallows	323, 12
Goats	314,1, 6	Kid	316, 5		
Panther	314, 25	Foxes	316, 5		
Asse	315, 12, 20 321, 25				
Oxe	315, 13				
Crowes	320, 31				
Swallowes	320, 32				

Vocabulary, story and footnotes from the *May Eclogue* all argue against Nashe referencing Thomas Kyd. It is Koeppel who notes that the story in Nashe draws upon the *May Eclogue* in Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*.³³³ Spenser tells the tale of a 'Kidd' or 'kiddie' who is left at home while its mother 'Gate'³³⁴ goes out, after she has warned the kid not to open the door. But along comes a 'Foxe', disguised as a sheep and a pedlar, offering wares. The kid is 'enamored with newell'³³⁵, that is with the mirror offered by the fox, and leans into the basket to pick up another novelty. Immediately the fox closes the lid, and the kid is trapped, paying 'to dere a prise'³³⁶ for his curiosity and disobedience.

³³² Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 73.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 71.

³³⁴ The spelling is supposed to represent a northerly pronunciation; the Glosse to the *Eclogue* by 'E. K.' gives 'The gate) the Gote: Northernly spoken to turne O into A' (Smith and Selincourt, *Spenser, Poetical Works*, 440). 'E. K.', the provider of the 'Glosse', is considered by scholars to have been Edward Kirke, Spenser's fellow student at Cambridge (*Ibid.*, xiv).

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 438, lines 227, 225-6, 236, 276.

³³⁶ The price is his life (Smith and Selincourt, *Spenser, Poetical Works*, 438, line 299).

Nashe's parallel version of Spenser's tale sees the 'followers' of Seneca also enamoured by novelty. Their novelty is a 'newe occupation' (just as Spenser's kid leans into the fox's basket to pick up another novelty), namely intermeddling with Italian translations. But the followers are so poor at it they effectively '[forsake] all hopes of life' (Spenser's kid is carried off by the fox), and 'renounc[e] all possibilities of credite or estimation'. Nashe's point is that Spenser's kid and the writers Nashe criticises are equally foolish in falling for a newfangled trinket or a new occupation. Duthie's argument is - following Østerberg - that the parallels present 'violent contrasts', and therefore the analogy seems 'very imperfect'.³³⁷ The extended metaphor may seem a little extreme in our more literal age, but it was hardly strained at a time when extravagant images were deliberately concocted to entertain, such as the conceits sometimes found in Metaphysical poetry.³³⁸ In fact the parallel enables Nashe to show off his knowledge of a successful contemporary writer's popular works - and Nashe clearly wishes to entertain with 'the swelling bombast of bragging' prose,³³⁹ to adapt his own phrasing. Table 4.d summarises Nashe's three way comparison.

Table 4.d Parallels between Spenser's *May Eclogue* and Nashe's *Preface: 'the Kid'*

Spenser's <i>May Eclogue</i>	Nashe's <i>Preface: Kid</i>	Nashe's <i>Preface: these men</i>
'Kidd', 'Kiddie'	'Kid'	'[Seneca's] famished followers [to] imitate the Kid in Æsop'
'enamored'	'enamoured'	
'with newell '(offered by the Foxe)	'with the Foxes newfangles'	
paid 'to dere a prise' (his life)	'forsooke all hopes of life'	'renouncing all possibilities of credite or estimation'
	'to leape into a newe occupation'	'to intermeddle with Italian Translations'
Glosse: ... 'much like to that in Æsops fables...'	'the Kid in Æsop'	

But the post-modifier in the phrase 'the Kid in Æsop' has also been part of the interpretation argument, because there is no story of a kid and a goat in Æsop's fables. However, Nashe has a

³³⁷ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 74.

³³⁸ For example, within a decade of Nashe's *Preface* John Donne would be devising the comparison between a pair of compasses and the love he and his mistress shared, in *A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning*. This conceit is of course applauded for its outrageousness.

³³⁹ McKerrow, *Thomas Nashe* vol III, 311.

page earlier (314) demonstrated his familiarity with Æsop, the ancient teller of fables. There Nashe has suggested that 'vnexperienced and illiterated Punies' will value the tale of Joan of Brainford's will - 'she bequeathed a score of farts amongst her frends'³⁴⁰ - as much as the best of Tasso's poems, will value dross as much as gold, loss as much as gain, and mistake a glowworm for actual fire, like the foolish ape in Æsop's fable. Æsop, who may have composed, or is at least associated with, as many as six hundred fables, does narrate a fable about an ape and a glowworm, as Nashe clearly knows. But by post-modifying 'Kid', with 'in Aesop', and echoing Spenser's vocabulary and his story, Nashe is signalling that he is drawing upon Spenser's *May Eclogue*.

This link between Æsop and Spenser is made clear in the notes which accompanied Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* then and still follow it now. These notes give a fairly lengthy 'Glosse', initialled at the end 'E.K.'³⁴¹ The 'Glosse' comments quite explicitly that 'This tale is much like to that in Æsops fables...'.³⁴² It also explains the religious allegory Spenser is telling in the dialogue between the two shepherds narrating the story of the fox and the kid, one shepherd representing Protestants and the other Papists. McKerrow also considers the gloss to have given rise to 'Æsop' here.³⁴³ 'Æsop' is a quite understandable label; both Æsop and Spenser are moral writers. Indeed, the gloss to the *May Eclogue* also overtly comments on the 'morall of the whole tale'.³⁴⁴ Another eclogue with a similar moral story is *Februarie* (the story/fable of the Oake and the Bryer), and, much better known today, is Spenser's allegory of *The Faerie Queene* (1590).

This complimentary name-calling has an analogy; three years later, Greene would use a similar style of compliment, using 'yong iuuenall' in his *Groatsworth*, alluding to Nashe's success as a satirist. Towards the end of his *Preface* Nashe hammers home his compliment to Spenser/Æsop, declaring he prefers 'diuine Master Spenser' to all writers or poets in Spain, France and Italy, and 'all the world'.³⁴⁵ Nashe, published for the first time in this *Preface*, aged twenty-two, is perhaps keen to compliment widely in case any other writer is willing to require his services as a writer of prefaces.

Today's readers do not place the same premium upon Spenser that the late Elizabethans did. Spenser's works contain a considerable number of contemporary references, and have dated more than Shakespeare's. But the 'Glosse' calls Spenser an Æsop, and Nashe's lexis echoes Spenser's

³⁴⁰ G.R.Hibbard, *Thomas Nashe: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), 31.

³⁴¹ For 'E. K.' see footnote 50 above.

³⁴² Smith and Selincourt, *Spenser, Poetical Works*, 440.

³⁴³ McKerrow, *Thomas Nashe* vol IV, 449.

³⁴⁴ Smith and Selincourt, *Spenser, Poetical Works*, 440, under note beginning 'Such ende'.

³⁴⁵ McKerrow, *Thomas Nashe* vol III, 323.

Eclogue. The 'fox' ('Foxes newfangles') is borrowed from some twenty lines earlier in the *Eclogue*, again supporting Nashe's close acquaintance with Spenser. There is no kid and goat fable in the original Æsop, but there is a kid and goat fable in the Elizabethans' Æsop. And in the context of Nashe's convoluted style, Nashe's extended simile derived from the *May Eclogue* is quite appropriate. '[T]he Kid in Æsop' can therefore be explained as having predictable typography; its content closely echoes part of Spenser's *May Eclogue*, and 'Æsop' is a compliment to Spenser. Evidence later in the *Preface* corroborates Nashe's intention to praise Spenser. The analogy is reasonable; the kid and the writers Nashe criticises are foolish. Nashe is not signalling in any way that 'Kid' signifies 'Kyd'.

Another point proposed to support the alleged allusion to Kyd is that Nashe in the critical section is using plurals for rhetorical effect, and that therefore the passage could still refer to a single person. It is true that grammatically the objects of his ridicule are plural: noun phrases such as 'a sort of shifting companions' and 'famished followers' show this, as does the use of plural pronouns ('they', 'themselves', 'them'), and the plural possessive determiner ('their'). Indeed, in the Nashe passage under discussion twenty-one plurals are used. Yet it is not difficult to find text which includes a plural where in reality singulars are fact. A recent, modern example can be found in an article in a Hampshire magazine, *Compass*, in 2010, from which the following is an extract:

Disillusionment has set in. It probably started with the MPs' expenses debacle. Labour **MPs** may have been among the worst **culprits** but what sticks in the mind, and the throat, are the expense **claims** made by Conservative **MPs** for cleaning out the moat and the building of duck **houses**. Then there was the gall of one Conservative MP, Antony Steen, who claimed that the public response was 'about jealousy; I have a very, very large house'...³⁴⁶

The plurals above (emboldening added) would suggest that more than the one Conservative MP (Douglas Hogg) claimed for moat cleaning, and more than the one (Peter Viggars) for a duck house. It is only when the writer, Truman, quotes a single individual that he switches from the rhetorical plural to the accuracy of the singular.

If Nashe had wished the target of his satire to be clearly identified, he could have chosen to use the singular. In the wider context of the whole *Preface*, which, to borrow his own phrase, offers a 'large fielde of inuectiue',³⁴⁷ he attacks a considerable number of different categories of unnamed people.

³⁴⁶ M. Truman, 'The View From Here'. *Compass*, Wessex (Ashford, Kent: Headley Bros, 2010), 74.

³⁴⁷ McKerrow, *Thomas Nashe* vol III, 318. This indicates some honesty on Nashe's part, though it is perhaps understatement.

The very first target, who 'abhorreth the English he was borne too' appears singular (pronoun 'he'), but the noun subject in the preceding line is 'euery mechanicall mate'.³⁴⁸ The pre-modifier, 'euery', immediately renders the grammatically singular 'mate' the equivalent of a plural. After that, all but one of Nashe's quite creatively phrased targets are in the plural: 'ideot Art-Masters',³⁴⁹ 'Schoolemen or Grammarians',³⁵⁰ 'vnsatiate humorists',³⁵¹ 'vnexperienced and illiterated Punies', and 'quadrant crepundios',³⁵² all precede the 'sort of shifting companions', while 'Diuinitie Dunces', 'bungling practitioners',³⁵³ and 'reformatorie Churchmen'³⁵⁴ are among his subsequent targets. It is not easy to discover whether any of these are attacks on one individual. If they were, that might add some conviction to the argument that Kyd is Nashe's target where those twenty-one plurals are used. Instead, the sustained use of plurals in the main passage under discussion simply suggests that 'where censure is general, there is no injury to individuals',³⁵⁵ as Ben Jonson put it.

The argument that Nashe is criticising a group is further supported by the very long list of criticisms of that group. The section in which Nashe is alleged to be criticising Kyd begins with Nashe saying - ironically - that he will talk 'in friendship' with 'a few of our triuiall translators'. That these 'translators' are the first description of his subject in this passage becomes more obvious when he midway refers to 'their two-pennie Pamphlets'. These translators or 'sort of shifting companions' allegedly:

1. 'runne through euery Art'
2. 'leaue the trade of *Nouerint*'
3. 'busie themselues with the indeuours of Art'
4. do not know enough Latin to save their necks with 'neck verse', i.e. to be able to recite for example Psalm 51, and get themselves transferred from the stricter secular court to the more lenient ecclesiastical court
5. borrow from Seneca
6. 'intermeddle with Italian Translations', 'poorely'
7. 'force *Elisium* into hell'

³⁴⁸ McKerrow, *Thomas Nashe* vol III, 311.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 311.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 312.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 313.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, 314.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 318.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 321.

³⁵⁵ Ralph Walker, editor, *Ben Jonson's "Timber, or Discoveries"*. Reprint (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976), 48.

8. 'bodge vp a blanke verse with ifs and ands'
9. starch their beards
10. spend time with 'French *Dowdie*'.

Chapter two listed the reasons allegedly identifying Kyd as a likely object of this diatribe. His father was recorded to have been a '*Nouerint*' (point 2 above), and Kyd was one of many Elizabethans who busied himself with the Arts (3). He drew upon Seneca (5) and he translated from Italian, not particularly successfully (6) (Boas writes that Kyd's 'English version of Tasso's *Padre di Famiglia* is crowded with blunders and fully deserves Nashe's sneer',³⁵⁶ which appears to justify 'poorely'). It might be noted, however, that the translator of *Padre di Famiglia* is referred to only by the initials 'T.K.', but is, nevertheless, assumed to be Kyd;³⁵⁷ it might also be noted that there were other Italian translations being printed at that time, which might possibly have been Nashe's target.³⁵⁸ After that, three criticisms may, or may not, refer to Kyd. In his *Spanish Tragedy* Kyd does borrow from Virgil's *Aeneid* book vi, which describes the Elysian fields, to fashion a picture of hell (7), though not 'forc[ing]' them.³⁵⁹ '[I]fs' and 'ands' are spoken by Kyd's character Lorenzo: 'What villain, ifs and ands?' (8),³⁶⁰ though the words are hardly bodged, and scholars propose different 'bodged' lines. If these last two criticisms are directed at Kyd, Nashe is exaggerating, unsurprisingly, since hyperbole is one of his stylistic traits. One criticism is undeserved; Kyd's Latin was sound, good enough for 'neck verse' (4). The remaining criticisms, such as the more personal elements of, for example, beard starching, do not appear to be recorded, or discussed, for Kyd.³⁶¹

Perhaps some of these last characteristics are intended to describe Kyd. However, the extract from *Compass* magazine also illustrates another problem; in attacking the 'expense claims made by Conservative MPs' in the plural, the writer gives two plural examples (moats and duck houses), which actually refer to two single and different individuals. Likewise, Nashe's list of jibes may well be

³⁵⁶ Boas, *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, xviii, xx.

³⁵⁷ McKerrow, *Thomas Nashe* vol III, 450.

³⁵⁸ See Appendix B for examples from Arber.

³⁵⁹ Andrew Gurr, in his *Introduction* to Mulryne's edition of *The Spanish Tragedy*, (J.R. Mulryne, editor, *Thomas Kyd: the Spanish Tragedy*. Introduction and notes by Andrew Gurr. (London: Methuen Drama, A. & C. Black Publishers Ltd., 2009) points out that in Marlowe's *Faustus*, scene 3, 57-8, Mephistophilis has two lines which appear pertinent: 'This word damnation terrifies not him,/For he confounds hell in Elysium'. *Faustus*'s date is also uncertain, so it cannot be determined who first phrased the sentiment, but Nashe and Marlowe were acquainted, and collaborated on Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*.

³⁶⁰ Mulryne, *The Spanish Tragedy*, act 2 scene 1 line 77.

³⁶¹ The starching of beards was commonplace in early Elizabethan times; Greene gives some idea of the attentions lavished on hair in his *Quip for an vpstart Courtier*.

a collection of criticisms attacking a number of different people - it simply is not possible to assert that Kyd is definitely, wholly or exclusively the object of Nashe's derision. Indeed, if Nashe really wished to sneer at Kyd the playwright, why was he not specific? The *Preface* attacks a number of groups which name no-one specifically - but Nashe does not hesitate to name or signal very clearly two individual men he does wish to deride, and the titles of their writings. Firstly, Nashe jeers openly at 'Maister [Richard] Stanihurst' (an Oxford scholar), who had translated the first four books of *The Aeneid*. Nashe declares Stanihurst's writing is not much better than the 'extremitie of clownerie',³⁶² and quotes from him. No inference is needed; Nashe is quite explicit. Secondly, Nashe also includes the title of a tract of his own which he had already written but had not yet had printed, his '*Anatomie of Absurdities*'. That title is an unmistakable parody of Stubbes' *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583). In other words, Nashe can be direct if he so chooses, and he does choose on occasion to clearly identify his target. Moreover, here Nashe is writing as a university man (a university 'wit') to university students, and Kyd was not a member of that exclusive group. If Kyd was Nashe's target, why was Nashe not as obvious in his attack as in his rant against Stanihurst, who *was* a university man?

A further point which seems to disconnect '*Hamlets*' from 'Kid' in the *Preface* is grammatical, and relates to Nashe's addressees. The main extract above starts by Nashe saying he wishes to 'talke' with a 'few of our triuiall translators'; then follow three criticisms in the third person, a semicolon, a comment on what 'English *Seneca* read by Candlelight yeelds'. Next comes another semicolon, and a section which is addressed now to a second person or persons, 'you': 'and if you intreate [*Seneca*] faire in a frostie morning, hee will afford you whole Hamlets, I should say handfuls of Tragical speeches'. The remainder of the diatribe then returns to the third person. In normal speech or writing, the second person would be used for the addressee(s), the person(s) present to the conversation or communication, and any third person usage would refer to a person or person who were absent from that conversation or communication. Nashe's shifts are illustrated below (the text is continuous in the original):

Talking about (criticising) third persons:

I will turne backe to my first text of Studies of delight, and talke a little in friendship with a few of our triuiall translators....It is a common practise now a days amongst a sort of shifting companions, that runne through euey Art and thriue by none, to leaue the trade of *Noverint*, whereto they were borne, and busie themselues with the indeuours of Art, that could scarcely

³⁶² McKerrow, *Thomas Nashe* vol III, 319.

Latinize their neck verse if they should haue neede; yet English *Seneca* read by Candlelight yeelds many good sentences, as *Blood is a begger*, and so forth;

Addressing readers in the second person:

and if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, hee will afford you whole Hamlets, I should say handfulls of Tragical speeches. But O grieffe! *Tempus edax rerum*, what that will last always? The Sea exhaled by droppes will in continuance bee drie, and Seneca, let blood line by line and page by page, at length must needs die to our Stage:

Returning to the third person:

which makes his famished followers to imitate the Kid in Æsop, who enamoured with the Foxes newfangles, forsooke all hopes of life to leape...

Is Nashe addressing Greene, whose *Menaphon* this *Preface* is for, in the second person?³⁶³ Nashe does so earlier: 'I come (sweet friend) to thy *Arcadian Menaphon*. Here both the parenthetical vocative '(sweet friend)' and the archaic second person singular possessive determiner 'thy' make it evident that, momentarily, Nashe is addressing Greene, but it would seem unlikely that 'you' (which can be plural, unlike 'thy') here applies solely to Greene. However, the whole *Preface* is addressed, in its title, 'To the Gentlemen Stvdents of both Vniversities', and begins with a vocative to them, 'Cvrteous and wise'. (Ellipsis and the immediately preceding title explain the absence of the head noun, 'Gentlemen Stvdents'.) Could Nashe, in the section beginning 'and if you intreate...', be addressing those students again? There are two tiny verbal echoes, of 'read by **Candlelight**' and 'faire in a **frostie** morning' in the critical passage, which might support this, for later in the *Preface* Nashe describes his own college, 'Saint *Johns* in *Cambridge*',³⁶⁴ which he claims to have heard has 'moe **Candles** light in it, euery **Winter** morning'. If Nashe is turning aside to use the second person and tell the students that Seneca can give them many speeches, then that section, including the word 'Hamlets', is parenthetical in the diatribe against 'triuiall translators' and '*Nouerints*'; it is grammatically, and potentially semantically, unconnected with the remainder of the passage.

A second point suggesting a disconnection between 'Hamlets' and 'Kid' relates to the style Nashe has adopted in the key passage and in his rant against Stanihurst. The relevant quotations are placed in parallel below to show their stylistic similarity:

³⁶³ McKerrow, *Thomas Nashe* vol III, 312.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 317.

'hee will afford you whole Hamlets, I should say handfults of Tragicall speeches';
 'whose heroicall poetry, infired, I should say inspired, with a hexameter furie'.

Both lines include a deliberate, mock self-correction in 'I should say'. Both lines include a pair of words which are phonologically similar: 'Hamlets' and 'handfults' have two syllables, alliterate on /h/, share the first vowel sound /æ/, and have the first syllable stressed; 'infired' and 'inspired' have the same two syllables (unless spoken with a London or similar accent, in which case they share three syllables) start with the same initial prefix, 'in-', share the same diphthong (or triphthong) in the same stressed syllable, and end with /d/.³⁶⁵ If 'Hamlets' has been used simply (and wittily) to provide a phonologically similar word for 'handfults', then Nashe is not even obliquely attempting to link 'Hamlets' with 'Kid'. This also shows that 'Hamlets' is used metaphorically, and 'Kid' is used in a simile, which makes a further disconnection between the two words and the concepts some wish them to represent.

It is true that 'Hamlets' and the homophone 'Kid' occur within seven lines of each other. However, 'Kid' is used appropriately and explicably in connection with 'Æsop', aka Spenser; Kyd may or may not be one of Nashe's plural targets; the section with 'Hamlets' is grammatically separate from the main text of the diatribe, and it may be part of Nashe's phonological tricks. It is difficult to see how the *Preface* can be interpreted as 'evidence' that Nashe is saying Kyd wrote *Hamlet*. Indeed, it is striking that Nashe appears to expect his student audiences at the two universities to understand the allusions to 'Hamlets', suggesting it was a reasonably well known play by 1589, just as on Q1's title page is the claim 'As it hath beene diuerse times acted ... in the two Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where'. And there is some cohesion in the *Hamlet* narrative if Nashe alludes to it in his *Preface* addressed to the students of the two universities, and Q1's title page refers to performances in Oxford and Cambridge.

Nashe offers only the fact that a text involving a *Hamlet*, probably a play, with tragic speeches, existed by the date of his *Preface*. He neither names Kyd as the author nor excludes anyone else's

³⁶⁵ Hibbard states that this linguistic idiosyncrasy, of apparent self-correction, is borrowed from 'Martin Marprelate', who draws attention to his own methods and deliberately mistakes words (G. R. Hibbard: *Thomas Nashe: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), 28). 'Marprelate' does employ an argumentative style, posing questions and refuting them, with asides for clarification at times ('Then followed Doleful Repentance, that is, Dean John...') (Joseph L. Black, editor, *The Martin Marprelate Tracts: A Modernized and Annotated Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 138-9), and also a form of satirical malapropism ('His text was, a child is born unto us, which after he sweetly repeated very often as before, to the great destruction [i.e. instruction] and admiration of the hearers....') (40). These examples are linguistically distinct, but not parallel to Nashe's technique in his *Preface*.

authorship. Whether or not Shakespeare was associated with that early 'Hamlets' is unrecorded.³⁶⁶ But Shakespeare - another writer who was not university educated, would 'run' through the arts of acting and writing, busy himself with the 'indeuours of Art', and draw upon Seneca and Virgil - might have been seen as one who should have been no more than a scrivener, by a university wit like Nashe, as Duncan-Jones suggests.³⁶⁷

4.iii University records c.1590

Alan Nelson, editing the *Records of Early English Drama*, notes the university records relating to payments made for plays and for players to go away. Payments for plays were made in 1586-7, and 1587-8. Players were paid to leave Cambridge University in 1579-80, 1583-4, 1590-1, and 1591-2. Nelson writes that 'the connection of *Hamlet* to a performance in 1594-5³⁶⁸ must remain doubtful'.³⁶⁹ Certainly where titles are not given a performance of *Hamlet* cannot be corroborated.

Despite Boas' suggestion in 'Hamlet at Oxford' that *Hamlet* was performed in the city of Oxford in 1593, and in Cambridge in 1594-5 as Q1's title page claims, there is no known, dated reference to a performance of *Hamlet* in Oxford, or Cambridge. Burkhart, however, is one who accepts that Q1's 'title-page, then, explicitly tells us that Q1 was used in provincial performances'.³⁷⁰ As chapter three notes, there is also a Privy Council letter commenting that the 'common Plaiers do ordinarily resort to the Vniuersytie of Cambridge there to recite Interludes and Plaies'. 'Plaies' could accommodate the possibility of a *Hamlet* performance at a university. Additionally, the *Parnassus* plays show the students' familiarity with, the actors Richard Burbage and William Kempe, and with 'sweet Mr Shakespeare' and Ben Jonson.

Thus the university records do not corroborate a performance of *Hamlet*, but their incompleteness and some supplementary evidence do not rule out such a performance.

³⁶⁶ However, a Mr Hirrel, a Washington-based lawyer, is in the process of 'completing a book about Thomas Kyd's lost *Hamlet*'. <http://www.esu-ny.org/data/newsletter.pdf>. Accessed 7th March 2011.

³⁶⁷ Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare*, 50.

³⁶⁸ Boas' view. 'The Lord Chamberlain's Men are mentioned in the Cambridge accounts in 1594-5, and it may have been then, and not as generally thought, in 1601-2, that *Hamlet* (as is stated on the title page of the quarto of 1603) was acted at Cambridge' (Frederick S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1914), 344).

³⁶⁹ Nelson, *Records of Early English Drama: Cambridge 1. The Records*, 984-985.

³⁷⁰ Burkhart, *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos*, 111.

4.iv Henslowe's *Papers*: 1594

Philip Henslowe's manuscripts were rediscovered in 1790, shortly after Malone had completed his first *Attempt*. Malone had early access to the manuscripts. He read the entry at 'Newington, my Lord Admeralle and my Lorde chamberlen men' of a performance of *Hamlet* and made a note: '...I have stated my opinion that there was a play on the subject of *Hamlet* prior to our author's, and here we have a full confirmation of that conjecture'. Regrettably - especially as Malone was trained in the law, and called to the bar in 1767 - this is a *non sequitur*, and not confirmation of any such conjecture. All the entry shows us is that a play entitled *Hamlet* was performed; the entry mentions no author. If Nashe's *Hamlet* was pre-Shakespearean, Henslowe's might be the same, or it might have been a revised version by Shakespeare; if Nashe's *Hamlet* was Shakespeare's, this Newington Butts performance might - or even might not - be Shakespeare's. Malone's respect for Shakespeare's achievement in Q2 and F1 *Hamlet* is implicit in his first reason for this erroneous conclusion; Malone cannot 'suppose that our poet's play should have been performed but once in the time of this account' (Henslowe's entries are not continuous, but include his theatrical activities from 1592 to 1609). However, Henslowe's *Diary* at no point claims to account for all performances of 'our poet's play'.

The second reason also implies Malone's respect; he is surprised that Henslowe only drew 'the sum of eight shillings' for 'hamlet'.³⁷¹ While Malone's view reflects the high value he places upon *Hamlet*, the size of the sum of gate money does not prove, or disprove, the authorship. The absence of further entries for *Hamlet* does not in itself attest the play was unappreciated. The entry, and its context, is worth further examination.

In 1594 the theatres reopened after the closure due to the plague. Henslowe had remodelled his Rose Theatre during the closure; the Privy Council kept it closed from 16th May to 15th June 1594. Hence from 3rd - 13th June Henslowe held performances at Newington Butts, a not particularly popular theatre, since it was a mile south of the Thames, and a tedious trek.³⁷² The receipts from the

³⁷¹ Furness, *Variorum Hamlet* vol II, 9.

³⁷² The Privy Council understood 'the tediousness of the way': Amanda Mabillard, *Newington Butts*. <http://www.Shakespeare-online.com/theatre/nbutts.html>. Accessed 12.11.2010. Moreover, 'In Shakespeare's day the southern side of the Thames opposite London consisted chiefly of flat, open country, large areas of which were below the river's daily high-water mark. Much of it was swampy ... and after a heavy rain ... would be covered with water that might remain for weeks' (William Ingram, *The Business of Playing: The Beginnings of the Adult Professional Theatre in Elizabethan London* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1992), 159.) The drainage channels, known as sewers, were supposed to be kept clear by the owners of the adjacent properties. They often did not do so, despite orders from the Surrey magistrates, and flooding resulted.

three performances at the Rose from 14th - 16th May, and afterwards from 15th June are markedly higher than those from Newington Butts, as table 4.e below shows.

Table 4.e Receipts from performances 14 - 16 May, 3 - 13 June and 15 - 18 June 1594, in Henslowe's *Diary*³⁷³

14th - 16th May

Rd at the Jewe of malta	14 of may	1594		xxxxvijs
Rd at the Rangers comodoey	the 15 of maye	1594		xxxiijs
Rd at the Cvtlacke	the 16 of maye	1594		xxxxijs

3rd - 13th June

3 of June 1594	Rd at heaster & ashweros			viijs
4 of June 1594	Rd at the Jewe of malta			xs
5 of June 1594	Rd at andronicous			xijjs
6 of June 1594	Rd at cvtlacke			xjs
8 of June 1594 ne ³⁷⁴	Rd at bellendon		x	xvijs
9 of June 1594	Rd at hamlet			viijs
10 of June 1594	Rd at heaster			vs
12 of June 1594	Rd at the tamyng of A Shrowe			ixs
13 of June 1594	Rd at the Jewe			iijs

15th - 18th June

15 of June 1594	Rd at bellendon			ijj ⁱ iijs
17 of June 1594	Rd at cvtlacke			xxxvs
18 of June 1594	Rd at the Rangers comodoey			xxijs

The average receipts for the three sets of dates, chronologically, are 41 shillings, approximately 9 shillings and 4 pence, and approximately 40 shillings and 4 pence; in other words, receipts at

³⁷³ R.A. Foakes and R.T. Rickert, editors, *Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 21-2.

³⁷⁴ There is occasional discussion about 'ne', which has been thought to denote 'new' and thus indicate a new play. It also resembles the French negative 'ne...pas', and in Spenser is used as a negative; the Goat instructs her Kid, 'Ne for all his worst, nor for his best,/Open the dore at his request' (Smith and Selincourt, *Spenser, Poetical Works*, 438, lines 225-6).

Newington Butts are noticeably below those at the Rose. At 8 shillings, the gate money for *Hamlet* was just below the average of about 9 shillings and 4 pence at the unpopular Newington Butts. Two further reasons for the low receipts are possible: perhaps Henslowe had to pay rent for this theatre, and perhaps the weather was less than inviting. Stowe reports regarding 1594:

This yeere in the moneth of May, fell many shores of raine, but in the moneths of June and July, much more; for it commonly rained euerie day or night, till S. *James* day...

(St James' Day is 25th July today.) Dr Simon Forman also comments on the wet weather:

This moneths of Juen and July were very wet and wonderfull cold like winter, that the 10 dae of Julii many did syt by the fyer, yt was so cold; and soe was yt in Maye and June; and scarce too fair dais together all that tyme, but yt rayened every day more or lesse. Yf yt did not raine, then yt was cold and cloudye.³⁷⁵

Malone's third reason is also mistaken. He claims that if one of 'our poet's' plays 'had been performed, we should certainly have found more'. Knight points out, 'the very next entry is "at the tamyng of a shrewe (sic);"³⁷⁶ which Malone, in a note, described as "the play which preceded Shakespeare's".³⁷⁷ On the same page are also two entries for *andronicous*.³⁷⁸ Malone identified 'the tamyng of A shrowe' as a version which preceded Shakespeare's (in his first *Attempt*, in 1778, Malone placed Shakespeare's *Shrew*'s date as 1606, but by 1790 he had revised his ideas and placed *Shrew* at 1594³⁷⁹). It is worth recalling that Malone issued his first *Attempt* in 1778, twelve years before he received the Henslowe papers, in 1790. Would he have constructed his chronology differently if he had had access to the papers before that first attempt? Suddenly he would have had documentation showing performances of several Shakespearean titles: *Andronicus*, *Hamlet*, *Taming*, *Lear*, *Henry VI*. No other author is associated with these. Yet Malone's second *Attempt* at a chronology actually dates some texts later, including *Hamlet*.

A careful examination shows that Malone was wrong to claim the entry was *proof* of a pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet*. Malone was understandably biased but still mistaken in suggesting the receipt of eight shillings indicated it was not Shakespeare's play, and he (probably) erred in claiming

³⁷⁵ Howard Horace Furness, *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare. A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1895, reprint 1923), 252.

³⁷⁶ Actually one entry, for 'heaster' intervenes. See table 4.e.

³⁷⁷ Furness, *Variorum Hamlet* vol II, 10.

³⁷⁸ Other Shakespearean titles are also found in Henslowe's *Diary: hary the vj*, (Greg, *Henslowe's Diary* vol I, F7^r page 13), and *kinge leare* (F 9^r page 17). No author's name is attached to these.

³⁷⁹ Edmond Malone, *The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare* Vol I i (London: H. Baldwin, 1790), 290-1.

that there were no others by 'our poet'. Indeed, Malone was even incorrect in speculating that Shakespeare used 'an elder performance' of *Hamlet* and the *Hystorie of Hamblet* to create his own drama, since the date of printing and the content of the *Hystorie* show it postdates both quartos of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Would Malone have reacted to Henslowe's *Diary's* entry differently had he been familiar with Q1? Or if he had not yet completed his first *Attempt*?

Henslowe's *Diary* shows that a play called 'hamlet' was performed on 9 June 1594. The entry does not offer information about the author, and the entry neither includes nor excludes Shakespeare's authorship. Malone's dismissal of the entry is based on erroneous reasoning.

4.v Thomas Lodge

In his 1596 *Wits Miserie* Lodge referred to the ghost who cried '*Hamlet revenge*'. This reference is also taken to be to a pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet*, partly because the precise phrase 'Hamlet revenge' does not occur in Q1, Q2 or F1 *Hamlet*. Yet the phrase may be a succinct summary uniting protagonist and genre; there is nothing to say that Lodge was obeying 20th and 21st century rules for quotations in scholarly essays. An analogy supporting the idea of a succinct summary comes from Meres' *Palladis Tamia*; he refers to 'chast *Matilda*', for example, as one of the writings of *Michael Drayton Tragoedigraphus*.³⁸⁰ The actual title of Drayton's text, published in 1594, was *Matilda the faire and chaste Daughter of Lord Robert Fitzwater*. Meres offers a reference which is not a precise quotation from or of the title - but Drayton's text would have been recognisable to his contemporaries by its soundbite summary, just as Lodge's '*Hamlet revenge*' could have been.

Lodge, like Henslowe, offers no indication of authorship. Consequently Lodge neither confirms nor indicates the authorship of *Hamlet* in 1596.

4.vi Henslowe's Papers: 1598

A small number of properties inventoried on 10th March 1598 appear potentially relevant to *Hamlet*:

Item, ... ij Danes sewtes, and j payer of Danes hose

*Item, ... j gostes sewt, and j gstes bodeyes*³⁸¹

Nothing links these explicitly to *Hamlet* or Shakespeare. They do occur in the same papers as properties which may be linked to other Shakespearean plays, for example:

³⁸⁰ Michael Drayton's titles are not presented verbatim: 'great *Gaueston*' is *The Legend of Piers Gaveston*, and 'the downfall[s] of valiant *Robert of Normandy*' is *The Tragical Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy* (Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, 281r).

³⁸¹ Greg, Henslowe's *Papers*, 115.

Item, Harye the v. velvet gowne

*Item, Harye the v. satten dublet, layd with gowld lace*³⁸²

A purpell satten welted w^t velvet and silver twist Romeos³⁸³

However, as Foakes writes, 'perhaps little reliance is to be placed upon the connecting of a property with a specific play'.³⁸⁴

4.vii Meres' *Palladis Tamia*: 1598

Francis Meres' *Palladis Tamia: Wits Treasury* has been seen as proving Shakespeare's *Hamlet* was not written by 1598. *Palladis Tamia* was entered on the Stationers' Register on 7th September of that year. After a section entitled 'Poets' and before that entitled 'Painters' comes a chapter entitled 'A comparative discourse of our English poets, with the Greeke, Latine and Italian Poets'.³⁸⁵ Paragraph 24 reads:

As *Plautus* and *Seneca* are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines: so *Shakespeare* among y^e English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for Comedy, witness his *Gentlemen of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Loue labors lost*, his *Loue labours wonne*, his *Midsummers night dreame*, & his *Merchant of Venice*: for Tragedy his *Richard the 2*. *Richard the 3*. *Henry the 4*. *King Iohn*, *Titus Andronicus* and his *Romeo and Iuliet*.³⁸⁶

Editors frequently use this list to contribute to their propositions for dating Shakespeare's plays, but they do not use it consistently. For example, Brian Morris, editing *The Taming of the Shrew*, comments that '[t]he omission of *The Shrew* from Meres' list is not particularly surprising since he was not aiming for completeness'.³⁸⁷ But Agnes Latham, editing *As You Like It*, concludes that '[t]he date of the play is fixed by the fact that it does not appear in the list Meres gives in the *Palladis Tamia*, in 1598'.³⁸⁸ A. R. Humphreys, editing *Much Ado*, is puzzled by that play's omission from Meres: 'The play is not named in *Palladis Tamia* ... The omission might be accidental, but it creates a strong supposition that the play was not known when he completed his list, and so suggests the

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 121.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 52.

³⁸⁴ Foakes and Rickert, Henslowe's *Diary*, 217.

³⁸⁵ All quotations are from the 1973 reprint, by Garland Publishing, of the 1598 edition published by P. Short for Cuthbert Burbie in London. Paragraph numbers are given for clarity.

³⁸⁶ Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, 282r.

³⁸⁷ Morris, *The Taming of the Shrew*, 63.

³⁸⁸ Agnes Latham, editor, *As You Like It*. The Arden Shakespeare (*London*: Methuen, 1975), xxvi.

middle or latter part of 1598 as the earliest date of composition'.³⁸⁹ Mares, another editor of *Much Ado*, is equally surprised: 'That *Much Ado* is not named is in no way conclusive that that it was not in existence, but the quality of the play makes it likely that had Meres known it he would have named it'.³⁹⁰ Thus editors interpret Meres in several different ways:

1. Meres was not offering a complete list;
2. If a play is not mentioned by Meres Shakespeare has not yet written it;
3. Meres may have accidentally omitted a play, and
4. A play of quality is likely to have been mentioned by Meres.

These editors cannot all be right; collectively they are inconsistent, and some must be wrong.

Jenkins footnotes his comment on *Hamlet's* date and Meres: 'It cannot have been known to Francis Meres in the autumn of 1598...' with a reference to Chambers' *William Shakespeare*, vol. II, 193-4.³⁹¹ Chambers, however, quotes only briefly and selectively from Meres, and gives no context. A return to the original chapter is essential for accurately evaluating Meres' evidence regarding the dates of some of Shakespeare's plays.

The chapter as a whole is highly derivative. Much of the content is drawn from J. Ravisius Textor's *Officina* (1520, with seven reprints before Meres), with material also from, for example, W. Webbe's *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586), George Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poetry* (1589), Petrus Crinitus' *De Poetis Latinis* (1518), Erasmus' *Parabolae sive Similia* (1514) or Mirabellius' *Polyanthea* (1503).³⁹² Meres' style is as derivative as his content. Some aspects are euphuistic, particularly the extensive alliteration and assonance, but an even more prominent feature is the

³⁸⁹ A. R. Humphreys, editor, *Much Ado About Nothing*. The Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1981), 3.

³⁹⁰ F.H. Mares, editor, *Much Ado About Nothing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 8.

³⁹¹ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 1.

³⁹² Don Cameron Allen completed the most detailed study of Meres' sources: *Francis Meres's Treatise "Poetrie": A Critical Edition*. *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, vol XVI (University of Illinois, 1933). Allen's focus is not on the aspect under discussion, that of the usefulness of Meres' testimony for the dating of the plays. Allen's conclusion is nevertheless pertinent: Meres' chapter is a mixture of 'pseudo-erudition and bluff' (ibid., 60). Allen also points out that Meres is not entirely accurate. For example, Meres misspells Porcius Licinius (paragraph 40), because he is following Petrus Crinitus, whereas Textor spells the name correctly as Portius Licinius. On another occasion Meres follows Textor - wrongly - with the name Lucullus, whereas Crinitus correctly spells the name Lucilius (Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, 283v) (Allen, *Francis Meres*, 38).

syntactic parallelism, which attempts to balance ancient figure(s) of note with modern writer(s), an appositive method imitative of for example Richard Carew or Ortensio Lando.³⁹³

The 'comparative' aspect of Meres' title is systematically sustained. The fifty-nine paragraphs, bar five or six, have a virtually identical structure. The paragraphs begin with the same lexeme, 'As...', usually followed by a Greek, Latin or Italian writer or number of such writers, plus their claim to fame. This half of the sentence is concluded by a colon to mark where Meres' comparison pivots, and the second half initiated by the continuer 'so...', the English writer(s)' name(s), and his/their claim to fame. Most of the time the numbers of classical writers match the number of English authors or the numbers in each national group are the same. The majority of these balanced sentences focus on fame in the literary sense, though not quite all. The exemplar paragraph below, chosen for its typical syntactic parallelism and for its brevity, leans more towards infamy in a non-literary sense:³⁹⁴

As	Anacreon	died by the pot	:
(begins comparison)	(Greek writer)	('fame')	(colon/pivot)
so	George Peele	by the pox.	
(continuer)	(English writer)	('fame')	

Again and again identical numbers of writers are cited. Paragraph 1 offers three Greek (Orpheus, Linus and Musaus), three Latin (L. Andronicus, Ennius and Plautus) and three English poets (Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate). Paragraph 2 offers Homer, Petrarch, and Chaucer as 'Princes' and the 'God' of Poets. In paragraph 24 the symmetry is broken: the two Roman playwrights Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for comedy and tragedy, but just one English playwright, Shakespeare is mentioned. One inference might be that Meres saw Shakespeare as prolific a playwright as Plautus (twenty plays) and Seneca (ten in Newton's 1581 collection) together. However, Meres only offers twelve titles for Shakespeare. Those titles predictably follow the endlessly repetitive pattern Meres has established, so that six comedies (Plautus wrote comedies) are balanced by six 'tragedies' (Seneca wrote tragedies). This neat patterning alone should prompt readers to question whether Meres was offering the titles of *all* Shakespeare's plays known by 7th September 1598, or simply another balanced list to continue his by now well-established appositive style, and to question whether Meres gives all the titles of the works of the other English writers he cites.

³⁹³ Respectively *The Excellency of the English Tongue*, 1595-6 - 'Will you haue *Platos* vayne? reede Sir *Thomas Smith*. The *Ionike*? Sir *Tho. Moor*. *Ciceros*? *Aschame*? *Sette Libri de Cathaloghi a' Varie Cose Appartenenti, Non Solo Antiche, Ma Anche Moderne*, 1552. The latter gives catalogues of ancient figures of notes with an equal number of modern worthies (ibid., 29).

³⁹⁴ Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, 286v, paragraph 56.

Meres omits *1 Henry VI*, known from Nashe's pamphlet *Pierce Pennilesse* in 1592, *2 Henry VI*, known from the Stationers' Register 1594 and Q1 (*Contention*), and *3 Henry VI*, from 1595 and O1 (*True Tragedy*). Some might also mention the absence of *The Taming of the Shrew* (from the Stationers' Register 1594, publication in 1594 and sold in 1596), as well as the dates *Hamlet* is mentioned. Meres therefore does not list all the Shakespearean titles known to have been in existence by this date, though some may explain absent titles like that of *Hamlet* by arguing a pre-Meres *Hamlet* was not Shakespeare's.

Nor does Meres give complete information about other English writers. He refers to Marlowe six times, but includes none of Marlowe's works (though Marlowe is an 'imitator' of Musæus, 'who wrote the loue of Hero and Leander' - paragraph 26). Meres also names Thomas 'Kid', Benjamin Johnson [sic, oddly calling him 'among our best for tragedy'], Thomas Watson, Anthony Munday, Porter and Heywood, without including a single example of their works. However, for a small number of contemporary writers Meres does mention titles. For Philip Sidney he mentions *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, and for Spenser *The Fairy Queen* and *The Shepherd's Calendar*. Yet these are not complete backlists for Sidney and Spenser, for Meres omits for example Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* and Spenser's *Colin Clout comes home*. Table 4.f below illustrates clearly that Meres does *not* include all pre 1598 titles for those selected English writers for whom he does give titles.

Table 4.f A selection of English authors cited by Meres, with titles of works

Author	Times cited	Titles cited	Examples of pre 1598 titles <i>not</i> cited
Michael Drayton	12	<i>Polyolbion</i> <i>England's Heroical Epistles</i>	<i>Idea, the Shepherd's Garland</i> (1593)
Shakespeare	9	<i>Venus and Adonis</i> <i>Lucrece</i> sonnets, 12 plays	<i>1, 2, 3 Henry VI</i> (1594/95) <i>Hamlet</i> (1589/94/96) <i>Taming of the Shrew</i> (1594/96)
Philip Sidney	6	<i>The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia</i>	<i>Lady of May</i> (1578) <i>Astrophel and Stella</i> (1591) <i>Defence of Poesie</i> (1591)
Edmund Spenser	9	<i>Fairy Queen</i> <i>Shepherd's Calendar</i>	<i>Astrophel</i> (1596) <i>Colin Clout comes home</i> (1595) <i>Amoretti</i> (1596) <i>Epithalamium</i> (1596)
Warner	5	<i>Albion's England</i>	<i>Pan his Syrinx</i> (1595)

			Translation of Plautus' <i>Menæchmi</i> (1595)
George Buchanan (a Scottish writer)	1	<i>Iephthe</i>	<i>De Jure Regni apud Scotos</i> (1579) <i>Rerum Scoticarum Historia</i> (1582)

Despite omitting some publications by authors he cites, Meres does reference Everard Guilpin's *Skialethia*, entered on the Stationers' Register on 15th September 1598, eight days after his own book was registered. This demonstrates that Meres chose to be up-to-date with some authors.

What of Meres' ability to discriminate? Meres believes that the quality of *Much Ado* would have merited citation, if it had been written by this date. However, while Meres does mention Shakespeare nine times, Michael Drayton is mentioned more times than any other writer (twelve). Meres praises Drayton's 'vertuous disposition' in 'these declining and corrupt times, when there is nothing but roguery in villanous man, & when cheating and craftines is counted the cleanest wit, and soundest wisdom' (paragraph 20). Meres' fondness for Drayton who is barely read today, and Meres' identification of Munday as 'our best plotter', suggest perhaps a significant difference in taste, or that Meres lacked discrimination, or that Meres had been persuaded to promote Drayton (and perhaps Guilpin's *Skialethia*).

This brief examination of *Palladis Tamia* establishes that Meres does not offer a complete list of Shakespearean titles in his *Comparative Discourse*, or a complete list for other Elizabethan writers. Meres cannot be used to prove whether or not Shakespeare had written *Hamlet* at this point. Humphreys' suggestion of an 'accidental' omission implies his expectation that Meres intended to include all, but this is demonstrably not Meres' achievement, nor his implicit intention. Which plays he did not know cannot be proved. Additionally, Meres' taste or discrimination is different from today's. His testimony in *Palladis Tamia* is limited, merely confirming the existence of some titles, and is of no value for dating Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

4.viii Gabriel Harvey

Harvey refers twice to *Hamlet*, but ambiguity surrounds the dating of each reference. Virginia Stern, in *Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library* records both.³⁹⁵ The first reference is in Harvey's copy of *Guicciardini's Detti, et Fatti*, printed in Venice 1571, and acquired by Harvey in 1580. Marginalia were added then, in 1590, and later, according to Stern. The critical passage this time runs thus:

³⁹⁵ Virginia Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1979).

'Greene's quip for an upstart Courtier; & his art of conny catching: Diets drie dinner: a fresh supplie of Mensa philosophica; the Tragedie of Hamlet: Richard 3'.³⁹⁶

This passage is noted, not discussed, and is indeed problematic. Greene's *Quip for an vpstart Courtier* was published in 1592. He wrote several coney-catching pamphlets, for example *The Second Part of Conycatching* (1591), and *A Disputation between a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conny-catcher* (1592). *Mensa Philosophica* (a tract including sententiae) was written by Michael Scot, whose dates are c. 1175-c. 1234. He was a mathematician, physician and scholar, and *Mensa Philosophica* was published in Frankfurt in 1602. *The Tragedie of Hamlet* is the beginning of Q1 and Q2's titles, and published in 1603, 1604 and 1605, and *Richard III* was first published in 1597. Regrettably, this mixture of publication dates does not help with the dating of *Hamlet*. The texts excluding *Hamlet* and *Richard III* are all to be read, which may suggest that 'the Tragedie of Hamlet' as recorded by Harvey was also a written text. It might however have been the title on a playbill.

The second reference is the more familiar one, found in the margins of Harvey's copy of Thomas Speght's *Works of Chaucer*, published in 1598. The significant part of the passage runs:

'The Earle of Essex much commends Albions England:... The Lord Mountjoy makes the like account of Daniels peece of the Chronicle, touching the Vsurpation of Henrie of Bullingbrooke. Which in deede is a fine, sententious, & politique peece of Poetrie: as profittable, as pleasurable. The younger sort takes much delight in Shakespeares Venus, & Adonis: but his Lucrece, & his tragedie of Hamlet, prince of Denmarke, have it in them to please the wiser sort... His [Sir Edward Dyer's] Amaryllis, & Sir Walter Raleighs Cynthia, how fine and sweet inuentions? Excellent matter of emulation for Spencer, Constable, France, Watson, Daniel, Warner, Chapman, Siluester, Shakespeare, & the rest of owr flourishing metricians... & I haue a phansie to Owens new Epigrams...'³⁹⁷

Discussion usually relates to the date at which Harvey added this manuscript note. A second question for discussion might be why *Lucrece* and *Hamlet* are thus juxtaposed, when the qualities of the two are, at least today, assessed markedly differently, and when *Lucrece* is a narrative poem which Harvey must have read, while *Hamlet* is a drama which he could either have seen or read.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 128.

³⁹⁷ G. C. Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913), 232. The actual marginalia, at the bottom of the page, offers no extra clues (Thomas Speght, *Chaucer's Works*. British Library reference: 42518, f422b).

The Earl of Essex appears to be alive in the quotation ('commends' is present tense), so it is assumed Harvey inscribed the entry before Essex's execution on 25th February 1601, earlier than any known printed text of *Hamlet*; a present historic tense is possible, though perhaps unlikely. (The third earl was only born in 11.1.1591 and is therefore unlikely to be recommending such a text.) However, Harvey refers to Thomas Watson, as among 'owr flourishing metricians', when Watson died in 1592. It is a little difficult to comprehend 'flourishing' when the poet is dead. Harvey has 'a phansie to Owens new Epigrams...', but these are not published until 1607, although there is one, addressed to Burghley and dated 1596. Perhaps Harvey forgot Watson's demise, and had seen Owen's epigrams in manuscript, which is what Moore Smith suggests.³⁹⁸ Stern gives it as her opinion that the marginalia above were probably written after 1st June 1599. *Hamlet* editors differ in their opinions, with Jenkins suggesting Harvey 'even without a reading text' commended *Hamlet* before February 1601,³⁹⁹ while Thompson and Taylor, recognising the contradictions in Harvey's note, agree with Edwards that Harvey is 'of little use in trying to date *Hamlet*'.⁴⁰⁰

What is arguably more significant is the juxtaposition of *Lucrece* and *Hamlet*. Their written texts share one very distinctive feature, namely the presence of commonplace markings. Indeed, ninety-one quotations of a line or two were extracted from *Lucrece* by Anthony Munday and John Bodenham for their 1600 commonplace collection, *Bel-vedère*. Q1 *Hamlet* also has commonplace markings, for Corambis' speech (Sig.s C2^r 23-32, 35, and C2^v 26-7 and 30). The quotation from Harvey, above, has been carefully selected to include what he celebrates in 'Daniels peece of the Chronicle', namely that it is 'a fine, sententious, & politique peece of Poetrie: as profittable, as pleasurable'. Harvey admires it because it is 'sententious' - and *Lucrece* and Q1 *Hamlet* are marked to show their 'sententiae', which may suggest why Harvey regards those written texts as pleasing the 'wiser sort'. This is entirely in keeping with Harvey's known character (master of rhetoric, yet also a 'Pedantius'⁴⁰¹) and it may indicate that Harvey saw *Hamlet* in its written form. That could have been Q1 or Q2 *Hamlet*, both of which have commonplace markings, though these are different. Could the marginalia's significance only be that it indicates Harvey saw a written text of *Hamlet*? If that written text was also a published text, it has to post date the publication of Q1 in 1603 or Q2 in 1604-5. Harvey's marginalia seem potentially valuable, but really contribute little to dating Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., x.

³⁹⁹ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 6.

⁴⁰⁰ Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* (1602), 48.

⁴⁰¹ The title of a comic play which 'unmistakeably parodied Harvey' (Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 69).

4.ix 'My Name's Hamlet, Revenge'

Thomas Dekker's play, *Satiromastix*, was registered for publication in November 1601. In it a character says, 'My Name's Hamlet, Revenge; thou hast been at Paris Garden, hast not?' There is little discussion of this; the date is just when many think Shakespeare has written his Q2 *Hamlet*, yet it could refer to the continuing acting of the *Hamlet* of 1589, 1594, and 1596, since Dekker will have completed his play at some point before it is published. It does emphasise the popularity of *Hamlet*, but yet again there is no hint of an author.

The first issue discussed above concerns when Shakespeare might have started writing. He parodied a poem printed in 1582; the parody would be most pertinent immediately after the original's publication, but may have been written later. Ben Jonson dates *Titus Andronicus* to 1584-89, and Nashe mentions a (well-known) *Hamlet* in 1589. The first is largely disregarded, and the second rarely taken as Shakespeare's, but there is no other author unambiguously linked to either of them. Shakespeare *is* associated with at least two history plays by 1592, and *Venus and Adonis* is published in 1593; it is very unlikely he did not have some sort of juvenilia preceding these. If the plays with Shakespearean titles mentioned in *Henslowe's Diary* are also Shakespeare's, an 'early' start to his writing career, in his early twenties and in the second half of the 1580s, cannot be excluded.

The second issue is whether any of the pre-publication references to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* are to Q1, or Q2, or even to F. There is nothing in Nashe, Henslowe, Lodge, Harvey or Dekker's writing to suggest whether it is Shakespeare's play to which they refer, or to which version of *Hamlet* they allude. There *is* a general consensus that Q2 is greater in literary and philosophical content (and maturity), and it might be supposed that if Nashe's *Hamlet* allusion was to Shakespeare's play, it is more likely to be to Q1, as Knight, Dyce, Staunton and others thought. This is not proved, merely an assumption.

This leads to the most critical question: do any of the references to a *Hamlet* pre 1603 unambiguously point towards, or away from, Shakespeare as its author? Nashe's *Preface* does include 'Hamlets' and 'Kid' within seven lines of each other. Nothing stylistically, grammatically, or semantically, links them; 'Kid' can be explained wholly in reference to Spenser's *May Eclogue*. It is entirely possible (and more than likely) that 'Kid' is simply a fortuitous homophone of 'Kyd'. Nashe's *Preface* does not point to any author. Malone's reasoning regarding the entry in Henslowe's *Diary* is clearly erroneous in four respects, and it is odd that his views generally do not appear to be

challenged. Henslowe's *Diary* entry for 'hamlet' gives no indication of author, but it is close to other entries of plays which have titles now associated with Shakespeare. Consequently the Henslowe entry cannot exclude, and may even support, Shakespeare as the author of that *Hamlet*.

Lodge gives no indication of the authorship of the *Hamlet* tragedy. However, the analogy of 'chast Matilda' shows it is possible that 'Hamlet revenge' was an Elizabethan 'soundbite', enough for Lodge to reference the play and amuse the reader. Meres, as several Shakespearean scholars do recognise, offers no proof of whether or not *Hamlet* - or other unnamed plays - had been written by 1598; an absence of citation proves nothing. Harvey's marginalia in *Guicciardini's Detti, et Fatti* probably refers to a written text, not a performance; his marginalia in Speght's *Chaucer* probably refer to a written *Hamlet*, since he pairs it with *Lucrece*. Harvey praises 'sententious' writing in the same note, and claims the two texts would appeal to the 'wiser sort'; both include commonplace markings for the texts' *sententiae*. And the *Satiromastix* reference to *Hamlet* in 1601 comes close upon the heels of Shakespeare's alleged composition of Q2, with no certainty to which play Dekker alludes.

Thus while Shakespeare is not unambiguously associated with *Hamlet* before the title page of Q1, no other author is connected with a play of that name prior to 1600, and his name *is* associated with it from 1603. The evidence for Shakespeare having an 'early' or 'late' start as a writer is very limited; the evidence for which version of *Hamlet* is referred to *c.* 1589 is non-existent. Kyd's authorship is not tenable, and there is a lack of evidence pointing to the author of the *Hamlet* mentioned in 1589, or in the 1590s. These texts are disconcertingly unhelpful in supporting the concept of an early, non-Shakespearean *Hamlet*, or of Shakespeare's own composition of the play being as late as 1600. The contemporary evidence leaves wide open the possibility that Nashe *et al.* were referring to a version of *Hamlet* by Shakespeare.

Chapter five continues the investigation of the date of the play by taking into consideration the dates of the proposed literary sources and historical allusions. It addresses a different question: does the content of either quarto indicate a date before which composition could not have occurred?

Chapter 5

Historical allusions and literary sources, and dating *Hamlet*

Chapter four shows that the references in contemporary documents leave open the authorship of any *Hamlet* between 1589 and 1603. Another way of approaching *Hamlet's* date is through the historical allusions and literary sources in the quartos themselves. These allusions and sources have been proposed in nearly three centuries' work by scholars with literary, historical and legal backgrounds. The scholars include those with an overview of the sources behind the whole of the canon,⁴⁰² individual editors of *Hamlet* who discuss in detail borrowings, verbal echoes and allusions in their *Introductions* and notes,⁴⁰³ and a number of individual scholars of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods who have drawn attention to similarities of expression or concept, and to parallel historical events.⁴⁰⁴ Together these scholars have revealed something of how Shakespeare's works reflect his times and how widely he read. Thus the question this chapter investigates is whether the allusions and sources the scholars identify can offer any useful information about the quartos' respective dates: are these allusions and sources before or after any of the key points in time, i.e. Nashe's *Preface* in 1589, the proposed date of Shakespeare's composition of Q2 c. 1600, or the hypothesised memorial reconstruction of Q1 before 1603?

The first half of this chapter summarises the principal, suggested historical allusions and their dates, and considers how probable they are. It demonstrates that the majority of those identified pre-date Nashe's reference to 'Hamlets' in 1589, and are common to both quartos. However, it has been argued that one passage peculiar to Q1, alluding to a 'cinquepace of jests' (9.26), may originate c. 1588, and perhaps as many as four passages which are exclusive to Q2 originate in the late 1590s.

The second half of the chapter then turns to the literary sources. A major problem immediately presents itself; many scholars would see the so-called *Ur-Hamlet* as the primary source (for example

⁴⁰² For example Kenneth Muir (1977) in *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays* and Geoffrey Bullough (1973) in his *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* both discuss the sources behind the whole canon; Robert Miola (2008) in *Shakespeare's Reading* is a more recent contributor to discussing Shakespeare's literary sources.

⁴⁰³ For example Edwards (1985), Hibbard (1987), Jenkins (1982), and Thompson and Taylor (2006).

⁴⁰⁴ For example James Plumptre, *Observations on Hamlet*, 1796. British Library reference: T.3.6.3.(1,2.); George Russell, in Furness, *Variorum Hamlet II*, 238; Chambers, *Hamlet* 1904, 142, note to line 59.

Shaheen: 'Shakespeare's main source... was a lost play... generally called the *Ur-Hamlet*'⁴⁰⁵). Unfortunately, that 'main source', if it existed as many hypothesise, is not extant. It is true that there is some evidence for what the earliest *Hamlet* contained (a Senecan influence, 'handfuls of tragical speeches', and a Ghost demanding 'Revenge'), but these are also found in both quartos, and may originate in either quarto or in the putative *Ur-Hamlet*.⁴⁰⁶ But whether the early *Hamlet* contained, say, the subplot with Leartes/Laertes, or the play within a play, or the graveyard scene - all such conjecture is currently only speculation. Consequently the examination of literary sources and their dates will focus solely upon the extant texts.⁴⁰⁷ Most of the remaining literary allusions are present in each quarto, and pre-date Nashe's *Preface*. A small number, dated later than 1589, are exclusive to Q2.

To try to date either *Hamlet* from such allusions is merely to follow a route many have taken with the plays. Thus Bullough writes of Iago's descriptions of Othello as a 'barbary horse' and 'an erring barbarian' as 'probably... reminding the audience of the recent unpopular visitors from North Africa'.⁴⁰⁸ Samuel Harsnett's *Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* (1603; STC 12880) is part of the evidence for dating *King Lear*: *Lear* 'was certainly written after the publication of Samuel Harsnett's *Declaration*'.⁴⁰⁹ *Macbeth* 'must have been written after the accession of James I in 1603', with its reference to 'twofold balls and treble sceptres'.⁴¹⁰ None of these examples is the sole evidence for the dating of these other tragedies, but they do indicate that a gradual accretion of details might be used to contribute to the dating of any play.

The examination of the dates of the possible historical and literary allusions and sources shows that the majority are shared, and that they pre-date Nashe's *Preface*. One might suggest a Q1 prior to

⁴⁰⁵ Naseeb Shaheen, *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Plays* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999), 534.

⁴⁰⁶ Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques* contains several major 'tragical speeches', in the 'chambre' or 'bedchamber scene, for example, which may have contributed to some of *Hamlet's* speeches. For example, *Hamlet* utilizes those of the Prince in the 'chambre' scene, though the play draws much less upon the Queen's response. The text used is in Sir Israel Gollancz, *The Sources of Hamlet* (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926). Quotations from this text are page numbers and embedded in the text, because of their frequency.

⁴⁰⁷ While *Les Histoires Tragiques* is the most important underlying source, it is not discussed in any detail here, because it was undoubtedly available for the *Hamlet* Nashe alludes to, and for Q1 and Q2; there is extensive discussion of it in chapter six. Chapters six and eight also contain some further discussion of *The Spanish Tragedy*.

⁴⁰⁸ Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources* vol VII, 209. The visitors had not brought presents and cost the City over £230 for their keep (*ibid.*, 208).

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 269.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 425.

1589; a very small number of each, exclusive to Q2, appear to post-date the *Preface*.⁴¹¹ This is unexpected;⁴¹² it could suggest that Q1 was an early *Hamlet*, and Q2 a later one.

5.i Historical allusions

Notes and asides on *Hamlet* reveal a surprising number of suspected allusions in the play to contemporary personages and events, although there is no consensus about the validity of these allusions. Together these allusions could, however, give credibility to Hamlet's claim, in Q1 and Q2, that plays are the 'abstracts and brief chronicles of the times' (2.2.462-3: 'the chronicles and brief abstracts of the times' (7.338)), that is, a contemporary play could reflect its times.⁴¹³

Most of the suspected historical allusions and their possible dates are shared by the two quartos. The first was proposed in the late 18th century by James Plumptre in his essay *Observations on Hamlet*, in 1796.⁴¹⁴ Those who are knowledgeable about Elizabethan history are perhaps more likely than those immersed in literature to see parallels with Elizabethan times. Plumptre illustrates this when he explains that he had been reading Hume's *History of England*, had secondly turned to Walpole's *Historical Doubts*, and thirdly to Tytler's *Inquiry into the Evidence against Mary Queen of Scots*.⁴¹⁵ His essay then singles out the key similarities he notes between the stories of the remarriages of Gertred/Gertrud and Mary, Queen of Scots. The young Mary was firstly married to the Dauphin, Francois II. He died young, from an abscess in his ear, but his French surgeon, Ambrose Paré, was suspected of poisoning him in the ear, as Chambers notes in his 1904 edition of *Hamlet*.⁴¹⁶ In *Hamlet* the Ghost describes how the 'leprous distilment' was poured in the 'porches of my ears' (5.50-1, l.v.63-4).

A second similarity occurs in the appearances of Mary's husband Darnley, and Old Hamlet, both handsome men. According to Sir James Melville, Mary described her second husband to be as 'the lustiest and best-proportioned long man that she had seen, for he was of high stature... even and

⁴¹¹ Tables summarising these dates are located in appendices C and D.

⁴¹² It is unexpected because it would seem fairly logical to attempt to date both quartos as individual texts, not just Q2. To find any suggestions of a differentiation would indicate this has not been carried out.

⁴¹³ It is not difficult to find examples which show that some plays were very topical. Sackville and Norton's *Gorboduc* in 1561 was concerned with succession issues, and Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris* (performed January and February 1593) was based upon the recent death in 1589 of the French King, Henri III. The now lost *Isle of Dogs* (1597) was sufficiently pertinent to result in three of its players being jailed. George Chapman kept to more domestic matters in *The Old Joiner of Aldgate* (1609), and had to answer to the authorities for its topical allusions.

⁴¹⁴ Plumptre, *Observations on Hamlet*.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴¹⁶ Chambers, *Hamlet* 1904, 139.

erect...⁴¹⁷ Old Hamlet is described as having a 'front wherein all virtues are set down' (11.27), as 'Hyperion to a satyr' (I.ii.140). It was Mary's third husband, James Bothwell, who was regarded with considerable disfavour; in *The Calendar of State Papers*⁴¹⁸ Bedford writes to Cecil on 6th April 1565:

'I assure you he [Bothwell] is as naughty a man as liveth, and much given to that vile and detestable vice of sodomy.'

There are several more parallels, all rather curious. One is Darnley's penchant for wearing armour; Randolph, in a letter to Cecil on 3rd September 1565, comments that '... of all her [Mary's] troops her husband only has gilt armour'.⁴¹⁹ One of the portraits of Darnley and Mary together shows Darnley in armour.⁴²⁰ Shakespeare's Ghost is described as dressed in armour, 'Armed to point, exactly cap-à-pie' (2.114, I.ii.199).

Bullough offers a different source for that concept, namely an engraving of Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino. Titian painted the Duke in 1538,⁴²¹ but Bullough's picture comes from Paulus Iovii's *Elogia Virorum Bellica Virtute Illustrium* 1565.⁴²² Bullough's suggestion has one very distinctive merit; the story of the play within *Hamlet* is 'taken from the murder of the Duke of Urbano (sic) by Luigi Gonzago in 1538, who was poisoned by means of a lotion poured into his ears'.⁴²³ The engraving may indeed have been the source for Shakespeare, though pictures of men with armour are not unusual in portraits from that time. *Elogia Virorum Bellica Virtute Illustrium* may have been available to Shakespeare, though where and how he accessed that source, like virtually all books he is supposed to have used, is unknown. Bullough does point out that the Duke of Urbino was compared to Mars and Hercules in the Latin poem appended to Iovii's eulogy. The classical heroes are repeated in *Hamlet*: 'No more like my father than I to Hercules' (I.ii.153, 2.61-2) and 'An eye like Mars, to threaten and command' (III.iv.57: 'See here a face to outface Mars himself', 11.25).

⁴¹⁷ Rosalind K. Marshall, *Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1986), 88.

⁴¹⁸ J. Stevenson, A. J. Crosby, A. J. Butler, S. C. Lomas, R. B. Wernham, editors, *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, 1564-5*. 23 vols (London: 1863-1950), 301.

⁴¹⁹ Plumptre, *Observations*, 57-8.

⁴²⁰ The portrait is held in the Seton Armorial, National Library of Scotland; a reproduction can be found in *Darnley*, by Caroline Bingham (Caroline Bingham. *Darnley* (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1995), after 170).

⁴²¹ Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources* vol VII, 31-3.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, opposite 31. There was at least one earlier version of Iovii's book, since Burghley's library held one dated 1557 (listed in Sotheby's sale catalogue of 21.11.1687 (British Library reference: 821.i.8.(1), 25).

⁴²³ Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources* vol VII, 30.

Contemporary descriptions of Darnley also seem strangely echoed in *Hamlet*. Although Mary held a good opinion of Darnley at the beginning, he rapidly fell from favour. He allegedly consorted with prostitutes in Edinburgh,⁴²⁴ and in early 1567 he fell ill. George Buchanan, distinctly biased, and sympathetic to Darnley rather than Mary, describes how Darnley was affected by alleged poison: 'The signs of this treachery, livid pustules, broke out all over his body'.⁴²⁵ Dr Robertson comments that 'Buchanan and Knox are positive that the King [Darnley, though he was never officially given this title] had been poisoned. They mentioned the 'black and putrid pustules which broke out all over his body'.⁴²⁶ There is no suggestion that Old Hamlet was in any way dissolute, as Darnley was, but in Q1 and Q2 Old Hamlet describes himself as having 'my smooth body, barked and tettered over' (5.57), and 'a most instant tetter barked about/Most lazar-like with vile and loathsome crust/All my smooth body' (I.v.71-3). The alleged parallels continue with the murder of Darnley, on the night of 9th to 10th February 1567. His body was found in a garden outside the house at Kirk o' Fields. A map of the murder scene was sent to Cecil (Burghley) in London;⁴²⁷ it can be seen today in the Public Record Office at Kew.⁴²⁸ The map, approximately A3 in size, shows Darnley's body, half clothed, lying in a garden clearly planted with trees. In *Hamlet*, the Ghost claims he was 'Sleeping within my orchard' (5.46, I.v.59).

Another parallel also has its origins with this map. It shows the infant James, the son of Mary and Darnley who would become James VI of Scotland and James I of England, in a cradle. Over the cradle, in a ribbon-like scroll which functions much as a speech bubble would today, are the words 'Judge and revenge my caus o lord'. The call for revenge for Darnley's murder was present not just immediately after his death, but also on the banners at Carbury Field, where Mary, and her new and third husband, the earl of Bothwell, faced the Scottish Lords, in June 1567.⁴²⁹ The call for

⁴²⁴ Herries reports that Darnley associated with young 'gentlemen willing to satisfy his will and affections'. In 1565 Darnley also made a lady of the Douglas family pregnant (Alison Weir, *Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Murder of Lord Darnley* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2003), 87). Bingham discusses whether the skeletal remains of Darnley shows evidence that he had contracted syphilis (Bingham, *Darnley*, 171-2).

⁴²⁵ George Buchanan, translated and edited by W. A. Gatherer, *The Tyrannous Reign of Mary Stewart* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1958), 171.

⁴²⁶ William Robertson, *History of Scotland* vol II (London: printed for T. Cadell in The Strand, 1787), 405. Also in Plumptre, *Observations*, 31.

⁴²⁷ Antonia Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Mandarin, 1989), 349.

⁴²⁸ It is reproduced in Marshall, *Queen of Scots*, 145.

⁴²⁹ The original picture is in the Public Record Office in London (Kew); a reproduction can be found in Marshall, *Queen of Scots*, 159.

James' to take revenge also became popular in the black letter ballads of the day.⁴³⁰

A brief extract from one is given below:

WITH hauie hart, on Snadoun hill
 Ane zuong king I hard schoutand schill;
 With reuthfull rair he did record,
 Prayand, as I haif writ this bill,
 Judge & Reuenge my cause, O Lord

 Quhen I was not zit ane zeir auld,
 Bothwell, that bludy Bouchour bauld
 My Father cruelly devorde.
 He him betrayit and his blude sauld:

Judge & Reuenge my cause O Lord. (*The Kingis Complaint*, verses 1 & 4 only.)⁴³¹

Darnley's parents even commissioned a 'vendetta picture', the Darnley Memorial Picture by Lieven de Vogelaar, where the whole focus of the painting is upon the desire for revenge for Darnley's murder.⁴³² Revenge is, of course, the central theme of the play, as the oyster women knew - 'Hamlet revenge'.

More pertinently still there is the haste with which Mary remarried after Darnley's murder. George Buchanan writes 'For while the custom of former times was that queens, after the death of their husbands, should for forty days, withdraw themselves not only form the company of men but even from the light of day... [Mary threw] off her mourning within four days... scarce twelve [days] were fully past when the pretence could no longer continue'.⁴³³ Bothwell rapidly divorced his wife (3rd May

⁴³⁰ Shakespeare was acquainted with at least some ballads. He partly quotes from one in *Hamlet*, about Jephthah: 'Why,/ By lot, or God wot...' (7.279ff) and 'Why,/ As by lot...' (II.ii.351ff). Chambers gives eight lines from an example with similar phrasing to *Hamlet*. 'I read that many years ago,/ When Jepha Judge of Israel,/ Had one fair daughter and no more,/ Whom he loved so passing well./ And as by lot God wot,/ It came to pass so like it was,/ Great war there should be,/ And who should be the chief, but he, but he' (Chambers, *Hamlet* 1904, 149). Moreover, Autolycus and the country folk refer to them in *The Winter's Tale* act IV scene 4: Mopsa suggests their popularity with 'I love a ballad in print a-life, for then we are sure they are true' (IV.iv.253-5). Honan also writes about them: 'Pedlars sold ballads about the bizarre retreat from Scotland of Mary, Queen of Scots...' (Park Honan, *Shakespeare: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 32).

⁴³¹ An example of 'black letter' ballad. From James Cranstoun, LL.D., *Satirical Poems* 1565-84. British Library reference: AC 9943/11. The author is thought to be Robert Sempill, 1530? -1595.

⁴³² Bingham, *Darnley*, after 170.

⁴³³ Buchanan, *The Tyrannous Reign*, 176.

1567), and on 15th May 1567 Mary and Bothwell were married. In both quartos Hamlet deplores the rapidity of the Queen's remarriage. He emphasises his disgust, for it is not only with 'the funeral baked meats' that he draws attention to it, but also in exchange with Ofelia/Ophelia. Bullough comments that the story of *Hamlet* would have had 'considerable topicality between 1587 and 1589', not least because at the time of Mary's execution there were calls by many Scottish nobles for James 'to avenge his mother's murder by Queen Elizabeth',⁴³⁴ but this possible topicality is rarely discussed today. Both quartos reflect those contemporary events, close to the time of the early *Hamlet* Nashe mentions, or, alternatively, include a large number of coincidental parallels with real events.

The French source for the play does not include poisoning in the ear, an orchard, a Ghost wearing armour, the 'tettors' on the dead King's skin, the external calls for revenge, nor the rapidity of the Queen's remarriage.⁴³⁵ The author of the English play has added a considerable amount of detail, which would have had a contemporary resonance around the late 1580s, when it would indeed have been the 'abstract and brief chronicle of the times' (II.ii.462-3). All the details are found in both quartos.

In the 19th century another allusion was suggested; George Russell French identified Lord Burghley in Corambis/Polonius.⁴³⁶ The number of parallels between Corambis/Polonius and Burghley are surprisingly numerous. The most obvious similarity is that Burghley was Elizabeth's 'oldest and most trusted councillor',⁴³⁷ Q1 has 'a true friend and a most loving subject' (7.79), and Q2 'a man faithful and honourable' (2.2.127) and that Corambis/Polonius is the chief counsellor to the King and Queen in *Hamlet*. In *Shakspeareana Genealogica* (1869) French, however, focused particularly on the precepts Burghley gave his son Robert,⁴³⁸ just as Corambis/Polonius gives his son advice before departing for France. Jenkins, a literary scholar, totally rejects any allusion: 'the notion that Polonius, on the strength of his similar role at court, was a caricature of Burghley is sheer conjecture'. In a footnote he extends his comment:

⁴³⁴ Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources* vol VII, 18.

⁴³⁵ Belleforest's Queen is simply pragmatic. His Queen defends her remarriage with a reference to how difficult it would have been for her to resist ('le peu de moyen de resistance'), the treason of the palace courtiers ('la trahison de ceux du Palais'), and how she could not refuse to marry him ('refus de son alliance'), entirely credible in the times (Gollancz, *Histoires*, 220).

⁴³⁶ Quoted in Furness, *Variorum Hamlet* II, 238.

⁴³⁷ Conyers Read, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1960), 466.

⁴³⁸ These were written in c. 1584. They were printed as *Certaines Preceptes, or Directions* in 1618 (STC 4898, Chambers, *WS* vol I, 419).

'This was supposed to be supported by an analogy between Burghley's *Precepts* for his son and the 'precepts' delivered by Polonius to Laertes. But now that these have been shown to derive from a long literary tradition, a reflection upon any individual can no longer be supposed'.⁴³⁹

Burghley's precepts and those offered by Corambis/Polonius are not that similar in phrasing, though they do not differ substantially in meaning. Jenkins appears to assume that there had to be a similarity in the content of the two sets of precepts, whereas the parallel might be based more simply on the fact that both Burghley and Corambis/Polonius offered precepts to a son. Moreover, Jenkins' conclusion might be perfectly reasonable if there were only two parallels between the fictional and real life counsellors, but there are several more. Israel Gollancz suggested 'Corambis' might be derived from 'crambe repetita', meaning 'cabbage warmed up again', and connoting 'something repeated, an old story, tedious and unpleasant'.⁴⁴⁰ 16th century versions in "Crambo" and 'Corambe' can be found, and seem to reinforce this. The name may even play upon Burghley's motto, *Cor unum via una*, literally 'one heart, one way', so 'Corambis' might be taken as 'double heart'.⁴⁴¹ The name may have been made up deliberately, as presumably the punning 'Ambodexter', 'double right', was, for the character of Vice in *Cambyses* (1569).

Biographies of Burghley offer details which indicate further similarities. Burghley sent Thomas Windebanke, a tutor, to accompany his son Thomas Cecil to France in 1561:

'[Cecil] had misgivings about his son's behaviour [and] gave Thomas some advice...Yet Cecil could hardly have anticipated the constant annoyance and grief which his son was to cause him until the prodigal's return'.⁴⁴²

This may be echoed in Q1/Q2, when Corambis/Polonius uses Montano/Reynaldo to check up upon Leartes/Laertes when he returns to France. There is also the curious fact that Burghley's son-in-law had a very public 'falling out at tennis' (II.i.570; less precisely, 'at tennis' in Q1, 6.23), with Philip

⁴³⁹ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 35.

⁴⁴⁰ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 223.

⁴⁴¹ Latin 'cor' is 'heart, mind, judgement'; 'ambo' is 'both (two together)'.

⁴⁴² B. W. Beckingsale, *Burghley: Tudor Statesman 1520-1598* (London: Macmillan, 1967), 92. In March 1562 Cecil wrote that he heard reports of his son being a 'dissolute, slothful, negligent and careless young man' (Martin A. S. Hume, *The Great Lord Burghley - Study in Elizabethan Statecraft* (London: J. Nisbet, 1898), 123-4.)

Sidney, in 1579, a matter to which Chambers draws attention.⁴⁴³ A 'falling out at tennis' was one of the possible misdemeanours Reynaldo was permitted to overlook in Laertes' behaviour.

Another peculiar likeness is how Burghley established the habit of eating fish regularly in England. In 1584 he brought in

'a bill to renew the statute making Wednesday a fish day. This statute... was one of Burghley's own making. He had fought hard for it in the Parliament of 1563... [it] had been "called Cecil's fast"'.⁴⁴⁴

J. D. Wilson refers to the 'Fishmonger Secretary of State';⁴⁴⁵ Hamlet calls Corambis/Polonius a 'fishmonger' (7.1.96, II.ii.171); perhaps Wilson considers it a historical parallel. Furthermore, Burghley was rather prolix (as his precepts to Robert Cecil show), which may well remind the audience of the Queen's request of Corambis, 'Good my Lord be brief' (7.64) and of Polonius, for 'More matter with less art' (II.ii.95). It may even be that the 'talent for compromise'⁴⁴⁶ that was an integral part of Burghley's character is mocked in 3.2, when Polonius agrees that a cloud is in the shape of a camel, then a weasel, and finally a whale.

But perhaps the most poignant similarity could lie in the biblical allusion to Jephthah (7.2.70, II.ii.2346), an Old Testament figure who sacrificed his virgin daughter.⁴⁴⁷ The marriage Burghley approved for his daughter Anne brought her a husband who accused her of infidelity, who refused to live with her for five years, and who additionally conducted an affair which saw him imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1580; theirs was an unhappy marriage. Burghley himself wrote that 'No enemy I have can envy me this match'.⁴⁴⁸ Anne died an early death aged thirty-two in June 1588. In the play, Ophelia/Ophelia is rejected by Hamlet, falls into madness, and drowns, also dying young.

Each of the above characteristics is present in both quartos. If the portrait alludes to Burghley, it is based upon several matters which would have been widely known to the London public at least - his long-standing role serving the Queen (1558-98), 'Cecil's fast' established in 1563 and Burghley's struggle to renew it in 1584, the death of Anne in 1588 and subsequent lavishly decorative funeral monument in Westminster Abbey, for example. The portrait is also seemingly based upon further

⁴⁴³ 'Is there an allusion here to the famous quarrel on a tennis court between Sir Philip Sidney and the Earl of Oxford?' (Chambers, *Hamlet* 1904, 142.)

⁴⁴⁴ Read, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth*, 304.

⁴⁴⁵ Wilson, *What happens*, 303.

⁴⁴⁶ Beckingsale, *Burghley: Tudor Statesman: 1520-1598*, 194.

⁴⁴⁷ Judges, 11.30-40.

⁴⁴⁸ Beckingsale, *Burghley*, 290.

details associated with him: his precepts from 1584, Windebanke's accompaniment of Cecil's son to France in 1561, the 'falling out at tennis' of his son-in-law in 1579, and perhaps word play upon *Cor unum via una*. It is a portrait which would have had topicality at the time Nashe mentions 'Hamlets', in 1589. Today a satirist would not need to draw upon so many characteristics to lampoon or caricature a public figure and make him/her recognisable, partly because s/he would be able to draw upon visual elements. Perhaps too today a historian is more likely to be able to see the extent of the parallels between the historical and fictional characters. A. L. Rowse is one such historian; he does consider the portrait echoes Burghley.⁴⁴⁹ R. Simpson, another historian, and biographer of Edmund Campion, also writes that Shakespeare 'truly painted him [Burghley] as Polonius'.⁴⁵⁰ Louis Marder comments that the search for historical analogies 'has produced interesting if not fully acceptable conclusions'; he quotes Herford noting 'caustically' that Shakespeare 'had missed his mark, because there is no shred of evidence that any of the purported analogies' were discovered by Shakespeare's contemporaries.⁴⁵¹

The parallels between the real and fictional counsellors seem convincing, but there is currently no acceptance among literary scholars that Corambis/Polonius could be satirising Burghley. J. D. Wilson is one who does, rather hesitantly, write that 'the figure of Polonius is almost without doubt intended as a caricature of Burghley'.⁴⁵² Duthie too, considers it: '... a not unreasonable conjecture: in the old play Corambus is drawn as a caricature of Burleigh; Shakespeare, writing his play some time after Burleigh's death, very properly alters the name...'⁴⁵³ However, Jonathan Bate, like Jenkins, dismisses the idea: 'Polonius cannot be a satirical portrait of Lord Burghley for... if it were, the author would have found himself in prison'.⁴⁵⁴ There is, unfortunately, nothing to support that supposition. There is a comparable situation, when Essex's supporters paid actors to put on *Richard II* as part of the 'Essex rebellion'; there is no record of Shakespeare being interrogated about it, let

⁴⁴⁹ 'Nor do I think we need to hesitate to see reflections of old Lord Burghley in old Polonius'; A. L. Rowse, *William Shakespeare* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1963), 323.

⁴⁵⁰ Richard Simpson, *Edmund Campion: A Biography* (London: J. Hodges, 1867), 145.

⁴⁵¹ Louis Marder, *His Exits and his Entrances: The Story of Shakespeare's Reputation* (London: John Murray, 1964), 148-9.

⁴⁵² J. D. Wilson, *The Essential Shakespeare: A Biographical Adventure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946), 104.

⁴⁵³ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 224-5, commenting on Gollancz's suggestion that Shakespeare drew the name Polonius from Goslicius' book.

⁴⁵⁴ Jonathan Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare* (London and Basingstoke: Picador, 1997), 90.

alone finding himself in prison. Instead it was Augustine Phillips, one of the shareholders of the Chamberlain's Men, who was summoned to explain the actors' performance.⁴⁵⁵

Slander and libel are not easy to refute and erase from people's minds. Yet it may be that while some slanders and libels against the Queen could be dealt with, her courtiers had to endure them. Occasionally writings against the Queen resulted in serious punishments; in 1579 John Stubbes lost his right hand for writing a diatribe against a possible marriage between Elizabeth and the Duc d'Alençon.⁴⁵⁶ However, in 1584 *Leicester's Commonwealth* (STC 19399) was published. It defamed Leicester and supported a Catholic succession; attempts to suppress it largely failed. The Queen was also powerless when Nicholas Sanders' *De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicanae* was published in Cologne in 1585. In it Sanders alleged Elizabeth was a bastard and the result of an incestuous union.⁴⁵⁷ As a long-standing counsellor to Elizabeth, Burghley was powerful, but not powerful enough to prevent unpleasantries. He had to tolerate personal abuse in a 'lewd' book published in 1572, although the portrait did not name him explicitly. He wrote to Walsingham about it:

'This day I received... two French books... [one] by an unknown malicious French writer... wherein, though he mean maliciously to the state, yet he vomiteth his choler and despite chiefly against me and my Lord Keeper [Sir Nicholas Bacon] by nicknames.'⁴⁵⁸

The book Burghley referred to was a French translation of *The Treatise of Treasons*. It had been translated by Belleforest who was involved in political matters as well as translating literary tales. Since Burghley had to endure a malicious portrait in one book, it would not be surprising if a satirical picture of him appeared elsewhere. Indeed, it appears that Edmund Spenser too satirised him, as a power-hungry fox in *Mother Hubberds Tale*, where the fox is called both 'Fexe' and 'Sir Reynold'.⁴⁵⁹

It is not only whether Burghley was satirised - and histories of Burghley include a considerable number of reasons to support such a caricature - but also when such a portrait might have been pertinent. Today's satires have a limited life; John Major as 'Superman', Tony 'Blair', and the witty subverted tag 'sic transit Gloria mandi' (when Peter Mandelson left office on one occasion) all appear dated in 2012. Rowse considers the caricature would have been after Burghley's death in 1598 - 'It

⁴⁵⁵ Charles Forker, editor, *King Richard II*. Arden Shakespeare (Croatia: Thomson Learning, 2002), 10.

⁴⁵⁶ The diatribe can be found in *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf* (STC 23400: Read, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth*, 217).

⁴⁵⁷ Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen. Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Macmillan, 1996), 130.

⁴⁵⁸ Read, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth*, 95.

⁴⁵⁹ Smith and Selincourt, *Spenser, Poetical Works*, 496.

was safe to caricature him now, for he had died in 1598,⁴⁶⁰ but satire rather loses its edge when its object is dead. Today, a caricature would be relevant in the person's lifetime. However, there was one period of four months when Burghley was out of favour with the Queen, in 1587. His 'exclusion from Court and the royal favour' came as a result of the Queen's anger at his role in the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, on 8th February 1587.⁴⁶¹ Perhaps during this period of disgrace it would have been relatively safe to lampoon Burghley?

Conventionally, a respectful tone is often used about the dead. If Burghley had been satirised in *Hamlet*, the more explicit reference, through the name Corambis (perhaps playing on *Cor unum, via una*), would presumably have come first. After Burghley's death, a more respectful name might have been given. If Q2 is Shakespeare's revised *Hamlet*, it would be understandable that he changed the name to 'Polonius', Latin for 'Polish' or 'the Pole'. For it was in the year of Burghley's death, in 1598, that *De Optimo Senatore*, by Polish courtier Wawrzyniec Grzymala Goslicki, was translated into English as *The Counsellor* (STC 12372). To allude through 'Polonius' - the Polish one - to *The Counsellor* emphasises the role rather than the object of the satire.

There is one final peculiarity which may be worth mentioning in the context of the possible allusion to Mary, Queen of Scots and the possible satirical portrait of Burghley. Burghley was privy to the acts of entrapment that Francis Walsingham carried out to provide 'proof' that Mary was a threat to Elizabeth.⁴⁶² The French source of course does have friends of the King and a counsellor who suggest the entrapment of Amleth with the use of a young woman, and the counsellor also offers to hide in the French Queen's bedchamber to eavesdrop. These are borrowings present in the English dramas; Corambis/Polonius suggests using Ophelia/Ophelia to find out whether Hamlet is truly 'mad', and also offers to eavesdrop in the Queen's bedchamber. But it may be that an eighth parallel between Corambis/Polonius and Burghley should be added; all three characters were privy to entrapment. If more than half a dozen parallels between Corambis/Polonius and Burghley do show Shakespeare's counsellor was a satirical portrait of Elizabeth's greatest counsellor, it would have been most likely and most relevant in the 1580s. The four months after the execution of Mary Queen of Scots in February 1587, when Burghley was in the Queen's disfavour, may also have been the safest time. The material for that portrait is present in both quartos.

It may seem from the discussion about Mary Queen of Scots and Burghley that Shakespeare's imagination is feeding in part upon events some considerable time before the putative date for Q2, *c.*

⁴⁶⁰ Rowse, *Discovering Shakespeare* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989), 86.

⁴⁶¹ Beckingsale, *Burghley*, 164.

⁴⁶² The Babington plot was the final and decisive act of entrapment; Mary's trial was inescapable after this.

1600. Yet even if those political events are doubted, there is one event which 'seems beyond question'.⁴⁶³ This stems from the brilliant parody the Gravedigger offers, of the case of Hales v Pettit, in his comments upon Ofelia/Ophelia's death and right to Christian burial. Sir James Hales committed suicide by drowning in 1554; the lawsuit followed in 1560 and the reports were published in Law French in 1571-8.⁴⁶⁴ Q1 does allude to the central question of the case, whether a person who drowns commits suicide (*felo de se*) and should therefore not have Christian burial, or whether the water itself does the drowning, but the conversation is very circumscribed, limited to lines 1-13 in scene 16. But Q2 develops this. The original legal case offered three parts - 'imagination', 'resolution', and 'perfection'⁴⁶⁵ - but the grave-digger's attempts to do this merely give a list of near synonyms: 'to act, to do, to perform' (V.i.11-12). The triumph of Shakespeare's argument is that 'it puts what is a crucial issue in Ophelia's death in a way that precisely mimics the typical legal argument'.⁴⁶⁶ This is a reference which does not seem to be disputed, and refers to a case which began before Shakespeare was born, and was only available in French in his lifetime.⁴⁶⁷ If this is 'beyond question' a contemporary reference, perhaps the allusions to Mary Queen of Scots and Burghley are more probable.

A third potential historical reference comes in the mention of 'Julius Caesar'. It is in scene 9 that Hamlet turns his attention to Corambis, and enquires what he enacted 'in the university'. Corambis declares 'I did act Julius Caesar. I was killed in the Capitol. Brutus killed me.' Hamlet punningly replies, 'It was a brute part of him to kill so capital a calf' (9.58-60. Q2 is almost identical: 'I did enact Julius Caesar. I was killed i'th' Capitol. Brutus killed me'. III.ii.99-102). It is this mention of Julius Caesar which has been used to place Shakespeare's composition of *Hamlet* as shortly after his *Julius Caesar*. That play, in turn, is seen as the one Thomas Platter 'must have seen' at the Globe 'in all probability'⁴⁶⁸ on 21st September 1599. Platter's description of the play he saw is very brief. It is simply:

⁴⁶³ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 547.

⁴⁶⁴ They were not translated into English until the 18th century (O. Hood Phillips, *Shakespeare & the Lawyers* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd., 1972), 78).

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁴⁶⁶ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 547.

⁴⁶⁷ There is a wealth of legal references in this scene, in both quartos. Apart from impressing the playgoer with Shakespeare's breadth of knowledge in this field, it invites the question of who his audience was. Perhaps, despite the lack of record, a play like *Hamlet*, like *Twelfth Night*, was performed at the Inns of Court?

⁴⁶⁸ T. S. Dorsch, editor, *Julius Caesar*. The Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1975), vii.

'the tragedy of the first Emperor Julius Caesar, very pleasingly performed, with approximately fifteen characters ['personen']; at the end of the play they danced together admirably and exceedingly gracefully'.⁴⁶⁹

Chambers confidently states that the number (fifteen) 'agrees fairly well with *Julius Caesar*, on the assumption [Platter] disregarded a number of inconspicuous parts'.⁴⁷⁰ This is not a 'fairly' good agreement; it is disregarding the numbers altogether. There are forty-one parts, plus extras (Senators, Guards, and Attendants etc) in the cast, and while doubling up of parts no doubt took place Chambers is being very liberal in his interpretation. Another reason for assuming that Platter described Shakespeare's play is that *Julius Caesar* was not included in Meres' list in *Palladis Tamia* in 1598. Dorsch obviously feels 'it is hard to believe [Meres] would have omitted so striking and popular a play as Julius Caesar if he had known it'.⁴⁷¹ However, as chapter four shows, Meres did not claim to be exhaustive in citing Shakespeare's plays, and in fact Meres was comprehensive neither for the works he cited for Shakespeare nor for other writers of the time.

Nevertheless, that Shakespeare had written his *Julius Caesar* before 1600 is persuasively demonstrated in John Weever's *Mirror of Martyrs* (1601, STC 25226). This includes what seems a very likely reference to when Antony addresses his 'Friends, Romans and countrymen':

The Many-headed multitude were drawne
By *Brutus* speach, that Caesar was ambitious,
When eloquent *Mark Antonie* had showne
His vertues, who but Brutus then was vicious?⁴⁷²

So Shakespeare had most likely written *Julius Caesar* by 1600, although how much before is uncertain. And the puns in *Hamlet* work regardless of whether *Julius Caesar* was written, or when it was written; they need not even refer to a play about Caesar. They simply work as a pair of puns upon 'Capitol'/'capital'⁴⁷³ and 'Brutus'/'brute'.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁶⁹ D. Daniell, editor, *Julius Caesar*. New Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1998), 12.

⁴⁷⁰ Chambers, *WS* vol I, 397.

⁴⁷¹ Dorsch, *Julius Caesar*, viii.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, vii.

⁴⁷³ The 'error' with which Shakespeare kills off Caesar in the Capitol may have been something he read in Chaucer's *Monk's Tale* (Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* Q2, 50). In Plutarch Caesar is killed in the Senate House.

⁴⁷⁴ Shakespeare also puns on 'Brutus' in *Julius Caesar*, when Antony says 'O judgement, thou art fled to brutish beasts' (Dorsch, *Julius Caesar*, III.ii.106).

Julius Caesar was a popular subject for plays. Bullough and Chambers mention *Caesar Interfectus*, probably performed at Christ Church, Oxford in the 1581-2 season, and written by Richard Edes.⁴⁷⁵ Another play, *The Tragedy of Caesar and Pompey, or Caesar's Revenge*, was 'probably' performed during the 1590s at Trinity College, Oxford.⁴⁷⁶ Henslowe also lists 'a seser & pompeie' or 'seser' on several occasions in his diaries between 1592 and 1597.⁴⁷⁷ But since the allusion to Brutus and the Capitol do not need to allude to a play, Shakespeare's or otherwise, 'it is not absolutely necessary to assume that references in one play are 'echoes' of the other... [or] that a reference to a play about the death of Julius Caesar has to be read as a joke about a play by Shakespeare', as Thompson and Taylor put it.⁴⁷⁸ The references, in both Q1 and Q2, do not help to date either play, but could refer to a play about Caesar performed from at least 1581 onwards.

There are a small number of further historical references, all minor, and all dating to before Nashe's first mention of '*Hamlets*'. The name 'Hamlett' occurs in the account of a woman, Katherine Hamlett, who drowned in the Avon on 17th December 1579/80, which has led some to wonder whether 'the setting of Ophelia's death' owed something to Katherine's death.⁴⁷⁹ It is of course disconcerting that Shakespeare's greatest tragic protagonist virtually shares his name with Shakespeare's son 'Hamnet', but the name came with the story. Saxo Grammaticus used Latin 'Amlethus', which lost its Latinate masculine inflection <us> to become Belleforest's French 'Amleth'. In the English play the name seems to have been anglicised to 'Hamlet', a name which is not uncommon in Elizabethan records. By 1589 'Hamlet' was associated with a play and 'tragical speeches', which means a play with a 'Hamlet' existed while Hamnet or Hamlet was still alive. It is therefore not possible to propose the protagonist's name and fate originated with the death of Shakespeare's son, in August 1596. The overlapping of Katherine's surname and drowning with Hamnet, *Hamlet* and Ophelia are suggestive, but do not impact upon the date for Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, or upon the name of the protagonist.

Perhaps the accidental poisoning of the Queen in the final scene owes its concept to historical events. In Italy, in 1587, Bianca Capello prepared poison in a cup or tart for Cardinal Ferdinand - but

⁴⁷⁵ Chambers, *Eliz. Stage* vol III, 309.

⁴⁷⁶ Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources* vol V, 33.

⁴⁷⁷ For example, 8th November and 25th December 1594, and 14th November, 10th December 1594 and 18th January and 1st February 1595 for entries for 'sesor', 'seser' and 'seaser' (N.S.). Foakes and Rickert, Henslowe's *Diary*, 25-27.

⁴⁷⁸ Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* Q2, 50.

⁴⁷⁹ This is Chambers' 'fancy' (Chambers, *WS* vol I, 425), though Dover Wilson thinks the time of year 'makes it impossible for the "setting" to have been drawn upon' (Wilson, *Hamlet*, 230). The date is well before any *Hamlet* is mentioned.

it was accidentally consumed by the Cardinal's brother, Francesco. Another example of poisoning occurred in England, when the Earl of Leicester allegedly sought to kill his second wife, in September 1588. Ben Jonson's version was that the Earl had given a bottle to his wife, for use if she felt faint, but that she, not knowing it was poison, gave it to him '& so he died'.⁴⁸⁰ There was also a case at Warwick Assizes (reported in Plowden in 1572) 'in which the facts are curiously suggestive of *Hamlet* V.ii'.⁴⁸¹ These accidental poisonings occurred before the first mention of '*Hamlets*'; both quartos include the Queen's consumption of the poisoned drink intended for Hamlet.

Other possible historical allusions are more minor still; all pre-date Nashe's *Preface*. When Hamlet declares scornfully that women 'nickname God's creatures' (7.179-80, III.i.143-4) it may be that he alludes to 'Elizabeth's habit of nicknaming her courtiers with the names of animals'.⁴⁸² Neville Williams mentions 'Burghley was her Spirit, Walsingham her Moor, and Sir Walter Raleigh a punning "Water" ... Leicester was "Eyes" ... Hatton was "Lids" ... "The Sheep" ... "Your Mutton"'.⁴⁸³ G.K. Hunter and Jenkins also draw attention to another story about the Queen, on a progress in 1564. Actors in a play which there had not been time to perform at Cambridge caught up with her at Hinchinbrooke, a little to the north of Cambridge, where she spent the night of 10th August. The actors' 'scandalous presentation'⁴⁸⁴ angered the Queen so much that 'she at once entered her chamber using strong language, and the men who held the torches... left [the actors] in the dark'.⁴⁸⁵ Hunter comments: 'One is driven to wonder if any memory of the Hinchinbrooke exit informed Claudius' angry exit from Hamlet's Mousetrap'.⁴⁸⁶ Q1 reads 'Lights! I will to bed' (9.147) and Q2 'Give me some lights, away' (III.ii.261). It is quite likely that stories of varying veracity circulated regarding Elizabeth; this, and her use of nicknames, also easily pre-date Nashe's *Preface*.

Two minor Italian references are 16th century as well. The chopine (7.288, II.ii.364) Hamlet jokes about was a wooden shoe found in Venice in the 16th century, and possibly brought to England

⁴⁸⁰ Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources* vol VII, 49.

⁴⁸¹ Hood Phillips, *Shakespeare & the Lawyers*, 79. 'In that case it was held that if *A* persuades *B* to poison *C*, and *B* accordingly gives poison to *C*, who eats part of it and gives the rest to *D* who is killed by it, *A* is not accessory to the murder of *D*.'

⁴⁸² Smith and Selincourt, *Spenser, Poetical Works*, xxii.

⁴⁸³ Neville Williams, *Elizabeth Queen of England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1967), 187-8.

⁴⁸⁴ Neale reports that the play 'was a scandalous satire on Catholicism, with one player representing Bishop Bonner, another being dressed as a dog with the Host in his mouth' (J. E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), 209).

⁴⁸⁵ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 304. He is quoting from a report in the *Calendar of State Papers* (Spanish, 1558-67), 375.

⁴⁸⁶ G. K. Hunter, *John Lyly. The Humanist as Courtier* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962), 149.

among the belongings of the *Commedia dell'Arte* troupes.⁴⁸⁷ Shakespeare's interest in matters Italian is also shown by the play *The Murder of Gonzago*, a story which was then supposedly 'extant and written in very choice Italian' (Q2: III.ii.255-6). The murder was in 1538, again well before any English *Hamlet* was written, as is another possible foreign reference, to the '[s]laddled Polacks' (1.53, I.i.62).⁴⁸⁸ An English reference, upon which there is no consensus, is found in the response to Hamlet's question about why the Players are travelling, rather than playing in the city. Q1 gives 'noveltie' (7.247) as the answer; the theatre audiences are turning to private plays and performances by children.⁴⁸⁹ In Q2 'their inhibition comes from the late innovation' (II.ii.295-6), an expression which may refer to prohibition from playing because of the plague, or may refer to the Essex 'insurrection'. Neither expression is sufficiently convincingly explained to contribute to the date of either *Hamlet*.

While allusions to historical figures are not universally agreed, and while these scraps of references appear to precede the mention of any *Hamlet*, there is one potential historical allusion which is exclusive to Q1. At the beginning of scene 9 in Q1 Hamlet advises the players upon their acting, particularly requesting: 'let not your clown speak more than is set down' (9.17). It is a humorous passage, suggesting the writer was thoroughly familiar with the stage and the performers who enjoyed adlibbing even when they were supposedly following a script. Contemporary John Stowe praises both Thomas Wilson and Richard Tarleton for their 'extemporal wit'.⁴⁹⁰ The former was the author of *The Arte of Rhetorique*, and died in 1581; the latter was a clown-cum-actor-cum-writer, well known to the Elizabethan stage by 1580. Tarleton died in September 1588, and a collection of his jests - *Tarleton's Jestes* - was published c. 1600.

J. D. Wilson, in *The Copy for Hamlet, 1603, and the Hamlet Transcript, 1593* (1918), notes that 'my coat wants a cullison' and 'your beer is sour' are both found in the 1611 edition of *Tarleton's Jestes*.⁴⁹¹ In his 1934 edition of *Hamlet*, Wilson repeats that two of the 'cinquepace of jests' in Hamlet's advice

⁴⁸⁷ Chambers, *Eliz. Stage* vol II, 261ff. The chopine was a particularly dramatic shoe; illustrations of some of the stilt-like ones show the shoe could add as much as 51 centimetres to the wearer's height. Eugenia Girotti shows examples of these in *La Calzatura* [Footwear] (Milan: BE-MA EDITRICE, 1986).

⁴⁸⁸ Bullough reports upon Christian II's defeat of Swedish Sten Sture on the ice of Lake Asunden in 1520, and upon Frederick II's brother defeating the Poles in 1561 (Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources* vol VII, 43), which may explain the phrase.

⁴⁸⁹ Cairncross, who argues for Q2 c. 1589, points out that the St Paul's Boys are recorded as playing slightly more in 1588-9, with precedence over the Queen's Men (Cairncross, *The Problem of Hamlet*, 106).

⁴⁹⁰ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 289n.

⁴⁹¹ J. D. Wilson, *The Copy for Hamlet, 1603 and the Hamlet Transcript, 1593* (London: Alexander Moring Ltd., The De La More Press, 1918. British Library reference: 011765.k.31), 58.

are echoed in *Tarleton's Jests*.⁴⁹² Two years later, Wilson omits such a comment. It may be that his observation brought the possible date of a Q1 (too?) close to the date of the early *Hamlet* mentioned by Nashe, a view not held by most scholars in the early part of the 20th century. Instead in 1936 Wilson suspects the 'robustious periwig-pated fellow' to be Richard Alleyn,⁴⁹³ though Wilson does not discuss his change of mind. Alleyn was performing in London and the provinces - including Stratford - by the mid 1580s and his career lasted well into the 17th century. If Shakespeare is alluding in Q1 to Tarleton's adlibs upon the stage the passage is more appropriate while he is still alive, or at least while the public's memory of him is still vivid. However, it is also suggested that the allusion is to Will Kempe,⁴⁹⁴ who was absent from Shakespeare's company between 1599 and 1602. These 'specialised jests' were then omitted when Kempe returned.⁴⁹⁵

The attempt to identify a clown and actor of the times with Hamlet's advice is dependent upon the date attributed to Q1. If Q1 were early, and a 'first draft', current around 1589, perhaps Tarleton was Shakespeare's target. If Q1 is an abridgement or memorial reconstruction deriving from Q2, and consequently 17th century, perhaps Kempe was Shakespeare's target.

There are three alleged historical allusions exclusive to Q2, all tenuous and none universally agreed; all three are to events after Nashe's *Preface*. Bullough draws attention to the presence of pirates in the Øresund, the narrow stretch of water between Elsinore, Denmark, and what is now Sweden;⁴⁹⁶ the time span is at least 1588 when Daniel Rogers, the English ambassador, was to visit Denmark until 1598 when Dr Christopher Perkins visited Denmark to complain about the harm done to English merchants. Bullough offers *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (published in 1590) for the idea of being 'taken up by Pyrates',⁴⁹⁷ though he does present this as an analogue rather than a 'probable source'. It is only in Q2 that Hamlet is taken by pirates. Another possible allusion is again suggested by Dover Wilson; Hamlet's soliloquy about a 'little patch of land' (IV.iv.17) is exclusive to Q2. Dover Wilson takes it as alluding to the English defence of the sand-dunes of Ostend from the Spaniards between July 1601 and the spring of 1602. The defence of Ostend continued until 20th September

⁴⁹² J. D. Wilson, *Hamlet* 1936, 197.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁴⁹⁴ For example Rylands, *Hamlet*, 211.

⁴⁹⁵ Dowden, *Hamlet* 1933, 233.

⁴⁹⁶ Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources* vol VII, 41-2.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 188.

1604.⁴⁹⁸ It appears to be the only explanation offered for this additional soliloquy.⁴⁹⁹ Lastly, Q2 also includes a brief reference by the Queen to her son's size: 'He's fat and scant of breath' (V.ii.269). While there is an apparent reluctance to see 'fat' as meaning Hamlet is 'overweight',⁵⁰⁰ if Burbage was playing the role a joke at Burbage's expense would probably have been very successful on stage.

5.ii Literary sources and influences

Most of the debts which both Q1 and Q2 may owe to Elizabethan literary texts are minor. From dumb shows⁵⁰¹ to the euphuistic style of an Osric,⁵⁰² from the Senecan use of a 'ghost' to call for revenge and thus initiate the action of a play⁵⁰³ to the 'sprezzatura' evident in Hamlet himself and in Ofelia/Ophelia's description of him as 'courtier, scholar, soldier' (7.185), or the 'courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword' (III.i.150)⁵⁰⁴ - all these were available for either quarto. Michel Eyquem de Montaigne's *Essais*,⁵⁰⁵ Timothy Bright's *Treatise of Melancholie* (1586, STC 3747), which may have influenced the creation of a melancholic Hamlet, the possible allusion to Robert Norman's book

⁴⁹⁸ In 1604 when the Spanish finally achieved victory (J. D. Wilson, *Hamlet*: 1936, 221, and quoted by Rylands, *Hamlet*, 218). If so, this would push Q2 *Hamlet's* date forward to 'the late summer or early autumn of 1601', in Wilson's opinion.

⁴⁹⁹ Interestingly, this means Dover Wilson at one stage not only identified an exclusive Q1 passage as relevant to c. 1588 but also an exclusive Q2 passage relevant to c.1601.

⁵⁰⁰ Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* Q2, 253n.

⁵⁰¹ Found for example in the 1561 *Gorboduc*, and in Thomas Hughes' more recent *Misfortunes of Arthur* (1588).

⁵⁰² His elaborate language includes 'Three of the carriages, in faith, are very dear to fancy, very responsive to the hilts, most delicate carriages and of very liberal conceit' (V.ii.133-5). John Lyly's *Euphues*, which set the trend for the style, was published in 1579.

⁵⁰³ For example, *Thyestes*, where Tantalus and Fury rise from hell to call for revenge. *Thyestes* was first translated by Jasper Heywood in 1560, but a collection of 'Englished' Senecan plays, put together by Thomas Newton, was published in 1581. Other elements which suggest a Senecan influence are the long speeches, and the technique of stichomythia, which prove a welcome contrast with the set speeches.

⁵⁰⁴ The essence of the courtier, a certain recklessness and nonchalance, was drawn from *Il Cortegiano* by Baldassarre Castiglione, translated into English by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561 (STC 4778: reprinted 1577, 1588, 1603) and into Latin by Bartholomew Clerke in 1577. Book 1 of 4 outlines the perfect qualities of the courtier, qualities such as knowledge, great courage, skills in weaponry, a grace in all circumstances, magnanimity, to be learned, in humanity, classical languages, and poetry. Ofelia/Ophelia's description no doubt recalled the concept of the perfect courtier to those of the audience familiar with *The Courtier*.

⁵⁰⁵ These may have contributed to *Hamlet*. Stuart Gillespie is one of several commentators who notes how Shakespeare and Montaigne share some interests, but 'their expressing the same sentiments is not evident of a direct relationship' (Stuart Gillespie, *Shakespeare's Books. A Dictionary of Shakespeare Sources* (London and New Brunswick, New Jersey: The Athlone Press, 2001), 344).

on magnetism,⁵⁰⁶ and echoes of Philip Sidney's *Defense of Poetrie* in Corambis/Polonius' reference to the players in the compound adjectives in 'best for... pastoral-historical, historical-comical, comical-historical-pastoral' (7.267-8; in Q2, '...pastoral-historical, historical-comical...'⁵⁰⁷ (II.ii.334)) - these are also available for either quarto. There is one phrase which has the potential to be useful: 'the croaking raven doth bellow for revenge' (9.138-9, III.ii.248). Unfortunately the direction of borrowing cannot be ascertained since while the line appears to blend two lines from the anonymous *True Tragedy of Richard III*,⁵⁰⁸ that play has been dated from 1585 to near 1590; it was entered on the Stationers' Register on 19th June 1594.

Yet one of the alleged literary influences does prove rather interesting. Shaheen writes that Shakespeare's debt to Nashe's *Pierce Pennilesse* 'is apparent'.⁵⁰⁹ *Pierce Pennilesse* was published in 1592 (STC 18378), after Nashe's *Preface* and the first reference to a *Hamlet*. In *Pierce Pennilesse* Nashe exclaims over the 'bursten-bellied sots', as he calls the Danes, and writes at length about them, and about drink. Superficially this looks as though the dramatist might have drawn upon *Pierce Pennilesse* for some details in *Hamlet*, but the French source which underlies the quartos includes a major scene of excessive drinking, when Amleth returns to Denmark. There the Danish court drink until they are incapacitated; this Amleth encourages, manipulates to his own advantage, but does not participate in. (Amleth, like Hamlet, stands outside the world of drunkenness.) The scene is the 'banquet funebre' ('funeral banquet', (252)), a distinctive juxtaposition which might even have suggested to Shakespeare the 'funeral baked meats' of both quartos.

It is suggested that Nashe's reference to the Danes as 'bursten-bellied sots... [the Italians] mortally detest this surley swinish generation'⁵¹⁰ gives rise to Q2's 'This heavy-headed revel east and west/Makes us traduced and taxed of other nations:/They clepe us drunkards' (I.iv.17-9). But a closer parallel than Nashe's - much closer - is found in the French source. Drunkenness, Belleforest writes, is a 'vice assez familier, et à L'Alemant, et à toutes les nations et peuples Septentrionaux' ('a

⁵⁰⁶ '[H]ere's metal more attractive' (9.63, 3.2.106). Robert Norman, *The Newe Attractive*, published in 1581, with later editions in 1585 and 1596, and was one of the first books on magnetism to be published in England.

⁵⁰⁷ Sidney only uses the single compounded phrase 'tragi-comical' (Arnold Whitridge and John Wendell Dodds, *An Oxford Anthology of English Prose* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937), 36).

⁵⁰⁸ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 303n.

⁵⁰⁹ Shaheen, *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Plays*, 535. Specific parallels are given by A. Davenant in 'Shakespeare and Nashe's "Pierce Penilesse"', *Notes and Queries*, September 1953, 371-3, and by J. J. M. Tobin in the 1980s (Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* Q2, 72).

⁵¹⁰ J. B. Steane, editor, *Thomas Nashe. The Unfortunate Traveller & Other Works* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1972), 77.

vice known well enough both to the Germans, and all the northern people and nations' (254)). And Nashe's use of 'this surley swinish generation' is supposed to suggest to Shakespeare 'with swinish phrase' (1.4.19). But the image of a pig and overindulgence in alcohol is also present in the French source: the courtiers are 'gisans par terre comme porceaux' ('lying (= helpless) on the ground like pigs' (252)).⁵¹¹ Consequently, while Shakespeare is very likely to have read Nashe, *Pierce Pennilesse* is *not* critical for the observations on drink; the French source is more closely echoed.

Table 5.a. overleaf summarises the key borrowings and parallels. A fuller version of references to alcohol in the four texts can be found in appendix E.

There seems to be a silence over one rather curious feature of Nashe's diatribe in *Pierce Pennilesse*. One subsection is titled *The Pride of the Danes*, in which Nashe claims 'they are an arrogant, ass-headed people, that naturally hate learning...'⁵¹² It is followed by *The Danes Enemies to all Learning: No rewards among them for Desert*. This ends a page later, with '... they set them [children] not to it [school] till they are fourteen year old; so that you shall see a great boy with a beard learn his ABC & sit weeping under the rod when he is thirty years old'.⁵¹³ Hamlet, in Q2, is thirty years old, and wishes to return to Wittenburg. It is difficult to conceive that there is a link between that part of Nashe's essay and Q2's Hamlet, aged thirty, but *if* Hamlet's age in Q2 is explained by this, it obviously confirms Q2's date as later than 1592.

Just as there must be uncertainty about whether *Hamlet* drew upon *Pierce Pennilesse* so there is uncertainty regarding the direction of borrowing for Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*. Duthie argues that the parallels in the phrasing between *The Spanish Tragedy* and Q1 *Hamlet* are due to the memorial reconstructor drawing upon his knowledge of *The Spanish Tragedy* as he reconstructed the play.⁵¹⁴

Jenkins is one of many scholars who agree: '*The Spanish Tragedy*...proved fruitful to the reporter'.⁵¹⁵ If Q1 is a memorial reconstruction in the early years of the 17th century then *The Spanish Tragedy* had definitely been written, performed and published early enough for the reporter to use it.

The problem comes when a different scenario is postulated: what if Q1 were a Shakespearean 'first draft'? Some (for example Sams, and Cairncross) believe Shakespeare at twenty-four or five might have written the *Hamlet* Nashe alludes to in 1589. It might have been the same *Hamlet* that is

⁵¹¹ There some further words which are also alleged to have been drawn from *Pierce Pennilesse*: 'carouse', 'manners', 'vice'. These are not unsurprising lexis in the discussion of drunkenness, and Shakespeare does use all of them elsewhere, as Crystal's *Glossary* shows.

⁵¹² Steane, *Thomas Nashe. The Unfortunate Traveller*, 74.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁵¹⁴ Duthie, *The Bad Quarto*, 181ff.

⁵¹⁵ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 31.

Table 5.a Phrases/lines concerning drunkenness from *Les Histoires Tragiques*, *Pierce Pennilesse*, Q1 and Q2, published in that order. The lines are presented to show parallels, and follow the order in *Les Histoires Tragiques*

<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i> (1582)	(Translation)	<i>Pierce Pennilesse</i> (1592)*	Q1 (1603)	Q2 (1604)
'banquet funebre' (252)	(<i>the funeral banquet</i>)		'the funeral baked meats.../Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables' (2.94, 95)	'the funeral baked meats/Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables' (I.ii.179-80)
		'this unnecessary vice' (105)		'some vicious mole' (I.ii.24)
		'mens manners' (105)		'plausible manners' (I.iv.30)
		'one beastly imperfection' (105) 'like lees and dregs' (105)		'From that particular fault: the dram of eale' (I.iv.36)
		'his carousing cups' (105)	'taking his carouse,/Drinking drunk' (10.23-4)	'When he is drunk' (III.iii.89)
'vice assez familier, et à L'Alemant, et à toutes les nations et peuples Septentrionaux'	(<i>a vice known well enough both to the Germans, and all the northern people and nations</i>)	'Danes are bursten-bellied sots... [the Italians] mortally detest this surley swinish generation' (77)		'This heavy-headed revel east and west/Makes us traduced and taxed of other nations:/They clepe us drunkards' (I.iv.17-9)
'gisans par terre comme porceaux'	(<i>lying (=lying helpless) on the ground, like swine</i>)	'foul drunken swine' 104 'this surly swinish generation' (77)		'with swinish phrase' (I.iv.19)
'yvrongne' (308)	(<i>drunkard</i>)		'drunk' (6.23)	'drinking' (II.i.25) 'o'ertook in's rouse' (II.i.56)

*Page references for Nashe are taken from *Thomas Nashe: The Unfortunate Traveller*, edited by J.B. Steane.

performed at Newington Butts in 1594, and which is referred to by Lodge in 1596. The question would then be whether the first *Hamlet* or *The Spanish Tragedy* came first. Mulryne, editor of *The Spanish Tragedy* (1991), notes the lack of firm evidence for the date of Kyd's composition of it, and gives a time span somewhere between the publication of a source in 1582 ('probably'), and a record of its performance on 23rd February 1592.⁵¹⁶ The spread of dates is disconcerting, as table 5.b below of dates for *The Spanish Tragedy* and the 'Hamlets' shows.

Table 5.b Dates relating to the extant *Spanish Tragedy* (*TST*), the speculative *Ur-Hamlet* (*Ur-H*), and the extant first two quartos of *Hamlet*.

Play	82-3	84-5	86-7	88-9	90-1	92-3	94-5	96-7	98-9	00-1	02-3	04-5
<i>TST</i>	?	?	?	?	?	Perf. Pub.						
<i>Ur-H</i>				?	?	?	?Perf.	?	?	?	?	?
Q1				?	?	?	?Perf.	?	?	?	Pub.	
Q2										?	?	Pub.

Key. Dates are abbreviated to (15) 82-3 etc.

'Perf.' denotes the first recorded performance, and 'Pub.' the publication date.

'?' denotes play may, or may not, have been in existence.

? Perf. indicates uncertainty about which text might have underlain the known performance in 1594.

Unbroken shading (rows 1, 3 and 4) indicates definite existence (*TST*, Q1, Q2); diagonal shading (row 2) indicates speculative existence (*Ur-H*).

That there are resemblances between *The Spanish Tragedy* and the *Hamlet* quartos is accepted: for example the death of a family member, a ghost calling for revenge, the father and son respectively exacting revenge, the avenger confiding in the wife/mother that he will take revenge, and the wording of the wife/mother's acceptance of that potential revenge. (Bullough lists twenty parallels between the two plays.⁵¹⁷) If the scholar discussing the resemblances comes with a belief that there was an *Ur-Hamlet*, and that Q1 derives from Q2, s/he then attributes those resemblances to the influence of *The Spanish Tragedy*, possibly upon the reconstructor having been familiar with Kyd's play. That scholar's chronology will be something like this:

⁵¹⁶ Mulryne, *The Spanish Tragedy*, xiv.

⁵¹⁷ Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources* vol VII, 16-17.

Kyd writes *The Spanish Tragedy* (between 1582 and 92); someone - perhaps Kyd - writes an early, *Ur-Hamlet* (by 1589); Shakespeare writes Q2 drawing upon that *Ur-Hamlet* (about 1600); an actor/reporter, perhaps two, reconstruct(s) Q2 *Hamlet*, creating Q1, using some of his/their memories of *The Spanish Tragedy*, in time for its performance in the provinces before Q1's publication (in 1603).

There is at least one alternative explanation of the links between the plays which respects the documented references. In this alternative view, the early *Hamlet* was not written by anyone whom Nashe esteems much (probably not a 'university wit'). It may even have been Shakespeare. The early *Hamlet* derives from a known, French source. *The Spanish Tragedy* is written quite close to the date of the early *Hamlet*. *The Spanish Tragedy*, however, has 'no major narrative source',⁵¹⁸ but it does have a plot which mirrors some of the plot elements of the Amleth story, except that it is the son who is killed in *The Spanish Tragedy* and the father who exacts revenge. Its plot and language in some aspects mirror, or reverse, elements of *Hamlet*. Perhaps Kyd notes the plot of *Hamlet* and creates his play, for, as Edwards puts it, 'If one play copies another, and one is based on a known source and the other isn't, there is a strong argument that the play with the source is the earlier'.⁵¹⁹ Later Shakespeare takes *Hamlet* and revises it, producing Q2. The chronology is simpler:

Someone, perhaps Shakespeare, writes a *Hamlet* by 1589. Thomas Kyd uses some elements of *Hamlet's* plot, reversing some elements, and creating his play by 1592. Shakespeare revises this early *Hamlet*, which may be the Q1 *Hamlet* published under Shakespeare's name in 1603. The revision, Q2, is complete by 1604.

This is not a novel scenario; it is not spelled out as such by for instance Sams, but it is essentially what he argues. It features a young, unknown playwright, who is the butt of Nashe's humour. The young playwright's first attempt at *Hamlet* - if for a moment the *Ur-Hamlet* and Q1 are equated - is seen as rather melodramatic ('handfuls of Tragical speeches'). Nevertheless, the play is interesting enough to be talked about (Lodge's 'oister-women'). It is a performable play, of a reasonable length. It also links the audience Nashe addresses - the 'Gentlemen Students of the Two Vniversities' - with the places where performances of Q1 have allegedly occurred - 'in the Cittie of London: as also in the two Vniversities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where'.

The first scenario, the one most widely presented, is predicated upon a belief that Q2 is anterior, that Q1 was created by a memorial reconstruction, and a possibility or belief that the actor/reconstructor

⁵¹⁸ Mulryne, *The Spanish Tragedy*, xv.

⁵¹⁹ Edwards, *Hamlet*, 3.

was familiar with *The Spanish Tragedy*.⁵²⁰ This scenario overlooks the likelihood that a(n *Ur*-)Hamlet which is around from about 1589-1596 at least might have been easier to acquire for performance purposes than it would be to reconstruct a half-remembered *Hamlet*. Both scenarios require a belief that Shakespeare, supposedly an accomplished playwright by 1600, misjudges the length of his Q2 *Hamlet* play, although the length of Q2 might rather be seen as supporting Lukas Erne's suggestion that Shakespeare was creating a literary text primarily for reading rather than acting. Erne's view does remove the need for Q2 to fit the 'two hours' traffic of the stage'.⁵²¹

There do not appear to be any literary borrowings which are exclusive to Q1, but there are a small number in Q2 which date to the last decade of the 16th century; that is, after Nashe's *Preface*, and before the date of c. 1600 for Q2 *Hamlet*. The only one with general agreement is that of the name 'Polonius', deriving from the 1598 publication of the translation from Polish of Goslicius' *The Counsellor*. Beyond that, there are parallels and suggestions, and uncertainty. Polonius draws attention to the 'vile phrase', 'beautified' (2.2.108-9); Shakespeare presumably expected the repetition of the word to amuse the audience. It might have been drawn from the first version of Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590),⁵²² and 'Thou art gone to a beautified heauen', or it might allude to Greene's *Groatsworth* (1592) and 'beautified in our feathers',⁵²³ but deciding conclusively which precedes which, or even if the use of the word is linked, is impossible. Equally difficult to evaluate is the humour in Osrice and his hat ('it is very hot' (5.2.80)), which may derive from Florio's *Second Fruits* (1591).⁵²⁴ There are further examples. Bullough sees *A Warninge for Faire Women* (published 1599, STC 25089) as 'probably' Shakespeare's source for Hamlet's thought that events in a play might lead to a confession of guilt,⁵²⁵ but Jenkins, citing other plays with this plot element, writes that 'the story was apparently well known'.⁵²⁶ Naseeb Shaheen explains that the allusion is ultimately

⁵²⁰ Duthie presents an argument for the memorial reconstruction of Q1 and its reporter(s)' possible borrowings from *The Spanish Tragedy*; this is important and is discussed in detail in chapters six to eight, in the context of the quartos' borrowings from *Les Histoires Tragiques*. To anticipate: the findings there do not support the suggestion that Q1 was recomposed partly by recalling *The Spanish Tragedy*; instead it is shown that it can be argued that on occasion *The Spanish Tragedy* may have borrowed quite deliberately either from a text very similar to Q1 or from Q1 itself.

⁵²¹ Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

⁵²² Written c. 1580.

⁵²³ Edwards comments that 'Greene's contemptuous use of it in his attack on Shakespeare in 1592 might have rankled' (Edwards, *Hamlet*, II.ii.109n).

⁵²⁴ Jenkins comments that this appears to be an adaptation of an old joke, and references Guazzo's *Civil Conversation* (Italian version published in 1574) as well (Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 399n).

⁵²⁵ Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources* vol VII, 38.

⁵²⁶ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 482.

'[b]ased on the sensational murder in 1573 of George Sanders, a wealthy and prominent London citizen'.⁵²⁷ Bullough also suggests an echo from Marlowe and Nashe's *Tragedie of Dido Queene of Carthage*,⁵²⁸ published in 1594, but when the lines were written is unknown.

One example of a text from the last decade of the 16th century is more substantial; John Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* has sufficiently marked resemblances to *Hamlet* for this to be agreed. Hunter describes the likenesses as 'greater than those between either play and any other surviving Elizabethan drama'.⁵²⁹ Jenkins, and Hunter, point out that as *Hamlet* had a source its author did not need Marston's play. Jenkins sees Marston as the borrower.⁵³⁰ But the shadow of the so-called *Ur-Hamlet* and the unresolved question of Shakespeare's composition of *Hamlet* prevent anything further than the recognition of the resemblances.⁵³¹

'A little more than kin and less than kind' (I.ii.65), Hamlet's aside when Claudius addresses him as 'my son', is memorable through its literary balance, achieved through antithesis and play upon 'kin'/'kind'. It is a line which N. W. Hill points out in *Notes & Queries*⁵³² may be a borrowing from Lyly's *Mother Bombe* (1594), 'the greater the kindred is, the lesser the kinness must be'. Yet the concept behind both Shakespeare's and Lyly's lines might have had its roots in a line in for example *Gorboduc* (1561): 'In kynde a father, but not in kindelynesse'. However, Thompson and Taylor footnote the line with the comment that "'the nearer the kin, the less the kindness" was proverbial'.⁵³³ If the antithesis and wordplay of Hamlet's aside do echo Lyly, it might indicate a post 1594 date for Q2. It is surprising, but not impossible, that an abridger or memorial reconstructor might cut or forget the memorable Q2 line; alternatively, it may be that Shakespeare, if revising, sharpened the antagonism of Hamlet towards his stepfather/uncle. It is Hamlet's first line in Q2, it makes his view of Claudius crystal clear and it starts to undermine the urbane and authoritative mien the King has

⁵²⁷ Naseeb Shaheen, "A Warning for Fair Women" and the "Ur-Hamlet". *Notes and Queries*, April 1983, 126.

⁵²⁸ 'But with the whiff and wind of his fell sword' (7.319-20, II.ii.411) seems to echo Aeneas, '...he... whist his sword about/And with the wind thereof the King fell downe', in *The Tragedie of Dido Queene of Carthage* (Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources* vol VII, 37, 178). The echo is not particularly convincing; it shares only two lexemes, 'wind' in the same sense, which Bullough states 'proves' the borrowing, and 'fell' as an adjective and a verb, with quite different semantics.

⁵²⁹ G. K. Hunter, editor, *Marston: Antonio's Revenge* (London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1966), xviii.

⁵³⁰ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 7-13.

⁵³¹ Hunter indicates his awareness of the 'vexed question' of the date of the two plays, and does not exclude Shakespeare being the borrower on occasion (Hunter, *Antonio's Revenge*, xix). Thompson and Taylor summarise the situation with 'scholars have been unable to agree' (Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* Q2, 70).

⁵³² N.W. Hill, "Hamlet", I.ii.66'. *Notes and Queries*, 12 S. IV, August 1918, 212.

⁵³³ Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* Q2, 170n.

attempted to achieve in his (Q2) opening speech. It is sophisticated and effective writing, combining tone and attitude succinctly, and for these reasons might suggest a mature and experienced writer.

Wilson writes ruefully that '[w]hile it seems to be agreed upon all hands that *Hamlet* is the most topical play in the whole corpus, unhappily when it comes to interpreting the supposed allusion, agreement almost entirely vanishes'.⁵³⁴ Thompson and Taylor refer to the search for allusions as 'source-hunting', with scholars 'picking over not only the world's literature, but also any non-literary documentation of actual people and events from history'.⁵³⁵ Thompson and Taylor appear to combine respect for effort with a salutary caution. Indeed, discussion of the sources and allusions is riddled with cautious adjectives such as 'possible', 'probable' and variants such as 'not intrinsically implausible'.⁵³⁶ Synonyms in different phrases - 'strike a chord', 'significance' - are employed to avoid a committed response, yet to recognise that the contribution cannot be dismissed. Even certainty has its synonym in a firm 'beyond question'. However, the alleged historical allusions are certainly not universally accepted, and it appears that more recent editions of the play include fewer suggestions of topicality.

So many of these proposed allusions and sources are dependent upon the date not at which these texts are written so much as the date by which they might have been heard or even seen on stage; some are fragmentary, even a single word. It is not just the direction of borrowing which needs discussion but also whether a shared source explains all. Three very tentative conclusions may be drawn: firstly, at best, the allusions and sources above indicate most shared borrowings and echoes, whether agreed or not, pre-date Nashe's *Preface*; secondly, the passage in Q1 only about the 'clown' adlibbing may refer to Richard Tarleton, who died in 1588, which would make it unsurprising that it is cut from a later Q2, and thirdly, a small number of fragile parallels between Q2 and texts in the last decade of the 16th century suggest a date after Nashe's *Preface* for Q2.

Reviewing the external evidence for *Hamlet's* date in chapter four shows the authorship of the early *Hamlet* is unknown; reviewing the suggested internal evidence in chapter five shows that there is some indication that Q1 could be an earlier text, and that Q2 could be later by ten years or so. Yet nothing in these two chapters unambiguously excludes the possibility that Q1 might derive from Q2, and might consequently be a 17th century creation. However, there is another approach to the

⁵³⁴ Wilson, *Hamlet* 1934, viii.

⁵³⁵ Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* Q2, 60-1.

⁵³⁶ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 103.

date(s) of *Hamlet*, by reassessing the principal theories for the relationship of the texts. That aspect of the investigation begins in chapter six, partly driven by the findings in this chapter which show that *Les Histoires Tragiques*, rather than *Pierce Pennilesse*, could have contributed ideas on the theme of drunkenness.

Chapter 6

The Relationship of the Quartos: what Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques* shows

Contemporary documents do not name an author for the *Hamlet* mentioned in the 16th century, and the historical allusions and literary sources shared by both quartos all appear to pre-date 1589. The investigation now turns from the inconclusiveness of the question of the date to the closely connected question of the relationship of the quartos, and which, if any, of the three principal hypotheses (memorial reconstruction, abridgement, or revision) offers the best explanation.

However, before those hypotheses are examined in detail there is one source which barely features in chapter five and yet is the most important literary source underlying *Hamlet*. The play is unusual in the canon because ultimately it has Scandinavian roots which stretch back some nine hundred years, as Israel Gollancz shows. He quotes from Snorri Sturlason, an Icelandic historian, poet and politician, born 1179, and his *Skáldskaparmál*, part of his *Prose Edda*. The quotation uses the genitive form of the name now known as Hamlet, 'Amloða'.⁵³⁷ However, the ultimate source of the *Hamlet* story in Shakespeare was first written by Saxo Grammaticus, the educated Dane, who completed his account of Amleth in his *Historiae Danicae* in the late 12th century. His Latin manuscript was first printed in 1514, and later translated into his native language, Danish, in 1575.

It was François de Belleforest, principally a translator,⁵³⁸ who produced a French translation of the Latin version, somewhat embellished, with the protagonist named Amleth, in a collection of several volumes of translations under the title *Les Histoires Tragiques*. The Amleth story appears in volume 5, and was first privileged in 1570. It was popular, being published for example in Lyons in 1576, Paris in 1582, Lyons in 1583 and in 1601, and Rouen in 1604. There is scholarly agreement that Saxo Grammaticus' *Historiae Danicae* was the original source of Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*; there is a scholarly consensus that the third story in *Les Histoires Tragiques* volume V is the source underlying Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. If memorial reconstruction or abridgement is correct, *Les Histoires Tragiques* comes first, then a putative *Ur-Hamlet*, Shakespeare's Q2, and later a Q1.⁵³⁹ It is

⁵³⁷ Gollancz, *The Sources of Hamlet*, 1.

⁵³⁸ Bullough comments: 'an undistinguished author' (Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources* vol VII, 10).

⁵³⁹ F1's position in relation to the quartos is seen as uncertain. It is not discussed here because no one has proposed the priority of F1.

assumed that the memorial reconstructor(s) or abridger(s) of Q1 drew principally upon (acting in) (an adapted) Q2. However, it is possible that memories of the putative *Ur-Hamlet* and/or knowledge of *Les Histoires Tragiques* may have aided the memorial reconstructor(s) or abridger(s). If, on the other hand, first sketch and revision are correct, *Les Histoires Tragiques* remains the first text, and there still may or may not be an *Ur-Hamlet*, followed by Q1 and finally by Q2. In the first two scenarios Q1 is more distant than Q2 from the French source; in the third scenario Q2 is more distant than Q1 from the French source.

The complications that the *Ur-Hamlet* causes are neatly indicated in Jenkins' *Introduction* to his *Arden Hamlet*: 'A question that arises but is hardly possible to answer is whether all that Shakespeare inherited from Belleforest came to him through the *Ur-Hamlet*... The second alternative presents us with the possibility that some things common to Belleforest and Shakespeare were not in the *Ur-Hamlet*... Yet it is as inconceivable that the *Ur-Hamlet* did not use Belleforest as it is that Shakespeare did not use the *Ur-Hamlet*...'.⁵⁴⁰

An obvious question arising from the complex question of sources must be how much either quarto seems to be indebted to *Les Histoires Tragiques*: is there evidence that either quarto is closer than the other in borrowings from *Les Histoires Tragiques*? An understanding of how much of the French source survives in the quartos is potentially valuable to any discussion of their relationship.

Consequently this chapter offers a detailed comparison between the French source and the two quartos (a comprehensive word by word, line by line table with references is provided in appendix F). The chapter reports upon four key aspects of that comparison:

1. the details shared by all three texts;
2. the details which appear to originate in *Les Histoires Tragiques*, and are found adapted, or transposed, or both, in the quartos;
3. differences in borrowings, and
4. an evolution in borrowings.⁵⁴¹

The comparison simply uses the three original texts to provide a factual basis for understanding *Hamlet*. In the fourth section, which reports on an evolution in the borrowings, there is necessarily some interpretation of what the examples of 'evolution' indicate. Two findings are highly significant in the context of the hypotheses describing the relationship of the quartos: firstly, the number and

⁵⁴⁰ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 96.

⁵⁴¹ Examples of all these aspects are also presented in the author's paper, '*Hamlet* and the French Connection: The Relationship of Q1 and Q2 *Hamlet* and the Evidence of Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*'.

density of borrowings in Q1 is higher than in Q2 even though Q1 is approximately only 55% the length of Q2, and secondly, the evolution of ideas identified in the fourth section strongly point to Q1 as the prior text, with Q2 following it.

6.i Details Shared by all Three Texts

Unsurprisingly, the initial results of the comparison reveal that most of the parallels - verbal echoes, plot elements and characters - are found in all three texts. The verbal echoes and borrowings of plots elements begin in the early part of Belleforest's account, which explains how the King of Norway had 'deffié au combat' ('challenged to a fight')⁵⁴² Amleth's father Horvvendille, just as in both quartos the King of Norway 'Dared to the combat' Hamlet's father (178, 1.73, and I.i. 83);⁵⁴³ the parallels are unmistakable despite the language difference. All three texts describe Amleth or Hamlet's father as 'vaillante', or 'valiant' (182, 1.73, and I.i.83). When Horvvendille or Hamlet's father is murdered by his brother, that same brother marries the widow, and each text describes this marriage as incestuous. The speed of the marriage is alluded to, and the same image of the beast with such appetites is found in all three texts; 'les apetits des bestes' in Belleforest and their obvious English equivalents (210, 2.65-8, and I.ii.144-50) demonstrate how closely the English quartos echo the French source, even more than 'lascive' ('lewd') and 'lewdness' (210, 5.41-2, and I.v.54-5). It may even be that the request of Amleth that his mother should celebrate his funeral ('celebrast ses obsequies et funerailles', (230-232)) and the phrase 'banquet funebre' ('funeral banquet', (252)) give rise to 'the funeral baked meats' (2.94, I.ii.179). Prince Amleth's and Prince Hamlet's distress is evident to the King (a 'vilain' or 'villain' (210, 5.79, and I.v.106-8)), and the young man's 'melancholie' or 'melancholy' is noted in each text (236, 7.383, and II.ii.536). Amleth adopts an appearance of insanity; Belleforest tells us this is deliberate. In the quartos Hamlet says he may adopt an 'antic disposition' (5.147, I.v.170). The consequence of the conduct of Amleth and Hamlet is the same, for the King and his courtiers question the sanity of the Prince.

Two specific 'tests' are borrowed from the source. In the first, a counsellor suggests that a young woman is used to test Amleth. In all three texts Amleth/Hamlet loves the young woman; Belleforest writes: '[Amleth] esmeu de la beauté de la fille' ([he was] 'stirred by the young woman's beauty' (200-2)), though this is not necessarily evident at this point in the plays. In Q1 and Q2 Hamlet's affection is manifest in the earlier letter Corambis/Polonius reads out; in the actual scene in Q2 Hamlet states, 'I

⁵⁴² All translations from the French are by the author.

⁵⁴³ Texts used: Gollancz, for which page numbers are given; Irace, *Hamlet* Q1, for which scene and line numbers are given, and Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* Q2, for act, scene and line numbers. This order is adhered to in each example.

did love you once' (III.i.114), and in the graveyard scene he again declares he had loved Ophelia/Ophelia. Perhaps more touching, and another example of a concept in Belleforest influencing the dramas, is that the 'belle femme' 'l'aymoit des son enfance' ('had loved him since his/her childhood' (202)) (Jenkins sees this as the first hint of that 'selfless devotion which is at the heart of Ophelia's tragedy'.⁵⁴⁴) The 'madness' of Amleth and Hamlet convinces the young woman that he is unbalanced (202, 1.185-6, and III.i.149).

In the second test, the same counsellor suggests the Queen should speak to her son in her 'chambre' or closet, or bedchamber. Each Queen's affection for her son is commented on: Amleth, the queen's 'doux amy' ('sweet friend' (220)) is the son 'qu'elle [Geruthe] aymoit' ('whom she loves' (230)). The King realises the same 'sweet Hamlet' in Q1 is 'the joy and half heart of your mother', and Claudius notes of Q2's 'sweet Hamlet' that 'The Queen his mother/Lives almost by his looks' (IV.vii.12-13). Each counsellor is killed, with a sword, when eavesdropping on mother and son. Later close borrowings include the plot to remove Amleth and Hamlet; the Prince is accompanied by two escorts to England, who carry instructions to the King of England to kill Amleth or Hamlet. The Prince in all the texts intercepts the instructions, and alters them so that the bearers will be killed instead.

At least eleven characters, and possibly twelve, are shared with the source (see 'References and abbreviations used within the thesis' preceding chapter one), and certain themes and motifs surface in each. Revenge is of course the central theme, and recurs on several occasions in each text. There are also allusions to religion, though there is some variation, excessive drinking is mentioned in all three, and the sword is an essential weapon contributing to the action. An image which appears in Belleforest is that of the 'filet', a trap or snare, which is probably echoed in the 'springes' Corambis and Polonius refer to (204, 3.61, and I.iii.114 and V.ii.291). Accumulatively, the eleven or twelve characters and approximately twenty-five features reported in these two paragraphs confirm how securely both the quartos are rooted in the French text.

6.ii Adapted Borrowings, and Transpositions

Some ideas originate in *Les Histoires Tragiques*, are adapted slightly, and are then found in both quartos. For example, in Belleforest, before they fight, the King of Norway and Horvendille come to an agreement about the forfeit to be paid by the defeated combatant. In the French source, the agreement is that 'celuy qui seroit vaincu perdroit toutes les richesses qui seroit en leurs vaisseaux' ('the one who is vanquished would lose all the riches in his ships/vessels'), but in both quartos the forfeit is instead 'all those lands/Which he stood seized of by the conqueror' (182, 1.7-8, and I.i.87-8).

⁵⁴⁴ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 93.

The subsequent murder of Horvendille and Hamlet's father is 'la trahison de frere conte [sic] frere' ('the treason/treachery of one brother against the other'), that is 'by a brother's hand' (170, 5.58, and I.v.74). The 'Gentil-homme' ('man of gentle birth') who was brought up with Amleth is similar to Hamlet's confidant and fellow student, Horatio. It is his 'compaignons' ('companions'), with whom Amleth discusses 'les Philosophes', but Horatio to whom Hamlet says 'There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, /Than are dreamt of in your philosophy' (234, 236, 5.142-36, and I.v.165-6). The suggestion of the counsellor that 'quelque belle femme' ('some beautiful woman' (198)) tests the Prince's madness is, in the source, presented as a seduction, for like all young men the Prince would be so carried away with the pleasures of the flesh that he would be unable to hide his real state of mind ('[un] jeune home... est si transporté aux plaisirs de la chair,.... qu'il est presque impossible de couvrir telle affection...') (198). While Polonius may propose to 'loose' Ophelia to Hamlet, sex is presumably not what the father and counsellor intends, in either quarto.

Another example comes with Queen Geruthe. In the 'chambre' scene she sees 'la vive image' ('the living image') of the virtue and wisdom of her former husband when she gazes upon her son, Amleth; Hamlet asks in both quartos that his mother look upon a physical 'picture' of his father (218, 11.23, and III.iv.51). Jenkins notes that Amleth in that scene has decided to speak 'rigoureusement' to his mother, while Hamlet vows he 'will speak daggers' to her.⁵⁴⁵ Later, the dead king's usurping brother, King Fengon, tries to take Amleth's sword, but it has been nailed into its scabbard, so Amleth takes the King's own sword for the final act of vengeance, while Hamlet by chance swaps swords with Learthes or Laertes (256, 17.78, and V.ii.285).

While many of these details from the three texts are necessarily reportage, they do establish the breadth and precision of borrowings and echoes. However, several details have been taken from the French source, adapted, and then transposed to a different context in the quartos. One relates to what Belleforest calls the 'ombre', in this context a classical 'shade', or the spirit of a dead person. Some scholars, like G. Blakemore Evans, have suggested that the author of the putative *Ur-Hamlet* added the Ghost.⁵⁴⁶ The argument for this rests on an assumption, that the 1589 reference to '*Hamlets*' in Thomas Nashe's *Preface* to Robert Greene's *Menaphon*, the 1594 Henslowe entry of a play called 'hamlet', and the 1596 mention by Thomas Lodge, all refer to a theoretical pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet*. Lodge's reference comes in his *Wiits Miserie*, when 'the vizard of the Ghost

⁵⁴⁵ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 94.

⁵⁴⁶ Evans claimed that the playwright of the *Ur-Hamlet* added the ghost, the dumb show and the fencing match (Evans, *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 1137).

cried so miserably at the Theator, like an oyster wife, *Hamlet, revenge*, thus establishing the existence of the Ghost in the *Hamlet* known in 1596.

But Belleforest himself twice offers a suggestion for a Ghost, enough for a plundering, close-reading dramatist to notice. Firstly, Amleth sees his mother failing to show respect to the 'ombres' (212), the ghost or shades of his father, when she embraces her new husband. This comment occurs in the Queen's 'chambre' (the 'bedchamber' scene) where in both quartos the Ghost appears, apparently to remind Hamlet of his obligations. The second mention occurs later, when Amleth kills his uncle-father (the equivalent of the last scene in each quarto). Amleth wants the murdered King to report the successful act of vengeance to his brother's 'ombre':

'Amleth luy donna un grand coup sur le ch[a]i[g]non du col,⁵⁴⁷ de sorte qu'il luy fait voler la teste par terre, disant: ...ne faux de compter à ton frere... que c'est son fils qui te faict faire ce message, à fin que soulagé par ceste memoire, son ombre s'appaise parmy les esprits bien-heureux...'

(‘Amleth gave [the King] a great blow on the back of the neck, of the type that made his head drop swiftly to the ground, saying... do not fail to tell your brother... that it is his son who caused⁵⁴⁸ you to bear this message, with the aim that through this memory [of the brother's murder being avenged] his shade/spirit may lie appeased among the blessed/blissful spirits' (256)).

This has echoes of the classical underworld, found in Virgil and Seneca, which Kenneth Muir for one sees Shakespeare as likely to have been familiar with.⁵⁴⁹ We might recall, for example, how *The Aeneid* book VI describes Aeneas' visit to the underworld: 'umbrarum hic locus est' ('this place belongs to the shades').⁵⁵⁰ Amleth's concern to comfort his father's spirit permits the reader to infer that the spirit was disturbed, if not 'perturbed'. There is no doubt the dramatist read about the first 'ombres', because that reference appears in the scene he utilised most (the 'chambre' scene), nor about the second 'ombre', because its mention occurs in the very same sentence as the sword swap and the decapitation of Amleth's uncle-father.

⁵⁴⁷ Vocabulary has been verified in *La Dictionnaire de la Langue Francais du seizième siècle*, 7 vols. Edmond Huguet, editor (Paris: Libraire Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1932); the corrected version of this noun is found in vol II.

⁵⁴⁸ Faire+ infinitive is used to indicate causative action.

⁵⁴⁹ Muir, *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays*, 4.

⁵⁵⁰ J.W. MacKail, editor, *The Aeneid* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), 228.

Perhaps the dramatist's concept of a Ghost returning to tell of his own murder is also prompted - at a conscious or unconscious level - by another point in the French narrative. For we are told that Amleth, during the lifetime of his father, had been indoctrinated ('endoctriné') or taught the particular science by which an evil spirit takes advantage of or abuses men and could advise the Prince about past events ('Amleth, vivant son pere, avoit esté endoctriné en celle science, avec laquelle le malin esprit abuse ces hommes et advertissoit ce Prince (comme il peut) des choses [dé]ja passes' (236)). It is reasonably certain that the dramatist creating a *Hamlet* read this passage with attention, because there are echoes of vocabulary which resurface in both quartos, as Jenkins points out.⁵⁵¹ Q1's Hamlet wonders if the 'spirit' he has seen may be 'the devil' (7.382), but Q2's Hamlet expands on this:

'The spirit I have seen
 May be a de'il, and the de'il hath power
 T'assume a pleasing shape. Yea, and perhaps
 Out of my weakness and my melancholy,
 As he is very potent with such spirits,
 Abuses me to damn me.' (II.ii.533-538)

Thus Belleforest's Prince mentions the 'ombres' of his father in the 'chambre' ('bedchamber') scene and later, at the point when he takes revenge, requests that his dead father's 'shade' hears about it. The dramatist - whether pre-Shakespearean or Shakespeare - appears to have transposed Belleforest's second mention of the 'ombre' of the murdered king, who is to learn that revenge has taken place; instead, in *Hamlet*, the murdered king visits earlier in the story to tell how he was murdered, and to request revenge. The mention or appearance of the 'ombre' or Ghost in the 'chambre' or 'bedchamber' scene changes from being the first mention of the 'ombres' in *Les Histoires Tragiques* to the last visitation of the Ghost in *Hamlet*. It is consequently unnecessary to postulate that the Ghost was invented as an addition to what has been borrowed from *Les Histoires Tragiques*. Arthur Stabler and Jenkins independently also draw attention to the word 'ombre' in each context and consider this a possible borrowing.⁵⁵²

The word 'transposed', above, has been used purposefully, because 'transpositions' are a feature thought to indicate memorial reconstruction.⁵⁵³ It is unlikely anyone would consider that the

⁵⁵¹ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 95.

⁵⁵² Arthur P. Stabler, 'King Hamlet's Ghost in Belleforest?' (*Publication of Modern Languages Association* vol 77, No 1, March 1962), 19. Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 93.

⁵⁵³ Tycho Mommsen, quoted in Furness, *Variorum Hamlet* vol II, 25.

relocation of an idea from one place in the source to a different place in the chronology of a *Hamlet* script would have been beyond Shakespeare.

There are a scattering of other ideas which may fit the category of transpositions. Horvvendille is described as one skilled in the art of piracy ('l'art d'escumeur et pirate sur mer' (180)); could that mention of sea piracy have led to the Q2 idea of Hamlet's capture by pirates? Amleth laments early on his lack of 'advancement' (190); this is a motive Hamlet delays mentioning until scene 7 in Q1 and act 3 scene 2 in Q2. Excessive drinking is first mentioned in the opening scene of the quartos - but the only mention in *Les Histoires Tragiques* occurs at the funeral banquet coinciding with Amleth's return from England. Here he helps serve the wine (he takes the 'office d'eschanson', the role of cupbearer, at the banquet (252)) until many of the King's retainers are 'vomissans le trop de vin' ('vomiting from an excess of wine' (254)). Another transposition shows how the English dramatist rendered the protagonist less of a cunning, bloodthirsty avenger; shortly after incapacitating the Danish court with alcohol, Amleth slices off his uncle-father's head. That act of decapitation is relocated in both quartos to the King of Denmark's request of the King of England; decapitation is supposed to seal Hamlet's fate. A late example of a possible transposition occurs in Amleth's speech to the Danes after the killing of King Fengon. Amleth refers to his grief at the death of his father, and how he has been 'tout confit en larmes' ('completely steeped in tears' (274)); Hamlet's admission of grief occurs earlier, in the second scene, with 'the tears that still stand in my eyes' (2.34) in Q1, and 'the fruitful river in the eye' (I.ii.80) in Q2. 'Tears' might be an obvious manifestation of grief, and not necessarily a borrowing, but the image in each text shows intensification - 'confit' ('steeped'), 'still stand', and 'river', which supports borrowing.

A last possible transposed borrowing from *Les Histoires Tragiques* comes from a part of Belleforest's narrative from which Shakespeare does not draw (after Amleth has become king, returned to England, and committed bigamy). Belleforest casually comments on how easily women give promises - 'la femme est facile à promettre' - which may be behind the much quoted line, 'Frailty, thy name is woman' (306, 2.66, and I.ii.146).

6.iii Differences in Borrowings

The existence of over fifty echoes in the English texts, whether exactly parallel, adapted or transposed, is unsurprising. The dozen or so examples of a concept originating in *Les Histoires Tragiques*, being changed from the French but then staying constant in the quartos, helps to emphasise how closely the quartos are related; they are more closely related to each other than to the French source. What is potentially more pertinent is whether there are differences in the borrowings. One obvious corollary of memorial reconstruction and abridgement/adaptation theories

is that, since Q2 has for many scholars the putative status of the anterior quarto, and is anyway the longer quarto, it would have some exclusive borrowings (direct, adapted or transposed), and certainly more borrowings than Q1.

One small detail, exclusive to Q2, occurs early on. Belleforest writes that Fengon (Amleth's uncle-father) 'avoit incestuesement souillé la couche fraternelle' ('has soiled his brother's bed with incest'), and that his marriage to Geruthe was 'd'adultere incestueux' (both 'adulterous and incestuous') (186, 188). Both of these passages are reflected remarkably closely in Q2. The Ghost begs Hamlet, 'Let not the royal bed of Denmark be/A couch for luxury and damned incest'; Q2 uses not just the colloquial 'bed' but an additional verbal echo in 'couch'. The same precision is found in the Ghost's description of his brother as 'that incestuous, that adulterate beast', juxtaposing the same two words as the French source (188, I.v.42). Q1 is less damning; the King is 'an incestuous wretch' (5.37), though in both quartos the new couple lie in 'incestuous sheets' (5.37 and 2.70, I.ii.157). Other echoes appear; Amleth is waiting for the time, means and opportunity, or 'occasion' for taking revenge - '[t]outesfois faut il attendre le temps, et les moyens et occasions' - while Q2's Hamlet opens one speech with 'How all occasions...' (216, IV.iv.31). Another example can be found in Belleforest's presentation of Amleth's two choices. He could take 'les armes au poing' ('his sword/weapons in his hands') or suffer the shame which tortures 'nostre conscience', and the cowardice which withholds the heart from 'des gaillards enterprises' ('gallant/brave enterprises/schemes'). Jenkins too notes that this is closely echoed in Hamlet's 'To be or not to be' speech, in 'conscience does make cowards...and enterprises of great pitch...'. Q1 has simply 'this conscience makes cowards of us all' (226, 7.135, III.i.55-87). Jenkins also comments that just as Amleth is 'le ministre et executeur' of revenge, so Hamlet, in only Q2, is the 'scourge and minister' who brings it about.⁵⁵⁴ There is however one change which hints at a possible actor/reporter recalling the sense of what he was trying to remember, but not the exact word; Amleth complains that he wants 'advancement'. This is also what Hamlet in Q2 mentions, twice, in act 3 scene 2: 'For what advancement...' and 'I lack advancement...'. In Q1 a synonym is used, 'preferment' (194, 7.231, III.ii.52 and 331). Finally, one small plot element is shared between *Les Histoires Tragiques* and Q2. Amleth hears that he will be sent to England ('entendant qu'on l'envoioit en la Grande Bretagne' (230)), while Q2's Hamlet knows 'There's letters sealed' (III.iv.200).

These seven examples of lexical parallels and one apparent plot element represent some slight evidence for Q2's greater proximity to *Les Histoires Tragiques* in specific places. The verbal echoes are distinct. Those arguing for abridgement or memorial reconstruction might reasonably identify the

⁵⁵⁴ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 95.

loss of these in Q1 as examples of the dilution, transposition or omission of phrasing that might occur with an abridger cutting, or an actor/reporter attempting to recall Q2 but not quite succeeding. Such examples suggest the sequence of composition, represented in its simplest form, could have indeed been *Les Histoires Tragiques* -> Q2 -> Q1.

It is therefore disconcerting to find undoubted evidence to support the alternative sequence of composition, with Q1 anterior to Q2. One that is striking occurs in Belleforest's introduction of Amleth. *Les Histoires Tragiques* indicates Amleth's decision to simulate madness to protect himself is because he has not yet come 'à perfection d'aage' (the age of majority). His youth is mentioned on several occasions: 'un jeune Prince', 'le jeune seigneur', '[l]'Adolescent', and 'du jeune Prince', but it is not only in those epithets that his youth is referenced. Speaking to his mother Amleth wonders why she has not thought 'de sauver vostre enfant' ('of saving your child'), 'cest enfant' ('this child'), and later Geruthe embraces Amleth 'avec la mesme amitié qu'une mere vertueuse peut baiser, et caresser sa portee'; that is, with the same love as a virtuous mother kissing and caressing the one she carries in her arms. The distribution of the page references for these in Gollancz's edition - 192, 194, 202, 254, 282, 214, 218 and 220 - illustrates unambiguously that Belleforest's characterisation of Amleth as youthful is pervasive; it is also consistent. This is exactly what is found in the characterisation of Hamlet in Q1. Horatio refers to 'young Hamlet', Ofelia to 'young Prince Hamlet', Corambis to 'the young Prince Hamlet' and 'young Hamlet'. The gravedigger declares Yorick's skull has rotted for 'this dozen year', and compounds this with reference to 'young Hamlet's father'. Hamlet's recollections of riding piggy back on Yorick are from perhaps the age of seven, making Q1's Hamlet about nineteen years old. Again the references are pervasive, found scattered in scenes 1, 6, 7, 11 and 16 in Q1, and consistent. Q2 does retain three references to a 'young' Hamlet. The first is from Horatio in 1.1, but the other two are by men clearly noticeably older than Hamlet; one is by Polonius and the other by the gravedigger who began his trade thirty years earlier, on the day Hamlet was born. The gravedigger is therefore noticeably older than Hamlet, whom he, like Polonius, might consequently see as 'young'. That gravedigger also clearly makes Q2's Hamlet thirty years old. Moreover, Yorick's skull has lain in the earth 'three and twenty years' (V.i.163-4), also confirming Q2's Hamlet as significantly older.

Is the figure of thirty years not to be taken literally; is it just a 'humorous and palpable exaggeration on the Clown's part'? Duthie is swayed by this suggestion by V. Østerberg, and adds 'after all, had Shakespeare intended to force Hamlet's age upon our attention, he would surely have done so more effectively'.⁵⁵⁵ Yet the dramatist is perfectly effective in drawing the audience's attention to Hamlet's

⁵⁵⁵ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 230-1.

age in Q1, just as Belleforest was; Prince Amleth, and Prince Hamlet in Q1, are both clearly portrayed as young. It seems unlikely that a memorial reconstructor or abridger would systematically interpolate widespread references altering Hamlet's age from older in Q2 to younger in the Q1 text he is preparing, and it would be an even less likely coincidence that the change such a composer might make would render the new text closer to the original source than the one he was attempting to recall. It might even be possible to speculate that Q2's older Hamlet in 1604-5 permits an older Richard Burbage, aged about thirty-six at this time, to continue to play Hamlet convincingly. It might also explain why it is in Q2 that the Queen says of Hamlet 'He's fat' (V.ii.269), a phrase that critics 'do not want [it] to mean "overweight"',⁵⁵⁶ while Q1 lacks such an epithet.

There are other examples of where Q1 is more proximate to Belleforest than Q2. When the counsellor proposes 'quelque belle femme' ('some pretty woman') is used to test whether Amleth's madness is real, the verb Belleforest employs is 'atraper' ('to entrap'). In Q1, counsellor Corambis claims Hamlet wants 'to entrap the heart' of Ofelia, in order to take advantage of her (198, 3.68). The verb is not, it is true, used in precisely the same context in each text; it has been transposed. It is not used at all in Q2 - but all three texts have several entrapments. Another, minor example, mentioned earlier, occurs when Amleth speaks of how he was 'tout confit de larmes' ('completely steeped in tears') at his father's death, which Q1 picks up standardly as 'tears', while in Q2 Hamlet speaks in metaphor, of 'the fruitful river in the eye' (274, 2.34, 1.2.80). An argument here might be that a memorial reconstructor or abridger is likely to simplify, and remove the image.

Thus it seems that there are a small number of details exclusive to Q2, and a different group exclusive to Q1, though one of those details - Hamlet's age - is major.

6.iv An Evolution between the Texts?

Three scenes have key differences. They seem to show an evolution of ideas from the source, through Q1 to Q2: a change in the location of the 'nunnery' scene; aspects of the 'chambre' or 'bedchamber' scene, and the scenes in which Hamlet's return is announced.

The nunnery scene is located differently in the two quartos. In the French text, the courtiers advise the King to discover the truth behind Amleth's 'tromperie' ('deception/fraud' (198)); they suggest he should be entrapped by a 'belle femme' ('beautiful woman') in a secret place; they elaborate on the pleasures of physical intimacy and how when thus engaged the Prince will not be able to dissemble ('dissimuler' (198)), and initiate the entrapment, all within less than a page, without any diversions. Q1 follows the French source closely in the succession of the proposal and its implementation. Thus

⁵⁵⁶ Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* Q2, 453n.

in Q1, in scene 7, Corambis proposes the King and he should 'stand close in the study'; five lines later Hamlet enters, briefly soliloquises, and then addresses Ofelia within the hearing of the eavesdroppers.

In Q2, act II scene ii, Polonius makes a similar proposal, but a series of conversations intervene first. Polonius has a conversation with Hamlet; Hamlet speaks to Rosencrans and Gylldensterne; Polonius and the Players enter; then, in III.i, the eavesdroppers hide, Hamlet soliloquises at greater length, and finally addresses Ophelia. Q1's approach is simpler and more direct; Q2 keeps the audience in suspense about when the entrapment will occur and what will be revealed. Q1 follows the French source closely; it might be a dramatist's first version of the play, as he uses his source and before he has interleaved some of the themes and parts of scenes that are present in Q2. And since Q1's nunnery scene is located in the same place as the source it is surely inaccurate to describe it as for example Lene Petersen does: 'This particular episode is ... transposed from its position in Act 3 of Q2/F1 to the early position of Q1...'.⁵⁵⁷ Rather it would appear that the nunnery scene is not so much brought forward in Q1 as deliberately and dramatically delayed in Q2.

The second entrapment is in the Queen's 'chambre', where Amleth is commanded to attend his mother. At the first entrapment Amleth was warned by a childhood friend and by the 'belle femme' herself that he was entering a trap. So it is unsurprising that he enters full of suspicion and expectation that here is another trap. Belleforest as a novelist underlines this by placing Amleth in the chamber, and in the very next clause indicating Amleth's suspicions: '[il] se douta de quelque trahison...' ('he suspected some treachery'). Then, before he even speaks to his mother, Amleth feigns his 'folles et niaises' ('mad and naive/simple') mannerisms as usual, and like a cock bird beats all about with his wings (206). In this way, he discovers the hidden counsellor behind the quilt, and thrusts his sword through the man. Only after the counsellor is dead and disposed of does Amleth return to his mother and address her.

In Q1, Hamlet appears to retain an intimation of those proactive suspicions, when in the fourth line after his entrance he declares 'but first we'll make all safe' (11.6); it is a half line that makes complete sense when the French source is known. But in Q1 there is no suggestion of any stage business to support the half line. In Q2, Hamlet lacks that half line and its implicit suspicions. In other respects the quartos are closer to each other than to the source here; within a few lines of entering, both Hamlets begin to address their mother, both are interrupted by firstly the Queen's and secondly the counsellor's call for help, kill him, and then continue to speak to the Queen. The presence of Q1's

⁵⁵⁷ Petersen, *Shakespeare's Errant Texts*, 70.

half line, 'but first we'll make all safe', suggests the playwright was in places reading Belleforest quite closely. A simple explanation might be that a drafting playwright followed the source for Q1, but in revising noted that Q1's half line had no stage business to support it, and excised it for Q2. Q1 hints at being an intermediate stage; it shares one aspect with Belleforest, and one different aspect with Q2. It is difficult to explain logically why an abridger or memorial reconstructor of Q2 might make Q1's Hamlet suspicious, especially as the abridger/reconstructor does not provide a context for such suspicions.

The second example in this scene blends a transposition with an apparent evolution of ideas. The borrowing occurs from a scene in the French source which is not used by Shakespeare for the plot, but echoes some verbal details. After Amleth has killed his uncle-king, he addresses the Danish people to explain why the king is dead and to persuade them that he, Amleth, should become their king. He declares that one of the reasons for the killing of the king was to wash away the spots which had blackened the reputation of the Queen ('j'ay lavé les tasches, qui denigroient la reputation de la Roynne' (280)). In both quartos the concept is transposed to the 'bedchamber' scene. In Q1 these are still the Prince's words; he 'tells' the Queen 'I'll make your eyes look down into your heart/And see how horrid there and black it shows' (11.20-1).

But in Q2 it is no longer Hamlet who is 'telling' the Queen and the audience. Shakespeare presents Q2's Queen as so distressed by the picture Hamlet paints of the contrast between 'Hyperion' and the 'moor' that it is she who expresses the thought and 'shows' the effect Hamlet's words have had upon her. She says, 'Thou turn'st my very eyes into my soul/And there I see such black and grieved spots...' (III.iv.87-8). The focus of the two Princes has changed; Q1's Hamlet is more obviously determined to make his mother recognise what she has done; Q2's Hamlet is more anguished, uncomprehending, revolted, and sets out to 'wring' her heart, but he is less accusatory. The Queen's response in Q2 also contributes to Shakespeare's characterisation of her, for her suffering means that she gains a little sympathy as a tragic figure. Her response 'shows' how deeply she is affected. A progression is again apparent: Belleforest's Amleth, addressing a crowd, claims to have removed the black spots from his mother's reputation: Q1's Hamlet, still the speaker, now addresses the Queen and says her eyes will see how black her heart is: in Q2 it is the Queen who speaks, and admits to Hamlet that her eyes see the black spots in her soul. The sequence suggests both an evolution across the texts and the close relationship of all three.

The three Queens' promises to the Princes are also significantly different. Two concerns lead to the Queens' promises: revenge, and the motives for revenge. Those motives are closer in Belleforest and in Q1, for the same word is used in both French and English. In *Les Histoires Tragiques*, Amleth

explains that one reason for taking revenge is to expunge the 'infamie' associated with his mother's renowned family name (216). In Q1 Hamlet's motive is also to erase his mother's 'infamy' (11.94) with its connotations of earthly shame and reputation. Q2's Hamlet, on the other hand, refers to his mother's 'trespass'; he asks his mother to 'confess' and 'repent' her 'trespass', with its connotations of offence against divine law (III.iv.144-48). How or why would an actor/reporter or abridger, creating Q1, use such a distinctive word found also in the source? If memorial reconstruction explains all, then a sequence of Belleforest and 'infamie', Q2 and 'trespass', changing to Q1 and 'infamy' must, somehow, be seen as credible.

A second reason for revenge is stated baldly in Belleforest and Q1; Fengon is 'le meurtrier de mon pere' ('my father's murderer' (210)), and Q1's King is '[he]/That slew my father' (11.39-40). Q2 is less explicit; after he kills Polonius, Hamlet agrees it was 'A bloody deed - almost as bad, good mother,/As kill a king and marry with his brother' (III.iv.26-7). An obvious question is whether the proximity of *Les Histoires Tragiques* and Q1 is due to chance and the simplification of the memorial reconstructor/abridger, or whether Shakespeare has revised Q1 and created a more subtle text.

Belleforest presents Amleth from the beginning as thinking about how to avenge his father's death, 's'en venger' (194). In the 'chambre' scene Amleth declares his intention to take revenge, in a long and passionate speech to the Queen ('j'espere d'en faire une telle, et si haute vengeance, qu'il sera jamais parlé en ces terres' - 'I hope to take such great vengeance that it will be spoken about forever in these lands' (216)). In Q1 the Ghost appears, Hamlet recalls his task of revenge, and asks for his mother's assistance ('assist me in revenge', (11.93)); in other words, in the source and in Q1 the intention to gain revenge is explicit.

Q2 appears to be drawing away from both the source and Q1, for Q2's Hamlet is not as direct. Its Hamlet refers to 'Th'important acting of your dread command' (III.iv.105) when he addresses the Ghost, a line which only alludes to 'revenge'; it requires the audience/reader to recall the Ghost's request to 'Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder' (I.v.25). Once again several reasons might be proposed for this difference in Q2: perhaps the Q1 script has been revised, and is made into a more demanding Q2, perhaps because the latter is intended to be a literary text, as Lukas Erne argues.⁵⁵⁸ Or is it that the abridger or actor/reporter of Q2, in creating Q1, simplifies the role of the Prince and spells out his desire for revenge, by chance as in the source?

Immediately after his declaration Amleth asks the Queen to say nothing about the matter: 'rien informé de cecy', where 'cecy' ('this') deictically refers to his intention to take revenge. The Queen

⁵⁵⁸ Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, 220-244.

promises to keep his intended revenge secret; she will feign a lack of knowledge about the matter; she promises that she will keep secret both his wisdom and his brave enterprise ('duquel je feindray ne sçavoir rien je tiendray secreete, et ta sagesse, et ta gaillarde enterprinse' (222)). Her words have prominence because of the sibilance and the Latinate grammatical structure 'et...et', 'both...and'. It is a dramatic moment, rendered slightly differently in Q1. Here Q1's Queen volunteers a promise to keep his plan concealed in a very similar way to Queen Geruthe: 'I will conceal, consent, and do my best,/What stratagem soe'er thou shalt devise' (11.97-8), and her lines gain prominence, through alliteration on the plosive /k/, and through the rhetorical triplet. But, oddly, in Q1 Hamlet does not solicit this concealment (he has asked her to 'Forbear the adulterous bed', and said that if she assists him in revenge, her 'infamy shall die' (11.90, 94)). Q1's Queen's promise does, however, answer the request of the French Prince Amleth. 'I will conceal...' opens a series of four consecutive clauses which do not altogether cohere with the preceding dialogue, just as the half line 'but first we'll make all safe' at the beginning of the bedchamber scene lacks cohesion with its context. Thus both 'I will conceal ...' and 'but first we'll make all safe' echo Belleforest's version, but lack an immediate context in the Q1 text. Neither are abridged versions of anything in Q2. It is as if the dramatist has included the Queen's promise because there was a (request and) promise in the source he was working from.

Q2's Queen is different. Hamlet does not declare to her that he will exact revenge. He does, however, make an explicit but *different* request for secrecy; his mother must not let Claudius know her son is only 'mad in craft'. The Queen's promise is remote stylistically and semantically from the French and from Q1, for in Q2 the Queen utters 'Be thou assured, if words be made of breath/And breath of life, I have not life to breathe/What thou hast said to me' (III.iv.195-7). Again the answer achieves prominence, through its literariness; it is largely monosyllabic and of native vocabulary and its resulting simplicity gives it a poignancy which moves us to sympathy for the Queen. The two lines are lyrical and rhythmic, not least because of the use of chiasmus. It is perhaps surprising that they are not remotely recalled by a potential actor/reporter or reproduced by the abridger. In their promises, Q1's Queen is closer to the source, and Q2's is again drawing away from the source and from Q1.

The proximity of the Queen's promise in Q1 to the French source is explained differently elsewhere. Duthie offers one, confident explanation for the Queen's promise in Q1. He asserts that *The Spanish Tragedy* is the source of Gertrude's promise.⁵⁵⁹ The crucial lines are:

⁵⁵⁹ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 183. Further discussion of *The Spanish Tragedy* follows in chapter nine.

Les Histoires Tragiques.

Geruthe: 'je tiendray secrette, et ta sagesse, et ta gaillarde enterprinse' ('I will keep secret both your wisdom and your brave enterprise (222))

Q1.

Queen: 'I will conceal, consent, and do my best,
What stratagem soe'er thou shalt devise' (11.97-8)

The Spanish Tragedy.

Hieronimo: 'And here I vow, so you but give consent,
And will conceal my resolution...

Bellimperia: Hieronimo, I will consent, conceal;
And aught that may effect for thine avail
Join with thee to revenge Horatio's death.

Hieronimo: On then, whatsoever I devise' (IV.i.42-3, 46-49)

It is reasonable to suggest that *Les Histoires Tragiques* offers enough to inspire the Queen's lines in Q1, in phonological and syntactic patterning, and in meaning. While there are interesting parallels in Kyd's play, there is no certainty regarding the direction of borrowing. It is not known when *The Spanish Tragedy* was written. It was probably after 1582, when Thomas Watson's *Hekatompathia* was published, from which *The Spanish Tragedy* adapts material, and obviously before its performance on 23 February 1592;⁵⁶⁰ this places it securely before the publication of Q1 in 1603, but in an ambiguous position in relation to the *Hamlet* which is mentioned by Nashe and whose authorship is uncertain. So the date of Kyd's play does not help. Of course, some have suggested that the possible *Ur-Hamlet* was written by Kyd, in which case they may believe that Q1's Queen's lines do echo Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*. But it is peculiar that *The Spanish Tragedy* repeats 'conceal' and 'consent', presumably to draw attention to them (curiously, Duthie omits this repetition). Deliberate repetition is sometimes done very knowingly to ensure the reader/audience 'gets' the allusion. Perhaps it is Kyd who is borrowing, and *The Spanish Tragedy* is not the source of Q1's two lines.

An alternative explanation of why there is a link between Q1 Queen's promise and Belleforest's Queen's promise is proposed by Gary Taylor. He writes that 'the part of Gertrude in performances of the lost play [i.e. the putative *Ur-Hamlet*] would have been taken by a boy actor; a boy actor of the late 1580s or early 1590s could well be a hired man in 1600-3, playing parts like Marcellus and

⁵⁶⁰ Mulryne, *The Spanish Tragedy*, xiv.

Voltemand...a simple mechanism for contamination exists...'.⁵⁶¹ It is of course possible, though it means we must construct a sequence of composition resembling this: *Les Histoires Tragiques* is followed by a possible *Ur-Hamlet*; Shakespeare writes Q2, which may be abridged or adapted, before it is then memorially reconstructed by the actor of the early Gertred (c. 1589), who is now playing 'Marcellus' and /or 'Voltemand' (c. 1600?), thus producing Q1. While the narrative explaining the origins of the quartos is no doubt complex, this sequence seems exceptionally complicated (and it is surely disappointing for the actor concerned, who could play a Queen before his voice breaks but only a sentinel or ambassador afterwards). Gary Taylor, discussing *Hamlet* in some detail but in general terms on the subject of Gertrude's character, also notes that 'it is intriguing that the part of Gertrude contains...the only feature in which Q1 agrees with earlier narrative accounts, against Q2 and F1'.⁵⁶² It is not, of course, the only feature of Q1 which is closer to the source than Q2 is.

There is no unambiguous evidence here about the direction of influence. The simplest explanation is that Q1's Queen's unsolicited promise derives from Belleforest and that Q2's Queen's more emotional lines are a revision, alongside the development of other borrowings. The parallels in the Queen's promise in Q1 with that in *Les Histoires Tragiques* may not convince all readers when other possible - but more complex - explanations like Duthie's and Taylor's are offered.

The third scene with an apparent evolution of ideas announces Hamlet's return to Denmark. Many have noted how different Q1's scene 14 and Q2's act 4 scene 6 are, but there is remarkably little discussion of this. Q1 has just two characters, Horatio and the Queen; Q2 has a minimum of five, from the stage directions including 'Horatio and others' and 'Saylers'. Superficially, to have only two actors in scene 14 does appear to support abridgement. But why is the scene so different? Why is the Queen notified so much earlier in Q1?

In *Les Histoires Tragiques* Amleth asks his mother to arrange a funeral banquet for one year from his departure to England (she should 'celebrast ses obsequies et funerailles', (230-232)). She expects him to come back; she prepares the banquet ('banquet funebre' (252)), and he returns promptly. In Q1 scene 14 Horatio's opening line, addressed to the Queen, is 'Madame, your sonne is safe arriv'de in *Denmarke*'. Where does the emphasis lie? For readers coming to the scene knowing Q2, 'your sonne is safe arriv'de in *Denmarke*' is simply an announcement of Hamlet's return. But to come

⁵⁶¹ Gary Taylor, in Wells and Taylor, *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion*, 398.

⁵⁶² Taylor does not specify which 'narrative accounts', but only Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques* is extant. Is his plural intended to embrace the several 'earlier' editions of Belleforest? It cannot allude to the alleged *Ur-Hamlet*, for that is not extant, and is not, in literary terms, presumed to be a 'narrative'. Nor can it be the English prose version, *The Hystorie of Hamblet* (STC 12734), which was printed in 1608 and postdates Shakespeare's *Hamlets* (Wells and Taylor, *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion*, 398).

to it from *Les Histoires Tragiques* permits the inference that Q1's Queen was anyway expecting her son and that what Horatio does is specifically to confirm Hamlet's arrival is 'safe' (iambic pentameter naturally gives 'safe' one of the line's five stresses). The idiom survives today; we may comment on the 'safe arrival' of someone, and the important information is not the arrival, which is anticipated, but the 'safe' aspect of it. The scene appears to reflect an aspect of *Les Histoires Tragiques* which is not translated explicitly into the play. This interpretation is supported by the distancing in the relationship between mother and son in Q2, already illustrated above; for example, in Q1 Hamlet does inform the Queen he will avenge his father's death, but he does not confide that to the Queen in Q2.

Shakespeare thus isolates Hamlet more in Q2; he is more of a lonely and tragic figure. A Q2 scene which does not ensure the Queen is among the first to know of his return heightens that isolation.

That Q1's scene is closer to the French source may be reinforced by another feature which *Les Histoires Tragiques* and Q1 share. The French Queen, in her concern for her son, asks him 'conduire sagement tes affaires, n'estre haste, ny trop bouillant en tes entreprises' ('to conduct the matter wisely, to be neither too hasty nor too impetuous in your enterprise/action' (222)). In Q1 the Queen asks Horatio to 'Bid him [Hamlet] a while be wary of his [the King's] presence' (14.19).

The half line, 'But first we'll make all safe', and the Q1 scene between the Queen and Horatio hint at what the playwright is reading or recalling from *Les Histoires Tragiques* but not actually using. These are points at which the shadow of the French source is clearly detectable in Q1, but not in Q2.

The findings of the three way comparison⁵⁶³ are unexpected. Interestingly, there does not appear to have been such a comparison before; the emphasis has been on whether Shakespeare - or the play - drew upon Saxo Grammaticus or Belleforest and which French version Shakespeare used,⁵⁶⁴ rather than which quarto is closer to the source. Yet the findings are highly significant. Q1 has more borrowings than Q2; Q1 has almost double the density of borrowings; Q1 is closer with Hamlet's age, in the location of the 'nunnery' scene, in the phrasing of the Queen's promise, in the explicitness of the plot, in the suspicions of Hamlet in the 'bedchamber' scene, and in that totally different scene which announces Hamlet's return. The phrasing which suggests an evolution of the borrowings is quite startling. Q2 is closer to the source in just over half a dozen minor verbal echoes.

⁵⁶³ These are tabulated in appendix F.

⁵⁶⁴ Bullough footnotes A. P. Stabler's Ph.D. dissertation, which sought to establish this (Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol VII, 11n).

How might the findings best be explained? It is possible that if we were certain that an *Ur-Hamlet* had existed then we could argue that the *Ur-Hamlet* itself was even closer to the French source than Q1 or Q2, and that the putative memorial reconstructor(s) recalled the *Ur-Hamlet* in his/their reconstruction. That requires firstly, the existence of an *Ur-Hamlet*, secondly that the *Ur-Hamlet* was closer to the French source, thirdly that the memorial reconstructor(s) was/were familiar with the *Ur-Hamlet*, and fourthly that he/they recalled more of the *Ur-Hamlet* in preference to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Alternatively it could be argued that Shakespeare wrote an early *Hamlet*, transferring one or two half thought-through ideas (like the suspicions of a safety conscious Hamlet, like how to get Hamlet back to Denmark without all the activities Amleth carried out while in England for a year), and some years later revised the play, having skim-read the French source again and with his own first version of *Hamlet* in front of him.

The hypotheses explaining the quartos' relationship do not rest upon a sole argument, and to claim that one step in the reassessment (this comparison) resolves that relationship would be foolhardy. But while the comparison has been carried out to provide a factual basis for discussion of the hypotheses, it is surprisingly revealing, and it indicates firm support at this point not for memorial reconstruction or abridgement, but for a first draft and revision, and for Q1's priority. Furthermore, a simple continuation of that comparison demonstrates that Q1 also precedes F1.⁵⁶⁵

An apparently comprehensive case for memorial reconstruction has, however, been initiated by Collier (1844) and Mommsen (1857), extended by for example Widgery (1880) and Gray (1915), extensively explored and promoted by Duthie (1941), and has been widely supported in the 20th century by prominent scholars. Their case does not begin with the borrowings that Q1 and Q2 make from *Les Histoires Tragiques*, or, it seems, take the French source substantially into account. The obvious next step is to consider whether there are any arguments offered by Duthie or others which can override the findings of this chapter, or which produce stronger evidence for memorial reconstruction, or which indicate that there are weaknesses in the hypothesis. Consequently the next chapter will reassess the points adduced to argue for memorial reconstruction. It is necessarily long because Duthie has devoted a whole book to it, and many scholars have also made contributions. Chapter eight will re-evaluate abridgement, for which there is substantially less literature, and chapter nine will turn to the case for revision. But regardless of which hypothesis is under review, the question of how it accommodates the findings of the three way comparison will be considered.

⁵⁶⁵ See appendix G.

Chapter 7

Memorial Reconstruction: The Evidence

On the evidence of Q1's proximity to the French source, the hypothesis of memorial reconstruction does not appear at all secure as the explanation for the quartos' relationship. However, the extent of the traces of *Les Histoires Tragiques* in the quartos is not usually part of the case for memorial reconstruction. Instead the case rests upon careful investigation of practices with theatrical scripts, and an analogy offered by Duthie, of two, undisputed memorial reconstructions from 1779, and extensive examination of the quartos themselves. The first two might be termed the external evidence while the latter constitute the internal evidence, and are examined in that order below.

The chapter therefore begins with a review of the publication records of Q1 and Q2 in comparison with other Shakespearean plays. These records show no evidence of piracy. Contemporary comments on what might be called plagiarism today and on the copying of scripts are considered next; these do not confirm that memorial reconstruction took place in Elizabethan or Jacobean England, but do not exclude the possibility.

Tate Wilkinson's account of how he recreated *The Duenna* in 1776, and John Bernard's account of how he recreated *The School for Scandal* are analysed, and the method Bernard describes is applied to how the actor 'Marcellus' or 'Voltemand' might have created Q1 *Hamlet*.⁵⁶⁶ Duthie claims that 'the methods employed by Wilkinson and Bernard are similar to those which we can assume in memorial reconstructions of the Elizabethan period'.⁵⁶⁷ However, these quantitative analyses undermine rather than support the hypothesis of memorial reconstruction for Q1. Brief mention is also made of Laurie Maguire's investigations in 'Shakespeare's suspect texts' and of Duthie's arguments for borrowed phrases; these do not unambiguously prove, or disprove, the hypothesis of memorial reconstruction.

The internal evidence is noticeably more rewarding. It evaluates many of the arguments proposed by Duthie, as well as Irace's computer aided analyses and Maguire's examinations of the alleged features of memorial reconstruction; the number of points proposed by the hypothesis' supporters necessitates a rather extensive review. The chapter shows that not one of the many points raised is

⁵⁶⁶ Quoted from *The Times Literary Supplement*, 1925, 599 and 617, in Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 35-36.

⁵⁶⁷ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 37.

conclusive evidence of memorial reconstruction; each does have an alternative rationalisation. Ironically, one of Duthie's points, relating to 'objectionable pronouns', actually demonstrates the Q1 playwright's knowledge about stage craft, and argues for a skilful playwright rather than a memorial reconstructor. Interestingly, these pronouns are found in the one scene which is totally different in the two quartos, a scene which would theoretically be wholly the work of the actor/reporter(s), namely scene 14, where Hamlet's return is announced.

Together the arguments adduced to support memorial reconstruction are shown to be markedly fragile. They are all capable of other explanations, and none are as substantial as the evidence that *Les Histoires Tragiques* and the two quartos themselves provide.

7.i The Stationers' Register and the Quartos

One possibility is that if Q1's origins lie in memorial reconstruction its printing might be pirated. Those reasoning that memorial reconstruction is correct turn to the description by Heminge and Condell of 'stolne, and surreptitious copies',⁵⁶⁸ and consider that applicable to Q1. However, those supporting abridgement consider the label appropriate not to a quarto printed twenty years earlier but to the 1619 Pavier-Jaggard edition only four years previously, which Weiner sees as 'an unequivocal case of play piracy'.⁵⁶⁹

Nevertheless, there is some data to confirm that piracy of play texts did take place. John Day, the publisher of the second edition of *Gorboduc* (1570), for example, makes clear that his is the authorised edition. His *Preface to the Reader* criticises the previous, unauthorised edition of 1565: 'one W.T. getting a copie therof at some yongmans hand that lacked a little money and much discretion... put it forth excedingly corrupted'.⁵⁷⁰ But the names of those involved in the registering and printing of Q1 and Q2 *Hamlet* overlap in ways which suggest continuity rather than piracy. Thus the entry on the Stationers' Register on 26th July 1602 is made for James Robertes, who is also the printer for Q2 ('I[ames] R[oberts]'). Q1 is printed for N[icholas] L[ing] and Iohn Trundell; Q2 is printed for N[icholas] L[ing], who in turn transfers *Hamlet* to John Smythick in the Stationers' Register entry in 1607, preceding Q3's printing for Iohn Smethwick in 1611. Moreover, the first three quartos of *Hamlet* all bear Shakespeare's name upon the title page. The principal details are tabulated below in table 7.a. It is hard to identify any confirmation here of piracy.

⁵⁶⁸ Alexander, *The Complete Works*, xxvii.

⁵⁶⁹ Weiner, *William Shakespeare: HAMLET: The First Quarto*, 9.

⁵⁷⁰ William Tydeman, editor, *Two Tudor Tragedies* (London: Penguin Books, 1992), 50.

Table 7.a Details of the S. R. entry and printing of the early quartos of *Hamlet*⁵⁷¹

	Q1	Q2	Q3
Play	<i>Hamlet</i>	<i>Hamlet</i>	<i>Hamlet</i>
S. R. date	26.7.1602	-	19.11.1607
Entered for	James Robertes	-	John Smythick
Transferred from	-	-	N Linge
Players	Lord Chamberlayne's	-	-
Date	1603	1604-5	1611
Players	His Highness' Servants	-	-
Printed by	(Valentine Simmes)	I(ames) R(oberts)	-
Printed for	N(icholas) L(ing), Iohn Trundell	N(icholas) L(ing)	Iohn Smethwick
WS's name?	Y	Y	Y

Chambers' accounts of the plays' printings shows that four out of the five men named are also involved in the publishing of other Shakespearean plays. The Stationers' Register has, for example, an entry for James Roberts for *The Merchant of Venice* on 22nd July 1598, and he is printer for a Q1 *Merchant* in 1600. Valentine Simmes or Sims is the printer of, for example, *Richard II* and *III* in 1597, and *I Henry IV* in 1603. The Stationers' Register records an entry to John Smethwick 'from Nicholas Ling' for *Loves Labours' Lost* in 1607 as well as for Q3 *Hamlet*. Only John Trundell appears just once.

It is true that Q1 does not quite follow the 'normal' registration and printing - but Q2, the supposedly real Shakespearean text, follows it even less closely. A 'normal' registering and printing process begins with a date, title and entry to a given person on the Stationers' Register, followed by a quarto printed by a different person for the named individual on the Stationers' Register. For example *Troilus and Cressida* is entered to Richard Bonian and Henry Walleys on 28th January 1609, and duly imprinted for them by G. Eld in 1609. This 'norm' is found for editions of *2 Henry VI*, *Richard III*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Richard II*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *I Henry IV*, *2 Henry IV*, *Much Ado* and *Henry V*. A considerable number of variations also occur, from registration without printing (*As you like y'* was 'staid' in the Stationers' Register, probably on 4th August 1600, but not printed until

⁵⁷¹ All details from Chambers, *WS* vol I, 408-9.

1623),⁵⁷² printing without an entry (Q2 *Hamlet* and Q1 *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1598),⁵⁷³ or the entry on the Stationers' Register also being the printer's name (*Titus Andronicus*, 1594).⁵⁷⁴ These variations would indicate that the registration and printing of the first three *Hamlet* quartos are not significantly atypical, even if they are not the 'norm'. (Greg found that about a third of the books published in the late Elizabethan period were not entered.⁵⁷⁵ Burkhart also reasonably questions why printers of 'bad' quartos would have received permission to publish legitimate plays.⁵⁷⁶ If James Roberts and Nicholas Ling's involvement with Q1 *Hamlet's* publication was not legitimate, why were they also able to publish Q2, a very different script?)

Q2's title page is also debated; does its 'Newly corrected... according to the true and perfect Copy' permit readers to infer that Q1 was not 'true', an inference that those supporting memorial reconstruction would find useful? It can be shown that 'newly corrected...' is formulaic and perhaps like a sales patter: *Richard III* Q3 claims to be 'Newly Augmented', though Chambers comments that 'There are no augmentations',⁵⁷⁷ and the French source (*Les Histoires Tragiques*), in the Paris 1582 edition, claimed to be 'reueu, corrigé & augmenté'.⁵⁷⁸ A reasonable explanation for the descriptor is that Q2 was sufficiently different for the printer to wish to reassure potential purchasers that it was a valid edition. Or perhaps the publisher wanted to ensure readers would buy a second copy of a book which had been on sale only the previous year. However, the evidence, such as it is, shows that the folio description and the quartos' title pages do not provide any confirmation of either quarto being anything other than a legitimate printing.

7.ii Contemporary Complaints

In 1565 William Griffith printed *The Tragedie of Gorbodvc*, played in front of the Queen in 1561 (OS); 'about nine years past' (i.e. approximately 1570) John Day printed *The Tragedie of Ferrex and Porrex*. The first was a pirated copy, and the second made it manifest that this was the case, by the prominence with which 'Seen and allowed' is placed, centred and centrally on the title page, with about six lines of white space above and below. 'The P[rolegomena] to the Reader' also makes clear

⁵⁷² Chambers, *WS* vol I, 401-2.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, 331.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 312.

⁵⁷⁵ W. W. Greg, 'The Laws of Elizabethan Copyright: The Stationers' View' (*The Library*, XV no 1, 5th series, 1960), 8-20.

⁵⁷⁶ Burkhart, *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos: Deliberate Abridgements*, 22.

⁵⁷⁷ Chambers, *WS* vol I, 294-5.

⁵⁷⁸ Gollancz, *The Sources of Hamlet*, 319.

the piracy; the authors had not intended it to be published. The previous publication had occurred when the two authors were away from London, and furthermore the play previously printed was 'exceedingly corrupted'. The writer personifies the play as a lady whose face has been 'scratched'.

A piracy is not the same as a memorial reconstruction. However, neither *Hamlet* quarto bears 'seen', or 'allowed', or 'cum privilegio', though this was not unusual, and the second quarto has no such useful prolegomena lamenting the corruption of a play which has not been intended for publication.⁵⁷⁹

In the 17th century, in 1608, Thomas Heywood addressed the reader at the front of his *Rape of Lucrece* complaining that plays had been 'corrupt and mangled, (copied onely by the eare)'.⁵⁸⁰ The adverbial 'by the eare' indicates the written text he complains about had been performed, and it was a version of that spoken performance which he claims had been returned to the written medium before publication; the quotation appears to point towards the existence of memorial reconstructions. In 1637 Heywood returned to the issue, blaming the indifferent quality of the first edition (1605) of *If You Know Not Me* upon a stenographic copy: 'some by Stenography, drew/The plot: put it in print: (scarce one word trew)'.⁵⁸¹ However Duthie, in *Elizabethan Shorthand*,⁵⁸² concludes decisively and convincingly that the shorthand methods available at the time were not suitable for reproducing a *Lear*; by extension those early styles of shorthand were unlikely to be appropriate for transcribing Heywood's play in 1605, and the reconstruction of any Elizabethan or early Jacobean play by the stenographic methods then available has not been pursued since Duthie's book. Giordano-Orsini's view is that Heywood is mistaken, or that if shorthand were used, it was supplemented. Bracy comments that the 'plot' could mean a sketch or paraphrase or outline of a literary work.⁵⁸³ Maguire considers that the belatedness of Heywood's second complaint - it is thirty-two years later - renders it less reliable, and that if Giordano-Orsini's view is correct, Heywood actually 'had no idea how his text had been reconstructed'.⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁷⁹ We might be able to infer that Q1's title page that the play has been allowed; Q1 *Hamlet* has, according to the title page, been 'diuerse times acted by his Highnesse seruants in the Cittie of London: as also in the two Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where'.

⁵⁸⁰ Paul Werstine discusses the significance of this in 'Narratives about Printed Shakespeare Texts: "Foul Papers" and "Bad" Quartos' Author(s)' (*Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Spring, 1990), 65-86).

⁵⁸¹ Maguire, *Shakespeare's suspect texts*, 103.

⁵⁸² See chapter two, note 107.

⁵⁸³ Bracy, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 26.

⁵⁸⁴ G. N. Giordano-Orsini, 'The Copy of *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* Part I, (*Times Literary Supplement*, 4. December 1930), 1037, quoted in Maguire, *Shakespeare's suspect texts*, 103.

It is uncertain exactly what and how much might have been reconstructed by memory, though there is no doubt that versions of 'memorial reconstruction', or written reports of the spoken word, existed and exist. In Tudor times, some of Queen Elizabeth's speeches were committed to writing after she had delivered them. For example Camden reported her 1559 speech, made after the Commons' petition that she marry.⁵⁸⁵ The theatre-goer Edward Pudsey, who wrote down extracts from *Hamlet* and other Shakespearean plays in his commonplace book, (mis)quoted from *Hamlet* with, for example, 'To perseuer in obstinate sorrow ys impious stubbornnes, vnmanly greef, y^e shows a will most incorrect to heauen'.⁵⁸⁶

Playwrights also referred variously to writing in the plays: Hamlet himself refers to his 'tables' (5.81, l.v.98 and 107), which appears to draw from a contemporary custom of noting striking turns of phrase or ideas in a commonplace book. Maguire mentions Marston's *Scourge of Villainy* (1598, STC 17485): 'when of playes or Plaiers he did treat./H'ath made a common-place booke out of playes'(which coincidentally partly describes Pudsey).⁵⁸⁷ Maguire also discusses Marston's *Malcontent* (1604, STC 17480), where Sly has seen the play often enough to be able to 'give them [the players] intelligence for their action: I have most of the ieasts here in my table-booke'.⁵⁸⁸ This sounds similar to a collection such as *Tarlton's Jestes*, published in 1600. The possibility of the plot being sufficiently well remembered for the outline to be expanded by another writer is suggested by two further plays Maguire cites. The first is Robert Taylor's *The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl* (c. 1613), in which the character Haddit fears a player has 'learned [the text of a written entertainment] by heart, if you haue powdred vp my plot in your sconce, you may home sir and instruct your Poet ouer a pot of ale, the whole method on't'. In the second example, the dedicatory sonnet to Chapman's 1605 edition of *All Fools* (STC 4963), Chapman decides to publish 'least by others stealth it be imprest,/without my passport, patcht with others wit'.⁵⁸⁹ There is even a script in Trowbridge Record Office purporting to be a written record of a public political speech by Philip Herbert (one of the 'incomparable pair of brethren'), dated 1649; in modern terms it would be described as an uncomplimentary parody.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁵ L. S. Marcus, J. Mueller, and M. B. Rose, editors, *Elizabeth I: Collected Works* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 59.

⁵⁸⁶ British Library reference: 117.e.62.

⁵⁸⁷ Maguire, *Shakespeare's suspect texts*, 101.

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁵⁹⁰ Trowbridge Public Record Office, reference 2057 F4/1 1639-91. Philip Herbert's second wife, Anne Clifford, claimed he was 'very illiterate', despite being a patron of literature.

These wide-ranging examples demonstrate that the variety of what might have been reconstructed by memory is extensive, though the frequency of such references is low. Even today, too, the level of accuracy may not be high. Taylor cites a modern misquotation from Senator Sam Ervin, where the videotape preserves his accuracy in speech, but the official stenographic report has errors.⁵⁹¹ Other evidence of memorial reconstruction is also offered by Taylor, including the pirated text of Macklin's *Love à-la-Mode* (1759) and of the first English adaptation of *Le Mariage de Figaro* (first written by Beaumarchais in 1788), and of a 1601 pamphlet containing 'A Declaration of the Practices & Treasons attempted and committed by *Robert* late Earle of Essex', including 'the Speeches of Sir *Chr. Blunt*... as neere as they would be remembred' (STC 1133).⁵⁹²

The evidence of Heminge and Condell in their address 'To the Great Variety of Readers' is that Shakespeare's 'writings' in the first folio are 'as he conceiued them', and no longer the 'diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious imposters'.⁵⁹³ This does not indicate which plays were thus described, nor the method by which 'stolne' or 'surreptitious' copy of Shakespeare's plays might have been obtained - from a (complete or incomplete) collection of actors' parts, or from a playhouse prompt book, or Shakespeare's manuscript or foul papers, with or without the kinds of revisions noted by Ippolito on other contemporary plays. All of these would be 'copies' of the written word, or indeed memorial reconstruction of performances by actor-reporters, which would be returning the spoken medium of performance to a written medium. The quotation does share the concept of 'stealth' with Chapman's complaint. It is unfortunate that Heminge and Condell are not clearer. It is assumed here that Heminge and Condell's line is not merely promotional in intent, though that possibility does exist; the folio contains different versions of around half the plays, so the statement by Heminge and Condell may function to forestall any contemporary complaint about the folio plays being different from earlier editions, and to ensure that potential readers believe the purchase of every one of the plays in such a collection was worthwhile (including *Othello*, regarded as a piracy by Weiner).

Later still, Humphrey Moseley, in his address to the reader before the 1647 folio of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, assured those readers that they would read 'All that was Acted, and all that was not; even the perfect full Originalls without the least mutilation'. He explained that some actors had supplied plays to their friends, transcribing what they acted (presumably their 'part'). This would

⁵⁹¹ Wells and Taylor, *Textual Companion*, 27.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, 23-5. It is perhaps unsurprising that the O.E.D. records that the first use of the noun 'plagiarism' was in 1621.

⁵⁹³ Alexander, *The Complete Works*, xxvii.

suggest that some copying went on; Werstine wonders whether multiple texts through such copyings were not unusual.⁵⁹⁴ It is interesting to note that copying of *The School for Scandal* nearly two centuries later has resulted in 'at least 20 contemporary manuscripts' and '45 or more editions... before 1830' surviving.⁵⁹⁵

Thus to 'write downe', or learn 'by heart', copy 'onely by the eare' or 'by stenography' a play, and the copying or transcribing of the actor's part, are all methods suspected or known by some Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights and printers, and the concept of 'stolne' copy appears to exist. This seems generally supportive of the existence of piracy and of copying from scripts, though not specifically of memorial reconstruction.

An analogy with pirating in England can be found in the Golden Age of Spanish literature. Fred M. Clark, in *Objective Methods For Testing Authenticity And The Study of Ten Doubtful Comedias Attributed to Lope de Vega*,⁵⁹⁶ sees the authorship of plays of doubtful authenticity resulting from three factors in Spain: the lack of copyright protection, a publisher's attribution of the name of a famous playwright to a play of a lesser writer in order to promote sales, and to the collaborative efforts of two or three authors. He notes that a playwright then could even take a play of a known author, rewrite it in part, and consequently take the credit for its composition and profit. Clark comments that the manuscripts of *comedia* might be used and altered so much they could no longer be attributed to the original author; the censor might intervene, or the theatre manager might modify a script to become an acting copy, or it might be passed from hand to hand, and someone would copy off the parts, for example.⁵⁹⁷ This, however, would not be memorial reconstruction, because the changes are occurring to a *written* script; this is different from Greg's definition of a 'process of transmission which involves the memory' which underlies reporting and memorial reconstruction.⁵⁹⁸

Much of what Clark outlines is confirmed by the playwright Lope Felix de Vega Carpio himself (1562-1635). He produced his first play c. 1593, and ten years later is complaining about the pirating of his plays, and their inaccuracy in the written version. Hugo Albert Rennert in his *Life of Lope de Vega*⁵⁹⁹ reports on volumes of de Vega's plays published in 1620 and 1621 which feature a prologue entitled

⁵⁹⁴ Werstine, 'Narratives about Printed Shakespeare Texts', 85.

⁵⁹⁵ F.W Bateson, editor, *The School for Scandal* by Richard Brinsley Sheridan (London: A& C Black, 1995), xl.

⁵⁹⁶ Fred M. Clark, *Objective Methods For Testing Authenticity And The Study of Ten Doubtful Comedias Attributed to Lope de Vega* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971).

⁵⁹⁷ Clark, *Objective Methods*, 13-14.

⁵⁹⁸ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 10.

⁵⁹⁹ Hugo Albert Rennert, *The Life of Lope de Vega* (Glasgow: Gowans & Gray Ltd., 1904).

El Teatro à los Lectores, including the comment: 'The author of these comedias is fulfilling the promise he made by publishing those which come into his hands, or to his feet, begging for correction'.⁶⁰⁰ In his Prologue to *Decimaseptime Parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio...* Lope de Vega explains that the theatre is 'weary of the complaints of managers of companies who say that *their comedias are printed to the injury of their property*'. Legal proceedings were twice taken up against booksellers, because writers were offended 'to see so many strange *coplas* and so many absurdities concerning the ill understood plots and histories'.⁶⁰¹ This demonstrates the poor state of some publications in Spain, and that some texts were recognised as corrupt. As a result Spanish writers were allowed to make corrections, and new imprints were more accurate. The different practices which could lead to these 'injured' plays include theatrical managers stealing a play from one another, and 'a play running the gauntlet of villages, servants, and men who live by stealing them and adding to them', with the result that the play is 'so disfigured as to be scarcely recognisable'.⁶⁰² It appears too that an actor owning a play which the public had received well would not wish to part with the original, but for a financial consideration would allow another play to be written up with the same plot and situations.⁶⁰³ Lope de Vega, dedicating *Los Muertos Vivos* to the successful poet Salucio del Poyo, gives further information when he explains that because Poyo has a good reputation:

theatrical managers, when they have any comedia whatever, with the author of which they are not satisfied, adorn their placards with your name, and since most of these comedias, being written by some ignorant fellow, are so detestable, you would lose reputation among those who know, if the injury to you did not reach those that esteem you at the same time as its discovery.⁶⁰⁴

However, these practices are not principally memorial reconstructions.

⁶⁰⁰ Rennert, *The Life of Lope de Vega*, 287. One inference must be that Lope de Vega did not own or possess all his plays, suggesting Spanish playwrights, like English playwrights of Shakespeare's time, also handed over the play and copyright to the theatre company; the fact that he wrote at least 1500 plays makes it even less surprising that de Vega did not have control of all of them.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 291.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, 294.

⁶⁰³ This information is attributed to Hartzbusch: *Comedias Escogidas de Lope de Vega*, (Bib. de Autores Esp.) vol IV: xxiii, (Rennert, *The Life of Lope de Vega*, 292n).

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 294.

It is in another Prologue, to *Trezena Parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio*... in 1620 that de Vega refers to the *memoriones*, whom Taylor and Maguire also describe.⁶⁰⁵ Lope de Vega comments on 'the stealing of comedias by those whom the vulgar call - the one *Memorilla*, and the other *Gran Memoria*, who with the few verses which they learn, mingle an infinity of their own barbarous lines...'. This would appear to resemble what is understood by memorial reconstruction in England. Rennert also quotes Cristobal Suarez de Figueroa describing a young man who could apparently recite entire comedia after hearing them three times.⁶⁰⁶ Learning by heart still occurs today (for example in societies where knowing the Koran well is expected), though if the young man could achieve such a recitation after three performances it is impressive. *El mayor alcalde, el rey* (*The King, the greatest Alcalde*), by Lope de Vega, is approximately 2410 lines; remembering the whole accurately would seem demanding.

Yet if this young man and other *memoriones* could reproduce comedia so accurately, then their versions would not need the correcting de Vega refers to. In fact, de Vega himself doubts the existence of such a skill. His Prologue to *Trezena Parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio*... continues by offering the reader the corrected version of his plays with this additional comment:⁶⁰⁷

... you may not believe that there is anyone in the world who can take down a comedia from memory, on seeing it represented; and if there were such a person I should praise him and see him as standing alone with this power.⁶⁰⁸

Figueroa's account and de Vega's apparently disagree. However, it does seem that some Spanish plays which were plagiarised comprised an element of learning by heart and substantial invention by the plagiariser; these created new texts of the type de Vega complained about and, very loosely, resemble a memorial reconstruction. That there was a degree of corruption in such stolen texts is proved by José Ruano de la Haza, who compared a manuscript of de Vega's with a printed version. The changes include for example a less inspiring text, one that is shorter, omits the breadth of imagery, and simplifies characters and plot.⁶⁰⁹ Thus the records of such practices in Spain do appear to bear a resemblance to the postulated practices of English theatre managers, actors, and publishers. Two kinds of plagiarism existed there: firstly a text might be partly rewritten and claimed

⁶⁰⁵ Wells and Taylor, *Textual Companion*, 23, and Maguire, *Shakespeare's suspect texts*, 105.

⁶⁰⁶ Rennert, *The Life of Lope de Vega*, 176.

⁶⁰⁷ Oddly, Gary Taylor omits the last four clauses (writer's italics), although they directly follow the quotation he offers (Wells and Taylor, *Textual Companion*, 23).

⁶⁰⁸ Rennert, *The Life of Lope de Vega*, 272.

⁶⁰⁹ Maguire, *Shakespeare's suspect texts*, 106.

as the rewriter's, or adapted and interpolated so often it was very different from the original, and, secondly, due to the *memoriones*, a play might be heard, partly or substantially written down from performance(s) and patched up.

Lope de Vega is explicit, vocal and critical of such practices affecting his work in at least four prologues. But there are no accounts of *memoriones* in England, or of the borrowing of plots, which significantly weakens the analogy. Q1 *Hamlet* did appear with Shakespeare's name on the title page. Q2 *Hamlet's* title page states 'Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppie'; some may infer this means Q1 was not the 'true coppie', but the difference between the two could be abridgement, adaptation or revision, the 'enlarge[ment]' of the title page in Q2. The formulaic nature of the phrasing does not indicate anything out of the ordinary regarding Q1; at best, it does not exclude Q1 as a memorial reconstruction. Heminge and Condell's comment in the first folio about 'stolne' copies is made on behalf of Shakespeare, not by Shakespeare - a contrast with de Vega, and Heywood. If Heywood could complain, why not Shakespeare, especially if as is alleged several of his plays were pirated?

7.iii Analogies: *The Duenna* and *The School for Scandal*

Duthie offers two accounts of reconstructions of English plays. The two men responsible for these, Tate Wilkinson and John Bernard, employed methods Duthie considers 'similar to those we can assume in memorial reconstructions of the Elizabethan period'.⁶¹⁰ Their methods are therefore critical to understanding how Duthie and others considered memorial reconstruction might have occurred.

The first play is *The Duenna*, by Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816). Wilkinson constructed a version of his own, which was first performed on Easter Monday, 1776. His own account states that he 'saw it several times', locked himself up in a room, set down first the jokes he remembered, then 'laid a book of the songs' before him, and 'with magazines kept the regulation of the scenes', and 'by the help of a numerous collection of obsolete Spanish plays', produced 'an excellent opera'.⁶¹¹ *The Duenna* is a three act comic opera, with a combination of successful songs from other composers, some traditional ballads, and new compositions by Thomas Linley the elder and his son, Thomas Linley the younger. The existence of a book of the songs and other relevant material must have been of considerable assistance; certainly they would provide a substantial amount of written text, so that Wilkinson did not have to depend only upon his memory. His reconstruction was therefore

⁶¹⁰ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 37.

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

- intended and planned for performance;
- reconstructed only by him;
- based in part upon written materials he had access to, and
- followed several documented viewings of *The Duenna*.⁶¹²

The second account is fuller, and is actor John Bernard's description of his 'compilation' of Sheridan's *School for Scandal*. His reason for compiling it was that the play had already been successful in Bath, but the play was not published and the copies which did exist had been obtained on the condition that they were not permitted 'to become the parents of others', i.e. they were not to be copied. However, like Wilkinson, the motive was performance; Bernard offered to recreate the play specifically for performances in Exeter, and would ensure his compilation was destroyed after the run. Bernard was in a fortunate position for this; he had played three different roles, Sir Benjamin, Charles Surface and Sir Peter Teazle. Two fellow actors provided him with their parts by post, which means that Bernard was also given some written materials; these were the roles of Joseph Surface and Sir Oliver. Bernard's wife had also played two parts, Lady Teazle and Mrs Candour. 'Old Rowley was in the company' (Bernard's words) presumably means that Rowley's part was also accessible. Each of these eight roles is a major one. Additionally, Bernard comments on his 'general knowledge of the play collected in rehearsing and performing it above forty times'.⁶¹³ Consequently he was able to reconstruct the five act comedy in about a week. Although Bernard was provided with two written parts and presumably some context for them, the majority of his reconstruction is from memory.

The number of roles he had access to is important. The eight roles from which he could draw are eight out of the ten largest parts, on a simple line count; six of the eight roles are the biggest in the play. In total, Bernard had played or had access to 78.09% of the 3128 lines in the play, or nearly four fifths of the text. This begins to sound like a thoroughly plausible 'memorial reconstruction'.

Table 7.b overleaf shows the number of lines belonging to each actor, and the percentage of the play for each role. Italics are used to indicate the roles known to Bernard through his own acting or through his wife and friends.⁶¹⁴

⁶¹² Bracy reports Crompton Rhodes' opinion that Tate Wilkinson's 'excellent opera' was 'an inferior, almost illiterate, paraphrase from first to last, the songs alone being the genuine text of Sheridan' (R. Crompton Rhodes, 'The Early Editions of Shakespeare: *The Duenna*' (*Times Literary Supplement*: 17th September 1925), 599, in Bracy, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 49).

⁶¹³ Linguistically this is ambiguous; it could mean rehearsing an unspecified number of times, and, separately, performing it above forty times, or a total of above forty rehearsals and performances altogether.

⁶¹⁴ The text used is from Ernest Rhys' edition of Sheridan's *Poetry and Drama* (London: J. M. Dent, 1909); the line count is the writer's.

Table 7.b *The School for Scandal*: characters, and the length of their parts

Character	Number of lines/3128	Number of lines as a %
<i>Sir Peter*</i>	<i>530</i>	<i>16.94</i>
<i>Joseph Surface</i>	<i>399</i>	<i>12.76</i>
<i>Charles Surface</i>	<i>376</i>	<i>12.02</i>
<i>Sir Oliver Surface</i>	<i>362</i>	<i>11.57</i>
<i>Lady Teazle</i>	<i>300</i>	<i>9.59</i>
<i>Rowley</i>	<i>189</i>	<i>6.04</i>
Lady Sneerwell	181	5.79
<i>Mrs Candour</i>	<i>164</i>	<i>5.24</i>
Crabtree	135	4.32
<i>Sir Benjamin</i>	<i>123</i>	<i>3.93</i>
Moses	71	2.27
Maria	70	2.24
Snake	69	2.21
Careless	63	2.01
Trip	34	1.09
Sir Harry	32	1.02
Servant	15	0.48
Gentleman 1	6	0.19
Gentleman 2	4	0.13
Maid	4	0.13
All	1	0.03
Bernard + fellow actors		Total: 78.09%

*Characters available to Bernard for his 'memorial reconstruction' are emboldened and italicised.

A relevant issue to understanding this reconstruction must be how many of the scenes of the play any of the characters appeared in; logically, recreating a scene during which an actor is resting backstage and has not had to learn his own lines nor the cues from other actors is more difficult than

reconstructing one in which an actor has had to learn his lines and his cues. Table 7.c lists all the scenes of the play, and which of the eight critical characters are present. While act III scene ii has only one of those actors present, every other scene has at least two of the characters, and for more than half of the scenes three or more actors.

Table 7.c *The School for Scandal*, and the presence of any of the eight known characters in each scene (NB all scenes are included)

Act	Character(s) present
I i	Joseph Surface, Mrs Candour, Sir Benjamin
I ii	Sir Peter, Rowley,
II i	Sir Peter, Lady Teazle
II ii	Mrs Candour, Joseph Surface, Sir Benjamin, Sir Peter Teazle, Lady Teazle
II iii	Sir Oliver Surface, Rowley, Sir Peter Teazle, Sir Oliver Surface
III i	Sir Peter Teazle, Sir Oliver Surface, Rowley, Lady Teazle
III ii	Sir Oliver
III iii	Charles Surface, Sir Oliver Surface
IV i	Charles Surface, Sir Oliver Surface, Rowley
IV ii	Sir Oliver Surface, Rowley
IV iii	Joseph Surface, Lady Teazle, Sir Peter Teazle, Charles Surface,
V i	Joseph Surface, Sir Oliver Surface, Rowley
V ii	Mrs Candour, Sir Benjamin, Sir Oliver Surface, Sir Peter Teazle, Rowley
V iii	Joseph Surface, Sir Oliver Surface, Charles Surface, Sir Peter Teazle, Lady Teazle, Rowley

John Bernard's account is detailed enough for the mechanics of his reconstruction to be understood, for the memorial element to be evident, and for the reconstruction to be convincing, because

- he offers motive for that reconstruction;
- he had access to 78.09% of the lines through fellow actors, through eight roles, and some of these were written materials;
- at least one of those fellow actors was present in every scene, and
- rehearsals and performances were over forty, plenty of time to learn roles thoroughly.

Bracy, while not offering any analysis or percentages as above, gives it as his opinion that a 'reasonably good text' might be achieved through repeated participation or attendance at regular performances.⁶¹⁵

How similar are the memorial reconstructions described by Wilkinson or Bernard to what is suggested for *Hamlet*? The motive for recreating *Hamlet* is uncertain. Pollard at one point suggested 'arranged piracy at the instigation of a London Stationer', though he later changed his mind.⁶¹⁶ R. Crompton Rhodes theorised that 'certain players turned strollers, profiting by the accidental retention of their parts, and reconstructing the rest from memory, made prompt-books for the companies they joined'.⁶¹⁷ Duthie did comment that a surreptitious copy of a prompt-book might occur, but that the time needed for copying would render discovery certain. Besides, such copying should present a sound copy, which is not an apt description of Q1's relationship with Q2 or a likely abridgement of it.⁶¹⁸ Gary Taylor considers actors with the greatest motive for preparing such a text would be those 'with no economic or personal loyalty to the company'. These might be major actors who have moved to another company, or 'hired men', freelancers,⁶¹⁹ a point also made by Hibbard: 'A hired player who was eventually discharged after serving the purpose for which he had been engaged, would be exactly the sort of man to join another company, and to concoct a version of *Hamlet* for that company to put on'.⁶²⁰ Hibbard, summarising, considers that Duthie 'showed beyond all reasonable doubt' that Q1 is reported and put together 'for, in all probability, a band of actors playing outside London'.⁶²¹ 'Probability' here denotes an educated guess, not certainty. Maguire sees the 'raison d'être of reconstruction' as 'performance, with publication very much an afterthought',⁶²² which is also effectively Jenkins' position,⁶²³ though Chapman and Heywood seem to assume publication. The motive for creating a memorial reconstruction of *Hamlet* might have been to provide a version for touring in the provinces, or perhaps to make a profit from the printing of the play, though that conflicts with the apparently legitimate printing of the text. A profit for the players is unlikely; Peter

⁶¹⁵ Bracy, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 51.

⁶¹⁶ Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, 198.

⁶¹⁷ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 34.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁶¹⁹ Wells and Taylor, *Textual Companion*, 27.

⁶²⁰ Hibbard, referring to the work by T.J. King (unreferenced) (Hibbard, *Hamlet*, 77).

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*, 76. This ignores Q1's title page and the statement that 'it hath beene diuerse times acted by his Highnesse seruants in the Cittie of London'.

⁶²² Maguire, *Shakespeare's suspect texts*, 104.

⁶²³ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 20.

Blaney notes that 'printed plays never accounted for a very significant fraction of the trade in English books'.⁶²⁴ Profits from touring or printing are both speculations; some of those audiences in the 'provinces' were, after all, accustomed to the cycles of the Mystery plays and did not necessarily require a simpler, shorter version, and the act of 'pirating' a play to a printer might not render the pirate(s) popular with the theatre manager, playwright or fellow actors. Some discussion has considered whether the short texts were adapted for the needs of touring companies. However, Gerald Johnson concluded after studying *Merry Wives* that it is 'unlikely that the quarto text was deliberately adapted for a reduced company'.⁶²⁵ When Scott McMillin examined Q1 *Hamlet* he suggested ten men and three boys were required, one player more than for Q2, simply because the longer version with more dialogue provides more time for actors to change clothes and role.⁶²⁶ Certainly motive remains speculative, in comparison with *The Duenna* and *The School for Scandal*.

Which actors might have been responsible for the reconstruction? Widgey suggested 'Voltemar' was the actor involved in the reconstruction.⁶²⁷ Herford, who received a joint Harness prize with Widgey that year, claims the S.R. entry is of a *Hamlet* 'taken from notes of the performance - the lacunæ being to some extent filled up afterwards from memory'.⁶²⁸ Gray suggested 'Marcellus' and perhaps 'Lucianus'; John Dover Wilson suggested both those roles, plus a 'Player', the 'Second Gravedigger', the "'churlish" Priest', the 'English ambassador', and thought the same actor⁶²⁹ might

⁶²⁴ Peter Blaney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', edited by John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan, *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia Press, 1997), 385.

⁶²⁵ Irace, *Reforming the 'Bad' Quartos: Performance and Provenance of Six Shakespearean First Editions* (Newark: University of Delaware Press. London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1994), 151.

⁶²⁶ Irace, *Reforming the 'Bad' Quartos*, 152.

⁶²⁷ Widgey appears to contradict himself in his Harness Essay. He states: 'The speech of Voltemar in Act II sc ii is suspiciously correct: he may also have taken the part of the player king' (138). Widgey believes that Nicholas Ling 'got the player who took the part of Voltemar to get a hurried transcript of Shakespeare's older play: that he sent pirates into the theatre to take shorthand notes of the first two acts in order to give this stolen transcript a more colourable likeness...' (139-40). Yet by page 175 Widgey writes of reading Q1 and later Q2: 'that we are viewing a continuous growth and evolution will be borne in upon us...the first quarto [is] the spiritual father of the second'. It would seem Widgey blends memorial reconstruction, copying and revision in his essay, but because he identifies the similarity in Voltemar and Voltemand's speeches, he is attributed with the suggestion of the actor for that role participating in the reconstruction (Widgey, *The First Quarto of Hamlet*).

⁶²⁸ Herford, *The First Quarto of Hamlet*. 1603, 9.

⁶²⁹ Wilson calls him the 'traitor-actor' (J. D. Wilson, *The Tragedie of Hamlet Prince of Denmark* (Weimar: Cranach Press, 1930. British Library reference C.100.1.16), 174).

also be present sometimes as a super or extra.⁶³⁰ Irace also sees the actor for the Prologue as a possibility.⁶³¹ Strikingly, none of these eight are major roles. They are, however, carefully chosen by a range of scholars as the roles where the correlation between the speeches in Q1 and Q2 is closest; where there is least 'fluctuating correlation', as Irace might put it. Hibbard writes that 'the basis for this theory is the demonstrable fact that these two parts [of Marcellus and Lucianus] are rendered with considerable fidelity to the authentic [Q2] text - Lucianus being almost word perfect ...' (Hibbard does not draw attention to the fact that Lucianus has a mere six lines, nor discuss just how useful or otherwise 'Lucianus' might be in remembering a whole play of over 4000 lines.⁶³²) The next two tables show the percentages of the lines in the play that these minor characters learnt.⁶³³ The first table, 7.d, gives the percentages as part of Q1 and shows that the 'largest' of the parts suggested is that of Marcellus, who has 2.79% of the lines. If the actors for all those parts worked together they would still originally have learnt only 5.94% of Q2's lines. (NB It has not been proposed, and is not proposed here, that all those actors jointly compiled a version of *Hamlet*; the prospect is offered solely to demonstrate the most favourable terms for the argument concerning the hypothetical memorial reconstruction of *Hamlet*.)

Gary Taylor does comment that the different quality of texts like Q1 and Q2 *Hamlet* may be due to the number engaged in the reconstruction and their parts.⁶³⁴ If it is thought that there were more actor/reporter(s) involved, some discussion of who and how might build up a more believable hypothesis.

Table 7.d is a generous way of calculating what those actors might have brought to the play. Since Q1 is supposedly a memorial reconstruction of Q2, the numbers of lines are more accurately assessed as percentages of Q2's 4056 lines. Table 7.e shows the same players' parts as a proportion of Q2. Since Q2 is a considerably longer version of the play the percentages are smaller, and indicate that the same group of actors would only have been familiar, if working all together, with

⁶³⁰ Wilson, *The Copy for Hamlet*, 22. Wilson did not seem to support such a 'chase after the Hamlet pirate of 1603' by 1934 (John Dover Wilson, *The Manuscript of Shakespeare's Hamlet* vol I (Cambridge: The University Press, 1934), xvi).

⁶³¹ Irace, *Reforming the 'Bad' Quartos*, 119.

⁶³² Hibbard, *Hamlet*, 76.

⁶³³ The number of lines for each play is taken from Irace's edition of Q1 *Hamlet* (Irace, *Hamlet*, 2); the actual line count against each actor is taken from Irace's edition and from Thompson and Taylor's Q2 *Hamlet*. Those concerned with 100% accuracy may argue that to mix two scholars' line counts is not sufficiently precise, but the results will vary minimally and are unlikely to vary as much as 1%, and even a 5% variation would not affect the conclusions.

⁶³⁴ Wells and Taylor, *Textual Companion*, 27.

Table 7.d Q1 *Hamlet* and the lines for suggested actors responsible for memorial reconstruction

Characters	Number of lines/ 2,221 (Q1)	Number of lines as a % of total
Marcellus	43 +3 + 7 + 5 + (4) = 62	2.79
Voltemar	1 + 21 = 22	0.99
Lucianus	6	0.27
<i>First Player</i>	18+ 3 = 21	0.95
<i>Prologue</i>	3	0.14
<i>Second Clown (gravedigger)</i>	9	0.4
<i>Priest</i>	6	0.27
<i>First (English) Ambassador</i>	3	0.13
	Total 132	Total 5.94%

() denotes lines are shared with another character

Italics denote actor-reporters briefly considered to have contributed to memorial reconstruction by J. D. Wilson only

a mere 2.32 %⁶³⁵ of the lines they needed to recall. One obvious objection to this method of calculation is again that each actor would be familiar with the line which cues his speech turn. This is especially significant for Marcellus, who has nearly thirty single lines or half lines to utter; Shakespeare uses stichomythia for much of the scenes where Marcellus is speaking, and indeed also for the Second Clown/Man. Even if the percentages were generously doubled to include every cue each actor needed to learn, the total number of lines the putative reporters would have learnt is still about one in twenty or 5%.⁶³⁶ A comparison with the figures and method for *The School for Scandal* illustrates rapidly the difficulty of memorial reconstruction for the proposed actor/reporter(s) of *Hamlet*. A second objection might be that the actors were perhaps not recalling lines from Q2, but from an abridgement or adaptation, since Q2 is about four playing hours, thought to be too long for performance then. In the absence of the existence of any abridgement or adaptation no parallel calculations can be made, but the percentages are unlikely to change significantly.

⁶³⁵ 4.48% if all proposed 'actors' were included.

⁶³⁶ Or one in ten or 10% if all possible 'actors' were included.

Table 7.e Q2 *Hamlet* and the possible actors responsible for memorial reconstruction

Characters	Number of lines/4,056 (Q2)	Number of lines as a % of total
Marcellus	$43 + 2 + (4) + 8 + 7 + (2) = 66$	1.63
Voltemand	$(1) + 21 = 22$	0.54
Lucianus	6	0.15
<i>Player</i>	$48 + 2 = 50$	1.23
<i>Prologue</i>	3	0.07
<i>Second Man (gravedigger)</i>	17	0.42
<i>Priest</i>	13	0.32
<i>English Ambassador</i>	5	0.12
Actor-reporters	Total 94 (or 182)	Total: 2.32% (or 4.48%)

Italics denotes those actor-reporters who once were proposed but are no longer proposed

How many of the scenes do those characters appear in? Bernard had all *School for Scandal* scenes covered by his group of actors. The eight *Hamlet* roles are present for some or all of the time, mainly singly, in eight out of seventeen scenes (in Irace's Q1 scene division), and in eight out of twenty scenes in Q2. In other words, they are on stage for less than half the scenes of either quarto. Again, supporting tables are found overleaf, table 7.f for Q1 and table 7.g for Q2. The second table, table 7.g, demonstrates for example that none of the nominated reporting actors was on stage at all in act 4. The number of scenes when none of the eight roles is present is high, and presumably it must be assumed that the potential actor/reporter(s) is/are carefully listening from the side of the stage or just off stage, or, as Dover Wilson suggested, is/are supers. The absence of actor/reporters from whole scenes is not prominent in discussion. Duthie alludes to it when he comments that 'actors would be more efficient with their own lines than with other characters, and more efficient as a whole with scenes in which they appear than with others'.⁶³⁷ '[O]thers' is a masterly euphemism. Irace too expresses a logical expectation that an actor/reporter is likely to remember his own lines best because he is 'required to memorise' them, and certainly 'more accurately than the lines spoken by others on stage with him'.⁶³⁸ The absence of any actor/reporter on stage for other scenes merits discussion at the very least, and more than an implicit suggestion that, for example, supers supplied whole scenes.

⁶³⁷ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 134.

⁶³⁸ Irace, *Reforming the 'Bad' Quartos*, 117.

Table 7.f Q1, and the presence of any of the three (seven) actor/reporters in each scene (NB All scenes are listed)

Q1 Scene	Characters present	Q1 Scene	Characters present
1	Marcellus	10	-
2	Voltemar, Marcellus	11	-
3	-	12	-
4	Marcellus	13	-
5	Marcellus	14	-
6	-	15	-
7	Voltemar, <i>First Player</i>	16	<i>Second Clown, Priest</i>
8	-	17	<i>First Ambassador</i>
9	<i>First Player, Prologue, Lucianus</i>		

Table 7.g Q2, and the presence of any of the three (seven) actor/reporters in each scene (NB All scenes are listed)

Q2 Act and scene	Characters present	Q2 Act and scene	Characters present
1.1	Marcellus	3.4	-
1.2	Voltemand, Marcellus	4.1	-
1.3	-	4.2	-
1.4.	Marcellus	4.3	-
1.5	Marcellus	4.4	-
2.1	-	4.5	-
2.2	Voltemand, <i>First Player</i>	4.6	-
3.1	-	4.7	-
3.3	-	5.2	<i>(English) Ambassador</i>

Since there are major lacunae in the opportunities for the actor/reporters for *Hamlet*, and since Irace considers together the six plays which might be memorially reconstructed, a brief summary of the presence of actor/reporters in the five other plays is offered in table 7.h overleaf. The number of the proposed actor/reporters and the scenes in which they are present for some or all of the time has been added up, and is presented as part of table 7.h. The roles whose actors might have been

reporters are taken from Irace;⁶³⁹ two versions are offered for Q1 *Hamlet*, namely the group including those offered by Wilson in 1918 and the modern view represented by Irace.

Table 7.h A summary of one known and six alleged memorially reconstructed plays, showing the number of scenes in which the known or proposed actor/reporters appear.⁶⁴⁰
(Both Q1 and Q2 are included for comparative purposes).

Play	Known/proposed actors/reporters	Number of scenes where actors/reporters appear	Total number of scenes	% of scenes in which actors/reporters appear
<i>The School for Scandal</i>	Joseph Surface, Mrs Candour, Sir Benjamin, Sir Peter, Rowley, Lady Teazel, Mrs Candour, Sir Oliver Surface, Charles Surface	14	14	100
Q1 <i>Hamlet</i> (early 20 th C, inc. J. D. Wilson)	Marcellus, Voltemand, First player, Lucianus, Second Clown, Priest, First Ambassador	8	17	47
Q1 <i>Hamlet</i> (modern e.g. Irace)	Marcellus, Voltemand, Lucianus	6	17	35
Q2 <i>Hamlet</i> (early 20 th C, inc. J. D. Wilson)	Marcellus, Voltemand, Lucianus, Player, Second Man, Priest, English Ambassador)	8	20	40
Q2 <i>Hamlet</i> (modern, e.g. Irace)	Marcellus, Voltemand, Lucianus	6	20	30
<i>Henry V</i> *	Exeter, Gower, Pistol, Nym, Scroop, Governor, York	17	23	74
<i>Merry Wives</i>	Host, Falstaff, Pistol	15	23	65
<i>2 Henry VI</i>	Suffolk, Warwick, Dick the Butcher	16	23	70
<i>3 Henry VI</i>	Warwick, Clifford	16	28	57
<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> *	Romeo, Paris, Mercutio	17	24	71

*denotes Prologue present but not included as separate scene

⁶³⁹ Irace, *Reforming the 'Bad' Quartos*, chapter 6: *Memorial Reconstruction*.

⁶⁴⁰ Alexander's *The Complete Works* was used for texts 4 - 8 inclusive.

The plays which have Prologues are marked with an asterisk; these Prologues are not part of the scene count, but if those Prologues were included separately (i.e. as scenes in their own right) they would, obviously, bring down the percentage of scenes in which one or more of the actor/reporters are present for some or all of the time. *Hamlet* Q2 is included for comparison purposes only; there is no suggestion that it was memorially reconstructed.

Table 7.h demonstrates at a glance that the actors supposedly memorially reconstructing the Shakespearean 'bad' quartos had a much more challenging task than did John Bernard; it also demonstrates clearly that the situation for the actor/reporters recreating *Hamlet* Q1 was the least favourable of all six of those Shakespearean plays, especially in the modern version of memorial reconstruction outlined by Irace. It is noticeable that each of these Shakespearean plays has a significant number of scenes where none of the proposed roles for the actor/reporter(s) were present. Dover Wilson was perhaps recognising some of the difficulty with the general theory and its application to *Hamlet* Q1 when he proposed that supers were also further actor/reporters; otherwise, it must be assumed parts of the reconstructed Q1 Hamlet were 'remembered' by actors who were off stage. Duthie, who towards the beginning of his book saw Bernard's account as 'similar' to what must have happened for *Hamlet*, actually gives a rather different account by the end;

a memorial reconstruction... by an actor who had taken the part of Marcellus and perhaps another part or parts in the full play [the full Q2?] and who was able, when his memory failed, to write blank verse of his own... he had access... [to] the manuscript part of Voltemar, or a copy of that.⁶⁴¹

This is not a 'similar' scenario; Marcellus, a vague other actor who had taken 'another part or parts in the full play' and Voltemar's 'part' do not constitute the eight out of ten major parts that Bernard's team of co-reconstructors did. The case for *Hamlet* Q1 as a memorial reconstruction would be considerably strengthened if scholars addressed and resolved the issue of the composition of scenes where none of the proposed actor/reporters are present, perhaps by identifying more potential actor/reporters from other scenes, and bringing the method of reconstruction closer to that of *The School for Scandal*, the very play which Duthie saw as a 'similar' case, to explain how memorial reconstruction might come about. Duthie did of course retract his thoughts of memorial reconstruction for *King Lear* (1960), where he wrote that his '1949 theory [of a memorial reconstruction of *Lear* made by the whole company] had better be abandoned'.⁶⁴²

⁶⁴¹ Duthie. *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 273.

⁶⁴² Wilson and Duthie, *King Lear*, 131-2.

The last point of comparison concerns the frequency of performance. (There is no contemporary evidence for rehearsals, and speculation regarding this, and how many plays were being performed when, is omitted.) The lists of performances in Henslowe's *Diary* illustrate variety of performance first and foremost. A random selection of plays from five pages - 202 performances over two to three years - shows *Titus Andronicus* performed just three times in seventeen months, *Harey the vj* performed three times in seven months, *Tamberlaine* seven in twenty-nine months, with *The Jew of Malta* or *The Jew* performed seventeen times in twenty-five months. If seventeen performances occurred closely enough together and used the same actors one aspect of *The School for Scandals* recreation is nearly achieved. However, it is noticeable that Henslowe's *Diary* does not include runs of a play, which is where the greatest familiarity with the script is likely to occur. It would be interesting to know if there is any correlation between large numbers of known performances of a play and suspected memorial reconstructions; logically, frequent performance would indicate popularity as well as potential opportunity for memorial reconstruction. A *Hamlet* is mentioned just once in *Henslowe's Diary*, though Q1's title page of course boasts performances in Oxford, Cambridge, London and elsewhere.

The analogy of Bernard's recreation of *The School for Scandal* does not help the hypothesis of memorial reconstruction for Q1 *Hamlet*, certainly not with the selection of actors who have been proposed. The counterarguments are fourfold:

- the motive is difficult to establish, though this may be because of the passage of 400 years;
- the actors proposed as possibly responsible for the memorial reconstruction would have together learnt less than 6% of the total number of lines;
- the number of scenes those eight (the most favourable scenario) actors appear in are less than half of the total, and
- the evidence (this is extremely limited) suggests comparatively fewer performances, which were intermittent rather than in runs, and consequently there was less opportunity for actors to be as familiar with the roles.

Maguire has surveyed the evidence for memorial reconstruction in forty-one Elizabethan and Jacobean plays. Her conclusions, presented in summary form, see none of the plays she considered as 'unquestionably memorial reconstruction'. She concludes though that '[a] strong case can be made for memorial reconstruction' in *Merry Wives*, and *The Taming of a Shrew*, and '[a] case can be made for memorial reconstruction' for *Pericles* and *Hamlet*. She identifies as '[p]robably not memorial reconstruction' *1 Contention*, *Henry V*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of*

York.⁶⁴³ Her reasons are based on different criteria from those discussed above, and are considered below.

The general accuracy of Q1 when compared to Q2 - which is the approach those favouring memorial reconstruction take - does show a remarkably low level of identical lines, around 19.8%, and does confirm that the scenes in which the proposed actor/reporters were performing are those which most closely resemble Q2. The question remains whether that correspondence is due to memorial reconstruction or revision, or adaptation, or perhaps Weiner's theory of abridgement.

In his essay *Texts with Two Faces: Noticing Theatrical Revisions in Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3* Urkowitz writes of the 'dominant paradigm "memorial reconstruction" ...'.⁶⁴⁴ So far, this chapter indicates that the general theory of that 'dominant paradigm' for *Hamlet* is surprisingly weak. There is enough evidence to understand why the hypothesis of memorial reconstruction arose. There is clear evidence that there is noticeable correlation between the lines of the putative reporters in Q1 and Q2. Indeed, Irace concludes her chapter on memorial reconstruction with a confident certainty about the origins of four quartos - *Hamlet*, *Merry Wives*, *Henry V* and *Richard Duke of York*. Irace writes: the 'pattern of fluctuating variation' 'demonstrates that these four short quartos were reconstructed from the reporters' memories of the familiar longer versions'.⁶⁴⁵ However, what she actually demonstrates is a strong match between the selected reporters' roles in Q1 and Q2, not the *reason* for that strong match.

The practices described in Spain, whereby *memoriones* learnt a proportion of a play by heart after watching performances, and wrote that up with linking text, may seem to resemble the postulated reconstruction underlying Q1 *Hamlet* in general outline, but *memoriones* are not recorded as part of the English scene. The reconstructed Sheridan plays, which Duthie sees as similar to what would have happened with 'bad' quartos, offer detail, and suggest the efforts involved. Wilkinson's account showed that he depended substantially on written materials; Bernard's account is more relevant to memorial transmission. It is not assumed that Bernard's account of his compilation is the only kind of account that could be convincing. It is, however, demonstrable that Bernard had motive and opportunity which are not paralleled in the speculation about Q1 *Hamlet*'s theoretical reconstruction. The comparison between Bernard's reconstruction of *The School for Scandal* and the suggestions for Q1 *Hamlet*'s reconstruction demonstrate three substantial challenges to the would-be Q1

⁶⁴³ Maguire, *Shakespeare's suspect texts*, 324-5.

⁶⁴⁴ Urkowitz, Steven. 'Texts with Two Faces: Noticing Theatrical Revisions in *Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3*', edited by T.A. Pendleton, *Henry VI: Critical Essays* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 27.

⁶⁴⁵ Irace, *Reforming the 'Bad' Quartos*, 137.

'pirates', namely the minor roles - with few lines - played by the so-called actor/reporters, the few scenes they appear in, and a shortage of evidence for long runs or frequent performances for gaining familiarity with the scripts. These challenges are not fully addressed in the scholars' texts examined and cited, but must be significant issues in the memorial reconstruction theory. It is difficult not to conclude that alternative explanations need to be sought and evaluated for the similarities found in certain actors' roles in the two - or three - versions of *Hamlet*. There are genuine grounds for doubt, as well as doubters, for example Sams '[T]he entire theory should now at last be officially and formally abandoned',⁶⁴⁶ and Holderness and Loughrey: '[E]ven if the theory of memorial reconstruction is correct...',⁶⁴⁷ and Urkowitz *inter alia*.

The only evidence that Q1 is an early 17th century text is the reference to 'his Highnesse seruants' on the title page. Unfortunately, with Elizabeth dying in 1603 and Q1 being published in 1603 there is little room for the performances the title page boasts about. Instead, the external evidence of the title page generally, the scattering of complaints in contemporary documents, and the analogy of the memorial reconstruction of *The School for Scandal* do not support the hypothesis, although they do not remove its possibility, and none of them accommodates the proximity of Q1 to the French source. The question now becomes whether the evidence of the quartos themselves supports memorial reconstruction.

7.iv Duthie's arguments for memorial reconstruction

It is the character of Q1 itself which has initiated a search for an explanation other than Shakespeare's authorship of the play. Criticism of Q1 *Hamlet* begins to emerge in the same century as its rediscovery and has continued steadily in the 20th century.⁶⁴⁸ Yet scholars have not agreed about how extensively Shakespeare's hand can be detected in Q1. Boas declares that 'the bulk of the blank verse in the three later acts is, in my opinion, unmistakably pre-Shakespearean'.⁶⁴⁹ Dowden, however, writes that 'Shakespeare's hand can be discerned throughout the whole of the truncated and travestied play of 1603', and nothing 'looks pre-Shakespearean'.⁶⁵⁰ Meanwhile Duthie

⁶⁴⁶ Sams, *The Real Shakespeare*, 130.

⁶⁴⁷ Holderness and Loughrey, *Hamlet*, 8.

⁶⁴⁸ For example, epithets like 'marred and mangled' (W.W. Lloyd, in Furness, *Hamlet* vol II, 24); the 'enfeeblement of an idea' and 'the right words in the wrong order' (Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 23); it is 'a completely illegitimate and unreliable [quarto]', for it is 'full of synonyms, halting in metre, shaky in grammar, and deficient in sense' (Hibbard, *Hamlet*, 69, 72), and its 'incoherence', 'the essential corruption of Q1' (Thomas, 'Q1: First Version or Bad Quarto', 252, 255).

⁶⁴⁹ Boas, *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, xlix.

⁶⁵⁰ Dowden, *Hamlet*, xix.

finds it 'absurd that anyone could attribute it to Shakespeare'.⁶⁵¹ Duthie does perceive 'throughout Q1...the handiwork of someone connected with the theatre'.⁶⁵² These opinions point to a paradoxical situation; how can Shakespeare's style be defined when the actual lines which are definitely Shakespeare's cannot be incontrovertibly identified? The inclusion of Q1 and any other 'bad' quarto will alter his style from the style considered Shakespearean if Q1 and other 'bad' quartos are excluded.

There is a distinct lack of unanimity in the above opinions. It is, however, the alleged inferior parts of Q1 which are the basis of the arguments for the internal evidence that Q1 is a memorial reconstruction and which are now examined. Duthie's wide-ranging reasoning for that memorial reconstruction is reassessed: the alleged borrowings from *The Spanish Tragedy*, from other Shakespearean plays, blends of phrases from Q2, allegedly 'objectionable' pronouns, an insertion, and aural error. Irace's major study of the correlation between the supposed actor/reporter(s) and the accuracy of the scenes when they are present, and the identification by Maguire, Thomas and Hibbard of the less satisfactory aspects of Q1 *Hamlet* are also considered. While these scholars are by no means the only ones to discuss the grounds supporting the hypothesis, they do cover a very wide range of the reasons adduced to support it. For with the exception of Maguire, these scholars find the hypothesis utterly convincing⁶⁵³ and perceive many of the differences found between Q1 and Q2 as deficiencies on the part of (the memorial reconstructor of) Q1.

One of Duthie's key arguments involves *The Spanish Tragedy*. From Malone onwards its author, Thomas Kyd, has been linked to the phrases 'Hamlets' and the 'Kid in Æsop' in Nashe's Preface, and Malone's suggestion that Kyd was 'perhaps' the author of the 'early' *Hamlet*. It is therefore not surprising to find that Duthie proposes Q1 shows ten apparent borrowings from *The Spanish Tragedy*. These borrowings, Duthie claims, show parallels between lines in Kyd's play and Q1 in lines not present in Q2 or F1. Duthie argues that the memorial reconstructor had previously performed in *The Spanish Tragedy* and recalled these lines, because of similarities in the plots, and incorporated these into his memorially reconstructed *Hamlet*. Duthie's argument assumes that *The*

⁶⁵¹ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 91. Duthie even questions whether a memorial reconstructor is 'intellectually capable of reproducing' parts of Q2 and F, and refers to 'defective memory' (ibid., 52, 53).

⁶⁵² Ibid., 204.

⁶⁵³ Greg: 'the fullest and most detailed exposition...of the theory that the 1603 *Hamlet* is nothing but a memorial reconstruction of the complete version, upon which it is almost entirely dependent' (Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, ix); Hibbard: 'the most careful and thorough-going examination Q1 has ever been subjected to' (Hibbard, *Hamlet*, 96); Thomas: 'Duthie's convincing analysis' (Thomas, 'Q1: First Version or Bad Quarto', 255).

Spanish Tragedy must have preceded a *Hamlet*, and in the following discussion that assumption is respected.⁶⁵⁴

It is perhaps curious to advocate as Duthie does that the memorial reconstructor who cannot recall accurately more than 20% of Q2 *Hamlet* (or perhaps a non-extant abridgement of Q2) can nevertheless bring to mind some ten partial quotations from *The Spanish Tragedy*.⁶⁵⁵ It is especially peculiar when those quotations are not from any single role but from six different roles, several major: Isabella, Hieronimo (x 4), Bellimperia (x 3), Lorenzo (x 2), Balthasar and Castile. That the borrowings are from different roles does not appear to be mentioned. Duthie does not comment upon whether he assumed that the actor/reporter played one or more of these roles, merely that he 'borrowed' from them, or 'confused similar situations'.⁶⁵⁶ Examination of the ten putative borrowings shows that the verbal echoes are on two occasions limited to one word ('friends' or 'prevailed'), twice to two words ('drown' and 'tears', 'noble mate' and 'nobler mate'), three times to three words ('woe', 'grief', 'relief', 'like not [the]/[this] Tragedy', and 'to try [your]/[my] cunning'), once to four words ('And how for [this]/[that]?', 'Excellent', which occurs at a space of several lines), and once to five words ('I never gave you cause').

Several, arguably all, of these lexemes and phrases are commonplace. The five word quotation, 'I never gave you cause' is of course also used by Shakespeare in *Othello*, when Cassio exclaims to Othello, 'Dear General, I never gave you cause' (V.ii.302⁶⁵⁷), which weakens significantly the argument that it might be a memorial borrowing solely attributable to Kyd. Hamlet's 'I never gave you cause' could anyway be an echo of the French source - 'Ce n'est sans cause' (214) – it seems to be an idiom in both languages at that time. Are these lexemes otherwise as significant as the borrowings identified from Belleforest, which at some point is unquestionably a source? 'Woe', 'grief', and 'relief' in Kyd are a lexical set whose interconnectedness is obvious, particularly with the rhyme of 'grief' and 'relief'. But 'le malin esprit abuse', and 'melancholie' in Belleforest, 'spirit', 'devil', 'melancholy' in Q1, and 'de'il', 'melancholy', 'spirits,/Abuses' in Q2 are further lexical sets, with less

⁶⁵⁴ The date of *The Spanish Tragedy* is problematic; it is probably after 1582, when Thomas Watson's *Hekatompathia* was published, from which it adapts material, and definitely before its performance on 23 February 1592 (Mulryne, *The Spanish Tragedy*, xiv); this places it securely before the publication of Q1 in 1603, but in an ambiguous position in relation to the *Hamlet* mentioned by Nashe. There is no agreement, or unambiguous evidence, upon which came first. Bullough records E. E. Stoll's belief that *The Spanish Tragedy* was written first (Bullough, *Narrative Sources* vol VII, 17). Jenkins suggests the reverse (alluding to the so-called *Ur-Hamlet*) (Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 97).

⁶⁵⁵ See Appendix H for Duthie's ten quotations, given in full.

⁶⁵⁶ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 185.

⁶⁵⁷ Alexander, *William Shakespeare. The Complete Works*.

common vocabulary and are therefore arguably more persuasive as borrowings. Indeed, the ((in)direct) borrowings from Belleforest are more unusual and generally more convincing than nine of the ten allegedly taken from *The Spanish Tragedy*. Maguire comments on only two of Duthie's ten; she rejects those alleged parallels with *The Spanish Tragedy* as 'innocuous recollection', a considerable contrast with Duthie's identification of them as explaining how the memorial reconstructor recreated a *Hamlet* in Q1. Maguire requires '1) a run of lines, containing 2) distinctive vocabulary' for a borrowing to be proved'.⁶⁵⁸ Just how close a borrowing must be to be a clear and valid one is a matter of judgement, but nine of the ten alleged borrowings seem fragile as evidence, and the recurring vocabulary may be merely coincidental

The most promising and interesting of Duthie's parallels is the most problematic, and does hold some 'distinctive vocabulary', though not 'a run of lines'. It is the promise of the Queen in Q1, which Duthie sees as deriving from *The Spanish Tragedy*, but which chapter six shows could derive quite straightforwardly from *Les Histoires Tragiques*. The critical lines are repeated below, with additional discussion:

Les Histoires Tragiques.

Geruthe: 'je tiendray secrete, et ta sagesse, et ta gaillarde enterprnse' (222)⁶⁵⁹

Q1.

Queen: 'I will conceal, consent, and do my best,
What stratagem soe'er thou shalt devise' (11.97-8)

The Spanish Tragedy.

Bellimperia: 'I will consent, conceal,
And aught that may effect for thine avail,
Join with thee to revenge Horatio's death'.

Hieronimo: 'On then: and whatsoever I devise...'(IV.i.46-8)

Duthie confidently asserts that Q1 here is 'substantially an importation', from *The Spanish Tragedy*.⁶⁶⁰ Despite quoting (deliberately?) selectively twenty or so lines of Belleforest,⁶⁶¹ Duthie does *not* quote Geruthe's promise. Instead Duthie insists: 'As has already been noted, the last two

⁶⁵⁸ Maguire, *Shakespeare's suspect texts*, 165-6.

⁶⁵⁹ 'I will hold/keep secret both your wisdom/wise plan and your gallant/brave enterprise'.

⁶⁶⁰ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 196.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 197.

lines [here] contain not the words of Gertrude in any authentic version of *Hamlet*, but of Bellimperia in *The Spanish Tragedy*.⁶⁶² Regardless of Duthie's rather odd omission, Belleforest however offers enough in his 'chambre' or 'bedchamber' scene for the composer of Q1 to derive the sense of the quotation from the underlying French source, with no need for *The Spanish Tragedy*. It is worth stressing that the scene – in 'la chambre de la Royne' – is the one offering the largest proportion of borrowings in *Hamlet*. Several ideas are closely mirrored in Q1: the hiding of the counsellor (206, 11.2), the making safe of the chamber (206, 11.6), the Prince's determination to speak (210, 11.10), and the charge of murder directed at the new King (210, 11.40). Amleth refers to the ghost or 'ombre' of his father, while Q1's Ghost appears (214, 11.56); the Prince draws attention to the contrast between the two kings, and admits to seeming possessed by madness (214, 11.88); he comments on the 'infamie'/'infamy' of his mother (216, 11.47 and 11.94), and on his intention to take revenge (216, 11.93). Amleth asks his mother not to tell the King of his intentions, which she promises she will hold secret ('je tiendray secrete...': 218); Hamlet asks for assistance, and his mother volunteers to 'conceal and consent...' (11.93, 11.97).

Thus the accumulation of borrowing and the closeness to the French text proves there is enough in the French text to launch Q1's version and to explain Gertrude's promise. But the precise lexis 'conceal', 'consent', in conjunction with 'revenge' and 'devise' in Q1 and *The Spanish Tragedy* is disconcerting, the more so because in the latter Kyd is deliberately and emphatically repeating 'conceal' and 'consent'. Hieronimo requests that Bellimperia will 'give consent,/And will conceal my resolution...' which two lines later Bellimperia echoes: 'I will consent, conceal...revenge', with Hieronimo also using 'devise'. It is peculiar that Duthie gives an edited version of this from *The Spanish Tragedy* – did he knowingly suppress the repeated 'conceal' and 'consent'? Deliberate lexical repetition is not uncommon in Kyd, but the vocabulary is still remarkably close to Q1. Several explanations⁶⁶³ may be mooted (the possibility that Kyd's repetition is witty and intended to invite readers/listeners to recall a *Hamlet* should be included); certainty appears impossible. The inconvenience to Duthie's argument of the more prominent borrowings from Belleforest is underlined by his reluctance to endorse Giovanni Ramello's conclusion that the compiler(s) of Q1 consulted Belleforest,⁶⁶⁴ or that perhaps the reporter(s) remembered scenes in the old (i.e. *Ur-*) *Hamlet* which

⁶⁶² Ibid., 196.

⁶⁶³ Depending upon the scholar's beliefs, 'explanations' might include: Kyd wrote the alleged underlying *Ur-Hamlet*; this shows memorial reconstruction; Kyd borrowed from Shakespeare; Kyd borrowed from the hypothetical *Ur-Hamlet*; Shakespeare borrowed from Kyd, or Shakespeare wrote the first *Hamlet* from which Kyd then borrowed.

⁶⁶⁴ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 200.

were (supposedly) closer to Belleforest. By now the model of transmission Duthie is discussing might resemble:

Belleforest -> *Ur-Hamlet* -> Q2 -> Q1 (with borrowings 'involuntarily' or 'deliberately', from *The Spanish Tragedy*, and consultation of either Belleforest or *Ur-Hamlet*).

Or, in Duthie's own words, 'the reporter...remembered material from the Closet-scene in the old *Hamlet*... he then immediately proceeded, intentionally or involuntarily (by memorial confusion), to borrow a passage from *The Spanish Tragedy*.⁶⁶⁵ Duthie is ingenious, but the memorial reconstruction of Q1 alone does not account for his matched words.

Duthie also offers several examples of lexemes in Q1 which he sees as imported from other Shakespearean plays. *Henry V*, *3 Henry VI*, *Titus Andronicus*, or *King John*, for example, are all quoted to show how the reporter 'may have vaguely remembered',⁶⁶⁶ or quoted 'inaccurately',⁶⁶⁷ or experienced an 'association-link' with a different play.⁶⁶⁸ On nearly all occasions a single word is the trigger (for example 'possess' from *Titus Andronicus* or *King John* and 'unpardonable' from *3 Henry V*⁶⁶⁹). Perhaps. However, if an actor or reporter can recall lexis found in another play, it is surely possible that Shakespeare, the actual author, could have recalled such words, especially if they are appropriate to both contexts, and it is very likely that certain aspects of his idiolect will surface in the plays. Crystal and Crystal's *Glossary* shows that a relatively common word like those in the examples above can easily be found in more than one play (a random example, 'recommend', appears in *Coriolanus*, *Twelfth Night* and *Othello*⁶⁷⁰).

Duthie explores these borrowings from other Shakespearean plays in detail; they are a significant part of his case for memorial reconstruction. His approach is shown in his first example of the reporter 'borrowing (with modifications)' and refers to *Henry V*. In Q1 *Hamlet* the King is speaking: 'Therefore we doe desire, euen as you tender/Our care to him'(7.4-5), and later in Q1 the King says: 'Well sonne *Hamlet*, we in care of you: but specially/in tender preservation of your health...' (11.141-2). Q2's King speaks at IV.iii.39-40: 'Hamlet, this deed, for thine especial safety,/Which we do tender...'. In these three passages a small lexical set exists, of 'tender, care, (e)special(ly),

⁶⁶⁵ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 203.

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 128, 112.

⁶⁷⁰ David Crystal and Ben Crystal, editors, *Shakespeare's Words. A Glossary & Language Companion* (London: Penguin Books, 2002), 365. The text was not available to Duthie.

preservation', and because three recur in *Henry VII*.ii.57-8, where 'in their dear care/And tender preservation of our person' are found, Duthie is convinced of the reporter's 'vague recollection' of that extract from *Henry V*.⁶⁷¹ Yet in everyday life all people have set phrases and verbal preferences in certain contexts; even Shakespeare might draw upon a similar vocabulary to express a similar sentiment, as in these examples. At the very least we should consider that Shakespeare might be using words he himself has used elsewhere, particularly since the conventional dating for *Hamlet* c. 1600 places it after Duthie's suggested 'sources' (*3 Henry VI/ Richard Duke of York* (1591), *Titus Andronicus* (1592), *King John* (1596), *Henry V* (1598-9)).⁶⁷²

Another matter Duthie does not discuss (as with *The Spanish Tragedy*) is that the speaker in *Henry V* is the King, a quite significant role; can the reporter vaguely recollect words from a major role in a different play (which there is no evidence that he performed in) when he plays a minor role in *Hamlet* and cannot remember that precisely? In *3 Henry VI* the speech from which the reporter made an 'appropriation',⁶⁷³ belongs to Queen Margaret, not one of the two roles - Warwick and Clifford - associated with the theory of memorial reconstruction in that play. In *King John* it is the King's speech again. Duthie's argument regarding these lexemes is weak; Shakespeare could have 'borrowed' from his own texts, or rather, recycled his own vocabulary; the putative reporter does not remember entirely accurately the lines of either of the minor characters Marcellus or Voltmand, so recalling even 'vaguely' from major roles in other plays is hardly convincing, even if it cannot be declared impossible.

Another part of Duthie's recreation of how the actor/reporter worked rests on 'borrowed' lexis from Q2, lexis which is then, Duthie claims, reassembled differently in Q1. Thus where Q1 differs from Q2 but uses lexis found elsewhere in Q2 Duthie quotes the extracts and offers for example, '[a]lmost certainly the reporter had at the back of his mind a passage in...' to explain the difference and what Duthie describes as the reporter's 'confusion'. Duthie gives an example from Q1 7.6 when the King speaks to Rossencraft and Gilderstone: 'That you will labour but to wring from him'; this, Duthie thinks, is probably the reporter recalling Q2 I.ii.58-9 when Polonius says to the King: 'He hath, my lord, wrung from me my slow leave/By laboursome petition...'. But for Corambis' matching lines in Q1 the reporter only manages 'He hath, my lord, wrung from me a forced graunt...' (2.22), which is what Corambis says to the King. The reporter 'was influenced by a vague recollection of the full form

⁶⁷¹ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 93.

⁶⁷² Wells and Taylor, *Textual Companion*, 112-121.

⁶⁷³ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 112.

of this passage as found in Q2'.⁶⁷⁴ Yet anyone editing their own work is likely to reorganise ideas and sentences and word order. There is nothing distinctive enough about Duthie's examples to prove that memorial reconstruction is the only possible explanation.

Duthie gives several examples like this, and argues that the reporter uses 'various fragments gathered together from widely separated source-passages and woven into a complex metrical whole'.⁶⁷⁵ It is not impossible; perhaps a reporter could be so imbued with the language of the play that he would recall and blend elements. However, this and other examples are a series of echoes which could equally be explained by rewriting, whether for abridgement or revision. In one such 'gathering' of vocabulary Duthie is convinced; he sees the reporter producing Corambis' 'snares to intrap the heart' and being 'indebted' to Q2 for an image, specifically Polonius' reference to Hamlet's vows as 'springes to catch woodcocks' in Q2.⁶⁷⁶ But Belleforest offers 'filet' ('snare, trap' (204)) and 'atraper' (198), both of which are echoed in Q1, in a similar location in the plot, with Q2 less indebted to Belleforest, using only 'springes'. Where Duthie sees Q2 -> Q1, plot and vocabulary here shows Belleforest -> Q1 -> Q2.

Duthie's thorough acquaintance with both *Hamlets* and other Shakespearean plays is strikingly obvious. That the echoes he claims to identify are a result of memorial reconstruction rather than chance is possible but far from proved, for every characteristic he finds can be attributed to a different reason. Maguire comments upon the 'precarious' nature of the evidence of the repetition of one isolated word, even of one 'distinctive' word;⁶⁷⁷ such echoes and repetitions exist, but do not offer proof of their cause.

In his examination of Q1's scene 14 Duthie offers a different argument for memorial reconstruction: the 'misuse of personal pronouns'.⁶⁷⁸ (Scene 14 is substantially different from its Q2 equivalent; chapter six proposes that this is due to the French source.) Modern grammatical usage requires a pronoun to refer in case, number and gender to the antecedent which matches it. The scene Duthie discusses occasionally uses a pronoun to refer not to the immediately preceding noun, but to an earlier one, although the intended referents are clear.

Duthie's first example is the Queen's reply to Horatio. In these lines Horatio and the Queen are discussing Hamlet and the King, both third person singular masculine nouns. The subject pronoun

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid., 94.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., 95.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid., 114.

⁶⁷⁷ Maguire, *Shakespeare's suspect texts*, 169.

⁶⁷⁸ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 163.

'he', the object pronoun 'him' and the possessive determiner 'his' can therefore be used of either Hamlet or the King. Here 'he' denotes Hamlet, '**his/him**' the King. The sense is easily recovered from the context, but does not follow the modern 'rule'.

Horatio: ...He will relate the circumstance at full.

Queene: Then I perceiue there's treason in **his** looks
That seem'd to sugar o're **his** villanie:
But I will soothe and please **him** for a time,
For murderous minds are always jealous,
But know ye not *Horatio* where he is? (14.9-14)

Horatio uses the pronoun 'He' to refer to the preceding noun 'your son', in other words to Hamlet. The Queen's first four lines are effectively an aside to herself and the audience, alerting them to her watchfulness and intention to be vigilant regarding the King, who is the person on her mind. She does not name **him**; in natural speech she need not, in speaking to ourselves we might not, and besides by now the audience is cognisant of the King's 'murderous mind' and his targeting of Hamlet. That her first four lines are an aside is confirmed by the vocative ('*Horatio*') in the last line, where she turns her attention back to Horatio, and by how in her question she returns to the 'son'/man, Hamlet, 'he', whom Horatio has just mentioned. (On stage her aside can also be conveyed by her turning away from Horatio momentarily, probably facing the audience, and appropriately *not* confiding her suspicions of her husband and his king to Horatio.) As such, this is well-written, speech-like, completely comprehensible, and theatrically effective; the pronoun usage in the Queen's first four lines is hardly 'objectionable'.

But it is these lines that Duthie wishes to use as an analogy for his second example of 'faulty'⁶⁷⁹ pronoun usage, shortly afterwards (again, 'he' denotes Hamlet, '**his**' the King):

Queene: ...lest that he
Fail in that he goes about.

Horatio: Madam, neuer make doubt of that:
I thinke by this the news be come to court:
He is arriv'de, observe the king, and you shall
Quickely finde, *Hamlet* being here,
Things fell not to **his** minde.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., 163.

Queene: But what became of *Gilderstone* and *Rossencraft*?

Horatio: He being set ashore, they went for *England*... (14.20-26)

The pronoun 'he' of the Queen's first line refers anaphorically to her 'son'; Horatio's first pronoun usage is identical. When Horatio introduces the King – 'observe the king' – the text again holds two masculine singular nouns. 'Hamlet being here' functions grammatically as a non-finite subordinate clause (*SC*), which is separated from the main clause (*MC*) in which it is embedded by parenthetical commas, and consequently functions as an aside:

MC [you shall quickly find, *SC* (*parenthesis/aside*) [*Hamlet* being here],
SC (*unmarked finite noun clause*) [things fell not to **his** mind]]

Strictly speaking the use of 'his' is not modern, formal, written Standard English, but it is entirely understandable in its context, and far less clumsy than repeating the noun 'king' – '... observe the king, and you shall/ Quickly find, Hamlet being here./ Things fell not to the king's mind'.

Duthie argues a third instance, when, after the Queen's question about Gilderstone and Rossencraft, Horatio replies using that third person pronoun again. 'He being set ashore' now refers deictically (and semantically) to the man who accompanied Gilderstone and Rossencraft, not, as it would grammatically, to the King. The expectations of 'correct' pronoun usage that Duthie holds here are both a more modern standard than Shakespeare's, but are also those expected in written English. However, the playwright is attempting – and achieving - the naturalness of speech, where grammar is a little different (deixis is more common); moreover, non-verbal clues are expected on the stage. Duthie uses the apparent non-standard usage to argue for an interpolation in 'observe the king' (an exhortation to the audience as well); Duthie's argument rests on the 'faulty', 'objectionable' 'misuse' of pronouns in this scene.⁶⁸⁰ If he had not queried this, we might note instead that the playwright has mirrored the relative inexplicitness of speech in a context where the known concerns of the two speakers, and the nouns – 'sonne', 'king', and 'Gilderstone and Rossencraft' - clarify any ambiguity in pronouns that Duthie may notice. Even with Duthie's query the use of pronouns in all the examples is hardly problematic. Additionally, the playwright makes this demand upon his audience not at the beginning of the play where it might have been confusing but at a point where the audience's understanding can be assumed, and the speakers' concerns cannot be mistaken. Rather, these examples seem a sophisticated handling of several threads; what has happened to Hamlet, how the king is conducting himself, the Queen's suspicions of the King and her concerns for her son, and the hint that Gilderstone and Rossencraft are dead.

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 158-64.

One possible problem here (regarding ‘things fell not to his mind...’) is that Q1 appears to bury a rhyming couplet, ‘...finde...minde’:

...and you shall
Quickely finde, *Hamlet* being here,
Things fell not to **his** minde.

Indeed, Irace re-aligns this part of the text in her Q1 edition (1998) to disinter that rhyming couplet. It might have been a chance rhyme; it might have been a form of delayed internal rhyme (Shakespeare plays with these from time to time, for example in Sonnet 135), or it might have originated as a rhyming couplet, though that would have been more likely at the end of the scene. Because there are other quite reasonable explanations, neither rhyme or pronoun usage here prove memorial reconstruction in this scene.⁶⁸¹

Chapter five includes the suggestion that the comic passage exclusive to Q1, where Hamlet instructs the players on how their clowns should not perform, might help date the quarto. This passage Duthie discusses as a possible interpolation, but has considerable problems squaring the possible application of the lines and the dates.⁶⁸² It was Dover Wilson who suggested Tarleton was the target of the passage and even went so far as to place that part of *Hamlet* as written prior to Tarleton’s death in September 1588, for Wilson thought it would have been ‘old-fashioned’ to sneer at one who had died.⁶⁸³ If Q1 was the early *Hamlet*, the lines would have been relevant in the 1580s and 1590s, but after that Tarleton might well be forgotten as other comedians (like Kempe) became prominent, so the reference would be excised. Richard Tarleton was undoubtedly well known, the equivalent of a stand up comedian, extemporising with rhymed responses to subjects offered by drinkers. The responses appear to have been frequently obscene, scatological, provocative and anti-Catholic, and were sufficiently popular to have been gathered into *Tarleton’s Jestes*, the first part of which was in circulation in the 1590s, and the three part collection printed in 1611. But he was dead by 1589, so Duthie debates whether the lines referred to Kempe, a humorous interpolation made by the memorial reconstructor. That seems inappropriate when Kempe only returned to the company in 1602; it also makes the point at which the actor/reporter(s) reconstructed Q1 later than Kempe’s return. Duthie hesitates; he concludes the passage may have applied to general practices. The passage could be

⁶⁸¹ There is no comment in E. A. Abbott – *A Shakespearean Grammar* (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited., 1901) - or Blake – *A grammar of Shakespeare’s language* - about what Duthie argues is non-standard usage.

⁶⁸² Duthie, *The ‘Bad’ Quarto of Hamlet*, 232-7.

⁶⁸³ Wilson, ‘The Hamlet Transcript’, 1918, quoted in Duthie, *The ‘Bad’ Quarto*, 233.

an interpolation or a contemporary allusion later excised. Regardless, as Maguire comments, insertions such as Hamlet's injunction against the Clown's elaboration upon his own speeches are perfectly feasible, but not necessarily a 'reason to suggest memorial reconstruction'.⁶⁸⁴

There are also other alleged, minor 'insertions', like 'O'. Ofelia/Ophelia, for instance, in the 'nunnery scene' prefaces two, one line speeches with 'O' in Q1. But one matches that in Q2, which uses 'O' a second time elsewhere, and F1 uses all three 'O's, which argues against it being an actor/reporter's 'insertion', and 'O' is used in other plays of the period. In another example, Hamlet laments to his two 'kind schoolfellows' that man does not delight him, 'no, nor woman' either, while in Q2 the negative particle, 'no', is absent. But it *is* present in F. This variability points to the close relationship of the three texts, but not to such 'insertions' as proof of the memorial reconstruction of Q1. Maguire too notes the presence of such extra-metrical interjections found not just in Q1 but also in Q2 and F.⁶⁸⁵ Extra-metrical features might be attributed to an unpolished text or to the possible actor/reporter, but that requires the certainty that the playwright's aim was 100% metrical regularity (such as Alexander Pope achieves, varying occasionally only the opening iamb/trochee in his iambic pentameter in, for example, *The Rape of the Lock*). Ironically, the most famous line in Shakespeare lacks that metrical regularity in Q2 and F - 'To be, or not to be - that is the question' - but achieves it in Q1 - 'To be, or not to be; ay, there's the point'.

Thus 'insertions' are unreliable indicators; the same can be said of 'aural error'. The ear can be an uncertain instrument; it would not be surprising, if there were one person attempting to write down all he had heard, that an error is made. Q1 reads 'and must the honor lie there' (16.40), while Q2 reads 'and must the inheritor lie there' (5.1.105). Those who favour memorial reconstruction assume that the actor/reporter misheard 'honour'/'owner'. However, Maguire identifies the same error - 'homonymic' - in Massinger's *Duke of Milan* (1623, STC 17634), not a suspected memorial reconstruction.⁶⁸⁶ The two words 'honour' and 'owner' are not homophones in modern Received Pronunciation ('honor' begins with a short monophthong, 'owner' with a diphthong). The misremembering of the compositor slotting individual letters backwards into the letter stick is as likely a reason, the more so because the compositor probably looks at each word only once or twice, while the actor/reporter has presumably heard the play much more frequently, and, theoretically, should be more familiar with the meaning of the text.

⁶⁸⁴ Maguire, *Shakespeare's suspect texts*, 189.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 181.

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 198.

Duthie's exploration of the quartos is exciting and thoughtful, and it seems almost a discourtesy to question or counter each of his arguments. However, each point he makes can be explained differently, by the playwright's use of the French text, the breadth of his vocabulary as illustrated elsewhere in the canon, revision of a familiar text, a good theatrical knowledge of how an actor can signal though direction of gaze or other stage craft which 'he' he is referring to, an early contemporary allusion, and a possible error at the printer's. Irace's analysis, however, takes a different approach.

7.v Irace's analysis

Widgery noted that Voltemar's and Voltemand's speeches were almost identical, and therefore proposed the actor who had played Voltemand as the actor/reporter; Gray noted the similarity between Marcellus' and Lucianus' speeches in both quartos, and thus proposed that actor, who, it is assumed, doubled up the two parts. Irace's analysis in *Reforming the 'Bad' Quartos* confirms that these roles' lines correspond closely in the quartos, and adds the Prologue to the potential actor/reporter list, though that role is omitted later in her introduction to her Q1 *Hamlet* edition in 1998.⁶⁸⁷

Irace's analysis is both recent and thorough. She has counted the number of lines which, bar spelling, correspond between Q1 and Q2/F, and the number of lines where more than half the words correspond. She then separates these into lines spoken by a character, and overheard by a character (on the logical assumption that an actor will know his own role best, but will also be familiar with roles on stage with him). This confirms firstly that the four characters whose lines match most closely are Marcellus, Voltemar/Voltemand, Lucianus and the Prologue,⁶⁸⁸ and secondly that when these characters are on stage the number of Q1 and Q2/F lines which match is higher than when the four characters are off stage. These contrasting levels of correspondence she calls 'fluctuating correlation'. She presents tables demonstrating this for *Hamlet*, and for different roles in the five other 'bad' quartos.⁶⁸⁹ Her opinion is that there is an 'unmistakeable pattern of fluctuating correlation', which she argues is the 'strongest' of clues pointing to memorial reconstruction.⁶⁹⁰

The most striking correspondence is found in Voltemar and Voltemand's speech in scene 7 and act II scene ii, when he reports to the King on the outcome of his ambassadorial visit to the king of

⁶⁸⁷ This may be due to the absence of an 'exit' for the Prologue before the appearance of Lucianus, in Q1.

⁶⁸⁸ Irace, *Reforming the 'Bad' Quartos*, 118-119.

⁶⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 180-5.

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 114.

Norway, given as an example below. Their speeches of twenty-one lines are almost identical; it is unquestionably the part of the play where the two quartos are closest for longest. Q1 is offered on the left hand side, with Q2's variations on the right hand side; both speeches are taken from facsimiles of Q1 and Q2.

Q1	Q2
Most faire returnes of greetings and desires,	... returne
Vpon our first he sent forth to suppressse	... first, he
His nephews leuies, which to him appear'd	... Nephews appeared
To be a preparation gainst the Polacke:	... <i>Pollacke</i> , ...
But better look't into, he truely found	... lookt..... truly ...
It was against your Highnesse, whereat grieved	... highness greu'd
That so his sicknesse, age and impotence,	... sicknes impotence
Was falsely borne in hand, sends out arrests	
On <i>Fortenbrasse</i> , which he in briefe obays,	... breefe obeyes
Receiues rebuke from <i>Norway</i> . and in fine,	
Makes vow before his vncler, neuer more	... Vncler neuer ...
To giue the assay of Armes against your Maiestie,	... th'assay Maiestie:
Whereon olde <i>Norway</i> ouercome with ioy,	
Giues him three thousand crownes in annuall fee,	... threescore thousand ... anuall ...
And his Commission to employ those souldiers,	... employ
So leuied as before, against the Polacke,	... (as before) <i>Pollacke</i>
With an intreaty herein further shewne,	... entreatie shone
That it would please you to giue quiet passé	... might
Through your dominions, for that enterprise	... this
On such regardes of safety and allowances	... allowance
As therein are set downe.	
(Sig. D3 ^v 60-80)	(Sig. E3 ^v 60-79)

Spelling, punctuation, italicisation and morphology, not fully standardised at the time, account for all but two differences, the figure – 'three thousand' (Q1), or 'threescore thousand' (Q2) – and the

modal verb – ‘would’ (Q1) or ‘might’ (Q2). The correspondence of those twenty-one lines is exceptional in the two quartos. The speeches are very similar indeed.

Table 7.i shows another method of examining the correspondence of lines. It focuses on the accuracy of the putative actor/reporter(s). Only the scenes where Marcellus, Voltemar and Lucianus appear are assessed, and only that part of the scene where the character is on stage, if, as with Lucianus, the character’s presence is for only part of the scene. The lines which the actor/reporter(s) speaks and which correspond wholly to the lines in his role in Q2 are counted, and given as a figure out of total number of lines (for example, in scene 1, 41 out of Marcellus’ 52 lines match); the same is done for the lines which are overheard by Marcellus, Voltemar and Lucianus. The penultimate column indicates the percentage of lines which correspond in that scene or part of a scene, and the last column the percentage of lines that represents in the play as a whole. The final totals make two points:

1. the average level of Q1 lines corresponding to those in Q2 which are spoken and overheard by the actor/reporter(s) in these roles is 54%, and
2. the total percentage of the play that these scenes or part scenes represent in total is 23.2%.

This means that the theory of memorial reconstruction rests principally on how not quite a quarter of the play (23.2%) has just over half (54%) of its lines corresponding with Q2’s in the same scenes or part scenes.

Table 7.i The possible actor/reporter(s)’ contributions: corresponding lines in Q1

Scene	Marcellus Matches/ lines	Voltemar Matches/ lines	Lucianus Matches/ lines	Overheard Matches/ lines	% Matches	% Lines in play
1	41/52			44/88	67	5.9
2	3/3	0/1		51/91	52.9	4.6
4	3/6			29/53	54	2.6
5	1/5			31/69	43	7.5
7		19/21		2/6	77.8	1.2
9			5/6	4/25	29	1.4
					Average match 54	Total 23.2

There is no question about whether Irace has established which lines correspond in the plays. Her categories, as she describes them, are more complex than the simple, whole line correspondence used above (she also uses lines in which over half the words match). Several questions can be posed. Irace shows that there are closer correspondences to Q2 in the lines in one part of Q1 than in another - but does that correspondence prove the *cause* is memorial reconstruction? Why might it not be that the playwright is re-writing or revising the play and simply identifies those passages as satisfactory and in need of little change, while he considers other passages would gain from more significant changes? The theory of memorial reconstruction is used to explain the recreation of less than a quarter of the play; how are the other three quarters of the play, with a lower correspondence of lines, reconstructed? (Supers and listening backstage are too vague to prove or disprove, unless one really believes that 'a little listening at the stage-door after his exit would explain everything'⁶⁹¹.) If the actor/reporter(s) can only get just over half the lines 'right' in the scenes he/they were present in should we see that as explaining why so many other lines do not match, or as evidence that he/they were really not up to reconstructing the play from memory? And if at a distance of four hundred years it is possible to detect who might have 'reconstructed' a *Hamlet* play, would not the theatre company or Shakespeare have been capable of similar detection?

Another question must also be why in a couple of other scenes – that is, ones in which the alleged memorial reconstructors did *not* appear – a reasonable number of lines still match. Table 7.j shows that in Q1 scenes 3 and 13 have about a quarter of their lines 'right'. How would this have occurred? Memorial reconstruction needs to explain these anomalies.

One response to the awkwardness of the differing levels of correspondence has been that perhaps some form of abridgement has taken place, or was also carried out in the reconstruction.⁶⁹² This is a reasonable speculation, bearing in mind the substantial differences between Q1 and Q2 and the length of Q2; the sequence of texts would then be Q2 -> *abridgement/adaptation* -> Q1. Since the intermediate text is not extant, the degree of change it includes is unknown, but that change might – or might not – have been so drastic that the extant Q1 actually reflects the hypothetical abridgement more closely than Q2. However, the absence of any such text renders this speculation impossible to prove or disprove too. Irace considers abridgement before the creation of Q1 unlikely, since she

⁶⁹¹ Wilson, *The Copy for Hamlet*, 22.

⁶⁹² The additional problem of speculation upon either an abridged or adapted intermediate script between Q2 and Q1, or of the actor/reporter(s) adapting during reconstruction is acknowledged by for example Duthie (*The 'Bad' Quarto*, 53); Irace speculates upon 'inattention' and/or 'deliberate abridgement' (Irace, *Reforming the 'Bad' Quartos*, 119), and Maguire upon 'two hands' (Maguire, *Shakespeare's suspect texts*, 255).

Table 7.j. Matching lines in Q1 and Q2 and the presence of a potential actor/reporter (Irace's Q1 *Hamlet* is again the source for line counts; the actors are those she first suggested.)

Q1 scene	Q1 and Q2 matching lines	% of Q1's matching lines	Potential actor/reporter present
1	80	61	Marcellus
2	65	38	Marcellus, Voltemar
3	19	26	
4	30	51	Marcellus
5	63	38	Marcellus
6	4	6	
7	78	20	Voltemar
8	0	0	
9	53	26	Lucianus, Prologue
10	3	10	
11	8	5	
12	0	0	
13	29	24	
14	0	0	
15	0	0	
16	13	9	
17	1	1	

would expect 'the roles of the reporters to reflect the same cuts⁶⁹³ as are evident in the rest of the play', with these reporters' lines being 'disproportionately preserved'.⁶⁹⁴ This is again problematic; 'abridgement' denotes a reduction in length, implicitly without sacrificing meaning or significance.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹³ 'Cut' implies a reduction from Q2; it is another biased word, connoting an assumed Q2 -> Q1 sequence, while the sequence is still a hypothesis.

⁶⁹⁴ Irace, *Reforming the 'Bad' Quartos*, 122.

⁶⁹⁵ Writers or students who need to edit to a specific length close to the current word count may excise a few words by deleting adverbs, or changing passives to actives, or substituting phrasal verbs with more formal equivalents; any who are required to expunge larger amounts of text will consider cutting out an idea, an aspect, a point that is interesting but not in the foreground of the argument. It is difficult to scale down text proportionally, even if the overall word count is reduced by, say, two in five words, which is approximately what is needed to reduce Q2 to Q1 length.

Marcellus has one function in being part of the exposition, another in contributing to the atmosphere, another as being a witness to the Ghost, and at least one more as a foil to Horatio in scene 1.

Arguably all these functions are important, and are achieved economically and effectively in Q1 and in Q2. A judicious abridger – or reviser – will be evaluating not so much a proportional excision as an appropriate one, one which does not significantly mar the whole. For example, an abridgement was made in the 2009 *Hamlet* with Jude Law as Hamlet, where the *whole* of the dumb show was omitted, not a proportion of it. This abridgement did not mar the meaning for the audience (and possibly few of the audience would know of the scholarly discussion about whether the King sees this re-enactment of his alleged murder of his brother). A reduction of 45% - the reduction of Q2 to Q1's length – is very unlikely to be achieved through 'proportionality'.⁶⁹⁶

While no one denies the correspondence of the lines Irace discusses, the correspondence itself is not proof that Q1 *Hamlet* must be memorially reconstructed. In mathematics 'correlation' is normally used to indicate the dependence of one item upon another or the relationship of one item to another. In the context of Q1 Irace appears to use 'correlation' to support her proposed causal relationship, the dependence of Q1 on Q2. But Irace's use of correlation really means 'correspondence'; the matching of lines does not show the cause of that matching. The higher level of correspondence in lines when Marcellus, Voltmar and Lucianus are present may simply signify a coincidence, or instead a pattern in Shakespeare's revision. 'Fluctuating correlation' and memorial reconstruction offer a limited and questionable explanation for a text which averages just over 50% accuracy when the hypothetical reconstructor is on stage, which is for less than 25% of the whole text.

The fact that the three roles – Marcellus, Voltmar, and Lucianus – can be doubled up is seen as a reinforcement of the theory, a line of argument which Hibbard supports. He too identifies Marcellus as the actor 'responsible for vamping up the text which was used for the copy for Q1'. Hibbard then continues with the observation that 'the excellence of Voltmar's speech' appears to indicate 'this same actor played that role too'. Hibbard envisages that actor leaving Q2's scene 1, changing into his Ambassador's costume off stage, and therefore not able to hear, and hence not able to report the King's speech fully; it is, Hibbard declares, why Q1's King's speech is reduced to a mere ten lines,⁶⁹⁷ while Q2's Claudius' speech is thirty-nine.

⁶⁹⁶ An A level class, invited to produce a shortened version of a (conflated) *Hamlet* as part of their revision programme, cut out the subplot and magnified the role of the Ghost. Judicious and dramatically effective, yes. Proportional, no. Similarly, the Reduced Shakespeare Company's rendering of the plays is nowhere proportional.

⁶⁹⁷ Hibbard, *Hamlet*, 82.

Superficially this seems sound; it is after all the final lines of Claudius' speech which are – more or less – remembered for Q1. In practical terms it is contradicted by the stage instructions of the two quartos. Both have the 'Ambassador' (Voltemar) and 'Others' (Voltemand) enter at the beginning of the scene, so any actor playing Marcellus' role walks off at the end of scene 1 and must re-enter immediately at the beginning of scene 2. There is no time to change costume significantly from sentinel to Ambassador (though a major costume change may not be considered necessary). Secondly, even if the Ambassador had sidled in rather belatedly during Claudius' speech in a Q2 performance (having played Marcellus in the preceding scene), he would have found the possibility of a late entry denied him if he had then wished to double up that role in playing his vamped up Q1, for now there are only five lines at the beginning of the scene before the Ambassador is addressed, and only ten lines before he must speak. He must therefore be on stage promptly. It is true that in F1 Voltemand and Cornelius enter after 'So much for him', twenty-five lines in, but the doubling up suggestion then works for only *one* of the three substantive texts of *Hamlet*, published 1623, and not the 1603 one the putative memorial reconstructor has allegedly recreated from the text published in 1604-5.

Doubling up additionally involves two small puzzles. One theory suggests that Q1 was reconstructed so that players had a script for taking to the provinces, in times of plague, for example. Touring might be expected to use a smaller cast, but Q1's minimum cast is larger by one actor than that required for Q2 (or F1), because the longer versions have more dialogue during which changes can be made.⁶⁹⁸ An 'abridged' version would not be expected to involve an increase in actors. Secondly, if Marcellus and Voltemand/Voltemar's roles were doubled up, it is perhaps curious that no further roles were included for that actor. The First Player, the Second Clown, the Priest, the English Ambassador – these are all roles in the last two scenes which could have been played by a 'Marcellus', or 'Voltemar' or 'Lucianus' (much as Dover Wilson suggested). But the correspondence of these roles' lines in Q1 and Q2 is very low, perhaps why this is not suggested today.

7.vi Maguire's Views and other Points

Stage directions have been seen as potential proof of memorial reconstruction. It is thought that the memorial reconstructor, with a visual memory of the actual stage business and perhaps forgetting the relevant lines but visually recalling the action, might produce more explicit stage directions. Maguire notes a range of more or less descriptive stage directions across several different texts, both suspect and not, and concludes that descriptive stage directions are not consistently indicative

⁶⁹⁸ Scott McMillin, 'Casting the *Hamlet* Quartos' edited by Thomas Clayton, *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 182.

of memorial reconstruction.⁶⁹⁹ It is true that in Q1 scene 13 Ofelia enters 'playing on a lute, and her hair down, singing, while in Q2 Ophelia merely 'Sings'. Yet the most complicated set of stage directions in the quartos, for the dumb show, is clearly more complex in Q2.

Q1 offers simply:

Enter in a dumb show, the King and Queen. He sits down in an arbour. She leaves him. Then enters Lucianus with poison in a vial and pours it in his ears and goes away. Then the Queen cometh and finds him dead and goes away with the other. (9.67 onwards.)

while Q2 offers:

Enter a king and a queen, the queen embracing him and he her. He takes her up and declines his head upon her neck. He lies down upon a bank of flowers. She seeing him asleep leaves him. Anon comes in another man, takes off his crown, kisses it, pours poison in the sleeper's ears and leaves him. The queen returns, finds the king dead, makes passionate action. The poisoner with some three or four come in again, seem to condole with her. The dead body is carried away. The poisoner woos the queen with gifts. She seems harsh awhile but in the end accepts love. (III.ii.128 onwards.)

The contrast is marked. Lucianus has a double role in Q1; he is named as the poisoner and speaks six lines when he reappears later in the scene. In Q2 he may be 'another man' – he is not named – but he still has six lines. If, as actor/reporter, Lucianus played 'another man', why did he recall such a meagre account of the poisoning? The evidence from the stage directions is clearly contradictory in *Hamlet*.

Maguire's study considers a wide range of features other scholars have identified as characteristic of memorial reconstruction; six of these she discusses with relationship to *Hamlet*, but does not find them exclusive to memorial reconstruction. Her summary, that Q1 *Hamlet* is possibly a memorial reconstruction⁷⁰⁰ offers additionally some of her own comments: the text is 'pedestrian', with 'grammatical *non sequiturs*' and 'jumbled line order', and an unevenness in the text suggests to her two hands, one 'with a moral agenda'.⁷⁰¹

It is true that the author of Q1 frequently chooses a complex sentence structure, with variations from today's use of conjunctions and punctuation, and with a high level of subordination, yet the sense is

⁶⁹⁹ Maguire, *Shakespeare's suspect texts*, 217.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 256.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 255.

generally accessible. A random example comes from scene 9, where Hamlet is (humorously) criticising some actors he has seen. The sentence is ten clauses long, with only one main clause:

MCI[There be fellows *SCI*[that I have seene play,
SCI[And heard others commend them, and that highly too,]]
SCI[That (*embedded non-finite Clause*) [having neither the gate of Christians, Pagan
 Nor Turke] have strutted and *SCI*[bellowed]]
SCI[That you would have thought *SCI*[some of Natures journeymen
 Had made men] *SCI*[and not made them well]]
SCI[They imitated humanitie, so abominable]] (Sig. F2^R 18-24).⁷⁰² 9.10-15.

This includes a number of now unusual or relatively demanding grammatical features:

- non-standard use of 'to be' in *There be fellows*
- an embedded non-finite clause, an *aside* in *That [having neither the gate of Christians, Pagan /Nor Turke] have strutted...*
- zero marked conjunction 'that' in *That you would have thought that some of*
- ellipsis of the conjunction 'because' or 'for' at the front of the last clause in *...and not made them well/ because They imitated humanitie, so abominable.*

This is complex syntax, and not so dissimilar to Maguire's examples, one of which reads:

MCI[I have heard him (*non-finite clause*) [often speak with a greedy wish
 Upon some praise *SCI*[that he hath heard of you
 (*non-finite clause*) [touching your weapon]]] *SCI*[which with all his heart
 He might be once tasked (*infinitive clause*) [for to try your cunning]]] (Sig. H3^R 15-18).

This too includes fairly complex grammar:

- ambiguous placing of the adverb 'often' – today it would precede 'heard' or follow 'speak' – and of 'once' – today it would precede 'be', and probably be replaced with, for example, 'on one/some occasion'
- 'which' where today 'that' would be used; the former was entering the language at this time, while the latter had been established since the Old English period. 'Which' may have been used for the sake of variety; the two conjunctions/relative pronouns are not always interchangeable. It relates back to the noun 'wish', two lines earlier

⁷⁰² Irace presents this as prose. She makes one or two small adjustments; the passage reads smoothly enough.

- a dated infinitive marker, 'for to (try)'. (Abbott comments that 'for to' is often used when the notion of purpose is to be brought out, but an additional syllable may be useful for the metre here.⁷⁰³)

Any reader of Elizabethan and Jacobean texts will be aware of how English is different today. Some of this is due to grammatical change, but there is also a strong drive today to simple words and shorter sentences, influenced by George Bernard Shaw, and the Plain English Society among others. The desire is to make language and meaning as accessible as possible to the majority. In contrast, while Renaissance writing does occasionally lament the introduction of 'inkhorn' terms, on the whole it celebrates complex vocabulary, sentences and ideas. Against that background Maguire's suggested example may not be exceptionally lucid, but it is tolerably clear, and less 'jumbled' than it may at first appear. It may be that passages like these are what Sidney regards as having 'incoherence', or that Hibbard thinks have 'shaky grammar', but the passages are really not that challenging.

One of Maguire's critical points is upon the grammar; another critical point is about the apparent 'moral agenda' in Q1. An example of a line she identifies as indicating this is the second of the two below:

King. My wordes fly vp, my sinnes remaine below.
No king on earth is safe, if Gods his foe. (Sig. G1^v 39-40)

Is this second line 'moral'? It slips neatly into the position of the second line of a rhyming couplet that rounds off the King's insincere 'prayer'; it contains a two part contrast just as the first line does, so a degree of linguistic patterning is sustained across the couplet; it explains why the King prayed (effectively as an insurance precaution), and it foreshadows the death the audience is expecting and willing to fall upon him. It may even glance sideways at the divine right of kings. It is about as 'moral' as 'Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown' (2 *Henry IV*, III.i.31) – not outstandingly or didactically so. Or as sonnet 94, which begins 'They that have power to hurt and will do none', and concludes 'Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds'. Or even as Q2's 'Words without thoughts never to heaven go' (3.3.97-8). If Q1's line conveys a 'moral agenda' it is no different from other occasional overtly 'moral' lines in Shakespeare.

This is not to overlook Maguire's epithet, 'pedestrian', to describe Q1. It must be rare for any reader to encounter Q1 before Q2; after Q2, it is almost impossible to evaluate Q1 objectively for itself, without comparing with Q2, and the difference in the 'To be' speech is particularly marked. Maguire's

⁷⁰³ Abbott, *A Shakespearean Grammar*, 259.

examples are presumably given in part to justify her verdict on Q1, of 'Possibly MR, but if so a very good one'.⁷⁰⁴ 'Possibly' qualifies, but it qualifies unquantifiably. Sidney Thomas is another who also identifies several passages which he cannot consider to be Shakespeare's, in Q1: 'One who can believe, for example, that the Q1 text of Hamlet's 'To be or not to be' soliloquy is the work of Shakespeare can believe anything'.⁷⁰⁵ Q2's version is the one many people can begin to quote; it is also the version which haunts admirers of the play. Is Q1's version so 'pedestrian' (Maguire) and as dreadful as Thomas suggests?

An analogy might be appropriate here. There have recently (November 2010) been headlines about Jane Austen's 'poor grammar', and a sample of *Pride and Prejudice* in her own handwriting. The quotations in the newspapers actually show writing which is grammatically standard, but demonstrates a (now) non-standard punctuation and the use of underlining for emphasis. The style and tone are undoubtedly Austen's, who did revise. It is unlikely that Shakespeare did not have an apprenticeship stage; the question is whether anything remains of it today. For example, did he have an apprenticeship stage where he experimented with the presentation of a character's evolving and perhaps even confused thoughts? No one would query the 'broken' grammar of Leontes in *The Winter's Tale*, as he watches his wife, Hermione, speaking with his childhood friend, Polixines. Which question should be asked? Is it whether Q1's 'To be' speech shows any signs of being the beginnings of Q2's version, or is it whether that speech is unambiguously evidence of a half-remembered Q2 version? There is, after all, some challenging writing elsewhere in Shakespeare's plays.

An obvious example occurs in act 1 scene ii of *The Winter's Tale*. Here Leontes soliloquises, with some words and phrases addressed to his son Mamillius, while on another part of the stage Hermione and Polixines talk and gesture. The language is convoluted, not a modern written standard, and it is dense with wordplay; it is perhaps 'the obscurest passage in Shakespeare' according to van Doren.⁷⁰⁶ Some of the features are easily illustrated with a brief extract:

⁷⁰⁴ Maguire, *Shakespeare's suspect texts*, 256. Maguire's discussion begins with examples from Q1 *Lear*, once considered a memorial reconstruction, but with changed status to a first draft since the Dover Wilson and Duthie Cambridge edition in 1960. Maguire does categorise *Lear* as 'Not MR' (ibid., 270).

⁷⁰⁵ Thomas, 'First Version or Bad Quarto?', 251. Thomas' rhetoric is matched elsewhere by Jenkins. He draws an analogy between Q1 and a 'mutilated corpse': 'if you come across a mutilated corpse you don't deny a murder because no one has reported one'. There is no record of Shakespeare reporting a 'murder' (Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 20).

⁷⁰⁶ J. H. P. Pafford, editor, *The Winter's Tale*. The Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1963), 165-6.

... yet were it true
 To say this boy were like me. Come, sir page,
 Look on me with your welkin eye: sweet villain!
 Most dear'st, my collop! Can thy dam? – may't be?-
 Affection! thy intention stabs the centre;
 Thou dost make possible things not so held... (I.ii.134-139)

The sentence concluding in the extract above uses inversion of subject 'it' and the verb 'were', *yet were it true*, which may be subjunctive in force (line 134). Leontes' reference to his son, *this boy*, uses a proximal demonstrative adjective, 'this', which tells the actors as well as the audience how physically close Mamillius is to his father and possibly that Leontes is gesturing to Mamillius. However, it is a third person reference (line 135). After the caesura, Shakespeare switches to an imperative, *Come*, and a vocative, *sir page*, so that Leontes is now addressing his son directly, confirmed by the second person possessive determiner 'your' in line 136. 'Welkin eye' is a compressed simile, 'your eyes which are as blue as the sky'; the explanatory version immediately shows how dense Shakespeare's writing is here. The interjection 'sweet villain' is oxymoronic, requiring the audience to think quickly why both labels might be appropriate in Leontes' eyes. The phrase following, *Most dear'st*, misses out the head word, presumably 'son'; the next phrase, *my collop*, denotes a small piece of meat and conveys 'flesh of my flesh' and keeps the question of Leontes' suspicions of Hermione's fidelity firmly in mind (line 137). The lines have moved from declarative ... *To say this boy were like me...* to imperative *Come, Look*, to exclamatory, *sweet villain*, and now an incomplete interrogative begins: 'Can thy dam?' The main verb is not included; the audience must supply their own version of it ('have betrayed me sexually?'), and quickly too, for Shakespeare/Leontes is already alluding to the same suspicion in another inexplicit question: 'may't be?' (line 137) before his thoughts change direction and he shifts to an apostrophe: 'Affection!' Which meaning does he intend? 'Lust'? 'Passion'? A feeling of great intensity is certain, and the personification of it is evident in 'thy', his own pain in 'stabs', and the audience can barely grasp this before the inexplicitness of 'Thou dost make possible things not so held' - an intensity of feeling makes possible things which were not believed to be possible. More could be said, but the point is surely made; Shakespeare's 'normal' style can be challenging.

The Winter's Tale is generally taken to be a later play, a mature comedy, and passages like this demonstrate a writer who can manipulate language for its meaning and its effect. It is not necessary to understand exactly what Leontes means on stage (though in the study it is desirable), because the characterisation shows so well a man tortured by his own suspicions. At some point Shakespeare –

this writer assumes – experimented with language; at some point he was not as skilful. Thomas’ despair at those who cannot see that the ‘To be’ speech in Q1 is inferior – so inferior it cannot be Shakespeare’s – is clear. Thomas quotes most of the speech he so laments; this is it in its entirety. (Matches with Q2 are *italicised*.)

To be, or not to be, I there’s the point,
To Die, to sleepe, is that all? I, all:
 No, *to sleepe, to dreame*, I mary there it goes,
 For in that dreame of deathe, when wee awake,
 And borne before an euerlasting Iudge,
 From whence no passenger euer *retur’nd*,
The vndiscovered country, at whose sight
 The happy smile, and the accursed damn’d.
 But for this, the ioyfull hope of this,
Whol’d beare the scornes and flattery of the world,
Scorned by the right rich, the rich curssed of the poore?
 The widow being oppressed, the orphan wrong’d,
 The taste of hunger, or a tirants raigne,
 And thousand more *calamities* besides,
To grunt and sweate vnder this weary life,
 When that he may his full *Quietus make*,
With a bare bodkin, who would this indure,
 But for a hope of something after death?
 Which *pusles* the braine, and doth confound the sence,
 Which *makes vs rather beare those euilles we haue*,
Than flie to others that we know not of.
 I that, O this *conscience* makes *cowards* of vs all,
 Lady *in thy orizons, be all my sinnes remembred*. (Sig. D4^R 27 – E1^V 12)

Leah Marcus comments on how the opening line of Q2’s ‘To be, or not to be’ speech is so well known that Q1’s opening line immediately unsettles the audience: ‘Hamlet’s first wrong turn of language meets with polite titters, but as the mistakes multiply, the titters quickly expand into guffaws’.⁷⁰⁷ It is perhaps understandable but nonetheless regrettable that Marcus employs such disparaging terms as ‘wrong’ and ‘mistakes’. The point she makes and inadvertently reinforces is

⁷⁰⁷ Leah S. Marcus, *Unediting the Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1996), 133.

that, in effect, it is almost impossible to give a fair hearing to Q1's speech. So is the speech partly mutilated by a compositor, or is it a first draft? Does Q2 represent the original, or a redrafting? A variety of criticisms can be levelled at this speech, but some of its faults, allegedly those of a memorial reconstructor, have a possible reasonable explanation.

The criticisms of the speech, which are possible partly or principally because of the existence of Q2, would begin with the use of 'I', 'aye', as a filler three times in the opening three lines. This dilutes the meaning, contrasting markedly with the concentration of Leontes' speech. That, however, was to convey a racing, tortured mind, overwhelmed by suspicions; Hamlet's speech is supposed to convey the musings of a tortured young man over whether to live or not. But what if he is handling a 'bare bodkin', and touching one end -: 'I, there's the point'? Suddenly the first 'I' might be judged acceptable, for the speaker is instantly letting the audience know that he is contemplating killing himself. The second line's usage might be justified as a dramatic pause, maintaining the audience's apprehension about the Prince's intentions. The deliberate repetition of 'all' suggest the disillusionment and disappointment weighing down the Prince. In the third line 'I mary there it goes' is weak. But it has a purpose; it separates the two sequences of 'to sleepe, to dreame' and 'that dreame of death', which would be all the worse for following each other on the same line (and in the same ten syllables) without a break. That phrase, 'I mary there it goes', permits the writer to create a pattern of two pairs of interlinked infinitives, each pair on a separate line, followed by a noun phrase – 'that dreame of death' – which makes more concrete the prince's thoughts, and keeps the focus on *sleep, die, dream*.

A second criticism might be to 'that dream of death', ambiguous in meaning, if that ambiguity is perceived as problematic. Does it mean the dream *about* death, or the dream *belonging to, following*, death? 'Of' does not indicate which. 'When we awake' suggests the latter might be what is intended; it is the concept of falling asleep, dying, and waking up again (which for example John Donne plays with in his sonnet, 'Death be not proud').

A third criticism must be 'And [are] borne before...', where an auxiliary verb is the norm for creating the passive 'are borne'. 'We' remains the subject, but two main verbs follow. While the first is active – 'wee awake' – the second shifts into the passive – '[we] [are] borne'. It is possible to speculate that the writer penned the line so fast that the unstressed 'are' after an unstressed 'And' is simply forgotten, as it can almost vanish in speech, but this is not very satisfactory. The line as it stands is, however, a regular iambic pentameter.

A fourth point would relate to the line beginning 'From whence no passenger euer retur'nd', a subordinate clause which *follows* 'the vndiscovered country' in Q2. But does that clause refer back to

'death', or that 'dreame of death'? 'Death' is a little distant – one and a half lines previously – yet this speech represents a man thinking through a question; his ideas may well ebb and flow, and Shakespeare may present him returning to a half thought through line. Grammatically too there is another problem; in Q1, if the subordinate clause had followed 'the vndiscovered country', then the next phrase, 'at whose sight', is separated from the noun it refers to, and 'sight' would now refer to 'the passenger' ('The vndiscovered country from whence/ No passenger euer retur'nd, at whose sight...'). In other words, this line/word order is logical, not garbled or incoherent, in Q1.

The agentive phrase 'by the right rich', immediately followed by 'the rich cursed' appears clumsy, eleven syllables, and perhaps has a surplus 'right'. It might be an idiom familiar to the audience; it might be that 'of the' should be elided (o'the). The line is irregular. On the other hand it has three stressed syllables in each half line, which gives a distinctive rhythm. Elsewhere such a change in rhythm might gain praise; a long soliloquy requires variation:

- u u - - u - - u u -
 Scored by the **right rich**, the **rich cursed** of the **poore**.

The remainder of the speech offers a coherent argument; some would argue for an indefinite article before 'thousand'. The relative pronoun 'which', beginning 'Which pusles the braine' is perhaps better today with a clearer demonstrative pronoun 'That pusles the braine' (as in the example from Maguire, examined above; 'that' would also avoid the repetition of 'which') but it is comprehensible. Thomas despairs over this speech. It does lack the power of the emotional impact, the imagery, the more controlled pace and the wiser thought of Q2. It still conveys the concept of a melancholic debating with himself whether to live or die, considering the ills of the world, the temptation of 'his full *Quietus*'; but rejecting that. And 'Quietus' is correctly spelled. Those claiming memorial reconstruction can point out the speech's shreds and patches, but it has also the skeleton of Q2's speech, and rhythms that surprise and delight.

It would be simplistic to dismiss denigration of Q1 by arguing that Q1 is criticised because it is not Q2. But the comparison with *Les Histoires Tragiques* which might be used to support Q1 as a first draft makes it necessary to try to evaluate Q1 as a text in its own right and not merely to deplore its differences from Q2. That problem also arises when the differences in characterisation between the two texts is considered. Two points of view have prevailed here. C. H. Herford⁷⁰⁸ is representative of

⁷⁰⁸ Herford reports on the two schools of criticism, one of which concludes 'corruption' is responsible for divergences in the 'bad' quartos, while others consider them most naturally explained by later revision'. C. H. Herford, *A Sketch of Recent Shakespearean Investigation*, 1893-1923 (London: Blackie & Son Ltd., 1923), 17.

one, that the greater complexity of Hamlet's and the King's characters in Q2 and F1 is due to revision, while Duthie is representative of the other, that the change is from Q2 to Q1 by 'deterioration', as a result of reporting. Duthie's doubts about the ability of the memorial reporter permit him to suggest that the transmitter and method of transmission may account for the differences.⁷⁰⁹ Both agree that the characterisation in Q2 is superior; their explanations superficially appear valid for each of their two separate beliefs, revision and memorial reconstruction respectively. While the differences are noted, it is difficult to find evidence which supports memorial reconstruction in Q1's characterisation; chapter nine however does suggest some aspects of the characterisation are consistent with revision. These indications are therefore discussed in that chapter.

It is not possible to leave the question of the internal evidence without considering the argument about changes in names, particularly Corambis and Polonius. It merits discussion; a Q2 -> Q1 chronology requires explanations for two changes, the second being a reversal of the first. Jenkins (1982), Edwards (1985) and Hibbard (1987) are among those seeking to explain the name changes. The names are mentioned in chapter five; G.R. French suggested in 1869 that the counsellor, Corambis/Polonius, was modelled upon Lord Burghley (d. 1598), a proposal generally rejected by literary scholars, for example Jenkins, on the grounds that the similar situation at Elizabeth's court, of an established and favoured statesman advising the monarch, is insufficient. Since a counsellor close to the monarch, who advocates using first a young woman and then the Prince's mother to test the Prince's 'madness', is a fair description of the situation in *Les Histoires Tragiques* and in the quartos, no alternative source is required for those aspects.

Instead Jenkins considers 'Polonius' might have alluded to a Pole, or to the 'Polonian' Goslicus, whose book *The Counsellor* was translated into English in 1598, and that Corambis may simply have revived a name already used in the so-called *Ur-Hamlet*. The German *Brudermord* uses 'Corambus', which does appear to confirm a link between that play and Q1. Other name changes are less marked (for example Voltemand and Voltemar, Rossencraft and Rosencrantz), and Jenkins attributes those to the reporter's 'bad memory'.⁷¹⁰ Edwards' position is essentially that of Jenkins, that the name change was from Polonius to Corambis, which he thinks was the name used in the pre 1603 acting script.⁷¹¹

Hibbard's suggestions reflect Q1's title page, 'As it hath beene diuerse times acted by his Highnesse seruants in the Cittie of London: as also in the two Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford'. He

⁷⁰⁹ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 51-2.

⁷¹⁰ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 34-5.

⁷¹¹ Edwards, *Hamlet*, 25.

proposes the alteration in name was due to the similarity between 'Polonius' and 'Polenius', the Latin version of Pullen, the name of the founder of Oxford University, who died *c.* 1147. Yet the founder was centuries dead by the time *Hamlet* in any form was upon the stage; it would be hard for any literary writer to name characters who did not share a name with someone in the previous five hundred years. Hibbard also describes John Rainolds or Reynolds (1549-1607), who was 'an inveterate enemy of the theatre' and at Corpus Christi, and speculates that he might have been offended by 'Reynaldo'.⁷¹² But 'Reynaldo' is also close to 'Reynard', or the Spenserian 'Reynold', the fox, and Reynaldo, like his namesake the fox, is expected to be cunning in his observation of Leartes/Laertes in Paris. It seems implausible that the combination of the Latin version of the name of the long dead founder of Oxford plus a name similar to a contemporary at Cambridge might be deemed sufficiently offensive to require two name changes in the play. The likelihood of these being the reasons decreases when those changes are not sustained in later editions, and when Q2 with the names Polonius and Reynaldo is published in 1604-5, still within Rainolds' lifetime. Hibbard's suggestions do link neatly to the title page, but require this sequence:

Q2: Polonius and Reynaldo -> Q1: Corambis and Montano -> all later *Hamlets*: Polonius and Reynaldo.

However, this lacks credibility, not least because of the double sequence of name changes proposed by memorial reconstructionists.

Chapters six and seven have focused upon the relationship of the first two quartos, and principally upon the hypothesis of memorial reconstruction. The hypothesis is so widely referred to and so widely supported it is disconcerting to conclude that it has many, many weaknesses: Q1 is closer to the French source; the roles with corresponding lines in the quartos are minor, have only 5% of the lines of Q2 and are not present in even half the scenes in Q1, so the actor/reporter(s) would begin his/their reconstruction with a major handicap. Nothing about the printing points to piracy of any form. Effectively supporters of memorial reconstruction pose the question: 'In which Q1 scenes do the lines spoken and overheard by a particular character most closely match and therefore show memorial reconstruction?' Their answer is scenes 1, 2, 4, 5, and parts of 7 and 9. An alternative question is: 'Which scenes does Shakespeare revise least?' The answer is principally scenes 1, 2, 4, 5, and very small parts of 7 and 9. Only one question can be correct.

⁷¹² Hibbard, *Hamlet*, 74-5.

The internal 'evidence' for memorial reconstruction fares no better. Duthie's suggestion of borrowings from *The Spanish Tragedy* is weakened by the large number of roles the very small number of words are allegedly derived from, as well as his selective omissions of the number of roles and of the repetition of 'conceal' and 'consent' in *The Spanish Tragedy*. This specific repetition and matching vocabulary does need an explanation. Duthie also omits the relevant part of *Les Histoires Tragiques*, Geruthe's promise. His claim that the memorial reconstructor borrowed words and phrases from other Shakespearean plays, including some major roles, is weakened by the fact that playwrights use many words more than once. The 'objectionable' pronouns turn out to be intelligent and sophisticated stage craft; whether the 'Tarleton' passage is an insertion or not cannot be shown; extra-metrical interjections like 'O' are shown to be commonplace rather than particular to allegedly memorially reconstructed plays, and aural error may be explained by compositor error and is also found in plays not suspected of being memorial reconstructions.

While Irace's identification of matching lines is not challenged, her identified cause for it is. The correspondence does not prove cause. Alternative figures show the problem that the alleged actor/reporter(s) would have had; they can only manage approximately 50% accuracy in a quarter of the play. Supporters of memorial reconstruction might exclaim the figures just explain why Q1 is so different, but need also to consider why their actor reporters are so weak in their scenes and still manage intermittently to be accurate when *not* on stage, in for example Q1's scene 3 and scene 13.

Maguire's hesitation in wholeheartedly embracing memorial reconstruction is evident twice: when she notes that it is 'versatile, being able to explain almost any textual problem',⁷¹³ and when after reviewing forty-one 'suspect texts' she concludes that Q1 *Hamlet* is only 'possibly' memorially reconstructed. The stage directions in the *Hamlet* quartos do not consistently show expansion in the reconstructed quarto, weakening the suggestion that actor/reporters rely on what they have seen on stage, especially as it appears that 'Lucianus' forgets what he mimed on stage. A hint of a moral agenda in Q1 can be matched with touches of morality elsewhere; it does not appear to be part of the alleged actor/reporter(s) purpose. It is true that some of Q1's sentences are grammatically complex with far more subordination than we would use today, but they are not atypical Shakespeare, their complexity can be untangled and the meaning is clear. Thomas' conviction regarding the credulity of those who might attribute Q1's 'To be' speech to Shakespeare will probably not be shaken, but a conviction is not a proof, any more than an assertion that Q1 is a 'mutilated corpse' is proof of murder. The analysis of the speech above attempts to be objective, but it neither proves nor disproves the authorship; at the most it perhaps identifies specific characteristics.

⁷¹³ Maguire, *Shakespeare's suspect texts*, 8.

These two chapters demonstrate the case for memorial reconstruction is nowhere near as secure as the narratives describing the two quartos may imply. Chapter eight turns to a minority view, that Q1 represents an abridged version of Q2, to establish whether that might be a better explanation for Q1.

Chapter 8

Reviewing the Abridgement Hypothesis

The second of the three principal hypotheses to be examined is abridgement. In the context of the *Hamlet* quartos this refers to the shortening of the longer Q2 script, to produce a briefer Q1. Like the memorial reconstruction hypothesis, abridgement therefore assumes that Q2 precedes Q1. However, abridgement would have been a legitimate process, unlike the piracy associated with memorial reconstruction.

One of the difficulties in reassessing the possibility of abridgement is shared with discussion of revision; there is no comprehensive exploration of it in relation to *Hamlet*. William Bracy does offer a reasonably detailed outline of the abridgement of a variant quarto, but this is of *Merry Wives* Q1;⁷¹⁴ it is principally Alfred Weiner who argues for Q1 *Hamlet* as an abridgement.⁷¹⁵ A second difficulty is that abridgement has an unusual status with regard to *Hamlet*, since it is proposed both as an intermediate stage before memorial reconstruction (that is, Q2 -> abridgement -> memorial reconstruction of Q1), and also as the primary explanation for the shape of Q1, albeit perhaps after some degree of adaptation (Q2 -> adaptation -> abridged Q1). Consequently this review begins with a summary of the status of abridgement and where its proponents think it occurred, and demonstrates that there is no consensus. The chapter continues, as with memorial reconstruction, to review the possible external evidence, including theatre practices at the time and the reasons why abridgement might have taken place. This section demonstrates that abridgement is, at least superficially, extremely plausible as an explanation for the relationship of Q1 and Q2. However, the last aspect of the chapter examines the evidence the quartos themselves provide, and this argues strongly against the abridgement hypothesis. Instead the internal evidence offers further confirmation that Q1 is more likely to be the anterior text.

8.i The Unusual Status of Abridgement, and its Proponents

It is hardly surprising that abridgement features as a possible explanation for some of the differences between the two quartos when their lengths vary so much. What is more surprising is the differing status scholars suggest abridgement might have in their view of the two quartos. For example, J. D.

⁷¹⁴ Bracy, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1952.

⁷¹⁵ Weiner, *William Shakespeare: HAMLET: The First Quarto; 1603*, 1962.

Wilson (1918) proposes that there was an early *Hamlet* text (the *Ur-Hamlet*), partly revised by Shakespeare (which would presumably explain the presence of the lines shared by Q1 and Q2); that text was then abridged for the purpose of 'provincial use'.⁷¹⁶ It contrasts dramatically with, for example, Hart's view: 'I cannot reconcile what they [Shakespeare's contemporaries] tell of him with painstaking revision of another man's work'.⁷¹⁷ This surely must be problematic; if there were an *Ur-Hamlet* this is the play Shakespeare presumably referred to as his source for the Q2 he is thought to have written c. 1600. Neither of these opposing views is discussed in any detail, but they serve as a fitting illustration of the contrast of opinions arising when *Hamlet* and abridgement are mentioned together.

Instead Hart thinks that 'bad' quartos were 'corrupt abridgements of acting versions',⁷¹⁸ the *Hamlet* acting version deriving from Q2. Shapiro considers abridgement necessary for performance not just for 'provincial use' but for London as well; he writes that when Shakespeare 'was done with the new draft' (F1?) he 'turned it over to his fellow players; a significant abridgement would still be necessary before it could be performed at the Globe'.⁷¹⁹ Irace also sees abridgement as an intermediate stage, when she discusses the apparent evidence of a deliberate theatrical abridgement in the context of her detailed argument of memorial reconstruction of Q1.⁷²⁰ Greg, on the other hand, considers that Q1 represents an abridgement of an intermediate version which was an adaptation of Q2.⁷²¹ The most significant advocate for abridgement of Q2 *Hamlet* as the primary explanation behind Q1 appears to be Albert Weiner, in his 1962 *Introduction* to his edition of Q1. His view is warmly supported by Hardin Craig, who authored the *Foreword*, but Craig also qualifies that view; he thinks Q1 'presents an earlier version.... that has been possibly shortened and certainly otherwise degenerated by its experience in the hands of a travelling company'.⁷²²

⁷¹⁶ Chambers, *WS* vol I, 420.

⁷¹⁷ Hart, *Stolne and Surreptitious Copies*, 447-8.

⁷¹⁸ Hart, *Shakespeare and the Homilies*, 135.

⁷¹⁹ Shapiro, *1599*, 341.

⁷²⁰ Irace, Kathleen O. 'Origins and Agents of Q1 *Hamlet*', edited by Thomas Clayton, *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 100.

⁷²¹ Bracy, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 79.

⁷²² Weiner, *William Shakespeare: HAMLET: The First Quarto; 1603*, iv. Craig had previously expressed this opinion in *A New Look at Shakespeare's Quartos* a year earlier (Hardin Craig, *A New Look at Shakespeare's Quartos*. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1961), 82).

The different roles abridgement may have played can be represented approximately as below. The presentation is linear and simplistic, but it functions effectively enough to underline the varied views of the place of abridgement in the narrative of the *Hamlets'* composition.

- Q2 -> abridgement -> memorial reconstruction -> Q1 (for example, Irace), or
- Q2 -> F1? -> abridgement -> Q1 (Shapiro), or
- Q2 -> adaptation -> abridgement -> Q1 (Greg), or
- Q2 -> acting version -> abridgement -> Q1 (Hart), or
- Q2 -> abridgement -> Q1 (Weiner).

However plausible these views may be, neither an 'adaptation' nor an 'acting version' is now extant. As a result, the focus in this chapter is upon the view represented by Weiner: the abridgement of Q2 as the primary explanation for Q1: Q2 -> abridgement -> Q1.

Debate favouring abridgement as an explanation for the variant quartos is found for example in Robert Burkhart's *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos: Deliberate Abridgements Designed for Performance by a Reduced Cast*.⁷²³ Burkhart, Weiner and Bracy, while favouring abridgement, are all initially concerned with rejecting the hypothesis of memorial reconstruction. The dominance of the hypothesis is clearly implicit in their attention to rebutting it, but another reason for their rebuttals may be that some of the characteristics of a variant quarto are claimed as evidence by supporters of *both* memorial reconstruction and abridgement. These scholars' principal objections to the points underlying memorial reconstruction are therefore often a crucial part of their discussion of evidence for abridgement, as shown below.

The marked difference between those scholars supporting memorial reconstruction and those supporting abridgement begins with their attitude to Q1. Those favouring abridgement regard Q1 as a theatrically effective text, rather than a 'garbled' memorial reconstruction. Craig, for example, comments upon Q1 as a sound performance script; he had watched the Ben Greet Company play Q1, based on Frank Hubbard's text, and the performance was 'not lacking in dramatic interest'.⁷²⁴ Craig's view is complemented by Peter Guinness' opinions as an actor in Q1 in 1983, about Q1 being a '*working* text', one with 'an energy and edge that the Folio in all its refinement, particularly its

⁷²³ Burkhart, *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos: Deliberate Abridgements Designed for Performance by a Reduced Cast*, 1979.

⁷²⁴ Weiner, *William Shakespeare: HAMLET: The First Quarto; 1603*, iii.

poetic refinement, doesn't have'.⁷²⁵ Madeleine Doran also finds the variant quartos too good dramatically to have been pirated and 'garbled'.⁷²⁶ Burkhart is more forthright, taking a different approach and claiming that 'The main evidence for piracy, however, is that the scholars who support it feel that the plays [the 'bad' quartos] are too corrupt to be legitimate'.⁷²⁷ In this context 'legitimate' seems to mean 'Shakespeare's'; chapter eight has already referred to the lack of agreement among scholars about whether Q1 is 'Shakespearean'. However, those supporting a Q2 -> Q1 sequence, wherever abridgement occurs, do share some common ground; they agree that a shorter version is suitable for touring in the provinces.

8. ii The Reasonableness of Abridgement

The obvious motive for shortening Q2 *Hamlet* into Q1's length is undoubtedly credible; Q2's full playing time today would probably be about four hours. (Admittedly, Hart gives a different figure for *Hamlet*, 'its 3,762 lines would involve continuous reading for nearly three hours'. It is unclear from the context whether this is Q2 or F1. Hart did suggest that Elizabethan actors spoke faster than today's.⁷²⁸) Craig is one who would see Q2 as legitimately shortened for the purpose of acting.⁷²⁹ Burkhart draws attention to accounts which show that the numbers of actors in a troupe in London (16-25 players) tended to be greater than those in a touring troupe (10-12).⁷³⁰ The difference in the number of players could reasonably be accounted for by touring companies performing an abridged text, although Scott McMillin's figures for the size of cast of Q1 do not support it being smaller (McMillin discusses how a longer text gives more space for costume and role changes, and how the 'amplitude' of Q2 permits just eleven actors to cover its speaking roles.⁷³¹) Chambers seems to think

⁷²⁵ Loughrey, 'Q1 in Recent Performance: An Interview', 124-5.

⁷²⁶ Bracy, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 54. It is true that the 1881 performance staged by William Poel gained only faint praise: 'The performance was certainly up to the average of amateur performance of a high class', and 'on the whole the company may be congratulated on a satisfactory performance of an entirely untried and very difficult play...' (Marvin Rosenberg, quoting from a sympathetic reviewer, in 'The First Modern English Staging of *Hamlet* Q1', edited by Thomas Clayton (*The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 242).

⁷²⁷ Burkhart, *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos*, 22.

⁷²⁸ Hart, *Shakespeare and the Homilies*, 117.

⁷²⁹ Burkhart, *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos*, 16.

⁷³⁰ Alwin Thaler, in *The Travelling Players in Shakespeare's England*, mentions 10-12 players on average in a touring troupe. Gerald E. Bentley, in *Shakespeare: a Biographical Handbook*, suggests 16-20 in London companies (Burkhart, *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos*, 24).

⁷³¹ Scott McMillin, 'Casting the *Hamlet* Quartos: The Limit of Eleven', edited by Thomas Clayton, *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 183.

that 'cutting was a theatrical practice... probably *Hamlet* was always too long for performance as a whole'.⁷³² Weiner suggests that the play might also have been abridged for the 'less sophisticated' London audience, with both action and language simplified.⁷³³ To a certain extent that is a necessary suggestion, to reflect the declaration on Q1's title page that it was performed in London; Weiner is allowing for that declaration. Burkhart has an alternative idea; he thinks that such a long play as Q2 might be cut in London, but 'probably not to the extent that Q1 is cut'.⁷³⁴ The title page of Q1 is quite clear: 'in the Cittie of London'. If Q2 was shortened a little, less than would bring it to Q1's length for London, as Burkhart thinks, another *Hamlet* text must be imagined. It might be the case, though it is adding another layer of speculation and complication to any possible description of Q1 and Q2, a layer which cannot on current information be proved or disproved. It is also a little ironic that scholars may agree that Q2 was abridged for 'provincial touring', with the possible inference that abridgement was acceptable for less sophisticated audiences, when Q1's title page claims performances in the heart of academia, 'in the two Vniversities of Cambridge and Oxford' – in the provinces.

The plausibility of abridgement is supported by Hart's studies on play lengths in *Shakespeare and the Homilies*, where he shows that average play lengths in the 1594-1616 period were 2490 lines.⁷³⁵ This average includes Shakespeare's plays, but excludes Ben Jonson's, which can be exceptionally long (*Every Man Out of His Humour* was 4,452 lines⁷³⁶). This fits in well with the probable start time of two o'clock in the afternoon for performances that would be 'don betwene fower and fiue' as a letter by Henry Lord Hunsdon stated in 1594.⁷³⁷ Q1 at 2,221 lines is an appropriate length for an afternoon performance.

Every *Hamlet* staged today is a little different from previous performances, and some degree of cutting is unlikely to be only a modern practice. An abridgement of a longer Q2 into a shorter Q1 is unquestionably reasonable. The persuasiveness of the argument is however not helped by the dissent among scholars about the stage at which abridgement might have taken place (before or after an adaptation or stage version?) nor by the general agreement that abridgement made the script appropriate for touring in the provinces, when Q1's title page insists it was also played 'in the Cittie of London'.

⁷³² Chambers, *WS* vol I, 229.

⁷³³ Weiner, *William Shakespeare: HAMLET: The First Quarto; 1603*, 25.

⁷³⁴ Burkhart, *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos*, 111.

⁷³⁵ Hart, *Shakespeare and the Homilies*, 106.

⁷³⁶ *Ibid.*, 136.

⁷³⁷ *Ibid.*, 96.

Fortunately, several explicit contemporary references testify to abridgement of scripts in Elizabethan and Jacobean times, and therefore provide a reasonable analogy for suggesting Q2 was abridged. The 1600 quarto of Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* declares on its title page: 'As it was first composed by the Author B.I. Containing more than hath been Publickely Spoken or Acted',⁷³⁸ though this might also be explained by amplifications added by Jonson before publication. Another reference is in the 1623 quarto of John Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*. This proclaims unambiguously on its title page: 'As it was Presented privatly, at the Black-Friers... The perfect and exact Coppy, with diuerse *things Printed, that the length of the Play would* not beare in the Presentment'.⁷³⁹ Obviously both plays had been cut for performance. Later Beaumont and Fletcher's F1 (1647) begins with a note from 'The Stationer [Humphrey Moseley] to the Reader', claiming that

'here are no omissions...when these comedies and Tragedies were presented on the stage the Actours omitted some scenes and passages with the author's consent as occasion led them: and when private friends desired a copy they then, and justly too, transcribed what they acted. But now you have both all that was then Acted, and all that was not, even the perfect full originals without the least mutilation'.⁷⁴⁰

Hamlet itself refers to cutting or abridging a text for performance. In act II scene ii lines 436-7 Polonius declares of one Player's speech, 'This is too long'. Hamlet responds with 'It shall to the barber's with your beard'. The two lines are virtually identical in Q1, Q2 and F1. Hamlet's advice to the Players is not to adlib ('let not your Clowne speake/More than is set downe [sig. F2^r]). Yet Hamlet also wishes to 'insert' '[s]ome dozen or sixteene lines' [Sig. E4^v] in a play he requests the Players to perform. These make it certain that Shakespeare knew at least about cuts and additions.⁷⁴¹ The subject of accuracy and the demands of the written text is also embedded in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fayre* (published 1614). Here Jonson mocks the less intelligent of his potential audience, effectively acknowledging that texts may be simplified. In act V Master Bartholomew Cokes peers into the

⁷³⁸ C. H. Herford & Percy Simpson, editors, *Ben Jonson*. Vol III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), 419.

⁷³⁹ William Hazlitt, editor, *The Dramatic Works of John Webster* Vol II (London: John Russell Smith, Soho Square, 1857), 145.

⁷⁴⁰ Rev. Alexander Dyce, editor, *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher* (London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street, 1843), vii-viii.

⁷⁴¹ In *Notes and Queries* J. Rees suggests that the infix '*Beautified Ladye*' found in Edward Pudsey's commonplace book notes upon *Hamlet* originates with a Player. Pudsey writes 'The sunne breedes mag Beautified Ladye gotes in a dead dog beeing good kissing carrion etc'. Rees thinks that Pudsey took it down in the theatre, and that it is an 'ad-lib' by one of the actors. However, Pudsey is inaccurate in his notes on the plays. Do his inaccuracies reflect his poor memory – and therefore perhaps support memorial reconstruction – or his own linguistic playfulness, or indeed a Player's adlib? (*Notes and Queries*, September 1992, 330-31).

basket of puppets 'Master Lanterne' holds. Cokes asks, 'do you play it according to the printed booke?' Lanterne, mouthpiece for each of his puppets, announces that he does it 'A better way, Sir, that is too learned and poetically for our audience; what do they know what *Hellespont* is? Guilty of true lous blood? or what *Abidos* is? Or the other *Sestos* hight?' Consequently Lanterne has taken 'a little paines to reduce it to a more familiar strain for our people', and 'made it a little easie and *moderne* for the times' (V.iii.109-117). Even the verb 'abridge' occurs in a pertinent context. In Webster's *Induction* to John Marston's *Malcontent* (published 1604). Sly asks, 'What are your additions?' and Burbage answers, 'Sooth, not greatly needful; only as your sallets to your great feats, to entertain a little more time, and to abridge the not-received custom of music in our theatre'.⁷⁴²

It is not just cutting and simplifying which plays of the time may allude to, but also the duration of the whole performance. Shakespeare himself refers to the 'two hours traffic of our stage' (*Romeo and Juliet*: Chorus, line 12), which might suggest an average performance time. Jonson, however, in *Bartholomew Fair*, drew up articles of agreement that theatre personnel and 'the said *Spectators* and *Hearers* ... doe severally covenant and agree to remaine in the places their money, or friends have put them in, with patience, for the space of two houres and one half, and somewhat more', implying that even two hours and a half might be exceeded.⁷⁴³ Shakespeare of course could hardly have referred to 'the two and a half and somewhat more traffic of our stage'; the phrasing is wordy, clumsy, and does not scan, and Shakespeare always had regard for the ear. Hence his desire for a poetic line may have resulted in the timing mentioned in *Romeo and Juliet*. Shakespeare can hardly have been unaware of how his own plays varied in playing time. Consequently two hours as a play length is no more than an example. It is, however, borne out by investigations by Hart in 1934. He investigated play lengths, observing that about 12% of the extant plays of the period exceed 3000 lines. 75% of that 12% (i.e. 9% of the total number of extant plays) are by Shakespeare and Jonson. Hart also noted that the average play length during the period 1597-1616 was 2490 lines or less, just possible for that 'two hours' traffic'.⁷⁴⁴ So while a two hour performance was acceptable and (if the scripts surviving today have not been cut) commonplace, longer texts at least existed.

It might seem peculiar that Q1 *Hamlet*, if an abridgement of Q2, is reduced to well below that average of 2490 lines. Yet there are some plays shorter than 2490 with passages marked for excision; *John a Kent and John a Cumber* began with 1672 lines and was reduced to 1638, and *Edmund Ironside* drops 196 lines to 1865. Other plays which were abridged do not necessarily drop

⁷⁴² M. L. Wine, editor, *John Marston: The Malcontent* (London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1965), 11.

⁷⁴³ Herford and Simpson, editors, *Ben Jonson*, vol VI, 15.

⁷⁴⁴ Hart, *Shakespeare and the Homilies*, 106.

below that 2490 average. So *Charlemagne* loses a mere five of its 2656 lines, and *The Honest Man's Fortune* 40 lines from 2742.⁷⁴⁵ Hart prints a table of sixteen plays, of which twelve have abridgements of anything from five to 467 lines. There is no immediate pattern to the extent of the abridgements (it could of course be due to the subjective judgement of the abridger), in that there is no obvious proportionality to cutting, no obvious attempt to reduce plays to a particular length. And not one play in Hart's list is cut to anywhere near the extent that Q1 must have been if it is an abridgement of Q2. A five line cut from 2656 for *Charlemagne* is a 0.18% cut and the smallest Hart lists; 467 lines cut from 2,689 in *Sir Thomas More*, the largest cut in Hart's list, is a 17% cut. But 1835 cut from Q2 *Hamlet's* 4056 is a 45% cut. The dramatic difference in percentages does not fit in with Hart's findings; it suggests more than mere abridgement accounts for Q1's relative brevity. However, the shortness of Q1's text in comparison with Q2's does need explanation. In the context of memorial reconstruction it is possible to understand the actor/reporter(s) of minor roles like 'Marcellus' might simply not be able to remember more, and that Q1 might be a major achievement. (In *Romeo and Juliet* 'Romeo', a much more major role, is supposed to be a memorial reconstructor, and the differences in the number of lines at 761 is much less.) Burkhart, arguing for abridgement, asks why no one attempted to report fully on a play, and why we should believe that actor/reporters all shortened the play they reported.⁷⁴⁶ The fact that 'bad' quartos are all shorter is implicitly part of his argument for abridgement; revision and the writer's expansion of parts do of course provide an alternative explanation for 'good' quartos.

One of the debates separating those who favour memorial reconstruction from those in favour of abridgement is the question of the legitimacy of the printing of Q1. Chapter seven's discussion of the printing of the two quartos and the name of Shakespeare on Q1 and Q2's title pages both support the legitimacy of Q1. This legitimacy is what would be expected, if Q1 is an authorised abridgement, exactly Burkhart's point when he reasonably questions why printers of 'bad' quartos would have received permission to publish legitimate plays.⁷⁴⁷ It is true that 'Newly corrected' is then not exactly accurate on Q2's title page, but the claim that Q2 is 'the true and perfect Coppy' might well echo the feelings of a playwright who has created an originally much longer play. On the surface, the quartos' title pages do not contradict the possibility of abridgement. (It is, however, a little odd to think the abridged version might be published before the full version.)

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid., 121.

⁷⁴⁶ Burkhart, *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos*, 19-20.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid., 22.

A further area of dispute between Bracy's support for abridgement and those advocating memorial reconstruction is his challenge to the analogy with *The Duenna* and *School for Scandal*, the analogy which Duthie uses to support his case. Bracy's reasons for rejecting the comparison are more general than the analysis in chapter seven, and take a different angle. He describes Tate Wilkinson's memorial reconstruction of *The Duenna* as thoroughly 'inferior'⁷⁴⁸ but allows for *School for Scandal's* reconstruction as providing a 'reasonably good text'. Bracy – also noting the lack of runs of any given play in Shakespeare's time – argues that if any such memorial reconstruction took place it would have required a group of actors (as for *School for Scandal*), using their 'parts', and that the reconstruction would have been of an abridgement lying between the 'good' and 'bad' versions.⁷⁴⁹ He does not give his reasons for hypothesising a scenario with an intermediate abridgement, though it may rest upon the extent of the differences between the two quartos.⁷⁵⁰ Weiner too offers other objections to memorial reconstruction. He doubts the method outlined by Greg, starting with Greg's assertion that 'after witnessing some half dozen performances anyone with a reasonably good memory could at a pinch vamp up the sort of text found in many of the 'bad' quartos'.⁷⁵¹ Weiner argues that a lack of foreknowledge that such a task (memorial reconstruction) might be required, plus actors seeing only their 'parts', and a lack of 'runs', all throw serious doubt upon Greg's assertion, and upon the analogy of *The School for Scandal*, though there is no evidence about whether foreknowledge existed or not. More pertinently, Weiner queries why, when 'Marcellus' could learn other lines without seeing them, he was not word-perfect for his own. 'Marcellus' only has sixty-six lines in Q2; he does not recall them all perfectly, and they are reduced to sixty-two in Q1. Moreover, even if there was the occasional Tarleton or Kempe who adlibbed, most actors would be relying on the previous actor accurately reciting his lines in order to identify his own 'cue'. Actors

⁷⁴⁸ Bracy, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 49.

⁷⁴⁹ Bracy, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 53.

⁷⁵⁰ There is a *very* significant difference between the first two quartos of *Hamlet*, evidenced not just by the number of lines and the low level of shared lines, but also by where lines end, how characters develop, their relative prominence, different details in the plot, and the sophistication of the language and thought, all of which are touched upon in this thesis. It is a major issue which is occasionally expressed explicitly by scholars examining the variant texts; Chambers discusses the relationship of the two quartos of *Romeo and Juliet* and declares: 'A report does not account for everything', which is why he speculates that 'Very possibly the report is of a text shortened for performance' (Chambers, *WS* vol I, 342). This gives Q2 -> abridgement -> report -> Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* – but that is for quartos which are only 761 lines different in length. It is the huge difference and variety of differences in the *Hamlet* quartos which has led both to several different explanations for the relationship of the quartos, and to the difficulty of finding a single one which adequately and satisfactorily explains that relationship.

⁷⁵¹ Weiner, *William Shakespeare: HAMLET: The First Quarto; 1603*, 26.

need the previous speaker to end where anticipated; an improvising actor would not aid fluent delivery on the stage.

This relatively small group of scholars raise valid objections to memorial reconstruction. Greg is probably exceptional in believing it would be possible to 'vamp up' a quarto after 'witnessing some half dozen performances'. Evidence from theatrical practices then and now show abridgement was, and is, commonplace in the theatre, and Q1 shows no sign of having been printed illegitimately. Together these suggest that the principle of abridgement, rather than memorial reconstruction, is thoroughly plausible as a possible explanation, or contributory explanation, for Q1 *Hamlet*.

8.iii Internal evidence

Techniques for abridgement and/or adaptation are well-established. They are frequently employed when a shorter and/or simpler text is required, perhaps owing to time constraints, or to the intended audience. Many 'classic' stories are adapted and cut for younger readers, or for foreigners. Carlo Collodi's *Pinocchio*, Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist*, and Francis Hodgson-Burnett's *Secret Garden* are just a few examples of stories which have been abridged, and are often found in several versions, some proportionally much shorter than Q1's length to Q2's.⁷⁵² Commonplace techniques include the removal of minor characters, a simpler plot line, the trimming or excision of subplots and/or incidents; lexical and grammatical flourishes will both be simplified. Descriptive elements are substantially reduced, and the emotional impact may also be less. The question is whether, or how far, Q1's differences from Q2 are accurately explained by these techniques.

Q1's form, superficially, would represent some of the general criteria leading to abridgement. It is under the average 2490 lines of an Elizabethan or Jacobean play, unlike Q2, and would comfortably fit into a performance time of two hours. Those time constraints, an outdoor location and a preference for action (Ghost, murders, eavesdroppings, sword play, etc) over more philosophical speeches might reasonably have led to a script that contains the plot, as Q1 does, with fewer lines than Q2. Q1 also demonstrates a slight reduction in (minor) characters, fewer long speeches than Q2, and some degree of paraphrasing. An example of the latter might be the descriptions of Ofelia and Ophelia of Hamlet's sudden, wordless visit to her.

Burkhart argues along similar lines. He notes that bit parts, or minor characters, may be cut in variant quartos, major characters may have their roles reduced, and many elaborate and rhetorical speeches are shorter or a paraphrase. Q1 *Hamlet* lacks for instance the 'Sailor' of scene 14, and the

⁷⁵² An obvious example of substantial cutting is the Ladybird Classics range.

King's role and speech is shorter in scene 2. There may also be precision in noting properties.⁷⁵³ All these, he suggests, are deliberate and consistent parts of an abridgement process,⁷⁵⁴ rather than indicative of memorial reconstruction. Consistency militates against reporting, he feels.⁷⁵⁵ One example of 'consistency' might be the manner in which Q1's Queen is confided in more than Q2's Queen is, as shown in chapter nine, though it should be noted that this consistency also brings Q1 closer to the French source. Abridgement would then need to explain not just the consistency, but also why Q1 apparently reverts to some features of *Les Histoires Tragiques*. While Burkhart's discussion is general, he does use some specific examples from the variant quartos; for example, regarding Q1 *Hamlet*, Burkhart considers the 'speeches of Corambis are shortened, simplified, and are combined, but again the sense of the passage is the same'.⁷⁵⁶ Other features he also associates with abridgement include omissions, dislocation of text, and the fusion or rearrangement of scenes.⁷⁵⁷ The last examples are, unfortunately, exactly the types of 'evidence' offered for memorial reconstruction. ('[D]islocation of text' could describe the change of location of the 'nunnery' scene, and the 'rearrangement of scenes' could refer to when Corambis/Polonius spars with Hamlet or Hamlet speaks to the players.) And the same examples also apply to first draft and revision: Q2 does not have Hamlet's speech about adlibbing actors, it relocates the 'nunnery' scene, and entirely rearranges the scene announcing Hamlet's return to England. These examples of alleged features of abridgement may be correct, but they result from measuring the two quartos against each other, without any external reference point. As a result they are inconclusive.

Bracy also identifies similar characteristics in his proposal that *Merry Wives* Q1 was an abridgement of its F1 version. His examples, in exploring one play, are often detailed, and exemplified. He concludes that 'excursions into the arid realms of philosophy, sage reflections on life, conduct and character, over-much moralising, unnecessary displays of learning and classical allusions' may be cut because they are inessential to the action,⁷⁵⁸ which could loosely be applied to the absence of Hamlet's soliloquy 'How all occasions...' (IV.vi) from Q1. Bracy lists the types of divergence found

⁷⁵³ Burkhart, *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos*, 115.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁷⁵⁶ Burkhart, *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos*, 101.

⁷⁵⁷ Burkhart, *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos*, 9, 14. Elsewhere Burkhart also questions why we should believe that actor/reporter(s) made adjustments to compensate for changes in the text (Burkhart, *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos*, 19-20). The question answers itself; changes in one line may well require adjustments in others. This would also be true of some revisions.

⁷⁵⁸ Bracy, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 77.

between the texts - much as Maguire does - and dismisses them as 'dogmatic formulae'.⁷⁵⁹ Both he and Maguire note that specific features such as 'repetition', 'anticipation' and 'word variants', allegedly the 'evidence' of memorial reconstructions, are also present in 'good' quartos. Bracy's examination of differences in *Merry Wives* (Q1 and F1) gives an extensive list of changes he claims demonstrate abridgement - listed in appendix I - though some of the terms he employs are effectively synonymous, which makes his list less varied than it first appears (for example he employs the terms 'long excisions', 'lines cut', 'longer cuts', 'removal of material' and so forth⁷⁶⁰). Bracy, examining a different play, is more certain than Burkhart about abridgement; the former interprets the features as evidence of the adapter at work 'with an ms before him'.⁷⁶¹ Burkhart, in contrast, concedes that 'memories of actors could be involved'.⁷⁶² It is unfortunate that on one occasion Bracy sees the 'careful transference of whole lines from one text to another' as not the 'haphazard method of a reporter', while six pages later he sees "inconsistent fragments from the original manuscript unintentionally copied" and accepts that too as part of abridgement.⁷⁶³ These two descriptions of how some parts of *The Merry Wives*' Q1 text comes about are contradictory. They reflect how difficult those proposing abridgement find it to provide a wholly persuasive, coherent and watertight argument, just as ultimately Duthie falls back upon the suggestion that the playwright hardly needed to be taken literally with regard to the age of Hamlet.⁷⁶⁴

It is Weiner who focuses specifically upon the *Hamlet* quartos in his discussion of abridgement. He challenges the terms 'anticipations' and 'recollections' as which proponents of memorial reconstruction use; both depend on whether one starts from the belief or assumption that a word did occur, or should have occurred, earlier or later.⁷⁶⁵ He draws attention to the pointing in Corambis' speech, when he advises Leartes, a feature likely to be copied from a written text, for 'Surely the reporter never *heard* Corambis' punctuation'.⁷⁶⁶ Certain changes in the text Weiner sees as thoughtful, such as the cut to the act IV scene with Fortinbrasse; on tour with perhaps ten actors, the players would find it hard to create an 'army' after a series of scenes where several actors are on

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid., 44.

⁷⁶⁰ Bracy, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 82.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid., 85.

⁷⁶² Burkhart, *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos*, 119.

⁷⁶³ Bracy, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 85, 91.

⁷⁶⁴ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 230-1.

⁷⁶⁵ Weiner, *William Shakespeare: HAMLET: The First Quarto; 1603*, 35-7.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid., 43.

stage (this 'cut' is a feature of F1 too), and a cut eliminates the problem.⁷⁶⁷ Weiner is one of a small number of scholars discussing scene 14 and act IV scene vi. He suggests that Horatio's scene with the Queen, exclusive to Q1 and - presumably - the invention of the composer of Q1, is entirely apt, for the two of them are Hamlet's only allies at court.⁷⁶⁸ While this is true, it does not explain why the abridger – who would presumably have access to a manuscript – changes the scene so dramatically. It is anachronistic to apply modern standards, but today such a major change to a writer's work would only take place with the consent of the writer. It also leads to the obvious question of whether Q2's equivalent scene is really that hard to cut.

Weiner's approach has occasional problematic aspects, such as his discussion of the names of Corambis/Polonius and Reynaldo/Montano. 'It seems to me', Weiner writes, 'that Shakespeare wrote at least two versions of *Hamlet*'.⁷⁶⁹ Even though that clause is selectively quoted and decontextualised, it is disconcerting. Weiner has introduced the prospect of another *Hamlet*, because it is 'debatable whether Q1 is based upon an earlier or later version than Q2'.⁷⁷⁰ And he undermines his own argument in the act of abridgement being carried out upon Shakespeare's 'foul papers'⁷⁷¹ when he notes that Ofelia's songs are not signalled in Q1,⁷⁷² even though he has previously drawn attention to how Corambis' speech *is* punctuated as if copied. His two examples are not consistent.

There are over twenty features which have been interpreted as pointing towards abridgement. If there was a certainty that abridgement had occurred, they might not be disputed, despite inconsistencies. But the interpretation of many of those features is problematic; they may be used to support any of the explanations for the quartos' relationship. There *is* a 'streamlining of action', when Ofelia 'tests' Hamlet just after Corambis' suggestion, but this is also one respect in which Q1 is closer than Q2 to the French source, and can therefore also indicate a Q1 -> Q2 sequence. The same example is also an instance of a 'dislocation of scene', or a 'shifting of scene', or a 'rearrangement of scene'; in reality, it is not agreed at present which way the alleged 'dislocation' occurred. There are indeed 'shorter speeches', such as the King's at the beginning of Q1's second scene, which 'hastens the presentation of a dramatic situation', and brings the important character of

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid., 52.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid., 53.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid., 1603, 51.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid., 51.

⁷⁷¹ Ibid., 57.

⁷⁷² Ibid., 44.

Hamlet to the fore 'more rapidly'.⁷⁷³ It may be, however, that Q2 expands the speech and the role of the King, in the process naming him too. There *is* a smaller cast (Q1 lacks a Norwegian Captain, a Sailor and a Messenger); it is uncertain whether this is a 'reduction' or 'elimination' since Shakespeare might instead have expanded the cast slightly in Q2. It could be argued that Marcellus' and Voltmand's speeches are examples of the 'careful transference of whole lines from one text [Q2] to another [Q1]', though these might also be lines a revising playwright chose to transfer with little alteration from Q1 to Q2. There are also less careful transferences; here the playwright might have transferred the gist of the speech but revised its phrasing as he did so. Hamlet's 'To be or not to be' speech does have markedly 'less imagery' in Q1 than in Q2, though again it may be that Q2 expands upon the character, his philosophy and his poetic voice. It is a speech which is indeed in a 'condensed' form in Q1, though whether it was condensed from Q2 is a different matter. The scene between Horatio and the Queen does bring together the two members of the court most likely to support Hamlet; it is a credible scene, but there is an alternative way of regarding the scene, as chapter nine will show in its discussion of revision. Virtually every supposed characteristic of abridgement - or indeed of memorial reconstruction - is capable of more than one interpretation.

Yet a close examination of Q1 throws up a number of questions. The most obvious is perhaps the extent of the cuts. As chapter seven noted, Q1 shares 456 lines with Q2; that is, just 456 of Q2's lines are present in Q1. This can be expressed as 456/4056 lines, or that about 11% of Q2's lines are present in Q1. Alternatively, 3600 of Q2's lines, or about 89%, were excised or altered in some way in the process of abridging Q2, if that was what occurred. That is a very dramatic level of cuts and changes; rewriting is a more accurate description. It is vastly in excess of the highest number of cut lines Hart reports upon (467 from *Sir Thomas More's* 2,689 lines⁷⁷⁴), even allowing for Q2's greater length.⁷⁷⁵ Weiner suggests that the abridgement was carried out on foul papers, and was therefore difficult for the compositor to read, but the difference in the texts is still huge. And if some cut texts remained over that average 2490 lines (*The Honest Man's Fortune*, 2,702 lines or *I Richard II* at 2,830 lines⁷⁷⁶) it is difficult to understand why Q2 was cut to noticeably below that 2490 level. The dramatic level of change would confirm the suggestion of, for example, Hart and Greg that

⁷⁷³ Bracy, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 94.

⁷⁷⁴ Hart, *Shakespeare and the Homilies*, 121.

⁷⁷⁵ Hart also includes on his list just Orlando's part in *Orlando Furioso*, from c. 1590 and therefore outside his 1594-1616 group. Orlando's part was reduced from 532 lines to 320, a reduction of 40% and somewhat closer to the difference in length between the two *Hamlet* quartos (*Ibid.*, 121). However, this is comparing a single part with a whole play, which can be misleading.

⁷⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 121.

abridgement alone does not account for the difference between Q1 and Q2. Wherever the argument places the abridgement process, for example Q2-> abridgement -> memorial reconstruction of Q1, or Q2 -> acting version -> abridgement of Q1, it would appear that abridgement may be a contributory factor to the form of Q1, but cannot be the sole explanation.

A second objection rests, as for memorial reconstruction, upon the evidence of the French source. An explanation is needed for why an abridger relocates the nunnery scene to the same position as in *Les Histoires Tragiques*. Could this really be accidental? Why would the abridger adjust the thirty year old Hamlet of Q2 to make Q1's Hamlet younger, also as in the source? Additionally it remains peculiar that Hamlet has that half line of suspicions at the beginning of the bedchamber scene, 'but first we'll make all safe', in Q1 but not in Q2. Another explanation would be needed too, for the differences in the Queens' promises. Although for the promises Duthie reluctantly agrees that perhaps the composer of Q1 had access to *Les Histoires Tragiques* and Gary Taylor suggests contamination for the last of these four important parallels between *Les Histoires Tragiques* and Q1, it is surely distinctly unsatisfactory to have to further complicate the narrative describing the composition of Q1 to accommodate significant anomalies. Is the abridger also supposed to have accessed *Les Histoires Tragiques*, and perhaps been influenced by *The Spanish Tragedy*? This does merit discussion.

A third issue is the change between scene 14 and act IV scene vi. Superficially, scene 14 between Horatio and the Queen in Q1 appears to function chiefly to inform the audience of the fact and method of Hamlet's return, and to create anticipation of what this much-wronged Prince might do. In Q1 two characters are required, which is indeed fewer than in Q2. Here, in IV.vi, Horatio, a Gentleman and a Sailor speak, but the stage directions run 'Enter Horatio and others', followed by 'Enter Saylor's', which must require at least three speakers plus two non-speaking actors. Q1 is therefore undoubtedly more efficient in terms of cast. Considering the scene from this angle alone renders abridgement quite reasonable. But the method of delivering the information is also different. Q1 presents a Horatio who is already acquainted with Hamlet's return and who conveys this to the Queen. In contrast Q2 lets the audience see how and when Horatio receives the information, and hear Hamlet's own account of his escape from his escorts. Several questions arise.

The presence of the Queen in Q1 but not in Q2 is consistent with Q1 deriving more immediately from *Les Histoires Tragiques* than Q2 does, as chapter six shows. Chapter nine will show there also is a consistency in the greater emotional distance between the Queen and Hamlet in Q2. But in the context of abridgement the issue is whether it was impossible to cut Q2's scene without introducing

the Queen. Yet it is actually quite easy to assume the role of an abridger and quickly change the opening of the scene to just two characters, as table 8.a overleaf shows.

The suggested abridgement may not be perfect, but it leads straightforwardly into the rest of the Q2 scene, having reduced the number of actors to two, as in Q1, and having cut three lines. It would suggest it was not necessary for an abridger to change the scene so dramatically. If an abridger deliberately changed this it would suggest he rejected, or missed, how Q2's Hamlet is developed. Q2 presents a Hamlet more isolated than in Q1, and likely to evoke more sympathy; it prepares the audience for Hamlet's increasing use of Horatio as a confidant in act V, and Hamlet's last instruction to Horatio, 'to tell my story' (Sig.G1v). If abridgement or memorial reconstruction are to be believed, the composer of the Q2 -> Q1 variant is sufficiently subtle to have begun to change the relationship between Hamlet and the Queen in the 'bedchamber' scene, and is now quietly continuing that change in another scene which he is composing from scratch. Is that not expecting rather a lot of an abridger or memorial reconstructionist? It is surely the kind of alteration we would expect of an

Table 8.a Q2 *Hamlet*, IV.vi's opening, juxtaposed with a feasible abridgement leading into a two character Q1 scene 14 without the Queen

Q2 Original	Q1 Possible abridgement
<i>Hora.</i> VWhat are they that would speak with me?	<i>Hora.</i> Who are you that would speak with me?
<i>Gent.</i> Sea-faring men sir, they say they have Letters for you.	<i>Say.</i> A Sea-faring man sir, I have a Letter for you, if your name be <i>Horatio</i> , as I am let to know it is.
<i>Hor.</i> Let them come in. I doe not know from what part of the world I should be greeted. If not from Lord <i>Hamlet</i> . <i>Enter Saylers</i>	<i>Hor.</i> I doe not know from what part of the world I should be greeted. If not from Lord <i>Hamlet</i> .
<i>Say.</i> God blesse you sir.	
<i>Hora.</i> Let him blesse thee too.	
<i>Say.</i> A shall sir and please him, there's a letter for you sir, it came from th'Embassador that was bound for <i>England</i> , if your name be <i>Horatio</i> , as I am let to know it is.	<i>Say.</i> Here's the letter for you sir, it came from# th'Embassador that was bound for <i>England</i> .

author, not of an 'editor' (be he abridger or reconstructionist). Moreover, that abridger/memorial reconstructionist coincidentally knows that in the source the Queen asked Prince Amleth to be careful, and tucks a few lines into Q1's scene 14 which also have Q1's Queen desiring Prince

Hamlet to be wary: ‘...bid him a while/Be wary of his presence, lest that he/Faile in that he goes about’ (Sig.H2v). Perhaps scholars would suggest this maternal advice is just a natural touch. But it is absent in Q2.

The scene has further differences; the account of Hamlet’s escape in Q1 is vague, for he has simply been ‘set ashore’ [Sig. H2v]. In Q2 the escape is more detailed; his ship has been boarded by pirates, who take him alone as prisoner. Why might that version be ditched by the alleged abridger? It would have had a contemporary resonance, since English sailors had been troubled by Danish pirates in the Øresund from 1588 onwards. Q2 includes another aspect which Q1 lacks; in Q2 Horatio quotes from Hamlet’s letter, which means that although Hamlet is offstage (for three scenes) while he is supposedly in England, the audience ‘hears’ his voice; the protagonist is ‘present’. And while Q1 informs the audience of Rossencraft and Gilderstone’s fate, Q2 more dramatically withholds that information until the final scene. The audience is again required to wait – in true thriller style – for that detail in the denouement. If this were an example of abridgement, Q2’s manuscript might have been in front of the abridger; why would the abridger, without the stimulus of the idea in front of him in IV vi, relocate the deaths of Rossencraft and Gilderstone (from V ii) in scene 14? This again merits discussion. – and it is again the kind of change which might be attributed to a reviser, rather than any kind of ‘editor’.

The scene as a whole has changes which appear to be much more extensive than need occur with abridging. There appear no satisfactory answers offered at present to why these changes occurred in the course of abridgement; to say they were a result of memorial reconstruction is little better, for then the composer would seem to have consulted *Les Histoires Tragiques* (or the *Ur-Hamlet*, some might add). And that would only explain the Queen’s expectation, and her warning.

There are a considerable number of changes which sit oddly with the concept of an abridger adjusting a Q2 text to suit a two hour performance. If an abridger was faced with a text he knew to be nearly twice the length required, he might consider cutting reasonably consistently from each scene. As many have noted, the two quartos are more similar at the beginning than the end. Memorial reconstructionists have explained this by the presence of ‘Marcellus’ in the opening scenes and his absence from the end. Perhaps those supporting abridgement would see the more swingeing cuts from act V as determined last minute attempts to reduce the play. Yet more of the gallows humour of the Clowne would surely have entertained, as would the Courtier, young Ostricke, and the sword fight; it is odd that these should be reduced. After all, if poetic images and philosophy are ‘cut’ or ‘forgotten’ and are deemed less likely to please the common crowd, would the more populist aspects, sword fights and comedy not be ‘retained’ or ‘remembered’?

Those larger alterations are puzzling; so are the smaller ones, such as those in the opening scenes. Q2 opens with 'Whose there?'; why would an abridger change this? Within a few lines the two quartos are running parallel, but there is no real reason for the change to the opening line. The three extracts below are, respectively, Q2, Q1 and another possible abridgement which would have minimised the changes to Q2 to reach the shorter version found in Q1.

Q2

Bar. Whose there?
Fran. Nay answer me. Stand and vnfolde your selfe.
Bar. Long liue the King.
Fran. *Barnardo.*
Fran. You come most carefully vpon your houre.

Q1

1. Stand: who is that?
 2. Tis I.
 1. O you come most carefully vpon your watch.

Possible abridgement of Q2 into a Q1

1. Whose there?
 2. Tis I.
 1. You come most carefully vpon your houre.

Q1's version requires an abridger to annotate, not just to strike through or crosshatch an unwanted line or two. The possible abridgement may (again) not be perfect, but it is a more logical reduction than the tinkering rewrite which characterises even the first scene of the play. And it is interesting that Q1 begins with an imperative and interrogative which are exactly what a soldier might be expected to say. In contrast, Q2 begins with a line showing a sentinel so uneasy he has forgotten his standard command and question; he is already on edge, and wants to know at once, *Who's there?* It is a subtle change – a revision that might be expected of a mature playwright.

A last objection shared with the general concept of a Q2 -> Q1 direction of composition relates to the name changes. Weiner honestly admits to having no convincing explanation for these: 'there seems to be no evidence to accuse anyone but the author of the change in name'.⁷⁷⁷ The lack of logic in a Q2 (Polonius and Montano) -> Q1 (Corambis and Reynaldo) sequence remains, particularly since F1 follows Q2's use of Polonius and Montano. Shapiro's Q2 -> ? F1 -> Q1 sequence has greater

⁷⁷⁷ Weiner, *William Shakespeare: HAMLET: The First Quarto: 1603*, 51.

consistency at a first glance, although it is undermined by the steadfast post-1603 printings and nomenclature being Polonius and Montano. There can have been little real contemporary concern about 'Polonius' and 'Reynaldo' being word play on the names Pullen ('Polenius') and Rainolds or Reynolds, *pace* Hibbard. If, on the other hand, Q1 were an early draft, and Q2 a late 16th century or an early 17th century revision, a change influenced by the publication of *The Counsellor* in 1598 is credible.

There can be little doubt that abridgement, perhaps after the adaptation of the Q2 *Hamlet* script, would be appropriate to create a shorter text if the intended audience were unlikely to wish for a long, three or four hour play. An absence of any extant intermediate adaptation renders it impossible to prove. There is, however, no doubt that abridgements did occur. The kinds of changes identified by those favouring abridgement are as pertinent for Q2 *Hamlet* as for other 'classic' texts which are longer and/or more complex than their next audience requires. On the surface, there are plenty of contemporary examples of abridgement to make it a highly plausible theory that a very long *Hamlet* might be abridged to a Q1 length.

Bracy, Burkhart and Weiner offer valuable questions and criticisms about memorial reconstruction, valid and salutary reminders that it is a hypothesis, just as abridgement and revision are. They are among those seeing 'bad' quartos as sound theatrical texts, and are not alone in that, according to a selection of literature specialists and actors. It is the internal evidence which renders the case for abridgement as the sole explanation markedly less plausible. A couple of contradictory examples – the pointing of Corambis' speech, the layout of Ofelia's songs – do not support an abridger at work with Q2 in front of him. The lack of an explanation for minor phrasal changes, as illustrated above, also fail to support abridgement, particularly as some are 'explained' by memorial reconstruction. The enormous number of lines affected by change also militates against abridgement as the sole explanation for Q1. Similarities between the French source and Q1 also argue against abridgement, as against memorial reconstruction.

But the difficulty of satisfactorily explaining scene 14 and act IV scene vi undermines abridgement, and also memorial reconstruction, significantly. If either of these hypotheses is correct, the composer - who would not have been Shakespeare - decided to change that scene in a considerable number of respects. In his Q1 he presented the audience with

- a Horatio who knew of Hamlet's return, ahead of the audience
- a Queen, who as in the source was expecting her son's return

- a Queen, who as in the source was closer to her son, and who was closer to her son than in Q2
- a Queen who as in the source expressed a wish that her son be careful
- early news of Rossencraft and Gilderstone's demise, ahead of where it would appear in the Q2 script (which might reasonably have been in front of the abridger) i.e. on a page he had not yet reached.

This would create an abridger who is executing far more than excisions upon a play. The author of this Q1, be he abridger, or memorial reconstructionist, is not just changing a scene but tweaking threads which run between scenes.

In Shakespeare's Q2 the audience is presented with

- a Horatio who begins as in the dark as the audience about Hamlet's whereabouts
- Hamlet's 'voice', which compensates a little for his absence from the stage for three successive scenes
- a hint about Rosencrans and Guyldensterne's fate.

In comparison with Q1, the audience now have a Hamlet who already does not confide in his murderous step-father's wife, who is more isolated, and who is increasingly using Horatio as a confidant, preparing the audience, and Horatio, for the final scene. There is greater suspense; what has happened to Rosencrans and Guyldensterne, as well as what Hamlet will do next. The alterations to the plot in this scene are delicate. They are similar to the change that occurs in the King; Q1's King has a short speech at the beginning of scene 2, and instructs Laertes in scene 15. Q2's Claudius has a longer, rhetorical and manipulative speech in act I scene ii, pays greater attention to Laertes there, and manipulates him as well as instructing him in act IV scene vii.

These changes in scene 14 and act IV vi are consistent with a playwright who knows his material and what he wants to achieve within the whole play. They appear consistent with a *Les Histoires Tragiques* -> Q1 -> Q2 sequence. These changes in the texts themselves are subtle, widespread and considered, and they do not support abridgement. However, several of them hint at an alternative explanation, first draft and revision, the last of the three principal hypotheses explaining the relationship between Q1 and Q2 to be considered. No major case has been made for it yet, but it is the focus of chapter nine.

Chapter 9

First Draft and Revision

There is currently no book on revision equivalent to *The 'Bad' Quarto of Hamlet*, that is, of the whole book which Duthie devoted to *Hamlet* and which Jenkins judged 'conclusively demonstrated' the theory of memorial reconstruction.⁷⁷⁸ However, there are a number of scholars who have supported a first draft and revision explanation for the quartos, and others who might be open to doing so. But when the early revisionists in the nineteenth century, such as Caldecott (1832), Knight (1841), Timmins (1860) and Furness (1877), proposed Q1 as a first draft and Q2 as a revised version, they did so without exploring the texts to substantiate their views in any significant detail. Furnival too expressed belief rather than providing a case, saying Q2 was 'Recast', for he 'decline[s] to believe... in the overwhelming debt that Shakspeare would owe to Mr Unknown, if the original of Q1, after Act II, were his, or mainly his, and not, in design and thought, almost wholly Shakspeare's own'.⁷⁷⁹ Furnival's belief does point to the awkward dilemma in the undoubted closeness of the two quartos. In the late 20th century a small number of revisionists have emerged again, although so far without the attention to the wide range of minutiae which characterises Duthie's book. These revisionists include for example Sams, Urkowitz who precisely spotlights particular features in *Hamlet* which seem best explained by revision,⁷⁸⁰ those who selectively support revision, that is for *King Lear*,⁷⁸¹ or who discreetly query it,⁷⁸² wait with Alan C. Dessen to be better convinced,⁷⁸³ or who investigate revision across a wider canvas.⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁷⁸ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 19.

⁷⁷⁹ F. J. Furnival, *Forewords* (sic) to William Griggs, *Shakspeare's Hamlet: The Second Quarto, 1604* (London: W. Griggs), xvii, viii. Undated, but dedicated to W.E. Gladstone (d. 1898).

⁷⁸⁰ Steven Urkowitz, 'Back to Basics: Thinking about the Hamlet First Quarto', edited by Thomas Clayton. *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 257ff.

⁷⁸¹ For example Wells and Taylor, in their printing of the two *Lear* texts in their *William Shakespeare. The Complete Works* (London: W.W. Norton & Co., 1997).

⁷⁸² For example Holderness and Loughrey in their *General Introduction* – the theory 'is considerably more controversial than is generally recognised' (Q1 *Hamlet*, 8).

⁷⁸³ Dessen, 'Weighing the Options in *Hamlet* Q1', 65-77.

⁷⁸⁴ For example Grace Ioppolo in *Revising Shakespeare*.

Perhaps it is inevitable that the concept of Shakespeare revising is dismissed vigorously by some. Hart, after quoting Jonson in *Discoveries*, on Shakespeare's 'facility' in writing, declares it is impossible to reconcile that ease in writing with the 'patient endurance of the tiresome drudgery required for rewriting the bad quartos, six literary chares more intolerable than the tasks imposed on a teacher of Latin in correcting the exercises of his dullest pupils'.⁷⁸⁵ Jenkins too rejects the idea of a revising author: '[t]here has been too much irresponsible conjecture about Shakespeare's supposed revisions of supposed early attempts'. Jenkins then proceeds to write about his 'conception of Shakespeare', which sees Shakespeare as a 'supremely inventive poet', and follows this with his own 'conjecture', that Shakespeare 'had no call to rework his previous plays when he could always move on to a new one'. Jenkins is insistent about that lack of evidence for revision: 'the conception of Shakespeare as an artist much given to the revision of his own past work are quite without evidence or plausibility'.⁷⁸⁶ These are all opinions, however, and without a consensus; for example Shapiro writes that 'Shakespeare tinkered obsessively'.⁷⁸⁷ Today, however, there does appear to be agreement that F1 *King Lear* is a revised version of the 1608 *King Lear* quarto.

In the absence of any major text exploring revision and the two quartos, this chapter begins to form a framework to evaluate whether there is any evidence for Q1 *Hamlet* as a first draft and Q2 as revised version in addition to that shown in chapter six. The chapter starts by reviewing the more recent assessments of Q1 in performance, and shows these are complimentary. It looks at the possible motives Shakespeare might have had for revising *Hamlet*, and suggests why he might have been a revising playwright. It also examines the types of revision his contemporaries carried out, and shows that several of these are analogous explanations for differences between Q1 and Q2.

The second half of the chapter turns to the quartos themselves, for the evidence they provide. A glance at the morphology of the third person singular (<eth>, <s>), and the informal characteristics of the language shows that Q1 has proportionally more of the older form, and fewer of the informal features. The first is a small hint that perhaps Q1 is the older text; the second suggests Q2 is the later text, since Shakespeare supposedly used more informal features in later plays. *Les Histoires Tragiques* is briefly revisited, to re-establish the respects in which Q1 is closer to the French source, to show how more of the shadow of the French source is evident in Q1 than in Q2, and to provide a reminder of those respects in which there seems to be an evolution in ideas and borrowings from *Les Histoires Tragiques*, through Q1, to Q2. Lastly, the chapter considers how and why the

⁷⁸⁵ Alfred Hart, *Stolne and Surreptitious Copies*, 159.

⁷⁸⁶ Jenkins, *Hamlet*, 19, 5.

⁷⁸⁷ Shapiro, *1599*, 342.

relationship between Hamlet and the Queen differs in the two quartos, how Claudius' introductory speech might have its roots in the French source, and how Rossencraft and Gilderstone⁷⁸⁸ seem to evolve. All of these points reinforce the findings of chapter six, Q1's proximity to *Les Histoires Tragiques*, and Q1's priority.

9.i An Argument from External Evidence: Performance, Motive, and Contemporaries' Revisions

Q1 has been heavily criticised; according to Sidney Thomas, on almost every page, there are found 'its incoherence, its ellipses, and its divagations' which 'reveal its blundering attempt to render what we find in Q2',⁷⁸⁹ and Hart even refers to the 'butchery' evident in Q1.⁷⁹⁰ Even in popular novels Q1's reputation is scarred: 'It's a crap version, a prompt copy, or remembered rather badly by one of the actors, or pirated by a scribbler in the audience', says one of the characters in *The Bad Quarto*, by Jill Paton Walsh.⁷⁹¹ Yet Q1 also has its adherents, even for that first performance in 1881, put on by William Poel: 'the First Quarto is an excellent acting play'.⁷⁹² Peter Guinness, in the 1985 performance of the so-called 'Bad Quarto' at the Orange Tree Theatre, Richmond describes it as:

'an express train that roars out of the station at the beginning of the play, and heads for the next two hours at accelerating speed towards a dead-end at the far end of the track. The audience knows that disaster is coming, and the excitement builds simply because of the speed at which the play moves'.⁷⁹³

A reviewer of Guinness in Hamlet's role in Q1 wrote 'I shall never think of it as the Bad Quarto again'.⁷⁹⁴ Graham Holderness and Bryan Loughrey front their *Introduction* to their 1992 Q1 *Hamlet* with a selection of 'phrases of positive celebration', responses to the 1985 performance: 'Enormous dramatic economy and force...', 'a brisk, exciting play...', and 'vitality'. Those accolades do not have

⁷⁸⁸ The use of the spellings from Q1 is deliberate and acknowledged as implicitly biased.

⁷⁸⁹ Sidney Thomas, 'Hamlet Q1: First Version or Bad Quarto?', 225.

⁷⁹⁰ Hart, *Stolne and Surreptitious Copies*, 86.

⁷⁹¹ Jill Paton Walsh, *The Bad Quarto* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2007), 34.

⁷⁹² Martin Rosenberg, reporting on how Q1 was received in 1881, in 'The First Modern English Staging', edited by Thomas Clayton. *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 247.

⁷⁹³ Brian Loughrey reporting an interview with Peter Guinness, in 'Q1 in Recent Performance', edited by Thomas Clayton. *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 128.

⁷⁹⁴ Brian Loughrey reporting an interview with Sam Walters, who in turn was quoting B. A. Young in the *Financial Times*, in 'Q1 in Recent Performance', 133.

the mentions of 'subtlety', 'poetry' and 'great lines', all associated with Q2.⁷⁹⁵ There is a critical distinction necessary here, between a good theatrical text, and a great, poetic, theatrical text. If Q2 is the latter, it does not exclude Q1 from being the former.

Circumstantial evidence, however, does suggest a reason or motive for revision, for allusions to *Hamlet* and Shakespeare in the last years of Elizabeth's reign are frequently critical. The first mention of a *Hamlet* play – whose *Hamlet* remains unknown – is not particularly complimentary. Nashe is at least amused and perhaps even mocking in tone when he refers to 'whole *Hamlets*, I should say handfulls of Tragicall speeches'. It appears that Nashe sees the author of *Hamlet* as one who has plagiarised or borrowed from Seneca, and produced rather a large number of 'Tragicall speeches'. Nashe, Cambridge educated, was one of the coterie of 'University Wits' – the chief ones including also Lyly, Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Watson and Lodge - and was writing a *Preface* for the *Menaphon* by his fellow 'wit', Greene. Nashe's jibe is at those who were not in the coterie, and whom he considers should have been or stayed as scribes, copyists, and not involved themselves in the 'indeuours of Art'; he is referring to non-graduates, and anticipates the agreement of his audience, the 'Gentlemen Students of both Universities'.

Greene, in turn, appears to be uncomplimentary about Shakespeare in *Groats Worth*, written before 3rd September 1592.⁷⁹⁶ Greene, who was a graduate and professional writer, with one or more publications every year from 1583-92 (bar 1586), seems to be addressing fellow professional writers and wits, Marlowe, Nashe and Peele:

Base minded men all three of you, if by my miserie you be not warnd: for unto none of you (like mee) sought those burres to cleaue: those Puppets (I mean) that spake from our mouths, those Anticks garnisht in our colours. Is it not strange, that I, to whom they all haue beene beholding: is it not like that you, to whome they haue all beene beholding, shall (were ye in that case as I am now) bee both at once of them forsaken? Yes trust them not: for there is an vpstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide*, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blanke verse as the best of you: and beeing an absolute *Iohannes fac totum*, is, in his own conceit, the onely Shake-scene in a country. O, that I might intreat your rare wits to be imployed in more profitable courses: & let those Apes

⁷⁹⁵ Holderness and Loughrey, *Q1 Hamlet*, 13.

⁷⁹⁶ There was and is some suspicion that Chettle was the actual author (Samuel Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) 156), but here the author is of less importance than the sentiment.

imitate your past excellence, and neuer more acquaint them with your admired inuentions'.⁷⁹⁷

The passage suggests Greene, as a graduate and professional writer, resents⁷⁹⁸ the actor turned writer, the 'upstart crow' who has appeared 'beautified in our feathers',⁷⁹⁹ speaking the lines of the university wits like Greene himself, and now 'bombast[ing]' out his own blank verse. '[B]ombast' in this context echoes Nashe's own words in the 1589 *Preface* he wrote for Greene – 'the swelling bumbast of bragging blanke verse' - and carries the same derogatory connotations; indeed, there are many verbal echoes, for Nashe too had referred to 'feathers' and 'plumes', and 'inuention of their apish deuises'.⁸⁰⁰ Greene's addressees are advised instead to use their 'rare wits' in ways which cannot be aped. That Shakespeare is alluded to is generally agreed: 'Shake-scene' seems an obvious pun, and both 'puppets' and the allusion to 'beautified in our feathers' connote an actor, which Shakespeare is known to have been.⁸⁰¹ It seems that Greene esteems neither 'Shake-scene' nor his writing.

It is in 1594 - as addressed in chapter four - that three plays with Shakespearean titles are performed at Newington Butts: 'andronicus', 'hamlet, and 'the tamyng of A Shrowe'. They are performed at an out of the way, unpopular theatre, and the gate money is low in comparison with Henslowe's performances elsewhere. The receipts and the location are hardly encouraging to an aspiring playwright. There are only ten plays recorded as being performed at Newington Butts in 1594, but if three out of ten are Shakespeare's but did not pull the crowd to this theatre, the playwright may have been motivated to work further upon his dramas.

Two years later Lodge alludes to a *Hamlet*. Lodge, another elitist university wit, mentions the vizard of the Ghost which 'cried so miserably at the Theator, like an oyster wife, *Hamlet, revenge*'. The tone

⁷⁹⁷ Price, *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography*, 49-50.

⁷⁹⁸ Honan uses the emotive lexeme 'attack' to describe Greene's approach here; this was 'virtually a rape' at which Shakespeare 'must at first have felt sharply cut'; Shakespeare was daring to write 'scripts to rival those of his social betters' (Honan, *Shakespeare: A Life*, 146, 158, 161, 160).

⁷⁹⁹ '[B]eautified' is interesting; does Shakespeare later echo it deliberately in Q2, with 'the most beautified Ophelia – that's a ill phrase, a vile phrase' (II.ii.109)?

⁸⁰⁰ McKerrow, *Thomas Nashe* vol III, 311, 324, 312, 313. It is extremely disconcerting to read Nashe, in this 1589 publication, writing about the 'Italianate penne...[which] vaunts *Ouids* and *Plutarchs* plumes', bearing in mind the number of 'Italian' plays Shakespeare wrote, and his debts to Ovid and Plutarch.

⁸⁰¹ Shakespeare's name headed the list of actors at the front of Ben Jonson's *Every Man In His Humour*. '*Iohannes fac totum*' may refer to Shakespeare both acting and writing, though Diana Price also glosses it as 'a would-be universal genius', or 'person of boundless conceit, who thinks himself able to do anything, however much beyond the reach of real abilities' (Price, *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography*, 49). The deliberately misquoted line from *3 Henry VI* (York: '...tiger's heart wrapped in a woman's hide' (I.iv.137)) tends to reinforce the identification with Shakespeare.

is jokey rather than respectful; if this alludes to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, it may again have appeared discouraging. Further evidence of the division gulf the University Wits perceived, created, or tried to maintain between themselves and non-university writers is supplied in the *Parnassus Plays*, 1598/9 - 1602/3, written and performed at St John's, Cambridge University. In *The First Part of the Returne from Parnassus* Gullio, clearly introduced by Ingenioso (identified with Nashe by Fleay and Leishmann⁸⁰²) with 'here comes a gull'⁸⁰³ seems to praise 'sweet Mr Shakespeare'. However, Gullio's literary perceptiveness is ironically undermined by his apparent dismissal of Chaucer and Spenser: '[L]et this duncified worlde esteeme of Spe[n]cer and Chaucer. Ile worship sweet Mr Shakspeare'.⁸⁰⁴ That the 'war' between the university men and the non-university authors is continuing is ironically alluded to by the character 'Kempe' in *The Second Part of the Returne from Parnassus*, who declares 'Few of the vniuersity [men] pen plaies well, they smell too much of that writer *Ouid* and that writer *Metamorphoses*... Why heres our fellow Shakespeare puts them all downe, I and *Ben Ionson* too'.⁸⁰⁵ 'Kempe', like Gullio, undermines himself by his 'error' with the 'writer *Metamorphoses*', but the point is made; Shakespeare is again under fire as an author.

Shakespeare may therefore have been motivated to revise some of his writing and prove himself by the undercurrent of criticism by the university wits and their assumed superiority over the non-university writer Shakespeare (and the play *Hamlet*) for over a decade. An analogy could be drawn with Jonson. Jonson, 'the wittiest fellow of a Bricklayer in England',⁸⁰⁶ was riled by the jibes aimed at him. His response seems to be wide-ranging: he appears to show off his classical education,⁸⁰⁷ he was famously scathing about the lack of a (current) sea-coast for Bohemia in *The Winter's Tale*,⁸⁰⁸ and he edited his own work meticulously. He also appears to attempt to create connections with the establishments associated with those university wits: he dedicated *Every Man out of his Humour* to the Inns of Court, and *Volpone* to 'the Two Famous Universities'.⁸⁰⁹ The only hint of a response from

⁸⁰² J. B. Leishmann, editor, *The Three Parnassus Plays 1598-1601* (London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson Ltd., 1949), 71-2n.

⁸⁰³ *The First Part of the Returne from Parnassus*, I 834.

⁸⁰⁴ *First Returne*, II 1200-1201.

⁸⁰⁵ *The Second Part of the Returne from Parnassus*, II 1766-70.

⁸⁰⁶ *Second Returne*, I 293.

⁸⁰⁷ In *Bartholomew Fayre* Jonson rattles off classical names but does not expect everyone to understand the allusions to for example the Hellespont, Abidos, Sestos. Act V, scene iii.

⁸⁰⁸ 'Shakespeare follows Green in giving Bohemia a sea coast, an error that has provoked the discussion of Ben Jonson on' (Laura J. Wylie, editor, *The Winter's Tale* (New York: Macmillan, 1912), 147). Pafford alludes briefly to this too (Pafford, *The Winter's Tale*, 66n).

⁸⁰⁹ Leishmann, *The Three Parnassus Plays*, 50.

Shakespeare in any circumstances is inferred from Chettle's preface to his *Kind-Heart's Dream*.

Three months after Greene's death and the publication of *Groatsworth* Chettle appears to apologise to Shakespeare, and 'his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing, that approves his art', though relating the possessive determiner 'his' to Shakespeare remains speculative and plausible rather than proven.⁸¹⁰

In some areas Shakespeare was having marked success in the last decade of Elizabeth's reign.

Venus and Adonis was printed in 1593 and reprinted in 1594, possibly in octavo in 1595, as well as in 1596 and 1599 (twice) before the end of the century; *The Rape of Lucrece* was printed three times by 1600, and several plays were published under his name from 1598.⁸¹¹ Favourable mention of Shakespeare begins to occur in several printed texts by the end of the 1590s, when Shakespeare had been writing for some years (at least ten?): Richard Barnfield in 1598 describes Shakespeare's 'hony-flowing Vaine' in *A Remembrance of some English Poets*;⁸¹² Meres praises him in *Palladis Tamia* in the same year; John Weever in his *Epigrammes* praises 'honie-tong'd Shakespeare' in 1599 (55-6), and in 1600 in Bodenham's *Bel-vedère* Shakespeare was listed among other contemporary writers and frequently quoted.⁸¹³ Shapiro comments that it was only towards the end of the 1590s 'that contemporary critics had finally begun to acknowledge his talent'.⁸¹⁴ This growing praise might have offset any disquiet Shakespeare felt at the criticism of others, but the earlier criticism might also have already spurred him into attempts to 'newly correct...or revise his plays'.⁸¹⁵

That Shakespeare was motivated to revise a Q1 *Hamlet* cannot be proved, but hints of criticism of the play in the last years of the 16th century and of Shakespeare until 1598 or so can be demonstrated. And there are fragmentary hints to suggest that Shakespeare might have revised: the authority of Jonson, the belief of scholars, the claim on Q2's title page, and the analogy of others' revisions.

Ben Jonson appears to suggest revision in his F1 paean to Shakespeare; the metaphor Jonson uses to describe Shakespeare's approach, to 'strike the second heat/Vpon the *Muses* anuile',⁸¹⁶ is

⁸¹⁰ Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life*, 154.

⁸¹¹ The popularity of *Venus and Adonis*, which Germaine Greer called 'the horny Elizabethan woman's favourite book' (Hay-On-Wye Festival lecture) is perhaps due to 'lewd *Venus*'; and 'her loues designs', as John Davies of Hereford described it in his *Scourge of Folly* (Leishmann, *The Three Parnassus Plays*, 58).

⁸¹² *Ibid.*, 55- 56.

⁸¹³ John Bodenham, *Bel-vedère or the Garden of the Muses*, 1600. British Library reference: c.40.b.34.

⁸¹⁴ Shapiro, *1599*, 17.

⁸¹⁵ *Hamlet* is of course not the only play that may have been a candidate for revision.

⁸¹⁶ Alexander, *The Complete Works*, xxix.

interpreted by Schoenbaum as Jonson understanding that ‘part of [Shakespeare’s] greatness was bound up in his gift for second thoughts’.⁸¹⁷ It may even be that the length of Q2 exemplifies another of Jonson’s comments on Shakespeare, that ‘he flowed with that facility that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped: *Sufflimandus erat*, as Augustus said of Haterius’.⁸¹⁸ Secondly, many assume that where the first folio version differs from a quarto, this is evidence of some of Shakespeare’s revision. Shapiro suggests such revision on *Hamlet* occurred soon after the completion of Q2, proposing a sequence for composition, revision, memorial reconstruction and printing that spans barely five years: Q2 was completed in late 1599/early 1600, and Shakespeare was ‘extensively revising’ it ‘not long after’. Presumably this implies the memorial reconstructors were simultaneously creating Q1. The manuscript was then given to the players; ‘a significant abridgement would still be necessary before it could be performed at the Globe’.⁸¹⁹ Q1 is then published in 1603, followed shortly by Q2 in 1604-5. Shapiro chooses to simplify the ‘vexing issues’ surrounding the editions of *Hamlet*, but his examples demonstrate that he is treating Q2 as Shakespeare’s first draft, and that revision of Q2 is evident in F1.

Thus Shapiro offers the example of Q2’s ‘What’s *Hecuba* to him, or he to her?’ (Q2: sig. F4^v21), which is revised to ‘What’s Hecuba to him or he to Hecuba?’ in F1 (II.ii.592). Yet Q1’s reading was very close: ‘For Hecuba, why what’s Hecuba to him or he to Hecuba?’ (Q1: sig. F1^r1). Q1’s reading is repetitive (three ‘Hecuba’s) and seventeen syllables; Q2’s reading is trimmer and a regular iambic pentameter, but F1 restores the second proper noun, comes closer to chiasmus – and brings the syllable count to twelve. It is difficult to be certain exactly where Shakespeare’s writing begins and his revision ends, but a first draft (Q1?) might convey the sense a little clumsily, a revision (Q2?) might regularise the line, and a third (F1?) version might retain the best of each. However, one widely agreed example of Q2 -> F1 revision is in the Player Queen’s speech:

For women fare too much, euen as they loue,
And womens feare and loue hold quantitie,
Eyther none, in neither ought, or in extremitie. (Q2: sig. H2^r1-3)

In F1 these lines are effectively telescoped:

For womens Feare and Loue, holds quantitie,
In neither ought, or in extremity. (III.ii.189-90)

⁸¹⁷ Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life*, 358.

⁸¹⁸ Schoenbaum, quoting from Ben Jonson: *Timber, or, Discoveries; Made upon Men and Matter* (1641), from Ben Jonson, *Workes*, 97-8 (Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life*, 259).

⁸¹⁹ Shapiro, *1599*, 341.

It seems that in principle it is possible to say that Shakespeare revised, but that there is no consensus about to what extent, or about what might have been his original draft, and consequently what might be the revised text(s).

Thirdly, the suggestion of revision occurs on the title page of Q2. Under the title and attribution to William Shakespeare comes the descriptor: 'Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppie'. Since Q2 is almost double the length of Q1, the comment on enlargement is valid. However, 'true and perfect Coppie' could be interpreted as implying that the previous *Hamlet* was not 'true and perfect'. What should the reader infer? That the imperfections of Q1 were due to poor printing, or a poor copy having been provided for printing – perhaps supporting the proposed memorial reconstruction? Or that 'perfect' denoted 'complete' (Middle English), because the previous printing was not 'complete'? Or 'exact'? Or was the poet declaring Q2 to be his final version of *Hamlet*? Since the descriptor was not rare at the time, it may have been simply conative, or 'puffery', as suggested earlier. Certainly there are anomalies in its use. Q3 *Richard III*, for example, printed by Thomas Creede in 1602, claims to be 'Newly augmented', but shows no evidence of this. As noted earlier the phrasing was also found in French publications; the 1582 edition of Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*, printed in Paris, has on its title page 'reueu (sic), corrigé & augmenté', as does the 1583 edition printed in Lyons, which does not 'reproduce its insertions'.⁸²⁰ Q2 is noticeably longer than Q1, so 'enlarged'⁸²¹ is certainly accurate, even if 'true and perfect Coppie' is an example of Elizabethan and Jacobean advertising jargon.

Finally, there is the analogy of the contemporary evidence of other authors revising. Ippolo's *Revising Shakespeare* assembles examples of emendations, some of which can only be identified from writing upon manuscripts and books, and others which may be deduced by differences between printed versions. The first group cannot be proved with regard to Q1 and Q2, because no such manuscripts or corrected books are known. (It is, however, noteworthy that Brian Vickers comments on Shakespeare's possible hand in Sir Thomas More: '[o]ne peculiarity of the handwriting on these pages is the amount of space Shakespeare allowed himself'. It is 'as if he were allowing himself ample space for interlinear additions and corrections'.⁸²² Such comments invite speculation upon whether Shakespeare was a reviser, and even whether he expected to revise.) The examples of emendations in the first group include: marginal additions (some written at ninety degrees to the

⁸²⁰ Gollancz, *The Sources of Hamlet*, 318-9. The differences between two editions of Belleforest, Gollancz's of the 1582 *Histoires Tragiques* and Moltke's of 1581, are confined to minor changes such as spellings and morphology, and two additional sentences.

⁸²¹ '[E]nlarged' permits the inference that something less 'large' preceded it. Q1 is only 55% of Q2.

⁸²² Sir Brian Vickers, *Shakespeare, Co-Author* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 39.

main text), interlineations, inserted slips, inserting major speeches on separate leaves and in the margins. Some of these were no doubt challenges to printers, and may have resulted in errors in printed texts; plays of the period are not renowned for accuracy in print. The second group of revision features can be found in a comparison of the two quartos: alterations to spelling and punctuation, correction of errors or rewriting of some unclear words, addition of stage directions, added topical allusions, substitutions of one word with a whole speech, additional characters, development of another character, a whole scene omission, single word or line substitutions, transpositions, deletions, and additions.

The differences between the two quartos are so numerous that it is impractical to discuss all of them in a thesis with a wider remit. Consequently discussion here is limited to examples of the variety of change between the quartos which also conform to the features of revision found in contemporary plays. One of these is correction, or the rewriting of an unclear word. An example is found at the beginning of act V scene i, when Hamlet is speaking to Horatio about the bones the Clown is finding. Hamlet comments that a box 'will scarce/ Hold the conveyance of his [a lawyer's] land and must/ The honor lie there?' (Q1: sig. H4^v9) It is assumed 'honor' was a misreading of 'owner'; by Q2, this has been clarified not by 'owner' but a more formal, perhaps less easily mistaken, synonym, 'inheritor' (Q2: sig. M2^v35).

The opening scene of the quartos offers a range of single word 'substitutions',⁸²³ another revision feature. Q1 mentions 'upon your watch' (sig. B1^r3), in comparison with 'vpon your houre' in Q2 (sig. B1^r6), while 'yonder star' (Q1: sig. B1^v12) is paired with 'yond same starre' (Q2: sig. B1^v22), and 'But loe, behold' (Q1: sig. B2^v7), with 'But soft, behold' (Q2: sig. B3^r1). A single line substitution begins the play: Q1's 'Stand: who is that?' (sig. B1^r1) is paired with 'Whose there?' (Q2: sig. B1^r1). Minor changes in punctuation are also evident: Horatio speaks in Q1 of how Fortinbrasse 'did forfeit with his life all those/ His lands which he stoode seized of by the conqueror' (sig. B2^r30-1) while Q2 breaks up the rather complex sentence, placing the adverbial '(with his life)' in parenthesis, and pausing with a comma between the verb and the indirect object, 'Which he stood seiz'd of, to the conqueror' (Q2: sig. B2^v1-2). Transpositions of words are noticeable, too. When Horatio speaks of the cock crowing at dawn and awakening the god of day, one line of his speech runs thus: 'Whether in earth or ayre, in sea or fire' (sig. B2^v32). In Q2 the same line is 'Whether in sea or fire, in earth or ayre' (sig. B3^r29). In terms of the sense, the alternative ordering of the two sets of elements is not

⁸²³ The phrasing of the sentence implies the words in Q2 are the ones which are being substituted, while advocates of memorial reconstruction would suggest the Q1 equivalent is the single word 'substitution'. There is an inherent bias in the use of the vocabulary used to describe the differences between the quartos.

significant. All are monosyllables, and the slight phonological patterning between the second of each pair in each quarto hints at internal rhyme in a manner no other combination of the four words would, and is retained in each quarto. The same is true of another alternative ordering: Q1's Marcellus speaks of the time when our saviour's birth is celebrated as 'So gracious, and so hallowed' (sig. B3r5), while Q2 has an alternative order, 'So hallowed, and so gracious' (sig. B3v1).⁸²⁴

All four examples of revision features above – selected randomly from a glance at the opening scene – interestingly share the characteristic of not being critical to sense or rhythm. Their existence, particularly if wide-spread through the two quartos, is consistent with a reviser who is working from his original script – here postulated as Q1 – quickly copying across all that he wishes to retain, occasionally unconcerned about synonyms or minor transpositions, and – speculatively – focused upon the next point at which he wishes to add or alter the original. At a time when 'cut and paste' was undreamt of, copying out again may have been a 'chore' but there was no option. The position is also reasonably consistent with Shapiro's view of Shakespeare, as one who 'obsessively tinkered' with the text, though that phrase is applied here to Q1 -> Q2 revision, not (just) Q2 -> F1 revision.

'Deletions' and 'additions' are further revision techniques, like the above-mentioned 'transpositions'. With the *Hamlet* quartos the terms need to be approached with caution, since each can imply the direction of change and consequently prejudice the reader regarding the chronology. To comment that Hamlet's 'How all occasions' soliloquy (act IV scene iv) is 'deleted' or 'omitted' from Q1 implies Q2 existed beforehand and that the compiler of Q1 had some degree of choice about whether to include the soliloquy in Q1. To comment that the same soliloquy is an 'addition' to Q2 assumes Q1 existed first. The type of difficulty that can emerge is illustrated in Lene Petersen's discussion of the promise Q1's Queen makes, where Petersen uses 'insertion'.⁸²⁵ Petersen, who implicitly accepts the theory of memorial reconstruction for the creation of Q1, is exploring the application of Max Lüthi's proposition of the 'Zielform'. This suggests that a text submitted to oral-memorial transmission will eventually and inevitably move towards a stylistically predictable reduced form.⁸²⁶ Petersen then takes Q2 and F1 (she produces tables using F1), seeing those as the 'source', and Q1 and *Brudermord* as derivatives. Her sequence is therefore limited to (Q2)F1 -> Q1 and *Brudermord*; she does not mention Belleforest. While this is understandable, in that her focus is on oral transmission,

⁸²⁴ Q2's order may be preferable because 'hallowed' ends with a long, unstressed syllable, while 'gracious' ends with a shorter syllable, because the vowel sound is schwa. The shorter syllable is arguably a more decisive conclusion to the line.

⁸²⁵ 'A different placement' would have been relatively neutral; it would not have implied the chronology Petersen believes in.

⁸²⁶ Petersen, *Shakespeare's Errant Texts*, 69.

it completely overlooks any alternative explanation for the relationship between the quartos and the first folio versions, and does not acknowledge that these are part of a sequence of 'Hamlet' stories going back to c.1200. She writes that in Q1 'the narrative option of letting a mother pledge allegiance and assistance to her only son is realised by the insertion of the passage: ... "I will conceale, consent and doe my best..."⁸²⁷ That 'option' of Amleth's mother pledging 'allegiance and assistance' to her son is exactly what is found in the (French) 'narrative' source of *Hamlet*; there is no need to posit it as an 'insertion' by a reporter, and, in the context of *Hamlet* and its sources, 'insertion' is an inaccurate label.

If we momentarily *assume* Q1 preceded Q2 and that first draft and revision is correct, examples are easy to find. Shakespeare 'deletes' his first method for returning Hamlet to Denmark ('Being crossed by the contention of the winds' (14.5)), and 'adds' the story of the 'pirate of warlike appointment' (IV.vi.15-16). Shakespeare 'transposes' the 'nunnery' scene from its position just after Corambis' suggestion of using Ofelia to discover if Hamlet is mad with love, to nearly 600 lines later in Q2, leaving the audience/reader waiting in suspense. These two examples are logical enough if the case for revision is to be argued, but in reality the quartos are merely being measured against each other. Much more significant are the examples of revision that can be argued by bringing in a third text with a known position in the chronology. Hence the value of the phrasing of the promise of Q1's Queen, so similar to that of the earlier Belleforest; that example is superior to either of the examples beginning this paragraph.

loppolo also sees the development of character as a sign of possible revision. Those advocating abridgement or memorial reconstruction would see the more streamlined characters of Q1 as evidence of the simplification that occurred with abridgement, or the weaknesses of detail in the recall of the actor/reporter(s). Hart, who sees a 'bad' quarto as most probably 'a corrupt, garbled, ungrammatical and probably mutilated version' of an original manuscript,⁸²⁸ suggests 'literary' revision began with Jonson,⁸²⁹ though it was not a concern of all dramatists.⁸³⁰ Jonson's revision of *Every Man in His Humour* was carried out between its first publication in 1598 – when it included a list of actors headed by William Shakespeare – and 1616, when it was republished in Jonson's collected works. Jonson's revision included:

⁸²⁷ Ibid., 69-70.

⁸²⁸ Hart, *Shakespeare and the Homilies*, 128.

⁸²⁹ Hart, *Shakespeare and the Homilies*, 142. Rather a sweeping comment; for example Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* was revised earlier than this.

⁸³⁰ Heywood wrote: 'It neuer was any great ambition in me to bee in this kind Voluminously read' (ibid., 143).

- an added prologue
- varied lengths of acts
- the number of scenes, increased from twenty to thirty-three
- the location of the action, changed from Italy to England
- the renaming of most of the characters
- hundreds of verbal and phrasal changes
- additions of less than two or three lines, on the whole
- the excision of many lines and some short passages
- an addition of thirty lines to one speech, and the removal of another of thirty-one lines.

The total increase in *Every Man* is three percent.⁸³¹ In his summary, Hart comments that Q2 *Romeo and Juliet* has an increase in length of thirty-four percent, and 'the added matter has a high poetic but low dramatic value'.⁸³²

How does Q2 rate against that list, in comparison with Q1, if Q1 -> Q2 is assumed? Q2 includes:

- an added soliloquy,
- varied lengths of acts
- the number of scenes is increased from seventeen to twenty
- a minor change in the location of the place in which Hamlet is separated from his two escorts, from 'set ashore' after a storm to a pirate ship,
- some characters gain names and two are renamed
- many verbal and phrasal changes
- varied numbers of lines added
- the excision of some lines and the removal of scene 14
- an addition of twenty-nine lines to Claudius' opening speech.

Most would agree that 'the added matter [of Q2] has a high poetic' value, even if it is not all so dramatic. The types and extent of changes between Q1 and Q2 are very similar those listed for Jonson.

Part of the argument for memorial reconstruction relies upon analogies (for example, what sometimes happened to Lope de Vega's plays, and John Bernard's account of re-creating *The School for Scandal*). This analogy with Jonson's revisions provides one way of looking at Q2. Of

⁸³¹ Hart, *Shakespeare and the Homilies*, 142, 145.

⁸³² *Ibid.*, 144.

course, Jonson's revision led to only an increase of three percent; Q2 is nearly twice as long. Jonson was revising for publication; indeed, Hart comments:

The excessive difference between Jonson's two plays, *The Case is Altered* (2525 lines) and *Every Man Out of His Humour* (4452 lines) is partly explained by his habit of rewriting and expanding the original manuscript of the acted play prior to publication.⁸³³

Could Shakespeare have revised for the same reason, as Lukas Erne argues? If so, it would explain why Shakespeare, an experienced playwright by 1600, would write a play so much longer than the 'two hours traffic' of the stage. For a *reading* public the dramatist is free to choose the length at which he wishes to write. Might Shakespeare even have been one of those playwrights who 'used a double sale of their labours, first to the Stage, and after to the presse', as Heywood complained in 1608?⁸³⁴

It is also possible, with very little effort, to find examples of the revision techniques Ioppolo identifies in contemporary texts in Q1 and Q2. Examples of these types of change between the quartos, which may be revision, although adherents of other hypotheses may argue otherwise, are shown in table 9.a

Table 9.a Examples only of changes between Q1 and Q2 which may be due to Shakespeare's own revision (Texts used for references are principally the facsimiles of Q1 and Q2, edited by W. W. Greg and W. Griggs respectively)

Type of change	Q1	Reference: sigs	Q2	Reference: sigs
Alterations to spelling	<i>Hecates</i> bane	F4 ^r 29	<i>Hecats</i> ban	H3 ^r 11
Alterations to punctuation	seazed of by	B2 ^r 31	seaz'd of, to	B2 ^v 2
Correction of errors /Rewriting of some unclear words	the honor lie there	H4 ^v 9	th'inheritor himself have no more	M2 ^v 35
Addition of stage directions	Dumb show description	9.66ff	Dumb show, double length, more detailed	III.ii.129ff

Table 9.a continues overleaf.

⁸³³ Hart, *Shakespeare and the Homilies*, 136.

⁸³⁴ Heywood, quoted in Werstine, 'Narratives about Printed Shakespeare Texts: "Foul Papers" and "Bad" Quartos Author(s)' (*Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Spring, 1990), 65-86), 84.

Table 9.a Continued

Type of change	Q1	Reference: sigs	Q2	Reference: sigs
Development of character	King's opening speech	Scene 2	Claudius' opening speech	I.ii
	Prayer scene	10	Prayer scene	III.ii
Whole scene omission	Queen and Horatio not in Q2	14	(Horatio and Sailor, Gent.)	IV.vi
Single word substitutions	upon your watch	B1 ^r 3	Vpon your houre	B1 ^r 6
	Sit downe I pray	B1 ^v 6	Sit downe awhile	B1 ^v 15
	yonder starre	B1 ^v 12	yond same starre	B1 ^v 22
	illumine	B1 ^v 13	illume	B1 ^v 23
	seazed of by	B2 ^r 31	seaz'd of, to	B2 ^v 2
	But loe, behold	B2 ^v 7	But soft, behold	B3 ^r 1
Single line substitutions	Stand: who is that?	B1 ^r 1	Whose there?	B1 ^r 1
Transpositions: of concepts	<i>See section 9.i above</i>			
Transpositions: of words	earth or ayre, in sea or fire	B2 ^v 32	sea or fire, in earth or ayre	B3 ^r 29
	So gracious, and so hallowed	B3 ^r 5	So hallowed, and so gracious	B3 ^v 1
Deletions (from alternate version)	Queen as recipient of news of Hamlet's return – all her lines	H2 ^v 5-H3 ^r 5, intermittently	Horatio relaying news of Hamlet's return	L3 ^v 19-L4 ^r 7
Additions			Barnado: Claudius' speech Dialogue at beginning of scene	B2 ^v 21-38 B3 ^v 16-B4 ^r 5, B4 ^r 22-27 L3 ^r 9-L3 ^v 9

loppolo herself recognises that the concept of 'extensive authorial revisions in *Hamlet* has been critically acceptable only since the 1980s'. However, her discussion begins with her acceptance that 'Duthie established in 1941 that Quarto 1 was a reported text of the acting version'.⁸³⁵ Yet it cannot reasonably be assumed that Shakespeare was beyond using any of these types of revision

⁸³⁵ loppolo, *Revising Shakespeare*, 134.

technique. Revision is commonplace in literature. Few professional writers do not revise, though the rejected version may not survive to prove the process has occurred. That literary writers do change texts substantially is shown by, for instance, the two versions of *Tender is the Night* by F. Scott Fitzgerald. The novel consists of three 'books', which in the first version were presented in the order of 2, 1, 3, in terms of the chronology of the story. But after the relative lack of success of his novel in that shape, Fitzgerald 'transposed' the first 'books', which were published in chronological sequence, 1, 2, 3. The former is the usual version found today. Thomas Hardy's *Return of the Native* and John Fowles' *French Lieutenant's Woman* offer different endings (Hardy at the request of his publishers, and Fowles as a creative and experimental author). William Wordsworth produced two versions of *The Prelude*, in 1805 and 1850 – the former is usually preferred, despite the fact that latter offers his considered revisions. It can hardly be supposed that Shakespeare was not capable of changing scene sequence (for example the placement of the 'nunnery' scene), or content (for example the scene between the Queen and Horatio versus Horatio and a letter, to announce Hamlet's return).

9. ii An Argument from Internal Evidence: Linguistic Features, Belleforest and Character Development

If memorial reconstruction does explain the relationship of the two quartos, their composition is very close in time; if Q2 is from c. 1600, Q1's publication date of 1603 means it cannot be more than two to three years later than Q2. If for example Sams is right, and Q1 is the early *Hamlet*, then Q1's date must be at the latest 1589, and Q2's latest date will be 1604, a potentially fifteen year gap. The first question this section considers is whether there is any morphological evidence to cast light upon the respective dates of the two quartos.

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries English morphology was moving towards the more simplified forms or levelled inflections which we have in English today. Brian Vickers, in *Shakespeare, Co-Author*, considers the use of the old third person singular present tense <eth> suffix, and its gradual replacement by <(e)s>, and the replacement of 'doth' with 'does', and 'hath' with 'has'.⁸³⁶ Vickers reports MacDonald P. Jackson's findings of twenty plays up to *As You Like It*, and fourteen from *Twelfth Night*.⁸³⁷ The first group, A, had 239 old <eth> suffixes to sixty-eight modern <(e)s>, but the second, later group, B, had twenty-nine <eth> usages to 185 <(e)s>. This area of linguistic preference leads to a similar question; do the verb endings indicate the priority of either quarto? The results, covering the whole of each quarto, are interesting. Q1 shows no use of

⁸³⁶ The latter two, 'to do' and 'to have', are slightly different because they are primary verbs, functioning as auxiliaries and main verbs, and consequently their usage is much higher.

⁸³⁷ MacDonald P. Jackson, 'Hand D of *Sir Thomas More*', quoted in Vickers, *Shakespeare, Co-Author*, 89.

the 'new' 'has', and thirty-seven uses of the 'old' 'hath'; Q2 shows two 'has' usages, and fifty-seven of 'hath'. Allegedly Q2 *Hamlet* is the first play in which Shakespeare relaxed his preference for "hath".⁸³⁸ The two occasions of 'has' in Q2 are matched by 'hath' in Q1, so both 'has' are either forgotten by an memorial reconstructor, or cut by an abridger. It may be the result of a reviser copying quickly, but with only two examples it is difficult to judge with any certainty (and it is unsatisfactory to resort to the explanation that perhaps it was a compositorial change). Modern 'does' is used on five occasions in Q1; its usage is up to nineteen in Q2. <[E]th> on other verbs is found ten times in Q1, and four times in Q2. The modern <(e)s> suffix is found widely in Q1 (168) and in Q2 (308). Table 9.b summarises these findings.

Table 9.b Third person singular verb suffixes (all of Q1 and Q2)⁸³⁹

Feature	Q1	Q2
has	-	2
hath	37	57
does	5	19
doth	16	17
<eth> (excluding 'hath', 'doth')	10	4
<(e)s>(excluding 'has', 'does')	168	308
Total no of lines (Irace)	2221	4056

This indicates that there are more usages of the modern 'has' and 'does' forms in Q2, and fewer of the older <eth> suffix. The older form of 'hath' is still entrenched. Alternatively, it is accurate to say that proportionally Q1 demonstrates a higher number of the older forms, and lacks evidence of the more modern 'has'. Q1, at 55% the length of Q2, uses <eth> more than *twice* as much as Q2. One change is quite noticeable; in the Corambis/Montano scene 'closeth (with him in the consequence)' occurs three times. It is 'closes' in the Polonius/Reynaldo scene. Is the older form the preference of the memorial reconstructor or abridger – or did Shakespeare, revising, decide that not only was the 'closes' form more modern but that it was also less of a tongue twister, with only /k/, /s/ and /z/ consonants, rather than the /k/, /ð/, /s/ and /z/? Because it is strange that an old man might not otherwise be given an old <eth> suffix as part of Shakespeare's characterisation of him.

⁸³⁸ A.C. Partridge, 'Orthography in Shakespeare and Elizabethan Drama: A Study of Colloquial Contractions, Elision, Prosody and Punctuation', quoted in Vickers, *Shakespeare, Co-Author*, 87.

⁸³⁹ The exercise was carried out by downloading originals of Q1 and Q2, and carrying out a 'global' search on the respective endings. Each computer find was checked, to avoid mismatches.

A second area of linguistic preferences might be the level of informal features. Waller, for instance, 'showed that Shakespeare's orthographical tendency was towards an increased use of more colloquial forms'.⁸⁴⁰ Examples of colloquialisms embrace pronoun and verb elisions, or contractions, contractions blending a preposition and the pronoun 'it', or a preposition and 'the' (enclitic), and the replacement of the (unstressed) subject pronoun 'he' with 'a', possibly rendered in performance as little more than a schwa (/ə/). Theoretically, if Q2 represents a revision of a Q1 written some years earlier, then it might be that Q1 would show evidence of more formal features, and Q2 of more informal, colloquial features. Scene 16 in Q1, or Q2's act V scene i, contains a mixture of registers: the informal word play of the Clown and the Gravedigger, Hamlet's matching of that register and his more philosophical asides to Horatio, and the more serious tenor of the funeral of Ofelia/Ophelia. These scenes seem a reasonable place to investigate briefly for comparison with Waller's conclusions.

A rapid survey of the scenes reveals the pronoun usage⁸⁴¹ and verb elisions number nineteen in Q1, and twenty-five in Q2 (the later including verb/pronoun elisions such as 'wouldst thou' -> 'woot'). Other opportunities for elision are approximately fourteen in these scenes in Q1 and twenty-three in Q2. In both cases stress patterns are enhanced by the choice of elision, so the figures represent a count, not an entirely free choice.⁸⁴² 'He(e)' is used twenty times in Q1; Q2 uses fourteen, replacing 'he' with the more informal 'a' eight times. Q1 uses two preposition and pronoun contractions to Q2's eight; Q1 and Q2 both use one preposition and 'his' contraction. Both use a contraction in the interjection 'ifaith' or 'S'wounds'. In addition Q2 has five enclitic contractions ('in the' -> 'i'th'), and one proclitic contraction ('th'inheritor'). Table 9.c below summarises these. If Q1 is the early text, the features do follow the trend identified by Waller, of Shakespeare moving towards more informal orthography in Q2. If Q1 is the later text, it is necessary to speculate that the memorial reconstructor or abridger/adapter preferred more formal forms, and changed what they remembered or had in front of them. Obviously this paragraph reports on a comparison between only two scenes; a more thorough examination may be warranted. But from these two surveys, on morphology and informal features, there is some linguistic evidence to confirm Q1 is the earlier text.

⁸⁴⁰ F.O. Waller, 'The Use of Linguistic Criteria in Determining the copy and Dates for Shakespeare's Plays' quoted in Vickers, *Shakespeare, Co-Author*, 88.

⁸⁴¹ This includes personal and demonstrative pronouns, the existential particle 'there', and the question opener 'where'.

⁸⁴² If 'she is' is followed by a pause, whether comma or full stop, and functions in its own right as a full clause, it is non-standard to use elision ('she's').

Table 9.c Informal or colloquial features in scene 16 of Q1 and act 5 scene 1 of Q2

Feature	Q1	Q2
Pronoun and verb elisions e.g. <i>she's</i>	19	19
Verb and pronoun elisions e.g. <i>doo't</i>	1	5
Noun and verb elision e.g. <i>funerall's</i>	1	1
Elision of infinitive e.g. <i>t'expell</i>	-	1
'missed' elisions e.g. <i>she is</i>	14	23
<i>he</i>	20	14
<i>a for he</i>	-	8
Preposition and pronoun e.g. <i>too't</i>	2	8
Preposition and possessive determiner e.g. <i>with's</i>	1	1
Enclitic 'the', for example <i>i'th</i>	-	5
Proclitic 'the', for example <i>th'inheritor</i>	-	1
Contracted interjection, for example <i>ifaith</i>	1	1

Chapter six has shown that any discussion about the relationship of the quartos usefully refers to the French source. There it is shown that Q1 has more borrowings than Q2, that the density of borrowings in Q1 is roughly double that of Q2 (partly because Q1 is a shorter text), and that in some very specific aspects Q1 is closer to *Les Histoires Tragiques*: Hamlet's age and the placing of the 'nunnery' scene are probably the two most significant – in other words, that Q1 seems to be closer to *Les Histoires Tragiques*. Obviously, it cannot be disproved that an actor/reporter could, by chance, remember a play at only 55% of its length and yet recall over eighty points from the underlying source. Such a possibility does exist. It is also not impossible that an abridger who has the original text in front of him/her and is unfamiliar with the French source could cut so carefully so that none of the eighty plus echoes is lost. Both possibilities are, however, very unlikely. It is more logical and probable that an author expanding and adjusting his own material retains what he has already selected from his underlying source as requisite for his drama. Consequently the high level of shared borrowings in the two quartos, despite their differing lengths, indicates Q2 is the later text and supports a revising author.

A more subtle way of examining the three texts is to note the moments when a feature of the original story casts its shadow over the *Hamlets*, for there are occasions when the plot in the French source

is clearer than in the quartos, or when reference to the French source clarifies vagueness in *Hamlet*. This might be termed a 'disparity gap' in the transference of the plot from narrative to drama. A major example occurs in the nunnery scene of both quartos. At some point during this scene Hamlet has to realise that there are eavesdroppers, though there is nothing in the plays which tells either the actors or the readers that this is the case.⁸⁴³ It can of course be provided by the actors – for example a nervous glance in the direction of the eavesdroppers by Ofelia/Ophelia – but it is not explicit in the text. It *is* explicit in *Les Histoires Tragiques*; Amleth is warned by his friend and by the young woman herself that this is a trap. The writer(s) of Q1 and Q2 seems to know it was a trap and writes the scene as a trap, but does not leave a trace of how the Prince recognises it as a trap in either quarto. The second example follows straight on; when Q1's Hamlet enters his mother's bedchamber, he retains just a hint of the suspicions of Amleth entering his mother's *chambre*. Amleth 'se douta de quelque trahison' ([he] 'suspected treachery') and checks the room out; Q1 Hamlet says 'but first we'll make all safe'. But Q2's Hamlet is more distant, revised perhaps, and does not contain that half line and the small 'disparity gap'.

The third example is in the slippage between the prince's request and the Queen's response. It is perfectly straightforward in the French source: Amleth says that the King must not learn about Amleth's plans for revenge ('le Roy ny autre ne soit en rien informé de cecy'(218)), and the Queen responds relevantly, saying that she will feign ignorance, and keep secret both the plan and the gallant or brave intentions ('duquel je feindray ne sçavoir rien... je tiendray secrete, et ta sagesse, et ta gaillarde enterprinse' (222)). But in Q1 Hamlet asks the Queen to 'Forbear the adulterous bed tonight' and 'assist me in revenge' (11.90, 93), and her response is noticeably less relevant; from a linguistic perspective her response lacks cohesion with his lines. She says 'I will conceal' (she has not been asked to conceal anything), 'consent and do my best,/ What stratagem soe'er thou shalt devise' (11.97-8). Q1's Queen's response actually answers Amleth's request better than the request of Q1's Hamlet. Q2's Hamlet asks that the Queen should not

Let the bloat King tempt you again to bed...

Or...

Make you to unravel all this matter out

That I essentially am not in madness

But mad in craft. (III.iv.180-186).

⁸⁴³ John Dover Wilson explores the need for Hamlet to realise there are eavesdroppers in *What Happens in Hamlet?*

His Queen again answers relevantly:

Be though assured, if words be made of breath
 And breath of life, I have no life to breathe
 What thou hast said to me. (III.iv.195-7)

It seems that Q1's exchange incompletely echoes the French source; if the playwright is following that text as he writes Q1, this could explain the lack of cohesion in Q1. But Q2's exchange has moved right away, to a different request and response. A Q1 -> Q2 sequence of revision removes the need for the putative actor/reporter(s) to depend upon knowing or playing in *The Spanish Tragedy* (the reasoning of for example Duthie and Gary Taylor).

The last hint of a 'disparity gap' is the opening line to the scene unique to Q1, scene 14: 'Madame, your son is safe arrived in Denmark'. The line appears to let us infer the Queen is expecting Hamlet's return, which is exactly the case in the source. Together these four examples show *Les Histoires Tragiques* casts a shadow over the quartos, or suggests the author of Q1 was very familiar with *Les Histoires Tragiques*. But while each 'shadow' affects Q1, only the first (Hamlet's awareness of eavesdroppers in the 'nunnery' scene) affects Q2. The apparent resolution of three of the four 'disparity gaps' by Q2 is another reason for thinking that Q1 is the earlier text.

Chapter six also suggests that there is some evidence for an evolution between the texts in a *Les Histoires Tragiques* -> Q1 -> Q2 sequence. This evidence would contribute to a first draft and revision relationship. It includes the placing of the nunnery scene, early in *Les Histoires Tragiques* and Q1 (later in Q2), and also Amleth and Q1 Hamlet's charge of 'infamie' and 'infamy' (Q2 has 'trespass'). Additionally, it includes Amleth's words to the Danish people – 'j'ay lavé les tasches, qui denigroient la reputation de la Roynne' (280) – that he has washed away the spots which had blackened the reputation of the Queen. In Q1 this appears to be echoed in Hamlet's 'I'll make your eyes look down into your heart/And see how horrid there and black it shows' (11.20-1). Again Q2 has drawn away from the source; it is now the Queen who says 'Thou turn'st my very eyes into my soul/And there I see such black and grieved spots...' (III.iv.87-8).

The last example of an indication of an evolution between the texts, of Q1 appearing to function as an intermediate stage, is the explicitness of *Les Histoires Tragiques* and Q1. Amleth speaks of 'le meurtrier de mon pere' ('my father's murderer' (210)), just as Q1 Hamlet speaks of '[he]/That slew my father' (11.39-40). Q2's Hamlet, more obliquely, speaks of 'A bloody deed – almost as bad, good mother,/As kill a king and marry with his brother' (III.iv.26-7). This last example is complemented by the explicitness of both Amleth and Q1's Hamlet in talking of revenge in the 'chambre'/bedchamber

scene, while Q2's Hamlet looks at the Ghost and recalls for the audience/reader 'your dread command' (III.iv.105). That 'command' obliquely references the request of the Ghost that Hamlet take revenge, a request from much earlier in the play.

The paragraphs above draw together arguments for revision which are extracted from the three way comparison in chapter six; the arguments suggest a trajectory from *Les Histoires Tragiques* through Q1 to Q2. There is still a further reason for proposing that revision is the best explanation. This concerns the differences in some of the characters between the quartos. While 'differences' is appropriately neutral terminology, the following discussion argues that what is actually found is a development of some characters and their relationship from (Belleforest to) Q1 to Q2. The argument stems, once again, from familiarity with *Les Histoires Tragiques*. It is that text (in the absence of any *Ur-Hamlet*) which is therefore used as the starting point. Three sets of characters demonstrate these differences: the relationship of the Prince and the Queen, the portrayal of the King (and his relationship with Leartes/Laertes, who is *not* part of *Les Histoires Tragiques*), and 'deux des fideles ministres de Fengon' ('two of Fengon's faithful servants' (232)), that is, Rossencraft and Gilderstone, and Rosencrans and Guyldensterne.

There can be no doubt that the French Queen loves her son. She calls him 'mon filz, et doux amy' ('my son, and sweet friend' (220)), and King Fengon comments upon '[Amleth] qu'elle [Geruthe] aymoit' ('[Amleth] whom she [Geruthe] loves' (230)). Amleth in turn is appalled by her betrayal of his father in marrying Fengon ('infamie', infamy), but it is she in whom he confides his intention to take revenge, it is she who promises to keep silent about his intentions, and it is she whom he asks for help. She asks him not to be too hasty and impetuous in his taking revenge. Her role is to prepare the 'banquet funebre', the funeral banquet, for a year hence when he will return. She looks for his return ([the Queen] 'le verroit de retour' (232)), prepares the banquet he has asked for, and he is able to slip in, ensure all those celebrating are completely drunk, and then, unchallenged, reach the King's room and kill him.

There is also no doubt in Q1 that Gertred loves Hamlet. He too is 'Sweet Hamlet' (11.45), and the King says directly to Hamlet that he is 'the joy and half heart of your mother' (2.30). In the bedchamber scene Hamlet is also appalled by her remarriage (her 'infamy'), and tells her that he will exact revenge. She too promises to 'conceal' his intentions, and 'do my best' (11.97) to help him. Scene 14 then begins with 'Madame, your son is safe arrived in Denmark' (14.1), which would seem to imply that she is expecting his return. It may be Horatio who first hears of Hamlet's return, but the playwright presents it so the Queen (and the audience) hears about it as soon as the first actor

(Horatio) is cognisant of it. And in her concern for her son Gertrud asks Horatio to tell Hamlet to be careful: 'Bid him [Hamlet] a while be wary of his [the King's] presence' (14.19).

But in Q2 there is just a little more distance between Gertrud and Hamlet. He is still 'sweet Hamlet' (III.iv.94), and she refers to him as 'O gentle son' (I.iv.118). Claudius still notes that 'The Queen his mother /Lives almost by his looks' (IV.vii.12-3), though this comment comes later (as indeed in *Les Histoires Tragiques*). In the bedchamber or closet scene however, Hamlet does not confide in quite the same way to his mother. He is appalled by her remarriage ('trespass', now), and describes his killing of Polonius as 'almost as bad.../As kill a king and marry with his brother' (III.iv.26-7). This is almost an aside on Polonius; it is not the separate statement in each of the other two versions which declares that Fengon/the King is a murderer. Moreover, Hamlet recalls the Ghost's 'dread command', which the audience knows is that Hamlet should exact vengeance, but Hamlet does not explicitly tell his mother that he will take revenge. She therefore does not know his intention is revenge. And when Hamlet does return to Denmark, Horatio hears first (along with the audience). The Queen is not even present in this scene. There is nothing to suggest Hamlet's return was expected. The Queen is relegated to hearing in a letter, this arriving a scene later when it is only the King and Laertes present. As audience or reader we do not even know if she receives it. Interestingly, in the two quarto bedchamber scenes the Queen's contributions change from about 28% in Q1 to 22% in Q2; that is, her role is less in the scene. She is slightly less prominent in Q2. Her role is fractionally diminished, quite consistently, in Q2.

These are all small points, but cumulatively it results in the Queen's role being slightly less in Q2 than in Q1 or the French source. Her relationship with the Prince is also less close than in Q1; Q1 is a little nearer to *Les Histoires Tragiques* in this respect too. The alternative way of expressing this is that the Queen's role is a little bigger in Q1 and that she is a little closer to her son in Q1 than in Q2. But why would the abridger or actor/reporter(s) *expand* the Queen's role in Q1? How could it be that the abridger or actor reporter draws closer to the source?⁸⁴⁴ Must we speculate upon the actor/reporter(s)' familiarity with the putative *Ur-Hamlet*, or the actual French source?

Something different occurs with the King. Belleforest's treatment of Fengon's murder of Horvendille is confused. On the same page Belleforest describes the murder both as public –'en un banquet' ('at a banquet') –and as a totally different private one, where he had killed his brother, the Queen's husband, whom he had found at the point of killing her ('s'estant trouve sur le point qu'il taschoit de la massacrer' (186)), thus claiming he (the new King) was protecting the Queen. Shakespeare uses

⁸⁴⁴ Other than the unprovable answer that Q1 reverts to aspects of the putative *Ur-Hamlet*.

neither murder method. But on the preceding page Belleforest has, prior to the murder, explained why there is no suspicion of Fengon. For there existed 'un tel nœud d'alliance et de consanguinité', such a close knot of alliance (kinship) and blood relationship (between Horvvendille, his wife Geruthe, and his brother Fengon), that no one would have expected one brother to murder the other, or rather would have expected that the only outcomes of that family relationship would be virtuous and courteous or chivalric - 'les effetz pleins de vertu et courtoisie' (184). In other words, the first of Belleforest's three approaches to the murder tells the reader that Fengon is completely free of any potential suspicion in the death of his brother. This is similar to Q1's first presentation of the King in scene 2. Here the King's opening speech is ten lines; it informs the lords that he has written to Fortinbrasse, and he is now dispatching Cornelia and Voltemar to Old Norway. He shows no need or desire to explain to the court or the audience why he is King; there appears no suspicion in the court; the playwright shows no need or desire to explain.

In the theatre this is unproblematic; audiences accept being placed *in medias res*, and the pace of the play is such that there is little chance to wonder about the King. Moreover, the back story is revealed in other ways, through Hamlet and the Ghost, for example. In Q2 Claudius, however, has thirty-nine lines, offers exposition about the death of his brother and his own marriage to the widow; expresses respectful grief for that brother; acknowledges – flatters – the wisdom of the lords, offers more exposition regarding Fortinbras, and, finally, dispatches Voltemand and Cornelius to Old Norway. Claudius' style here is authoritative and statesmanlike, sufficient to gain for example L. C. Knight's admiration and praise of him as a pragmatic and promising King: Knights calls him an 'excellent diplomatist and King'.⁸⁴⁵

Thus in Q2 any questions that the more leisurely reader may have (or that the revising playwright may anticipate?) about the circumstances underlying the situation – the prequel, effectively – are forestalled by Claudius' longer opening speech. Claudius is immediately a much more substantial and kingly figure. So is Claudius 'cut', or is he half forgotten, to become the King of Q1 in scene 2? Or has Shakespeare, in revising Q1 and creating Q2, decided there is a need, or opportunity, to provide his version of why no suspicion falls upon the new King? Does he have *Les Histoires Tragiques* to hand, note (again?) on a second⁸⁴⁶ reading why Fengon is above suspicion, re-read Belleforest's two, alternative murder descriptions which the playwright had rejected the first time, and then see how Fengon is also described as 'vn fin et rusé Conseiller' (184), a shrewd/astute and

⁸⁴⁵ G. Wilson Knight, *The Wheel of Fire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 33.

⁸⁴⁶ The small number of borrowings from the French source which are exclusive to Q2 legitimise the speculation that the playwright may have extended his borrowings.

crafty counsellor? Might it be that Belleforest's epithet is the origin of Q2's Claudius at the beginning of act I scene ii?

However, it is not in just one scene that the King/Claudius differs. The dramatist authoring Q1's scene 14 uses Horatio to announce to the Queen that her son is 'safe arriv'de in Danmarke' (sig. H2^v6), news he reports from a letter. The scene backgrounds Hamlet's return, but shows the Queen as affectionately maternal, alert to the treachery and potential displeasure of the King, and it explains that Gilderstone and Rossenraft have met their doom. The short scene – thirty-five lines – is effectively and dramatically framed by the King's last words in scene 13, that Leartes 'shall heere that you do not dreame vpon' (i.e. Leartes will shortly hear that Hamlet is already dead (sig. H2^v4)), and by the King's first, incredulous words in scene 15: 'Hamlet from England! is it possible?' (sig. H3^r7). Dramatically this is effective; dramatically, the end of scene 13, the whole of scene 14 and the beginning of scene 15 cohere well. It is less obvious in Q2.

Then Q1's scene 15 races ahead, with the King swiftly laying out the 'plot' he has devised, of a 'keene sword', 'deadly poyson' and a 'potion', three chances to kill Hamlet. In both scenes 13 and 15 the King remains evil, treacherous and powerful. Meanwhile, Hamlet's vulnerability continues; the command of his father to seek revenge awaits execution. For the audience the suspense is acute.

Q2's dramatist shows Horatio learning of – rather than announcing – Hamlet's return, via a letter brought by a sailor. The introduction of pirates to explain Hamlet's return, at a time when pirates were known in the Great Sound/Belt between Elsinore on Zealand and the south of Sweden and the English court were complaining about them⁸⁴⁷ offers a credible and topical reason for Hamlet's rapid return.⁸⁴⁸ The device of reading aloud a letter purporting to come from Hamlet begins those final stages of the play where Horatio is allied to Hamlet and Hamlet is otherwise isolated. That Horatio must bear a letter to Claudius delays in the next scene the King's knowledge of Hamlet's return. Instead in the first thirty-five lines of IV vii the King claims the absent Prince has 'Pursued my life', and explains the dilemma of punishing a man for whom his mother and the general public have a 'great loue'. It is now that the King alludes to the news he assumes he will shortly receive, the audience (in the know) savours the dramatic irony of it, and a messenger enters. The news briefly halts Claudius, but soon the 'fin et rusé conseiller' of act I scene ii's opening lines appears; Claudius

⁸⁴⁷ Bullough's section on possible historical allusions records extracts from the C.S.P. Foreign Elizabeth 1588 July-December and intermittently thereafter commenting on the pirates, in the North Sea, and in the Great Belt, the seaway offering access to the Baltic (Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources* vol vii, 184).

⁸⁴⁸ Hamlet claims the players are 'the abstract and brief chronicles of the time' (II.ii.462-3) – perhaps even regarding piracy?

manipulates the vengeful, mourning Laertes through flattery – ‘such a masterly report’ – and a hint of doubt – ‘are you like the painting of a sorrowe?’ – and a challenge – ‘what would you vndertake...’ (IV.vii.94, 106, 122). Claudius is more deceitful and menacing than in Q1; he is a more dangerous adversary. He leads Laertes to accept cheating – ‘a little shuffling’, and a ‘sword unbated’ – and Laertes even proposes he himself should cheat, with the use of ‘an vnction of a Mountibanck’ (IV.vii.135, 136, 139). While there are three methods of murder again, now only two come from Claudius. This contributes to the sense in this scene of a manipulative Claudius ‘thinking on his feet’, along with ‘Lets further thinke of this’ and ‘soft let me see’ (IV.vii.146, 152) more ‘showing’ than Q1’s King, who ‘tells’, saying ‘marke the plot I haue layde’ (15.9). And Q2’s scene underlines Claudius’ malevolence and self-interest when his only comment after the news of Ophelia’s death is ‘How much I had to doe to calme his rage,/ Now feare I this will giue it start againe’. The subtle changes, across more than one scene, surely permit Hart’s comment to be dismissed: he thinks that ‘[if] Shakespeare rewrote the bad quartos, some of his additions suggest he was rather capricious in his choice of the characters whose parts he increased’.⁸⁴⁹

A Q2 -> Q1 sequence shows the actor/reporter or abridger/adapter of scene 14

- only states that Hamlet has been set ashore,
- lets the Queen show her distrust of the King and her concern for Hamlet, and
- tells the audience immediately that Gilderstone and Rossencrast have met their doom.

But a Q1 -> Q2 sequence permits a reviser

- to offer a dramatic and topical reason for Hamlet’s return,
- to withhold information and increase suspense through ‘wordes...will make thee dumbe’, and the promise to say more of Rosencraus and Guyldensterne later, in the final scene where the announcement of their death – and its ironic timing – adds two more to the final body count, and
- to isolate Hamlet with only Horatio as his confidant, in preparation for act V.

If an actor/reporter has a faulty memory he might ‘forget’ the pirates, and ‘forget’ the timing of the announcement of Rosencrans and Guyldensterne’s deaths, but it is difficult to explain why he introduces the Queen into Q1’s scene 14. It cannot be to economise on actors, since Q2’s version requires only three actors, and several roles are already ended and actors therefore available (Voltemand, Marcellus, Barnardo, Francisco and the Ghost are only a few examples). An abridger

⁸⁴⁹ Hart, *Stolne and Surreptitious Copies*, 164.

has no need to cut or change actors either. But if Q1 were the first sketch of a young, (upstart) dramatist laying down the skeleton of the play, it would be possible to see the revised Q2's act IV.vi as embedding topicality, intensifying suspense, heightening the vulnerability of Hamlet – and transposing the announcement of the two courtiers' deaths to the final scene. Transpositions have already been demonstrated as part of the dramatist's skills, in chapter six.

A Q2 -> Q1 sequence for scene 15 requires the actor/reporter or abridger/adaptor

- to show the King as surprised, and
- to rapidly outline his plot to Leartes,

while Leartes is vengeful and impatient. Only the lines describing Ophelia's drowning come close to Q2's, a reminder that while Q1 is faster paced it is not without changes of pace or more literary touches.

However, a Q1 -> Q2 sequence for IV.vii shows the revising playwright casting Claudius as

- an arch-manipulator, complementing his portrayal in act I scene ii;
- a 'friend' to Laertes, and setting up that 'friendship' in I.ii;
- identifying himself as a potential victim of Hamlet;
- beset by the problem of the Queen and the people's love for Hamlet;
- apparently devising two methods to dispose of Hamlet during the scene, and
- heartless regarding Ophelia's death.

In Q2 Laertes is more courtly, yet more potentially violent – 'to cut his throat in the church' (IV.vii.124) - and he offers his own contribution to the plan to kill Hamlet. This will reduce the audience's sympathy, but it is judiciously balanced with his response to Ophelia's death, where (unlike in Q1) he finds 'The woman will out' and tears do fall.

It would be reasonable to suggest that an abridger cut the opening thirty-five lines of I.ii in Q2; it has been suggested that 'Marcellus' as actor/reporter was offstage. But it may be instead that a reviser inserted them, as a prelude to changing the character of the King. Claudius is presented consistently in IV.vii, and that portrayal matches his political persona in I.ii. The change in the King is easily explained by a great playwright, Shakespeare, revising; it requires an abridger to be outstandingly skilful in paring down the king's role in both Q1's scenes 2 and 15. Yet those scenes contain the seeds of Q2's I.ii and IV.vii. Is it a plausible scenario that a playwright first created *Hamlet* from the French narrative, interweaving the subplot and *Players*, transforming a vengeful and violent Amleth to a profoundly hurt and philosophically inclined Hamlet, and shaped a workable plot for the whole

play (Q1); then, later, he returns to revise, to elaborate, to round out his characters and refine them, to 'show' more and 'tell' less, and to sharpen the play's dramatic import? It would not be an unknown composition and revision approach.

A last example of some change in characterisation between the quartos is again related to the underlying source. In *Les Histoires Tragiques* there are 'deux des fideles ministres de Fengon' ('two of King Fengon's faithful/loyal ministers' (232)), who translate in Q1 to Rosencraft and Gilderstone, and in Q2 to Rosencrans and Guyldensterne. These are the men whom the King calls upon to escort the Prince and a letter to the King of England, in all three texts. Later in the French source the same two 'ministres' are called 'les deux serviteurs du Roy Fengon' ('two of King Fengon's servants' (248)). There can be no doubt that in the source Amleth's escorts to England hold their allegiance first and foremost to King Fengon; there is no suggestion otherwise. In Q1 Rosencraft and Gilderstone appear first in scene 7, where the king greets them as 'Right noble friends' (7.1). Rosencraft describes the pair of them as the King's 'liegemen' (7.11), and Hamlet is 'the prince your son' (7.14); all of these phrases distance them from Hamlet. This language may be predictable in the context of the two men addressing the King, but it also aligns them with him. Hamlet greets them later in the same scene as 'kind schoolfellows', but in his very next speech questions the purpose of their visit. He seems very suspicious; as Gilderstone says, Hamlet 'puts us off' (8.7). That level of suspicion is sustained in scene 9, where he accuses them of being a 'sponge that soaks up the king's countenance' (9.182), and later when he refuses to tell them where Corambis is. Their 'doom' at the hands of the King of England is merely alluded to (15.27) – Hamlet expresses no concern for them.

Once again, Q2 is a little different. The King does address the two men as 'dear' (2.2.1), and later as 'friends' (IV.i.33), but their closeness to the King is played down a little. It remains clear that he uses them as tools, to try to find out the reason for Hamlet's 'transformation', to send Hamlet to the Queen's bedchamber, to extract from Hamlet where the body of Polonius is, and to bear letters to the King of England. For Hamlet they have been 'friends' (II.ii.219, 239), and their banter on their first meeting in the play seems to confirm this – but Hamlet still wants to hear *why* they are in Elsinore. However, twice Rosencrans and Guyldensterne reveal that they are no more than the King's pawns, for when they speak to Hamlet in act 3 scene 2 they begin, without any preamble or subtlety, 'The King, sir...' (III.ii.291), which emphasises who has directed them, and makes it apparent that is only because of the King's request that they are speaking to Hamlet. Similarly in act IV scene ii Rosencrans and Guyldensterne are forthright, and reveal both their knowledge of the death of Polonius and that Hamlet will know where the corpse is: 'What have you done, my lord, with the

dead body?’ (IV.ii.3-4). It is for Hamlet and the audience to deduce from what they are shown rather than told, namely that Rosencrans and Guyldensterne work for the King. Much later, when Hamlet updates Horatio about events in England, Hamlet confirms what he and we have inferred, Rosencrans and Guyldensterne’s ‘insinuation’ into the king’s service. Hence ‘[t]hey are not near my conscience’ (V.ii.58-9).

These small developments in ideas from the French source and between the quartos occur with consistency in the play and across more than one scene. They again suggest that Q1 represents an intermediate stage between the French source and Q2.

When Q1 is successful in performance, when motive can be guessed at, and when Q2 demonstrates very similar revisions to those found in contemporaries’ writings, there is the beginning of a serious case for Q2 being a revised version of Q1. Both plays do bear Shakespeare’s name upon the title page. The internal evidence of the quartos themselves also supports revision. The morphology hints at Q1 being the older text; the informal features suggests Q2 is more informal, supposedly a feature of Shakespeare’s later plays. The ‘disparity gaps’, the points at which Q1 is clearer after reference to the source, suggest the presence of that source as the playwright composes (in modern parlance, they show Q1 as a ‘work in progress’). The respects in which Q1 is closer to the French source than Q2 also support that position. And the examples of character and relationship development - the Queen and Hamlet, the King and Leartes/Laertes, the two servants of the King/Claudius – are executed across a number of scenes. It is difficult to believe in an abridger or an actor/reporter who is so unable to edit/recall Q2 accurately but is nevertheless intelligent enough to trim and sharpen these roles and relationships consistently across several scenes. There is much evidence and a strong argument for revision; there is the belief of some critics against it.

Chapter 10

Conclusions

'It is not to be supposed that Dr Duthie's monograph will be accepted as offering a final solution of the problem. It is hardly to be desired that it should. But I do think that it will prove an important step towards such a solution, and hope that it may, even in these days, arouse further interest in the subject.'⁸⁵⁰

Interest in the *Hamlets* and a desire to understand their origins are still present, seventy years after Duthie's *'Bad' Quarto of Hamlet* was published. However, discussion about them can be fraught; Urkowitz writes that attendees at some conferences 'can report tales of psychologically gory frays, furies and frustrations',⁸⁵¹ and a small number of the quotations cited above – 'unanimous opinion of scholars', 'farrago of nonsense', 'murder' – demonstrate that strong feelings about *Hamlet* are easily evoked. For this reason the approach in this thesis has been firstly to understand why certain positions regarding *Hamlet* have been adopted, and secondly to carry out any reassessment or analysis in as objective and precise way as possible, employing literary, linguistic and measurable techniques and minimising speculation. While this does not remove all 'mysteries' and 'uncertainties' as Keats might put it, it does produce some important, evidence-based conclusions.

The first focus, explored principally in chapters four and five, concerns the date for Q2. One unspoken reason for a date of *c.* 1600 for Q2 is that Shakespeare must write Q2 in time for it to be (abridged and) performed, memorially reconstructed, performed in the provinces and then passed to the printers, perhaps in time for the entry in the Stationers' Register of 26th July 1602, and certainly before it is printed in 1603. It is quite a tight framework. If we momentarily disregard that schedule, then a date range for Shakespeare's composition of Q2 *Hamlet* can be proposed: it is after Q1, most likely after the publication of *The Counsellor* in 1598, probably after the beginning of the siege of Ostend (July 1601 - 12th July 1604), and obviously before the publication of Q2 in 1604-5. If we accept the allusion to the siege of Ostend, Q2 is later than the *c.* 1600 which is widely suggested; it is perhaps in 1602 or 1603.

⁸⁵⁰ Greg's conclusions to his *Foreword* to Duthie's *The 'Bad' Quarto*, xi.

⁸⁵¹ Urkowitz, 'Back to Basics', 257.

The second focus is upon the relationship of the quartos. The exploration of this has come to dominate the thesis, particularly through the three way comparison between the French source and the first two quartos, partly because of the number of details which required consideration, and partly because of the discoveries which have been made. Duthie's case for memorial reconstruction is multifaceted, as is the reassessment in this thesis. However, every part of the reassessment indicates a Q1 -> Q2 sequence. Firstly, two particular points argue *against* memorial reconstruction: the apparent legitimacy of the printing of Q1, and the very different circumstances of John Bernard's documented memorial reconstruction of *The School for Scandal*. The analysis of that analogy demonstrates very clearly how handicapped 'Marcellus', 'Voltemand' and 'Lucianus' would have been had they attempted to recreate a Q2 *Hamlet*, since they are three minor characters with only 2.3% of Q2's lines and are present in only 30% of Q2's scenes.⁸⁵² Secondly, three sets of evidence, facts which like the previous two can be easily verified, point strongly *towards* a Q1 -> Q2 sequence and suggest a first draft (Q1) and revision (Q2) scenario. The presence of older morphology in Q1 than in Q2 reflects linguistic changes known to be occurring at the time, and the greater informality of Q2 reflects a linguistic change in Shakespeare's later style identified by for example Waller. But the most persuasive evidence is that provided by the three way comparison between *Les Histoires Tragiques*, Q1 and Q2. The comparison is text based and factual: it shows that Q1 has slightly more echoes than Q2 from the French source, that these echoes are found at a density almost double that in Q2, and that Q1 has more significant and exclusive borrowings than Q2. Most interesting are the aspects which suggest Q1 is an intermediate stage between *Les Histoires Tragiques* and Q2, and those which explain anomalies in Q1. These findings are not reasonably explained by memorial reconstruction or abridgement - they are not mentioned in the studies read for this thesis - but they are exactly what we might expect with a first draft and revision explanation.

The arguments against memorial reconstruction and the evidence for revision do not embrace all the discussion about abridgement and memorial reconstruction. The fact that 89% of Q2's lines must be cut or changed to bring it to the shape of Q1 diminishes the likelihood of abridgement, even if an intervening text (a stage version, or an adaptation) is postulated, because the extensiveness of the changes resembles rewriting rather than abridgement. And while it is true that Irace shows how lines match in the quartos, it has not been proved that these matches result from memorial reconstruction. The 'fluctuating correlation' she observes could well be what a reviser achieves.⁸⁵³ Many of the

⁸⁵² It will be recalled that the actors for eight major characters, with approximately 78% of the lines, and with at least one of them present in every scene, were the memorial reconstructors of *The School for Scandal*.

⁸⁵³ (There are probably many PhD students whose draft and final version theses would attest to this.)

descriptions of differences between the quartos, such as 'omissions', or 'additions', are entirely dependent upon the writer's *assumption* of the quartos' chronology. *Les Histoires Tragiques* provides a fixed point in the chronology against which to measure 'deletions' and 'transpositions'. The resulting measurements again strongly point to the priority of Q1, and to Q2 as the posterior text.

Even so, there are the heart-felt beliefs⁸⁵⁴ of those who cannot see Shakespeare's hand throughout the play, and who claim it is 'garbled' or 'maimed'. They may despair over 'To be or not to be, I there's the point', but to place a 'bare bodkin' with its 'point' in Hamlet's hand gives a sharp theatrical image, and may recall Macbeth's (later) line, 'Is this a dagger which I see before me?' (2.1.33).⁸⁵⁵ A bodkin as a prop is not impossible. It is hard not to prefer the more familiar 'To be' speech, but its essence can be seen in Q1's. Sample analyses of parts of Q1 do show complex sentence structures, but not incomprehensible, 'garbled' sentences. Moreover, it must be remembered that criticisms levelled against Q1 from those in the study are countered by praise for its energy in performance.

The response to the second focus of this thesis can only be that memorial reconstruction is neither a secure nor a likely explanation for Q1. The comparison with *Les Histoires Tragiques* renders a Q1 -> Q2 sequence far more probable, and a Q2 -> Q1 sequence extremely unconvincing; indeed, if this comparison had been carried out early in the nearly two centuries of discussion about the relationship of the two quartos the suggestion of memorial reconstruction would probably not have arisen. So many aspects of the plays are simply resolved by Q1's priority. It accommodates Menzer's findings about the stability of the cues for Corambis and Polonius, it removes the need for Østerberg's rather weak comments about Hamlet's age, and it removes Gary Taylor's ingenious suggestion for 'conceal and consent'.⁸⁵⁶ It removes anomalies such as why the counsellor's name was changed twice (if the postulated Q2 -> Q1 -> F1 was the sequence). An early Q1 could have been performed quite widely – we have to remember that surviving records of performances are incomplete, and that there are records of performances for which no title is given. Of the principal explanations for the quartos' relationship examined here, first sketch and revision is the most convincingly evidenced, and it does provide a simple, economical and coherent narrative for the

⁸⁵⁴ Wells and Taylor, for example, in their summary of the origins of *Hamlet* which fronts this thesis: 'It is our belief that Shakespeare wrote *Hamlet* about 1600, and revised it later'.

⁸⁵⁵ Alexander, *The Complete Works*, 1006.

⁸⁵⁶ It will be recalled that Østerberg writes that we can hardly expect the author to be accurate about everything; Gary Taylor speculates upon an actor who played Gertrude in the putative *Ur-Hamlet* which Taylor supposed to have had 'conceal and consent', and then that actor was assumed to become the memorial reconstructor of Q1, some ten years later.

origins of *Hamlet*. The agreement among scholars that *Lear* was revised⁸⁵⁷ can also be seen as an analogy for Q1 and Q2 *Hamlet*.

Such a conclusion leads to other questions: *When did Q1 originate?* and *Did Shakespeare write it? Was there an Ur-Hamlet?* At present, from the evidence accumulated in chapters four and five, a date for Q1 might be briefly before Tarleton's death in September 1588; this would also fit neatly with the findings regarding the more dated morphology of Q1. The author of Q1 appears to be Shakespeare, for his name is upon the title page, and we know of no other author who is associated with a *Hamlet*.⁸⁵⁸ Some would already accept this, like Sams and like Dowden who thinks that 'Shakespeare's hand can be discerned throughout the whole of Q1'.⁸⁵⁹ Ironically the criticisms some scholars level at Q1 may even partially reflect the amused tones of a Nashe, or Lodge or Dekker, in the early allusions to a *Hamlet*. As for the *Ur-Hamlet*, it is supposed to be by Kyd or another, or 'Mr Unknown', as Furnival calls him.⁸⁶⁰ But it is not so much a specifically *Ur-Hamlet* that is needed as a *Hamlet* before Q2, which could well be a Shakespearean Q1. Nothing has been found in the course of this research to suggest an *Ur-Hamlet* rather than a Q1 was referred to in the late 16th century. Although many will find it difficult to accept, it is not so surprising that a playwright who many would see as a genius (Jonathan's Bate's view, at least) might be writing a Q1 *Hamlet* by the age of twenty-four or twenty-five. But any such rapid answers about Q1's date, authorship and the *Ur-Hamlet* hypothesis would need to be revisited in the light of further developments in Shakespeare studies.

To accept Q1 as Shakespeare's and Q2 as his revised version results in those two plays being a first draft and revision. It suggests a trajectory which approximates to *Les Histoires Tragiques* -> Q1 -> Q2, and it also results in a potential weakening of the memorial reconstruction hypothesis in general. If scholarship accepts not just *Lear* but also *Hamlet* were revised, consideration must surely be given to the status of other 'bad' quartos which are also suspected of being memorial reconstructions.

Malone, Mommsen, Hart, Jenkins, Shapiro – these are among the scholars who have indicated they hold a series of beliefs⁸⁶¹ in their acclaim for Shakespeare and his plays. Their views emerge after

⁸⁵⁷ Duthie 'abandoned' memorial reconstruction as an explanation for Q1 *Lear* in 1960.

⁸⁵⁸ The 'Kidd in Aesop' cannot reasonably be interpreted as anything other than a story about a baby goat, alluding to *The May Eclogue*, by the Elizabethan 'Æsop', as 'E.K.' called Spenser.

⁸⁵⁹ Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 91.

⁸⁶⁰ F. J. Furnival, *Forewords*, in Griggs, *Shakspeare's Hamlet: The Second Quarto, 1604*, viii.

⁸⁶¹ For example, Malone's revised opinion that Henslowe's *Hamlet* could not be Shakespeare's, Mommsen that Shakespeare would not write shorter early plays, Hart that re-writing was too much of a 'chare' for Shakespeare, Jenkins that Shakespeare would not revise when he could go on to a new play, and Shapiro that Shakespeare did revise.

years of scholarship; they merit respect. Together they contribute to an extensive tapestry, woven to explain Shakespeare's career. Restricting any account to relying upon facts and evidence will produce a thinner tapestry, though its strands will be uniformly of Kevlar rather than a mixture of Kevlar and straw. It may not be so popular to suggest a range of dates for a play rather than a single date (though this has been done by for example Alexander); perhaps to say that Shakespeare was a grafter and reviser will be less popular than calling him an outright genius *ab initio*. Perhaps the cautious approach of this thesis will seem too reminiscent of a Gradgrind, though it is more a return to Chambers' *Facts and Problems*, i.e. the evidence and the lacunae.

However, the facts underpinning this thesis do give us an insight into Shakespeare's composition processes. We might, for example, see him as a little slapdash in forgetting in Q1 that Hamlet needs to ask for the Queen's silence, and dissatisfied enough with scene 14 to rewrite it. He may have been torn between presenting us with a young Hamlet and touching up the description of Hamlet to make the role suitable for an older actor like Burbage. He saw far beyond the savagery of an Amleth with his butchery of the counsellor and with his bigamy, in contrast with Hamlet's accidentally fatal thrust through the arras and the Queen's poignant words at Ofelia/Ophelia's graveside. There are touches which hint at *Hamlet* being a 'work in progress', and Shakespeare consequently every inch an obsessive reviser (as Shapiro suggests); there are hints about the development of his dramatic skills in plotting a thriller (postponing the 'nunnery' scene, and the news of Rosencrans and Guyldensterne's deaths), and there is also the manner in which Shakespeare accentuates the pain of Hamlet's situation, of one who knows he has 'the power to hurt and will do none' - but must.

Greg expected Duthie's book to be interrogated; he did not expect it to provide 'the final solution to the problem'. *The 'Bad' Quarto of Hamlet* has been an invaluable starting point for this thesis, even it offers a very different solution to the problem of the *Hamlets*.

Bibliography

References

- Abbott, E.A. *A Shakespearean Grammar*. London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1901
- Alexander, Peter, editor. *William Shakespeare. The Complete Works*. London and Glasgow: Collins, 1951
- Allen, Don Cameron. 'Francis Meres's Treatise "Poetrie". A Critical Edition.' *Studies in Language and Literature*, vol XVI. University of Illinois, 1933
- Arber, Edward. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640 A.D.* Vols 1 & II. London: privately printed, 1875
- Bate, Jonathan. *Soul of the Age: The Life, Mind and World of William Shakespeare*. London: Penguin, 2009
- Bateson, F.W., editor. *The School for Scandal* by Richard Brinsley Sheridan. London: A & C Black, 1995
- Bearman, Robert. *Shakespeare in the Stratford Records*. The Shakespeare Birth Trust: Alan Sutton Ltd., Trowbridge, Wiltshire: Redwood Books, 1994
- Beckingsale, B W. *Burghley: Tudor Statesman: 1520-1598*. London: Macmillan, 1967
- Bingham, Caroline. *Darnley*. London: Constable and Company Limited, 1995
- Black, Joseph L., editor. *The Martin Marprelate Tracts: A Modernized and Annotated Edition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008
- Blaney, Peter. 'The Publication of Playbooks', edited by John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan, *A New History of Early Modern English Drama*. New York: Columbia Press, 1997
- Boas, Frederick S. *The Works of Thomas Kyd*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901
- 'Hamlet at Oxford: New Facts and Suggestions'. *The Fortnightly Review*, 1913, 245-253
- *University Drama in the Tudor Age*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1914
- Bodenham, Iohn. *Bel-vedère or the Garden of the Muses*, 1600. British Library reference: c.40.b.34.
- Boswell, James, editor, for Edmond Malone. *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, vol II. London: printed for F.C. and J. Rivington et al, 1821
- Bracy, William. *The Merry Wives of Windsor. The History and Transmission of Shakespeare's Text*. University of Missouri Studies, vol XXV. Columbia: The Curators of the University of Missouri, 1952
- Brandes, George. *William Shakespeare: A critical study*, vol II. London: W. Heinemann, 1905
- Bristol, Michael D. Review of Eric Sams' *The Real Shakespeare*, *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol 50, no. 2. University of Chicago Press, Summer 1997, 607-9
- Brown, John Russell. *Hamlet: a guide to the text and its theatrical life*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006
- Buchanan, George. Translated and edited by W. A. Gatherer. *The Tyrannous Reign of Mary Stewart*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1958

- Bullough, Geoffrey. *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*. 8 Vols. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973
- Burke, John J. Jr. Review of Eric Sams' *The Real Shakespeare*. *South Atlantic Review*, vol 62, no 4. South Atlantic Modern Languages Association. Autumn 1995, 81-4
- Burkhart, Robert E. *Shakespeare's Bad Quartos: Deliberate Abridgements Designed for Performance by a Reduced Cast*. The Hague: Mouton, 1979
- Butler, Pierce. *Materials for the Life of Shakespeare*. Chapel Hill: the University of North Carolina Press, 1930
- Cairncross, Andrew S. *The Problem of Hamlet * a Solution*. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1936
- Chambers, E.K. *The Elizabethan Stage*, vols 1-4. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923
- *William Shakespeare. A Study of Facts and Problems*. Vols 1 & II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951
- editor. *Hamlet*. Arden edition. Boston: D.C. Heath and Co., 1904
- Clark, Fred M. *Objective Methods For Testing Authenticity And The Study of Ten Doubtful Comedias Attributed to Lope de Vega*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971
- Clark, William George and William Aldis Wright. *Hamlet Prince of Denmark*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1872
- Clayton, Thomas, editor. *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986
- Craig, Hardin. 'Revised Elizabethan Quartos: An Attempt to Form a Class', edited by J. Bennett, O. Cargill, V. Hall, Jr. *Studies in The English Renaissance Drama*. New York: New York University Press, 1959
- *A New Look at Shakespeare's Quartos*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1961
- Cranstoun, James LL.D. *Satirical Poems. 1565-84*. British Library reference: AC 9943/11
- Crutwell, Patrick. *The Shakespearean Moment and its place in the poetry of the 17th century*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1954
- Crystal, David, and Ben Crystal, editors. *Shakespeare's Words. A Glossary & Language Companion*. London: Penguin Books, 2002
- Cunliffe, John W. Nash and the Earlier *Hamlet*. *The Publication of the Modern Languages Association*. Baltimore, 1906, 193-199
- Daniell, D. editor. *Julius Caesar*. The New Arden Shakespeare. London: Thomson Learning, 1998
- Davenant, A. 'Shakespeare and Nashe's "Pierce Penillesse"'. *Notes and Queries*, September 1953, 371-374
- Dessen, Alan C. *Weighing the Options in Hamlet Q1*, edited by Thomas Clayton. *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986
- Diderot et D'Alembert. *Encyclopédie*. Tome 9. JU-MAM, Geneve: chez Cramer L'Ainé & Compagnie, 1772
- Dodsworth, Martin. *Hamlet Closely Observed*. New Hampshire, London and Dover: The Athlone Press, 1985
- Dorsch, T. S. *Julius Caesar*. The Arden Shakespeare. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1975
- Dowden, E. *Hamlet*. The Arden Shakespeare. London: Methuen, 1933

- *Shakespeare: A Critical Study of his Mind and Art*. London: Henry S. King & Co., 1875
- Duncan-Jones, Katherine. *Ungentle Shakespeare: Scenes from his Life*. London: Thomson Learning, 2001
- Duthie, George Ian. *Elizabethan Shorthand & the First Quarto of 'King Lear'*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1949
- *The 'Bad' Quarto of Hamlet. A Critical Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941
- Dyce, Rev. Alexander. *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*. London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street, 1843
- Edwards, Philip, editor. *Hamlet Prince of Denmark*. The New Cambridge Shakespeare. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000
- Elliot, J. R. Jr., editor. *Records of Early English Drama* (REED). 'Oxford: The Records' vol I. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004
- Elze, Karl. *Hamlet*. Leipzig: G. Mayer, 1857
- Erne, Lukas. *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003
- Evans, G. Blakemore, textual editor. *The Riverside Shakespeare*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1974
- Farmer, D.D. Richard. *An Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare*. 1767. British Library reference: 641.e.27.
- Fleay, Frederick Gard. *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama 1559-1642*, vol II. London: Reeves and Turner, 1891
- Foakes, R.A. and R. T. Rickert, editors. *Henslowe's Diary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002
- Forker, Charles R. *King Richard II*. The Arden Shakespeare. London: Thomson Learning, 2002
- Fraser, Antonia. *Mary Queen of Scots*. London: Mandarin, 1989
- Freeman, Arthur, editor. *Meres: Palladis Tamia; Wits Treasury*. Reprint of the 1598 edition published by P. Short for Cuthbert Burbie in London. London: Garland Publishing, 1973
- Furness, Horace Howard, editor. *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare. Hamlet* vol II. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1905
- *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare. A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1923
- Furnivall, F.J. (Introduction) from the text by Professor Delius. *The Leopold Shakspeare: The Poet's Works in Chronological Order*. London, Paris & Melbourne: Cassell & Company, 1881
- Gillespie, Stuart. *Shakespeare's Books. A Dictionary of Shakespeare Source*. London and New Brunswick New Jersey: The Athlone Press, 2001
- Girotti, Eugenia. *La Calzatura (Footwear)*. Milan: BE-MA EDITRICE, 1986
- Globe theatre. <http://www.globe-theatre.org.uk/globe-audience.htm>. Accessed 27th February 2012
- Gollancz, Sir Israel. *The Sources of Hamlet*. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926
- Greg, Walter W. 'The Laws of Elizabethan Copyright: The Stationers' View', *The Library*, XV, No 1, 5th series, 1960, 8-20
- editor. *Henslowe's Diary* Part I Text. London: A.H. Bullen, 1904
- editor. *Henslowe's Papers*. London: A.H. Bullen, 1907

- editor. *Hamlet. First Quarto, 1603*. London: The Shakespeare Association & Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1951
- Griggs, William. *Shakspeare's Hamlet: The Second Quarto, 1604*. London: W. Griggs. Undated, but dedicated to W.E. Gladstone (d. 1898)
- Hackett, Helen. *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen. Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996
- Hart, Alfred. *Shakespeare and the Homilies; And Other Pieces of Research into the Elizabethan Drama*. New York: AMS Press, 1971
- *Stolne and Surreptitious Copies. A Comparative Study of Shakespeare's Bad Quartos*. Melbourne and London: Melbourne University Press in Association with Oxford University Press, 1942
- Hazlitt, William, editor. *The Dramatic Works of John Webster*. Vol II. London: John Russell Smith, Soho Square, 1857
- Henley, W.E., editor. *Hoby's Courtier*. London: David Nutt, 1900
- Herbert, Philip. Script of alleged speech c. 1649. Trowbridge Record Office reference: 2057 F4/1 1639-91
- Herford, Charles Harold & Percy Simpson, editors. *Ben Jonson*. Vol III. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927
- Herford, Charles Harold. *A Sketch of Recent Shakespearean Investigation, 1893-1923*. London: Blackie & Son Ltd., 1923
- *The Works of Shakespeare*, Vol VIII. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd, 1926
- *The First Quarto of Hamlet. 1603*. Harness Prize essay, 1880. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1880. British Library reference 11766.bbb.18
- Herford, Charles Harold and William Henry Widgey. *The First Quarto of Hamlet*. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1880
- Hibbard, G. R. 'The Chronology of the Three Substantive Texts of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, edited by Thomas Clayton. *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986
- *Thomas Nashe: A Critical Introduction*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962
- editor. *Hamlet*. The Oxford Shakespeare. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987
- Hill, N.W. "'Hamlet", I.ii.66'. *Notes and Queries*, 12 S. IV, August 1918, 212
- Hirrel. (Re book upon Thomas Kyd's lost *Hamlet*.) <http://www.esu-ny.org/data/newsletter.pdf>. Accessed 7th March 2011
- Holderness, Graham and Brian Loughrey, editors. *The Tragical Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmark*. Maryland: Barnes and Noble Books, 1992
- Honan, Park. *Shakespeare: A Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998
- Honigmann, E.A.J. *Shakespeare: the 'lost years'*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985
- *The Stability of Shakespeare's Text*. London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1965
- Hubbard, F. G. 'The "Marcellus" Theory of the First Quarto of Hamlet'. *Modern Language Notes*, vol 33, no 2, February 1918, 73-79
- Hubler, Edward, editor, *Hamlet*. Signet Classics. London: The New American Library Limited, 1963

- Hughes, Thomas and Others. *The Misfortunes of Arthur*. Students' facsimile edition. Sheffield University reference: B822.308, 1911
- Huguet, Edmond, editor. *Dictionnaire de la Langue Francais du seizième siècle*. (9 vols) Tomes deuxième et quatrième Paris: Libraire Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1932
- Hume, Martin A. S. *The Great Lord Burghley – Study in Elizabethan Statecraft*. London: J. Nisbet, 1898
- Humphreys, A. R., editor. *Much Ado About Nothing*. The Arden Shakespeare. London: Methuen, 1981
- Hunt, Marvin W. *Looking for Hamlet*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007
- Hunter, G. K. *John Lyly. The Humanist as Courtier*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962
 ---- editor. *Marston: Antonio's Revenge*. London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1966
- Ingram, William. *The Business of Playing: The Beginnings of the Adult Professional Theatre in Elizabethan London*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1992
- Ippolo, Grace. *Revising Shakespeare*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991
- Irace, Kathleen O. 'Origins and Agents of Q1 *Hamlet*.' edited by Thomas Clayton. *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986
 ---- *Reforming the 'Bad' Quartos. Performance and Provenance of Six Shakespearean First Editions*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1994
 ---- editor. *The First Quarto of Hamlet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998
- Jack, A.E. 'Thomas Kyd and the Ur-Hamlet'. *The Publication of the Modern Languages Association*. Baltimore, 1905, 729-748
- Jenkins, Harold, editor. *Hamlet*. The Arden Shakespeare (second edition). London: Methuen, 1982
- Jolly, Margrethe. 'Hamlet and the French Connection: The Relationship of Q1 and Q2 *Hamlet* and the Evidence of Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*'. *Parergon*, the Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies (inc.) Vol 29, Number 1, 2012, 83-105
- Keats, John. Letter to George and Thomas Keats, 21st December 1812.
<http://www.poetryfoundation.org/learning/essay237836?page=2> Accessed 5th August 2012
- Knight, G. Wilson. *The Wheel of Fire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993
- Latham, Agnes, editor. *As You Like It*. The Arden Shakespeare. London: Methuen, 1975
- Lee, Sir Sidney. *A Life of William Shakespeare*. London: John Murray, 1925
- Leishmann, J. B. *The Three Parnassus Plays 1598-1601*. London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson Ltd., 1949
- Levi, Peter. *The Life and Times of William Shakespeare*. London: Macmillan, 1988
- Lodge, Thomas. *The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge*. Vol 4. *Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse*. London and New York: printed for the Hunterian Club, 1883
- Loughrey, Bryan. 'Q1 in Recent Performance: An Interview', edited by Thomas Clayton. *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986

- Mabillard, Amanda. *Newington Butts*. Shakespeare Online. <http://www.Shakespeare-online.com/theatre/nbutts.html>. Accessed 12th November 2010
- MacKail, J.W., editor. *The Aeneid*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930
- Maguire, Laurie E. *Shakespeare's suspect texts: The 'bad' quartos and their contexts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996
- Malone, Edmond. *An Attempt to Ascertain the Order of Shakespeare's Plays*, 1778. British Library reference: 642.f.1.
---- *The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare*. London: H. Baldwin, 1790
- Marcus L.S., J Mueller, and M. B. Rose, editors. *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000
- Marcus, Leah. *Unediting the Renaissance*. London: Routledge, 1996
- Marder, Louis. *His Exits and his Entrances: The Story of Shakespeare's Reputation*. London: John Murray, 1964
- Mares, F.H., editor. *Much Ado About Nothing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003
- Marshall, Rosalind K. *Queen of Scots*. Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1986
- Maxwell, J.C. *Titus Andronicus*. Arden Shakespeare. London: Routledge, 1993
- McCallum, M. W. 'The Authorship of the Early Hamlet', in *An English Miscellany*. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969
- McKerrow, Ronald B. *The Works of Thomas Nashe*. Reprint from the original, with corrections and supplementary notes, edited by F.P. Wilson. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958
---- *The Works of Thomas Nashe: Edited from the Original Texts*. 5 vols. London: Sedgwick & Jackson Ltd., 1910
- McMillin, Scott. 'Casting the Hamlet Quartos: The Limit of Eleven', edited by Thomas Clayton. *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986
- Menzer, Paul. *The Hamlets: Cues, Qs and Remembered Texts*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008
- Meres, Francis. *Palladis Tamia; wits treasury*. Edited by Arthur Freeman. Reprint of original, P. Short for Cuthbert Burbie. London: Garland Publishing, 1973
- Moltke, Max and Gericke, and Dr Robert Weiland. *Shakespeare's Hamlet-Quellen*. Leipzig: Verlag Von Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1881
- Miola, Robert. *Shakespeare's Reading*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000
- Morris, Brian, editor. *The Taming of the Shrew*. The Arden Shakespeare. London: Methuen, 1981
- Muir, Kenneth. *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays*. London: Methuen & Co Ltd., 1977
- Mulryne, J. R., editor. *The Spanish Tragedy*. London: A & C Black, 1989
---- editor. *Thomas Kyd: the Spanish Tragedy*. Introduction and notes by Andrew Gurr. London: Methuen Drama, A. & C. Black Publishers Ltd., 2009
- Munro, John, editor. *The London Shakespeare, vol V The Tragedies (1)*. Introduction by G.W.G. Wickham. London: Eyre and Spottiswode, 1958
- Munro, Lucy, editor. *John Fletcher: The Tamer Tamed*. London: Methuen Drama, 2010
- Murray, Peter B. *Thomas Kyd*. New York: Twayne, 1969

- Nashe, Thomas. *Pierce Pennilesse*. <http://www.luminarium.org/renlit/penniless.htm>. Accessed 27th February 2012
- Neale, J. E. *Queen Elizabeth I*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1954
- Nelson, Alan H., editor. *Records of Early English Drama: Cambridge 1. The Records*. (REED). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989
- 'Calling all (Shakespeare) Biographers! Or a Plea for Documentary Discipline', edited by Takashi Kozuka and J. R. Mulryne, *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography*. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006, 55-67
- Norton, Thomas and Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset. *The Tragidie of Ferrex and Porrex*. STC (2nd ed.) 18685
- Orgel, Stephen. *Imagining Shakespeare*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003
- Pafford, J.H.P., editor. *The Winter's Tale*. The Arden Shakespeare. London: Methuen, 1963
- Petersen, Lene. *Shakespeare's Errant Texts. Textual Form and Linguistic Style in Shakespearean 'Bad' Quartos and Co-Authored Plays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010
- Phillips, O. Hood. *Shakespeare & the Lawyers*. London: Methuen and Co Ltd., 1972
- Plumptre, James. *Observations on Hamlet*. British Library reference: T.3.6.3.(1,2.) 1796
- Pollard, Alfred W. *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates and the Problems of the Transmission of his Text*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967
- Pollard, Alfred W. and John Dover Wilson. *Shakespeare Problems. The Manuscript of Shakespeare's Hamlet and the Problems of its transmission*. Vols I & II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934
- Price, Diana. *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2001
- Quennell, Peter. *Shakespeare*. London: Readers Union, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1964
- Read, Conyers. *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1960
- Rees, J. 'Shakespeare and "Edward Pudsey's Booke"', 1600. *Notes and Queries*, September 1992, 330-31
- Rennart, Hugo Albert. *The Life of Lope de Vega*. Glasgow: Gowans & Gray Ltd., 1904
- Rhys, Ernest, editor. *Sheridan: Poetry and Drama*. London: J. M. Dent, 1909
- Richmond, Hugh M. Review of Eric Sams' *The Real Shakespeare*. *Albion, a Quarterly Journal concerned with British Studies*, vol 28, no 1. Spring 1996, 95-6
- Robertson, William. *A History of Scotland* vol II. London: printed for T. Cadell in The Strand, 1787
- Rosenberg, Marvin. 'The First Modern English Staging of *Hamlet* Q1', edited by Thomas Clayton. *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986
- Rowse, A. L. *Discovering Shakespeare*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989
- *William Shakespeare*. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1963
- Rylands, George, editor. *Hamlet*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969
- Sams, Eric. 'Assays of Bias'. *Notes and Queries*, CCXXXVI, March 1991, 60-3.
- Shakespeare, or Bottom? *The Myth of "Memorial Reconstruction"*. Encounter, January 1989. http://www.ericams.org/sams_bottom.html. Accessed 6th April 2012

- *Taboo or Not Taboo? The Text, Dating and Authorship of Hamlet*, 1589-1623
http://www.ericams.org/sams_taboo.pdf. Accessed 15th February 2012
- *The Real Shakespeare. Retrieving the Early Years, 1564 – 1594*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995
- Schick, J. *The Spanish Tragedy*. London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1898
- Schoenbaum, Samuel. *Shakespeare's Lives*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970
- *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987
- Shaheen, Naseeb. *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Plays*. London: Associated University Press, 1999
- "A Warning for Fair Women" and the "Ur-Hamlet". *Notes and Queries*, April 1983, 126-127
- Shapiro, James. *1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare*. London: Faber and Faber, 2005
- Simpson, Richard. *Edmund Campion: A Biography*. London: J. Hodges, 1867
- Smith, G. C. Moore. *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*. Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913
- Smith, J.C. and E. De Selincourt, editors. *Spenser, Poetical Works*. London: Oxford University Press, 1966
- Somogyi, Nick de, editor. *Hamlet*. The Shakespeare Folios. London: Nick Hern Books, 2001
- Sotheby's sale catalogue. 1682. British Library reference: 821.i.8.(1)
- Speght, Thomas. Chaucer's *Works*. Gabriel Harvey's annotated copy. British Library reference: L. 42518, f422b
- Stabler, Arthur P. 'King Hamlet's Ghost in Belleforest?' *The Publication of the Modern Languages Association*, vol 77, No. 1, March 1962, 18-20
- Steane, J. B., editor. *Thomas Nashe. The Unfortunate Traveller & Other Works*. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1972
- Stephens, Sir Leslie, and Sir Sidney Lee, editors. *The Dictionary of National Biography*. 18 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921-22 (Reprint of 1963-4)
- Stern, Virginia. *Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1979
- Stevenson, J., A. J. Crosby, A.J. Butler, S.C. Lomas, and R.B. Wernham, editors, *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, 1564-5*. 23 vols. London, 1863-1950
- Stokes, Reverend Henry Paine. *An Attempt to Determine the Chronological Order of Shakespeare's Plays*. The Harness essay 1877. London: Macmillan & Co., 1878
- Thomas, Sidney. 'Hamlet Q1: First Version or Bad Quarto?' edited by Thomas Clayton. *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986
- Thompson, Ann, and Neil Taylor, editors. *Hamlet. (Q2) The Arden Shakespeare*. London: Thomson Learning, 2006
- editors. *Hamlet. The Texts of 1603 and 1623*. The Arden Shakespeare. London: Thomson Learning, 2007
- Thorndike, Ashley H. 'Hamlet and Contemporary Revenge Plays.' *The Publication of the Modern Languages Association*, Baltimore, 1902, 125-220
- Timmins, Samuel. *Hamlet*. London: Sampson Low, Son and Co., 1860

- Truman, M. 'The View From Here'. *Compass*, Wessex. Ashford, Kent: Headley Bros, compass.greatbritishlife.co.uk, 2010
- Tydemann, William, editor. *Two Tudor Tragedies*. London: Penguin Books, 1992
- Urkowitz, Steven. 'Well-sayd olde Mole': *Burying Three Hamlets in Modern Editions*, edited by Georgianna Ziegler, *Shakespeare Study Today*. New York: AMS Press, 1986
- *Back to Basics: Thinking about the Hamlet First Quarto*, edited by Thomas Clayton. *The Hamlet first Published (Q1, 1603): Origins, Form, Intertextualities*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986
- *Texts with Two Faces: Noticing Theatrical Revisions in Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3*, edited by T.A. Pendleton. *Henry VI: Critical Essays*. New York: Routledge, 2001
- Vickers, Sir Brian. *Shakespeare, Co-Author*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004
- Vocht, H. de, editor. *Jasper Heywood and his Translations of Seneca's Troas, Thyestes and Hercules Furens*. Louvain: A. Uystpruyst, 1913
- Walker, Ralph, editor. *Ben Jonson's "Timber, or Discoveries"*. Reprint. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976
- Walsh, Jill Paton. *The Bad Quarto*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2007
- Weiner, Albert B. *William Shakespeare: HAMLET: The First Quarto; 1603*. New York: Barron's Educational Series, 1962
- Weir, Alison. *Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Murder of Lord Darnley*. London: Jonathan Cape, 2003
- Wells, Stanley and Taylor, Gary, editors. *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion*. London: W.W. Norton & Co., 1997
- general editors. *William Shakespeare. The Complete Works*. Compact edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988
- Werstine, Paul. 'Narratives about Printed Shakespearean Texts: "Foul Papers" and "Bad" Quartos': *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 41:1, 1990, 65-86
- Whitridge, Arnold, and Dodds, John Wendell, editors. *An Oxford Anthology of English Prose*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1937
- Widgery, William Henry. *The First Quarto of Hamlet. 1603*. Harness Prize essay, 1880. London, Smith, Elder and Co., 1880. British Library reference: 11766.bbb.18
- Williams, Neville. *Elizabeth Queen of England*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1967
- Wilson, John Dover & George Ian Duthie, editors. *King Lear*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960
- Wilson, John Dover, editor. *The Tragedie of Hamlet Prince of Denmark*. Weimar: Cranach Press, 1930. British Library reference: C.100.1.16
- editor. *Hamlet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936
- editor. *The Sonnets*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976
- *The Copy for Hamlet, 1603 and the Hamlet Transcript, 1593*. London: Alexander Moring Ltd., The De La More Press, 1918. British Library reference: 011765.k.31
- *The Essential Shakespeare: A Biographical Adventure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946
- *What Happens in Hamlet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964
- Wine, M. L., editor. *John Marston: The Malcontent*. London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1965

Ziegler, Georgianna, editor. *Shakespeare Study Today*. New York: AMS Press, 1986

Background Reading

- Bate, Jonathan. *The Genius of Shakespeare*. London and Basingstoke: Picador, 1997
- Belleforest, François de. *L'Innocence de la tresillustre tres chaste, et debonnaire Princesse, Madame Marie Royne d'Ecosse*. (post 1572) British Library reference: 600.d.19
- Bjørn-Petersen, Elisabeth. *Kronborg*. Elsinore, Nordisk Forlag for Videnskab og Teknik, 1997
- Bodenham, John. *Belvédère, or The Garden of the Muses*. (Reprint of 1600 edition) New York: Burt Franklin Research & Source Works Series, 1967
- Bowers, Fredson. *Authority, Copy and Transmission in Shakespeare's Texts*, edited by Georgianna Ziegler. *Shakespeare Study Today*. New York: AMS Press, 1986
- Bowers, Fredson. *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940
- Crossley, Ja^s., President of the Spenser Society. *Bodenham's Belvédère or the Garden of the Muses*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1967
- Duthie, George Ian, editor. *Papers. Mainly Shakespearian*. Aberdeen: Oliver and Boyd, University of Aberdeen, 1964
- Elton, Oliver. *Translation from Historiae Danicae*, edited by Geoffrey Bullough. *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*. Vol VII. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973
- Fleay, F. G. *A Shakespeare Manual*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1876
- Foakes, R.A. (ed.) *Henry VIII*. The Arden Shakespeare. London and New York: Methuen, 1986
- French, George Russell. *Shakespeareana Genealogica*. London, Macmillan & Co., 1869
- Gray, H. D. 'The First Quarto *Hamlet*'. *Modern Languages Review*, X, 1915, 171-80
- Greg, Walter W., editor. Henslowe's *Diary*, Part II Commentary. London: A.H. Bullen, 1904
- Harrison, G.B., editor. *Robert Greene, M.A. Groats-Worth of Witte, bought with a million of Repentance*. London: The Bodley Head Ltd., 1923
- Jones, Ernest. 'Hamlet Psychoanalysed', edited by Lawrence Lerner, *Shakespeare's Tragedies*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1968
- Knights, L.C. *An Approach to 'Hamlet'*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1960
- Oliver, H.J., editor. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. The Arden Shakespeare. London: Methuen, 1971
- Oras, Ants. *Pause Patterns in Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama: An Experiment in Prosody*. University of Florida Monographs, Humanities No 3 Winter. Florida: University of Florida Press, (Gainesville) 1960
- Saintsbury, George. *A History of Elizabethan Literature*. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1928
 ---- *Shakespeare: Life and Plays*. The Cambridge History of English Literature, vol V. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929
- Scarbrick J.J. *Henry VIII*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1968
- Schiern, Frederik. *Life of James Hepburn Earl of Bothwell*. Translated from the Danish by Rev. David Berry. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1880

-
- Simkin, Stevie, editor. *Revenge Tragedy: Contemporary Critical Essays*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001 (Includes *The Revenger's Tragedy: Providence, Parody and Black Camp*, by Jonathon Dollimore)
- Stabler, Arthur P. 'Melancholy, Ambition and Revenge in Belleforest's *Hamlet*'. *The Publication of the Modern Languages Association*, vol 81, No 3 June 1966, 207-13
- Tarlinskaja, Marina. *Shakespeare's Verse: Iambic Pentameter and the Poet's Idiosyncrasies*. New York: Peter Lang, 1987
- Thomas, David. *Shakespeare in the Public Records*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1985
- Thomson, George Malcolm. *The North-West Passage*. London: Book Club Associates, 1975
- Thomson, J.A.K. *Shakespeare and the Classics*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1952
- Werstine, Paul. 'A Century of "Bad" Quartos'. *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol 50, no.3, (Autumn 1999). Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library in association with George Washington Press, 1988, 310-33
- 'The Textual Mystery of Hamlet'. *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol 39, no.1, (Spring 1988). Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library in association with George Washington Press, 1988, 1-26
- Williamson, Claude C. H. editor. *Readings on the character of Hamlet, 1661-1947*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1950
- Wilson, F.P., edited by Helen Gardener. *Shakespearian and other studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969

APPENDIX A

Figure A.1 Photographs of the noticeboard in the entrance to the Golden Cross, Oxford, in 1998.

(a) Overview

(b) Detail

"1593 The play 'Hamlet' by William Shakespeare was produced in the courtyard"

Figure A.2 Correspondence with Oxford Public Records Office.

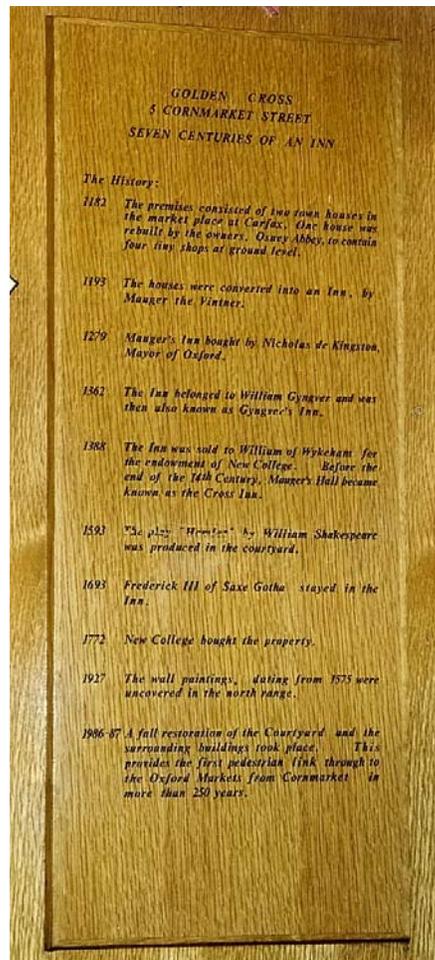


Figure A.1 (a)

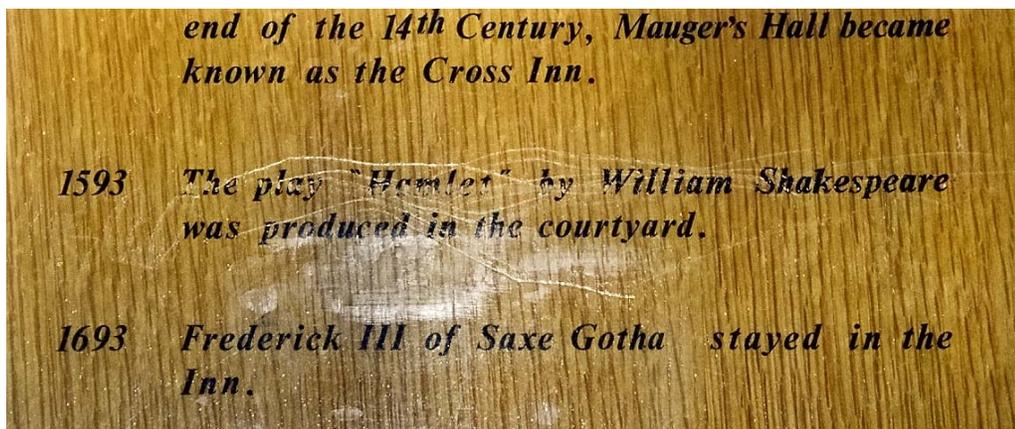


Figure A.1 (b)

Legal and Committee Services

Head of Service: Joanna Irwin

The Town Hall,
Blue Boar Street, Oxford OX1 4EY
Telephone: 01865 249811
Fax: Legal 01865 252694 Fax: Committee 01865 252581
Minicom: 01865 252409 DX: 4309 Oxford



**OXFORD
CITY
COUNCIL**

Ms E Jolly
8 Glenwood Avenue
Bassett
Southampton
SO16 3QA

Date 4 March 1999
Your ref
My ref AV/CAM
Please ask for Angeli Vaid
Extension
Direct Dial 01865 815202

Dear Ms Jolly

Thank you for your enquiry about the documentary evidence relating to the performance of Shakespeare's plays in Oxford c. 1593, and kindly enclosed stamped addressed envelope.

I can find no reference to the players or their performances in the published Council Acts 1583-1626, for 1592 and 1593. This implies that it would be of limited value for you to consult the original acts, although you are obviously quite welcome to do so. The reference would be C/FC/1/A1/02 Council Act Book "B", 1591-1628.

I have also checked the Accounts of the Chamberlains and Keykeepers, 1592-1682 (reference P.5.2). The account for 1592/3 simply says "Item given to the Queens Players 25 February, 10s" and "Item given to the Lord Stranges Players, 6 October, 6s 8d". There is no reference to Shakespeare or Hamlet at all! However, p.372 Appendix III of the published Council Acts, 1583-1626, mentions these references in the Chamberlain's accounts and has a footnote ascribed to one of the items I have just quoted. It reads as follows:

"Dr F S Boas in an article in the Fortnightly for 1913 on 'Hamlet in Oxford', assigns this [ie: item to the Lord Stranges Players] to 6 October 1593; but the Chamberlain's accounts unlike the Keykeepers, generally end on 29 September. The items in these accounts are in no chronological order. The Queen left Oxford on 28 September 1592, but the Court Officials remained in Oxford for at least a week; this would be a suitable time for the Players of Lord Strange. It may be added that on 6 October 1593 their title was the Earl of Derby's Players, as Dr Boas remarks."

In summary I cannot find documentary evidence in the City Archives to say what the players performed, only that they were given money by the Town Council. Perhaps Dr Boas' article will shed some light on alternative documentary sources, if so please contact me again.

You are most welcome to come and see the Chamberlains' accounts, if you wish to please contact me again. Sadly, we cannot supply photocopies of the material as it is a fragile leather bound volume.

Yours sincerely

Angeli Vaid
Oxford City Archivist

CENTRAL SERVICES

Figure A.2

APPENDIX B

Extracts from Edward Arber: *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640 A.D.* Vol II

Arber page ref.	Date	Printer	Text	Author	Translator	Fee
158r	24.3.1579	Thomas gosson	A ballad concerning the murder of the late kinge of Scottes			
164r	11.11.1579	master walkins	La ciulle conuersation diuisee en quatre liures Traduite d'Italien	Sieur ESTIENE GUAZZO	GABRIEL CHAPPUIS Tourangeoys	xvij ^s
221r	13.9.1587	John wolf	The historie of China both in Italian and English			Xijd (included Decameron too)
221r	18.9.1587	Thomas Gubbyn. Thomas newman	Amorous. fiamenta, translated out of Italian			vjd
222r	30.10.1587	Master John Harrison thejelder	Three books of Colloquies... wrytten in Italian and translated	NICHOLAS TARTAGLIA	CIPRIAN LUCAR	vjd
223v	27.11.1587	John wolf	The Description of Scotland... in Italian as in English	PETRUCCIO		vjd
224	4.12.1587	John wolf	the Courtier in English French and Italian			vjd
225v	14.2.1588	Robert Robinson	A grammer in Frenche and Englishe	JAMES BELLOTT		vjd
233r	17.9.1588	John wolf	To be printed in Italian, L'asino d'oro	NICOLO MACCHAVELLI		
234v	14.10.1588	John wolf	[three different Italian texts - no indication of translations]			
235v	14.10.1588	John woulfe	A letter sent to Don BERNARDIN MENDOZZA			
237	20.11.1588	Edward Aggas	The historie of AURELIO and of ISABELL Daughter of the kinge of Scottes. in foure languages, viz Italian, Spanishe, Ffrenche and Englishe			vjd
242v	9.4.1589	Richard feild	Libretto de Abacho. in Italian and Englishe			
247v	9.8.1589	John wolf	Twoo severall places... in all languages			vjd

APPENDIX C i

Table showing the most common historical sources for and allusions to *Hamlet* as suggested by scholars

Principal references:

Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*

Jenkins, *Hamlet*

Cairncross, *The Problem of Hamlet*

Date of historical event	Historical event	<i>Hamlet Q1</i>	<i>Hamlet Q2</i>	Recorded by whom	Scholar	Reference	Plausibility
1589 20 th Aug. by proxy, 23 rd Nov. in person	Marriage of James VI of Scotland and Anne of Denmark	(Affected/prompted hypothetical <i>Ur-Hamlet</i>)	(Affected/prompted hypothetical <i>Ur-Hamlet</i>)		Bullough	<i>Narrative Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII vii	Not discussed by Bullough
1582	Latin play on Caesar's death acted at Christchurch				Chambers	<i>Hamlet</i> 159	
1588 1589	'War of the theatres'				Cairncross	<i>The Problem of Hamlet</i> 104-5	Argues Children of St Paul's recorded at playing more than the Queen's shows this was when 'war' was. NB suppression in 1590, so doesn't quite fit play
1599 - 1603	War of the theatres	-	II.ii Players' leaving city		Bullough	<i>Narrative Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 5, 36	Probably
1587 - 89	Trial and execution of Mary Queen of Scots, and negotiations for James' marriage	Y	Y		Bullough	<i>Narrative Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 18	'considerable topicality'
1587	James called upon to avenge mother's murder	Hamlet called upon to avenge father's murder	Hamlet called upon to avenge father's murder		Bullough	<i>Narrative Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 18	Slight topicality
1588	Sick King of Denmark	7.36	II.ii.66		Bullough	<i>Narrative Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 18	
1585 onwards			I.i.103 – demand for reinstatement for lands lost		Bullough	<i>Narrative Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 18ff	'strike a chord'
1587. March	Henrici Scotorum Regis Manes ad Jacobum VI ^{um} Filium	(Mother's infidelity, connivance at murder, King's evil and evil fate)	(Mother's infidelity, King's evil and evil fate)	By I.G. (John Gordon)	Bullough	<i>Narrative Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 19, 125	'significance'

Date of historical event	Historical event	<i>Hamlet Q1</i>	<i>Hamlet Q2</i>	Recorded by whom	Scholar	Reference	Plausibility
1588 1596	Rosencrantz, Guildenstern; 3 + 9 respectively under Frederick II (d 1588); Christian IV's coronation (1596) sixteen with one or other name. Common	Y	Y		Jenkins	<i>Hamlet</i> 422	Evidently chosen
1478	Francesco de Pazzi, Bernardo Bandini, assassins of Guiliano de Medici in Florence	Y	Y		Jenkins	<i>Hamlet</i> 423	Unlikely
	Sledged Polack – James VI sledged in Norway with his bride						
	Polack				Jenkins	<i>Hamlet</i> 425	
1580	Katherine Hamlett accidentally drowned in the Avon	Drowning of Ofelia	Drowning of Ophelia		Bullough	<i>Narrative Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 23	
1588.	Death of Tarleton	Inspired Yorick	Inspired Yorick		Bullough (P.N.Siegel)	<i>Narrative Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 27-8	
1592. 7 th May	Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga murdered near Mantua	Gonsago	Gonzago		Bullough (G. Sarrazin)	<i>Narrative Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 29-30	Too late for <i>Ur-Hamlet</i>
1538	Murder of Duke of Urbano by Luigi Gonzaga, by lotion poured into ears	Gonsago	Gonzago		Bullough (C. Elliot Browne) Jenkins	<i>Narrative Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 30 <i>Hamlet</i> 102	Possible More likely ('certainly' – Browne) No doubt

Date of historical event	Historical event	<i>Hamlet Q1</i>	<i>Hamlet Q2</i>	Recorded by whom	Scholar	Reference	Plausibility
1560	Surgeon Ambroise Paré wrongfully accused of poisoning François II by blowing poisonous powder into ear	"through the porches of my ears". 5.51	"in the porches of my ears". I.v.63		Bullough (R.R. Simpson) Chambers	<i>Narrative Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII <i>Hamlet</i> 139	Unlikely
1542	Duke Francesco Maria I della Rovere, married 30 years, buried in full armour in Urbino. Poison allegedly poured into ears	Player King married for 40 years	Lucianus – perhaps Latinized 'Luigi' 'Baptista' name of Federico da Montefeltro's Duchess Player King married for 30 years		Bullough	<i>Narrative Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 31-4	Possible Resemblances may be 'fortuitous'; but details suggest Shakespeare knew Titian's portrait of Francesco Maria
59 AD	Nero's possible murder of mother Agrippina whose second husband was Claudius (her uncle, so incestuous)		For name of Claudius 'the soul of Nero...' III.ii.400		William Montgomerie, quoted by Bullough	<i>Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 34-5	'Shakespeare certainly intended the parallel'
1591	Q Elizabeth said 'fifteen pirates, involved in robberies upon the Danes...'		Y	CSP Foreign July 1590 – May 1591, 440	Bullough	<i>Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 41	Probable pirates were topical by 1588-9
1588	Ambassador at Danish court 'seas are full of pirates'		Y		Bullough	<i>Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 42	Probable pirates were topical by 1588-9
1580	'famous quarrel in a tennis court between sir Philip Sidney and the earl of oxford	'at tennis' 6.22	'falling out at tennis' ii.i.59		Chambers	<i>Hamlet</i> 142	A question Chambers poses

Date of historical event	Historical event	<i>Hamlet Q1</i>	<i>Hamlet Q2</i>	Recorded by whom	Scholar	Reference	Plausibility
c. 1589	Jerome Horsey, could not drink as well as king of Denmark's brother	Y	Y	<i>Memorials</i> , Hakluyt Soc 20, ed. E A Bond 1856	Bullough	<i>Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 41	(no comment)
1589	Jerome Horsey, on disputes between England and Denmark on trade in northern seas				Bullough	<i>Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 41-2	(no comment)
1586	Visit of Kempe etc to Elsinore				Dollerup		
1589	Jerome Horsey complained that Danes had enticed English shipwrights to build for them, under Christian IV	Y 1.71-2	Y I.i.73-5		Bullough	<i>Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 45	Probably
1563 (Latin) 1568 (Jenkins) 1598 (Eng.)	Name 'Polonius'	N	Y	Anon trans. of <i>The Counsellor</i> , by Polish Grimaldus Goslicius	Bullough	<i>Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 45	Probably. 'Corambis' to avoid offence/ may have been in ' <i>Ur-Hamlet</i> '
1587	Accidental poisoning of Francesco Duke of Florence	Y	Y		Bullough	<i>Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 49	Possibly in '<i>Ur-Hamlet</i>'
1588	Alleged attempt at poisoning by Earl of Leicester	Y	Y	e.g. B. Jonson, <i>Conversations</i> , 1619	Bullough	<i>Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 49	Possibly in '<i>Ur-Hamlet</i>'
1587-9, 1603	Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, names of Danish students in Padua, and the first for a courtier at the coronation of James I				Chambers	<i>Hamlet</i> 143	Simply noted by Chambers

APPENDIX C ii

Table showing the most common literary sources for and allusions to *Hamlet* as suggested
by scholars

Principal references:

Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*

Jenkins, *Hamlet*

Cairncross, *The Problem of Hamlet*

Date of source/allusion	Source/allusion	Author	<i>Hamlet Q1</i>	<i>Hamlet Q2</i>	Scholar	Reference	Level of plausibility – scholar
c. 1200	<i>Historiae Danicae</i>	Saxo Grammaticus			e.g. Bullough	<i>Narrative & Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 15	No evidence that Shakespeare or predecessor (assumed author of hypothetical <i>Ur-Hamlet</i>) used Saxo
c. 1200	<i>Historiae Danicae</i>		(Character of Corambis)	Character of Polonius	e.g. Dover Wilson	<i>Narrative & Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 15	Disputed by Bullough, Stabler
1570, 1572, 1576, 1582, 1583 etc.	<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	François de Belleforest	Y	Y	e.g. Bullough Jenkins	<i>Narrative & Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 11 <i>Hamlet</i> 89ff	Certain A main source
1580s	<i>The Spanish Tragedy</i> (Hieronimo delays, distrusts letter revealing murderer, suicidal thoughts)	Thomas Kyd	Y Verbal parallels	Y	e.g. Bullough Jenkins	<i>Narrative & Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 16 ff 25 <i>Hamlet</i> 96ff	Very probable - Bullough Precedence of <i>The Spanish Tragedy</i> and <i>Hamlet</i> unknown (hypothetical at best) <i>TST</i> after <i>Hamlet</i> . 'Extremely unlikely inventor of Andrea created a spirit so complex as that in <i>Hamlet</i> Thinks <i>Ur-Hamlet</i> preceded <i>TSP</i>
1566 1581	<i>Agamemnon</i> : Thyestes' Ghost rises from Hell	Trans. J. Studley 1566, ed. T. Newton 1581	Y	Y	Bullough	<i>Narrative & Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 25	Possible parallel
1578 1578	<i>Promos and Cassandra</i> <i>The Paradise of Dainty Devises</i>	Whetstone		III.ii.358. 'while the grass grows'	Chambers	<i>Hamlet</i> 163	Possible

Date of source/allusion	Source/allusion	Author	<i>Hamlet Q1</i>	<i>Hamlet Q2</i>	Scholar	Reference	Level of plausibility – scholar
1559 1581	<i>Troades</i> : Ghost craves revenge. Chorus doubts soul lives on	Trans. Jasper Heywood 1559, ed. T. Newton 1581	Y (whether soul lives on –	Y	Bullough	<i>Narrative & Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 25-6	Possible parallel
1561	(<i>Il Cortegiano</i>) <i>The Courtier</i>	(Baldassare Castiglione) Trans. Thomas Hoby	For courtly manners	For courtly manners	Bullough	<i>Narrative & Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 30-1	'Little doubt'
1575 edn. quoted by Bullough	<i>Elogia Virorum Bellica Virtute Illustrium</i> For portrait by Titian of Francesco Maria; possibly account	Paolo Gioviol/ P. Iovii		'complete steel' beard 'grizzled' etc. III.iv.53ff	Bullough Jenkins	<i>Narrative & Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 33-4 <i>Hamlet</i> 103	Possible 'may have been suggested' to Shakespeare (Q2) rather than Kyd (Q1) 'not intrinsically implausible'
1511	<i>Praise of Folly</i> Humanist cast of Hamlet	Erasmus	?	?	Jenkins	<i>Hamlet</i> 111	No
	<i>Civil Conversation</i> Feeling of being in prison Women's beauty	Guazzo, trans. Pettie		?	Jenkins	<i>Hamlet</i> 111	No Possible
1580?	<i>Defense of Poetrie</i> Comical pastoral	Sir Philip Sidney	Y	Y			Very likely
1591	<i>Civil Conversation</i> <i>Second Fruits</i> Osric's hat	Guazzo Florio	N	Y	Jenkins	<i>Hamlet</i> 111	No
1579	<i>Life Caesar</i> in youth captured by pirates	Plutarch. Trans. 1579 by North	N	Y	Jenkins	<i>Hamlet</i> 104	Likelier than <i>Arcadia</i>

Date of source/allusion	Source/allusion	Author	<i>Hamlet Q1</i>	<i>Hamlet Q2</i>	Scholar	Reference	Level of plausibility – scholar
1592	<i>Pierce Penniless His Supplication to the Devil</i> Danish court and drinking	T. Nashe	Y	Y	Jenkins	<i>Hamlet</i> 104	Beyond question (but see appendix E)
1586	<i>Treatise of Melancholy</i> Melancholy and its victims	Timothy Bright	Y	Y	Jenkins	<i>Hamlet</i> 106-108	Subsidiary source
1594 (published)	<i>Tragedie of Dido Queene of Carthage</i> Story of Priam, esp. Priam being knocked down by the wind of Pyrrhus' sword	C. Marlowe and T. Nashe, first perf. 1587-93?	Y	Y	Bullough	<i>Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 37	Possible Certain ('proved')
1580 (French) 1600 S.R. 1603 (Eng.)	<i>Essais</i> Philosophical ideas – but not uncommon ones NB Jenkins claims echoes of Florio – but gives French version (110)	Montaigne, trans Florio 1603, but SR trans 1595, Cornwallis says Eng version in 1600	Y	Y II.ii 249-50	Jenkins Chambers	<i>Hamlet</i> 108ff <i>Hamlet</i> 16	Some ideas drawn from Montaigne Reports on Hamlet as satire on Montaigne – suggestive to the imagination
1573	<i>De Consolatione</i> Sentiments similar to Hamlet's	Cardan. Cardanus Comfort trans. Thomas Bedingfield 1573			Jenkins, on Hardin Craig's discovery	<i>Hamlet</i> 111	Unlikely – parallels do not warrant conclusions
1599 (published)	<i>A Warninge for Faire Women</i> Guilty widow at play	Anonymous	Y	Y	Bullough Jenkins	<i>Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 38 <i>Hamlet</i> 103	Probable 'corresponds'

Date of source/allusion	Source/allusion	Author	<i>Hamlet Q1</i>	<i>Hamlet Q2</i>	Scholar	Reference	Level of plausibility – scholar
1600 (Eng. Publication)	<i>The Romane History</i> Story of Brutus (‘seemed’, family murders) Saxo may have transferred some details from Livy	Titus Livius (Livy) trans Philomen Holland 1600	Y	Y	Bullough Jenkins	<i>Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 80 <i>Hamlet</i> 86	Possible
1590	<i>Arcadia</i> Account of young man taken by pirates	Sir Philip Sidney		Y	Bullough	<i>Dramatic Sources</i> vol VII 188	Analogue
1589 c.	<i>Ur-Hamlet</i>	Kyd, highly probably (84)			Jenkins	<i>Hamlet</i> , 82ff	Certain
1 st century AD	<i>Pharsalia</i>	Lucan trans Marlowe, pub 1600		‘Instruments of fear and warning’ I.i.114-5	Chambers	<i>Hamlet</i> 125	Perhaps
	<i>Satire X</i> 188	Juvenal		II.ii.195	Chambers	<i>Hamlet</i> 146	No allusion to Juvenal
	<i>Jepthah</i> – ballad, on SR 1567-8		Y	‘And as by lot god wot...’ II.ii.426	Chambers	<i>Hamlet</i> 149	Quotes 2 lines as Hamlet does
	<i>Aeneid</i> iv 266	Virgil		‘The hyrcanian beast’ II.ii.472	Chambers	<i>Hamlet</i> 151	
1576	<i>Histories</i>	Aelian. trans Abraham Fleming		‘Sea of troubles’ III.i.57-8	Chambers	<i>Hamlet</i> 155	Likely

APPENDIX D i

Tables summarising alleged historical allusions and literary sources, their dates, and their presence in both Q1 and Q2

Alleged allusions and sources Common to both quartos	Dates of alleged allusions and sources	Possibly paralleled in Q1?	Possibly paralleled in Q2?
Cecil/Burghley:			
Counsellor	1568-98	Y	Y
Precepts	1584	Y	Y
Son watched in France	1561	Y	Y
Fish day	1563, 1584	Y	Y
'Falling out at tennis'	1581	Y	Y
Mary Queen of Scots:			
Poison in ear	1561	Y	Y
Darnley in armour	c. 1565	Y	Y
Titian picture/lovii engraving	1538 1557 onwards	Y	Y
Darnley's pustules	1567	Y	Y
Darnley's corpse in orchard	1567	Y	Y
James: Revenge	1567 1587	Y	Y
Mary's rapid remarriage	1567	Y	Y
Julius Caesar	1581 onwards	Y	Y
Chopine	16 th C	Y	Y
<i>Commedia dell'Arte</i>	1570s	?	?
Murder of Gonzago	1538	Y	Y
Elizabeth's cholera	1564	Y	Y
Nicknames	e.g. 1580s	Y	Y
Hamlett drowning	1579-80	Y	Y
'sledded polacks'	1520, 1561	Y	Y
Accidental poisonings	1587 1588?	Y	Y
'innovation'	1588-9? 1600-1?	Y	Y Y
Hamnet/Hamlet	Born 1585 d. 1586	?	?
Dumb shows	e.g. 1561, 1588	Y	Y
Euphuism	1579 onwards	Y	Y
Senecan influence	1581 latest	Y	Y
<i>Sprezzatura</i>	1561 (English)	Y	Y
<i>Treatise on Melancholie</i>	1586	Y	Y
'croaking raven'	1585-94	Y	Y
'metal more attractive'	1581	Y	Y
'tragicomical'	?1580	Y	Y
Hales v Pettitt	1554 1560 1598	Y	Y Y
George Sanders	1575	?	?
<i>Warning for Faire Women</i>	1599 (1570)	?	?
<i>Dido</i>	Pub. 1594	?Y	?Y
<i>Antonio's Revenge</i>	1599-1600	?	?
<i>The Spanish Tragedy</i>	1582-92	?	?
<i>Montaigne's Essais</i>	1580, 1588, 1603	?	?

APPENDIX D ii

Tables summarising alleged historical allusions and literary sources, their dates, and their presence in either Q1 or Q2

Alleged allusions and sources Exclusive to Q1	Dates of alleged allusions and sources	Possibly paralleled in Q1?	Possibly paralleled in Q2?
'cinquepace of jests' and Tarleton	d. 1588	Y	

Alleged allusions and sources Exclusive to Q2	Dates of alleged allusions and sources	Possibly paralleled in Q1?	Possibly paralleled in Q2?
'little patch of land'	1601		Y
Pirates	1588 1598		Y
Richard Burbage	?		?
<i>The Counsellor</i>	1598		Y
<i>Pierce Pennilesse</i> (drink/age)	1592		?Y
<i>Mother Bombie</i>	1594		?
'Beautified' (if Sidney's)	(1580 written) 1590 published	(Y)	(Y) Y
'it is very hot'	1574, 1591		Y

APPENDIX E

Phrases/lines concerning drunkenness from *Les Histoires Tragiques*, *Pierce Pennilesse*, Q1 and Q2, published in that order.

The lines are presented to show parallels, and follow the order in *Les Histoires Tragiques*

Texts used:

- Gollancz, *The Sources of Hamlet*
- Steane, *Thomas Nashe. The Unfortunate Traveller*
- Irace, *Hamlet* Q1
- Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* Q2

<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i> (1582)	<i>(Translation)</i>	<i>Pierce Pennilesse</i> (1592)	Q1 (1603)	Q2 (1604)
			'And there's no health the king shall drink today (2.52) 'The rouse the king shall drink' (2.43)	'No jocund health that Denmark drinks today.../And the King's rouse...' (I.ii.125, 127)
				'We'll teach you to drink' (I.ii.174)
'banquet funebre' (252)	<i>(the funeral banquet)</i>		'the funeral baked meats .../Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables' (2.94, 95)	'the funeral baked meats /Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables' (I.ii.179-80)
			'takes his rouse.../dreams his draughts of Rhenish down,/The kettle-drum and trumpet thus bray out/The triumphs of his pledge.../ a custom more honoured in the breach than in the observance' (1.6, 8-10, 12-13)	'takes his rouse.../drains his draughts of Rhenish down,/The kettle-drum and trumpet thus bray out/The triumph of his pledge.../ a custom more honoured in the breach than in the observance' (I.iv.10-2, 15-6)
		'this unnecessary vice' 105		'some vicious mole' I.iv.24
		'mens manners' 105		'plausible manners' I.iv.30
		'one beastly imperfection' 105 'like lees and dregs' 105		'From that particular fault: the dram of eale' (I.iv.36)
				'marvellous distempered./With drink, sir?' (III.ii.294-5)
		'his carousing cups' 105	'taking his carouse ,/Drinking drunk' (10.23-4)	'When he is drunk'(III.iii.89)
'de haucer le gobelet'	<i>(to drain a glass)</i>			
'office d'eschanson'	<i>(office of cupbearer)</i>			
'les hanaps vuides'	<i>(empty glasses)</i>			
'chargez de vin'	<i>(filled with wine)</i>			
'de trop boire' (254)	<i>(to drink too much)</i>			

<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i> (1582)	<i>(Translation)</i>	<i>Pierce Pennilesse</i> (1592)	Q1 (1603)	Q2 (1604)
'vice assez familier, et à L'Alemant, et à toutes les nations et peuples Septentrionaux'	<i>(a vice known well enough both to the Germans, and all the northern people and nations)</i>	'Danes are bursten-bellied sots... [the Italians] mortally detest this surley swinish generation' 77		'This heavy-headed revel east and west/Makes us traduced and taxed of other nations:/They clepe us drunkards' (I.iv.17-9)
'ces corps assoupis de vin'	<i>(these bodies drowsy with wine)</i>			
'gisans par terre comme porceaux'	<i>(lying (=lying helpless) on the ground, like swine)</i>	'foul drunken swine' 104 'this surly swinish generation' 77		'with swinish phrase' (I.iv.19)
'vomissans le trop de vin que par trop goulument il avoyent avallé'	<i>(vomiting up the excess wine that they had swallowed so greedily)</i>			
'le trop de ligueur qu'il avoit avallee'	<i>(the excess wine that he has swallowed)</i>			
'yvrongne' (308)	<i>(drunkard)</i>		'drunk' (6.23)	'drinking' II.i.25 'o'ertook in's rouse' (II.i.56)
			'when that he calls for drink' (15.35)	'that he calls for drink' IV.vii.157
			'fetch me a stoup of drink' (16.14) 'Fetch me a stoup of beer' (16.23) 'stop the bung-hole of a beer-barrel' (16.97).	'fetch me a stoup of liquor' V.i.56 'stop a beer-barrel' V.i.201
			'the King doth drink a health to thee' (17.65) 'That drink was made for thee' (17.87)	'Set me the stoups of wine...' (V.ii.244) 'The King shall drink to Hamlet's health.../the King drinks to Hamlet' (V.ii. 248, 255) Here's to thy health' (V.ii.265) The Queen carouses to thy fortune' (V.ii.271) 'do not drink' (V.ii.273) 'I dare not drink' (V.ii.276) 'the drink, the drink' (V.ii.295)

APPENDIX F

Table of quotation comparisons from *Les Histoires Tragiques*, Q1 and Q2.

The lines are presented to show parallels, and follow the order in *Les Histoires Tragiques*

Texts used:

- Gollancz, *The Sources of Hamlet*
- Irace, *Hamlet* Q1
- Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* Q2

Note: Quotations follow the chronology of Belleforest

<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	Page	<u>Q1 Hamlet</u>	<u>Sc. I</u>	<u>Q2 Hamlet</u>	<u>A.sc.I</u>
[treason/treachery of brother against brother] la trahison de frere conte frere	170	by a brother's hand	5.58	by a brother's hand	1.5.74
Chrestiens de la divinité du Chrestien les Dieux [Belleforest has already explained the events took place in a pre-Christian era] Priant les Dieux les Dieux si Dieu	178 184 196 208 222 250 260	Saviour Oh God [etc] [Corambis] to my God [Ofelia] Good God [etc] [King] trespass...sins...contrition... prayer [Hamlet] sins... purging of his soul...salvation...heaven Christian burial [etc] Heaven receive my soul Thanks be to heaven	1.116 2.65 7.23 7.170, 177, 178, 184 10. 3, 7, 9, 12, 17, 20, 26,27 16.1, 10, 102 17.104, 14.31	Saviour's birth [Claudius] incorrect to heaven...a fault to heaven [Ghost] doomed for a certain term...purged away [Ghost] Unhoused...on my head [Ophelia] Heavenly powers [Claudius]prayer...repentance [Hamlet] 'A took my father grossly full of bread...purging of his soul [Hamlet to Queen] Confess yourself to heaven (etc) [King] bring the body to the chapel [Laertes]To cut his throat 't' church [Priest in gravedigger's scene] Christian burial [etc]	1.1.158 1.2.95, 101 1.5.10-13 1.5.77-9 3.1.140 3.3.51,65 3.4.147 4.1.37 4.7.124 5.1.1,5, 25
[the king of Norway] deffié au combat, corps a corps	178	[the king of Norway] Dared to the combat	1.73	[the king of Norway] Dared to the combat	1.1.83
*l'art d'escumer et pirate sur mer [Horvendille was a pirate]	180			*A pirate of very warlike appointment [took the ship Hamlet travelled on to England]	4.6.15-6
Celui qui seroit vaincu perdroit toutes les richesses qui seroit en leurs vaisseaux	182	Did forfeit...all those lands/Which he stood seized of by the conqueror	1.77-8	Did forfeit...all those lands/Which he stood seized of to the conqueror	1.1.87-8
[of Horvendille] vaillante	182	[of Old Hamlet] valiant	1.73	[of Old Hamlet] valiant	1.1.83
il avoit incestueusement souillé la couche fraternelle	186	[Ghost] incestuous wretch	5.37	[Ghost] Let not the royal bed of Denmark be/A couch for luxury and damned incest	1.5.82-3
[Fengon] osa enor s'accoupler par mariage... d'adultere incestueux [Geruthe] s'estre incestueusement accouplee avec le tyran meurtrier de son espoux	188 208	[married old Hamlet's queen – incest] [Ghost] incestuous wretch e.g. incestuous sheets	2 5.37 2.70	[married old Hamlet's queen – incest] [Claudius] our sometime sister, now our Queen [Hamlet] married with.../My father's brother...incestuous sheets [Ghost] that incestuous , that adulterate beast [Ghost] damned incest	1.2 1.2.8 1.2.152 1.2.157 1.5.42 1.5.83

<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Q1 Hamlet</u>	<u>Sc. I</u>	<u>Q2 Hamlet</u>	<u>A.sc.I</u>
s'il venoit à perfection d'aage [i.e. Amleth not yet 'adult', or has not reached the then equivalent of his majority] un jeune Prince le jeune seigneur [Amleth to mother] de sauver vostre enfant ou en Suece en cest enfant [Geruthe embracing Amleth] avec la mesme amitié qu'une mere vertueuse peut baiser, et caresser sa portee L'Adolescent du jeune Prince	192 194 202 214 218 220 254 282	[Horatio] young Hamlet [Ofelia] young Prince Hamlet [Corambis] the young Prince Hamlet [Corambis] young Hamlet [a skull – Yorick's that has rotted for] this dozen year..young Hamlet's father	1.127 6.40 7.58 11.1 16.67-9	[Horatio] young Hamlet [young Fortinbras] [Polonius] that he is young [Grave-maker] young Hamlet [Yorick's skull] hath lien you i'th' earth three and twenty years	1.1.170 [1.1.94, 1.2.28] 1.3.123 5.1.140 5.1.163-4
[Amleth] faignit d'avoir tout perdu le sens faire le sot, et contrefaire le fol il faut dissimuler [dissemble] Amleth donc se façonnant à l'exercice d'une grande folie sous ceste folie il estoit insensé et subtilitez de ce fol dissimulé faisoit le fol dissimulations en ses ruses ce fol sage pour guerir le Prince de sa folie continuant en ses façons de faire, folles et naïases [Amleth] je sois constraint de faire le fol...d'un insensé chacun me tienne pour privéde sens et cognoissance	192 196 198 202 204 206 214	[the Ghost might] drive [Hamlet] into madness [Ofelia] his wit's bereft him [Corambis] Mad for thy love! ...that hath made him mad [King, of Hamlet] lost the very heart of his sense [Corambis] Hamlet's lunacy [Corambis] mad.../Mad [Corambis] madness [King] Hamlet's lunacy [Hamlet] It is not madness [King] his madness Mad..mad..losing his wits (etc) [Queen] Mad as the sea his madness [Hamlet] in his madness...madness...madness	4.43 6.43 6.57, 60 7.2 7.28 7.59, 60 7.91 8.2 11.88 11.112 16.69-79 16.134 16.140 16.46, 47,49	[Hamlet] I know not 'seems' [the Ghost might] draw [Hamlet] into madness [Hamlet] put an antic disposition on [Polonius] that hath made him mad [Polonius] mad...mad madness [Claudius] dangerous lunacy [King] his madness [Hamlet] It is not madness [Queen] Mad as the sea [Queen] his very madness [King] Hamlet in madness [Gravedigger] 'a was mad...the men are as mad as he...losing his wits [Claudius] he is mad [Queen] mere madness [Hamlet] His madness (etc)	1.2.76 1.4.74 1.5.170 2.1.107 2.2.92, 94, 147 3.1.4 3.3.2 3.4.139 4.1.7 4.1.25 4.1.34 5.1.142-150 5.1.261 5.1.273 5.2.215

<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	Page	<u>Q1 Hamlet</u>	<u>Sc. I</u>	<u>Q2 Hamlet</u>	<u>A.sc.I</u>
[Amleth] il vaut mieux feindre l'un Le visage de un insensé les ruses, dissimulations, et secretes menees pour surprendre Amleth en sa sagesse dissimulee sa fainte folie dissimulant accortement un grand desvoyement de sens faignant l'insensé j'ay fainte ceste sottise souz la fard d'une grande folie	216 228 258 276 278				
Prince Romain, qui pour se feindre fol, fut nommé Brutus	192	Brutus killed me	9. 58-9	Brutus killed me	3.2.100
à son avancement	194	[Hamlet] I want preferment	7.231	[Hamlet] For what advancement [Hamlet] I lack advancement	3.2.52 3.2.331
[Amleth ambiguous] parlant ainsi ambiguement [in answers e.g. re] 'les deux bastons', [also in England; he equivocates, riddles]	198 [242] '252'	[Hamlet equivocates e.g. to Corambis]	7.201	[Hamlet equivocates e.g. to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, Polonius]	2.2.316 2.2 3.2
e.g. s'en venger venger, vengeance venger la mort de mon pere les desirs de le venger	194 196 198 216	e.g. [Ghost] Revenge [Hamlet] my revenge and so I am revenged in revenge	5.20 5.26 10.15 11.93	revenge revenge revenged and so am I revenged...revenge ...revenged my dull revenge	1.5.7 1.5.25 3.3.75 3.3.75, 79, 84 4.4.32
les hommes...donnerent conseil au Roy de tenter... decouvert...de la tromperie de l'adolescent [the king is given advice about how to uncover the deceitfulness of the young man]	198	[Corambis hopes he has] found/The very depth and cause of Hamlet's lunacy	7.17-8	[Polonius] I have found/The very cause of Hamlet's lunacy	2.2.48-9
[to discover the truth of Amleth's inclinations] l' attraper ...quelque belle femme	198	to entrap the heart [Corambis claims Hamlet seeks to do this to Ofelia]	3.68		

<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Q1 Hamlet</u>	<u>Sc. I</u>	<u>Q2 Hamlet</u>	<u>A.sc.I</u>
un Gentil-homme, qui...esté nourry avec [Amleth]	200	fellow student	2.91	fellow student	1.2.176
[Amleth is warned twice of the entrapment by the young woman and by a childhood friend] elle assure encore de la trahison avec certain signes	200-1	[It is common for Hamlet to be enabled to deduce that Ofelia and he are being overheard; Ofelia's formal 2 nd person plural may help to point to this]	7	[It is common for Hamlet to be enabled to deduce that Ophelia and he are being overheard; Ophelia's formal 2 nd person plural may help to point to this]	3.1
[Amleth is stirred by the young woman's beauty] esmeu de la beauté de la fille	200-1	Ofelia,/Thine ever...Hamlet I loved Ofelia	7.75-6 16.125	I did love you once I loved Ophelia	3.1.114 5.1.258
[she has loved him since childhood] elle l'aymoit des son enfance	202	[Ofelia's affection implicit in her receipt and belief of Hamlet's]	3	[Ophelia's affection implicit in her receipt and belief of Hamlet's]	
[Amleth] trompé le courtisans, et la fille	202	[Ofelia] The courtier, soldier, scholar, all in him/All dashed and splintered [King] Love? No, no, that's not the cause	1.185-6 7.188	[Ophelia] O what noble mind's here o'erthrown! [King] Love! His affections do not that way tend	3.1.149 3.1.161
Qu'il ne s'estoit avancé en sorte à la violer, quoy qu'il dict du contraire	202	[Ambiguity about Hamlet/Ofelia's relationship: Ofelia's song] Let in the maid, that out a maid/Never departed more [Indirectness/ambiguity in Hamlet's speech e.g.] Besides, to be demanded by a sponge	13.94-5 9.179-80	[Ambiguity about Hamlet/Ophelia's relationship: Ophelia's song] Let in the maid, that out a maid/Never departed more [Equivocation/ambiguity in Hamlet's speech e.g.] A little more than kin and less than kind	4.5.54-5 1.2.65
[trap] filet	204	[Corambis] Springes to catch woodcocks! [Corambis] snares to entrap the heart	3.61 3.68	[Polonius] springs to catch woodcocks [Laertes] As a woodcock to my own springe	1.3.114 5.2.291
[to enclose Amleth in the same room as his mother, with someone hiding under the quilt] on enferme Amleth seul avec sa mere dans une chambre, dans laquelle soit cache se cachant souz quelque loudier [sic]	204	[Corambis] Madam, send you in haste to speak with him,/And I myself will stand behind the arras	9.32-3	[Polonius] Let his Queen-mother all alone entreat him	3.1.181
[the same man offers to hide] s'offrist pour estre l'espion	204	[Corambis] Myself will be that happy messenger	9.39	[Polonius] And I'll be placed...in the ear/of all their conference	3.1.183-4
le conseil entra secrettement en la chamber de Royne	206	[Corambis] And I myself will stand behind the arras	9.33	[Polonius] Behind the arras I'll convey myself/To hear the process	3.3.28-9

<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	Page	<i>Q1 Hamlet</i>	Sc. I	<i>Q2 Hamlet</i>	A.sc.I
[Amleth as soon as he is in the queen's chamber] sauta sur ce lourdier [because he expects treason]] trahison	206	[Hamlet at the beginning of the scene] but first we'll make all safe	11.6		
donner dedans à tout son glaive...l'acheva d'occir [kills with his sword]	206	[Queen] whips out his rapier...And in his rage the good old man he kills	11.109, 111	[Gertrude] whips out his rapier... The unseen good old man	4.1.8, 12
[Gerthe regrets the failure of those who following their desire for a moment's pleasure, cover their eyes] bandé les yeux [and reject the fidelity required of those of her status]	208 *	[Hamlet] What devil thus hath cozened you at hob-man blind?	11.38	[Hamlet] What devil was't/That thus hath cozened you at hoodman-blind? (Jenkins: <i>Hamlet</i> : 1982: 94)	3.4.74-5
[source of concept of Ghost? The Queen embraces Fengon] sans respecter les ombres ['shades'] de Horwendille [Later Amleth asks Fengon to report that vengeance has been exacted] son ombre s'appaise parmy les esprits bien-heureux	212 256	[Ghost in bedchamber] [Ghost requests revenge in earlier scene]	11 5	[Ghost in bedchamber] [Ghost requests revenge in earlier scene]	3.4. 1.5
[sword mentions] en lieu de m'adextre aux armes ayant les armes au poing luy voyant le glaive nud en main la main à l'espee clouée	214 226 256	[Hamlet asks watchmen to swear] upon my sword (etc) [Gertred] but whips out his rapier Among the foils six French rapiers	5.125, 134 11.109 15.21 17.14	[Hamlet asks the watchmen to swear] Upon my sword...sword [Gertrude] whips out his rapier [King] After the Danish sword Rapier...escrimeurs [= fencers, swordsmen] a sword unbated [Osric] for his weapon rapier and dagger	1.5.146, 148,154 4.1.8 4.3.59 4.7.96, 98 4.7.136 5.2.127 5.2.129
[Amleth speaks of the shame which has soiled his mother's family's name] pour celle infamie qui a souillee celle ancienne renomme	216	And in his death your infamy shall die	11.94	That not your trespass but my madness speaks Confess Repent	3.4.144 3.4.147 3.4.148

<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	Page	<u>Q1 Hamlet</u>	<u>Sc. I</u>	<u>Q2 Hamlet</u>	<u>A.sc.I</u>
Harangue d'Amleth à la Royne sa mere [Includes comparison between Horvendille and Fengon; Hamlet the 'image' of his father] voyant la vive **image de sa [Horvendille's] vertu et sagesse en cest enfant	210 218	[Includes comparison between Old Hamlet and new king] [Hamlet to Queen] behold this picture	11 11.23	[Includes comparison between Old Hamlet and Claudius] Look here upon this picture	3.4 3.4.51
le meurtrier de mon pere	210	him/That slew my father	11.39-40	[Hamlet] a murderer and a villain [Hamlet does not declare Claudius has murdered Old Hamlet]	3.4.94
de suivre des apetits des bestes	210	A beast of reason/Would not have made such speed...Why she would hang on him as if increase/ Of appetite had growne...	2.65-6 2.68	appetite a beast that wants discourse of reason	1.2.144 1.2.150
[Gerthe went running] allez courant les bras tendus...caresses incestueusement	210	[Hamlet]To make such/Dexterity the incestuous pleasure	2.69-70 11.41	[Hamlet] O most wicked speed! To post/With such dexterity to incestuous sheets (Jenkins, <i>Hamlet</i> , 94) th' incestuous pleasure	1.2.155-6 3.4.90
vilain	210	[Hamlet] A damned pernicious villain ...damnèd villain...and be a villain [Hamlet] Having my father murdered by a villain...damnèd villain...murderous villain	5.79, 80, 82 7.367, 374, 375	[Hamlet] O villain , villain, smiling damned villain... a villain kills my father [Hamlet to Queen] A murderer and a villain	1.5.106-8 3.3.76 3.4.94
lascive	210	[Ghost] lewdness...lust lust	5.41-2 11.53	[Ghost] Lewdness...lust	1.5.54, 55
[Amleth rejects Fengon as parent or as uncle] Je ne veux l'estimer mon parent et ne puis le regarder comme oncle...	210-212	Farewell mother [King] Your loving father, Hamlet, [Hamlet] My mother I say: you married my mother/My mother is your wife, man and wife is one flesh,/And so (my mother) farewell	11.148-151	Farewell dear mother [King] The loving Father, Hamlet. [Hamlet] My mother. Father and mother is man and wife./Man and wife is one flesh. So – my mother.	4.3.48-50
[Amleth] Ne vous offencez...si je vous parle rigoureusement	214	[Hamlet] I will speak daggers	10.203	[Hamlet] I will speak daggers to her (also noted by Jenkins, <i>Hamlet</i> , 94)	3.2.86

<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	Page	<i>Q1 Hamlet</i>	<i>Sc. I</i>	<i>Q2 Hamlet</i>	<i>A.sc.I</i>
Toutesfois faut il attendre le temps, et les moyens et occasions [Geruthe] n'y t'avancer plus que raison à l'effect de ton dessein	216 222	[Hamlet] Yet I.../Stand still and let it pass [Hamlet] your tardy son [Ghost] Do not neglect nor long time put it off	7.366-8 11.59 11.67	[Hamlet to Ghost] your tardy son to chide [Hamlet – whole speech] How all occasions...	3.4.104 4.4.31 ff
[Amleth to mother] celle infamie qui a souillee celle ancienne renomme infamie	216 278	[Hamlet] And in his death your infamy shall die	11.94		
les desirs de le venger	216				
le Roy ny autre ne soit en rien informé de cecy [do not tell the king of this] duquel je feindray ne sçavoir rien je tiendray secrete, et ta sagesse, et ta gaillarde enterprinse [I will say nothing, and keep secret both your wisdom and your bold enterprise/plan]	218 222	[Gertred] I will conceal, consent, and do my best,/What stratagem soe'er thou shalt devise	11.97-8	[Queen]... if words be made of breath/ and breath of life, I have no life to breathe/ What thou hast said to me	3.4.195-7
[Queen's thoughts about Amleth's virtue and wisdom representing his father's great courage] voyant la vive image de sa vertu et sagesse en cest infant, representant le haut cœur de son pere	218	[Hamlet] behold this picture [etc]	11.23	[Hamlet] Look here upon this picture	3.4.51
[Queen] mon filz, et doux amy	220	Sweet Hamlet	11.45	sweet Hamlet	3.4.94
[Queen – essentially <i>be careful</i>] conduire sagement tes affaires, n'estre haste, ny trop bouillant en tes entreprises	222	[Queen to Horatio regarding Hamlet] Bid him a while be wary of his presence	14.19		

<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Q1 Hamlet</u>	<u>Sc. I</u>	<u>Q2 Hamlet</u>	<u>A.sc.I</u>
[Amleth faces two choices, to fight or to be dishonoured] il faut ou qu'une fin glorieuse mette fin à mes jours, ou qu'ayant les armes au poing, chargé de triomphe et victoire...ou la honte, et l'infamie, sont les bourreaux [executioners, hangmen, tortures] qui tormentent nostre conscience , et la poltronnerie est celle qui retarde le cœur des gaillardes entreprises	226	The scorns and flattery of the world...this conscience makes cowards of us all	7.113-35	To take arms against a sea of troubles...Th'oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely...Thus conscience does make cowards - ... and enterprises of great pitch and moment...	3.1.55-87
[Amleth, whom Geruthe loves] qu'elle ayroit	230	[King, of Hamlet] Being the joy and half heart of your mother	2.30	[Queen's affection implicit in phrasing e.g.] O gentle son [Claudius] He's loved of the distracted multitude [Claudius] The Queen his mother /Lives almost by his looks	3.4.118 4.3.4 4.7.12-3
[Fengon] fait le Roy des Anglois le minister du massacre [NB Amleth cuts off Fengon's head]	230 [256]	the king of England....that Hamlet lose his head [King] That Hamlet lose his head	11.154, 157 11.157	[Claudius] The present death of Hamlet. Do it, England! [Hamlet] my head should be struck off	4.3.63 5.2.25
et le prier par lettre d'en despecher le monde	230	[Hamlet] found the packet sent to the king of England,/Wherein he saw himself betrayed to death	13.6-7	[Hamlet] fingered their packet	5.2.15
Amleth entendant qu'on l'envoioit en la grande Bretagne vers l'Anglois, se douta tout aussi tost de l'occasion de ce voyage, pour ce ayant parlé à la Royne...	230			[Hamlet, to Queen] There's letters sealed and my two schoolfellows -/Whom I trust as adders fanged - [King] So is it if thou knewest our purposes / [Hamlet] I see a cherub sees them	3.4.200-1 4.3.46, 47
[the queen is told to prepare for Amleth's return] le verroit de retour	232	[Horatio] Madam, your son is safe arrived in Denmark	14.1		
[two of Fengon's faithful ministers] deux des fideles ministres de Fengon, portans des lettres, gravees du bois	232	[King addresses Rossencraft and Gilderstone] Right noble friends by Rossencraft and Gilderstone/Our letters [Hamlet] a sponge that soaks up the king's countenance	7.1 11.127-8 9.182	[Claudius] dear Guildenstern and Rosencrantz [Hamlet] a sponge... that soaks up the king's countenance	2.2.1 4.2.13-14

<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	Page	Q1 <i>Hamlet</i>	Sc. I	Q2 <i>Hamlet</i>	A.sc.I
[Amleth erases the instructions for his death and carves an order for the death of his companions] rase les lettres mentionans sa mort, et au lieu y grava et cisa un commandement à l'Anglois de faire pendre et estrangler ses compaignons	232	[Horatio] in that packet there writ down that doom/To be perform'd on them 'pointed for him	14.27-8	[Hamlet of instructions: the king of England] should those bearers put to sudden death a royal knavery [Hamlet] devised a new commission	5..2.46 5.2.19 5.2.32
[Amleth is perhaps subject to malign influences] avoit esté endoctriné en celle science, avec laquelle le malin esprit abuse les hommes...ce Prince, pour la vehemence de la melancholie... ainsi que les Philosophes	236 236	[Hamlet] The spirit I have seen may be the devil ,/And out of my weakness and my melancholy ,/As he is very potent with such men... [Hamlet] There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, /Than are dreamt of in your philosophy	7.382-4 5.142-3	[Hamlet]...the de'il hath power/T'assume a pleasing shape. Yea, and perhaps/Out of my weakness and my melancholy ,/As he is very potent with such spirits ,/Abuses me to damn him! [Hamlet] There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, Than are dreamt of in your philosophy	2.2.534-8 1.5.165-6
[the king of England] fait prendre les deux serviteurs du Roy Fengon	248	[Horatio] in that packet there writ down that doom/To be perform'd on them 'pointed for him	14.27-	[Ambassador] Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are dead	
[Amleth's return] ne fut sans donner un grand estonnement à chacun	250	[Horatio] Observe the king and you shall quickly find,/Hamlet being here, things fell not to his mind [King] Hamlet from England! Is it possible?	14.24-5 15.1	[Claudius, of letters] From Hamlet!... If he be now returned	4.7.38 4.7.59
[Amleth asks his mother that she] 'celebrast ses obsequies et funerailles', banquet funebre	(230-22) 252	funeral baked meats	2.94	funeral baked meats	1.2.179

<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	Page	<u>Q1 Hamlet</u>	<u>Sc. I</u>	<u>Q2 Hamlet</u>	<u>A.sc.I</u>
[drain the goblet...] haucer le gobelet...ne laissant jamais les hanaps vides...tous estans chargez de vin de force de trop boire, vice assez familier ces corps assoupis de vin les autres vomissans le trop de vin le trop de ligueur <i>See also appendix E</i>	252 254	drink deep dreams his draughts of Rhenish down taking his carouse./Drinking drunk stoup of drink, stoup of beer a whole flagon of Rhenish the king doth drink	2.85 4.7 10.22-3 16. 14, 23 16.82 16.65	to drink a custom/more honoured in the breach than the observance drains his draughts of Rhenish down drunkards drink...chalice stoup of liquor a flagon of Rhenish stoups of wine (etc) [Queen] the drink, the drink	1.2.174 1.4.15-16 1.4.10 1.4.19 4.7.157-8 5.1.56 5.1.170 5.2.244 5.2.294
[Amleth] saisit l'espee du meurtrier de son pere...y laissa la sienne au lieu	256	They catch one another's rapiers	17.77	In scuffling they change rapiers	5.2.285
[Amleth asks Fengon to give an account of Amleth's revenge to the 'ombre' of Horvendille]	256	[Hamlet to Horatio] What tongue should tell the story of our deaths,/If not from thee?	17.100-1	[Hamlet to Horatio] report me and my cause aright/To the unsatisfied	5.2.323-4
mes angoisses...quelle misere	274	[king, of Hamlet] sad and melancholy moods [Hamlet] suits of woe	2.27 2.39	[Claudius] How is it that the clouds still hang on you? [Hamlet] shapes of grief ... suits of woe	1.2.66 1.2.82, 86
tout confit en larmes	274	[Hamlet] the tears that still stand in my eyes	2.34	[Hamlet] nor the fruitful river in the eye	1.2.80
[Amleth to Danes] j'ay lavé les tasches , qui denigroient la reputation de la Royne	280	[Hamlet to Queen] I'll make your eyes look down into your heart/And see how horrid there and black it shows	11.20-1	[Queen] Thou turn'st my very eyes into my soul /And there I see such black and grieved spots	3.4.87-8
[Amleth presents himself as] le ministre et executeur	278			[Hamlet] I must be their scourge and minister (Jenkins, <i>Hamlet</i> , 95.)	3.4.173
la femme est facile à promettre, aussi est elle pesante et parasseuse à tenir etc	306	[Hamlet] Frailty, thy name is woman	2.66	[Hamlet] Frailty, thy name is woman	1.2.146

APPENDIX G

A summative, four way comparison between *Les Histoires Tragiques*, Q1, Q2 and F *Hamlet*.

Texts used: Gollancz for *Les Histoires Tragiques*, Irace (Q1), Thompson and Taylor (Q2), Somogyi (F1)

Feature	<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	Q1	Q2	F1
Characters				
Previous king	Horvendille	Old Hamlet	Old Hamlet	Old Hamlet
Opponent	Collere, Roy de Norvege	Fortenbrasse of Norway	Old Fortinbras of Norway	Old Fortinbras of Norway
Wife	Geruthe	Gertred	Gertrad	Gertrude
Murdering brother	Fengon	King	Claudius	Claudius
Prince/son	Amleth	Hamlet	Hamlet	Hamlet
Counsellor	Counsellor	Corambis	Polonius	Polonius
Woman to test prince	Belle femme	Ofelia	Ophelia	Ophelia
Friend of prince	un Gentil-homme, qui...esté nourry avec [Amleth]	Horatio	Horatio	Horatio
'shade'/ghost	Ombre	Ghost	Ghost	Ghost
Pair of escorts	Deux serviteurs de roi	Rossencraft & Gilderstone	Rosencrans & Gylldensterne	Rosincrance & Guildenstern
King of England	Le Roy des Anglois	King of England	King of England	King of England
Scenes/plot elements				
Losses in battle	All the riches in his ships/vessels	All his lands	All his lands	All his lands
Murder of brother/king	Y	Y	Y	Y
Marriage to widow/queen	Y	Y	Y	Y
New king supported by court	Y	Y	Y	Y
Youth of prince	Hasn't yet reached <i>à perfection d'aage</i> i.e. not yet adult	About 19; 12 years + around 7	30 years old	30 years old
Prince + madness	deliberate simulation of madness	Antic disposition a possibility	Antic disposition a possibility	Antic disposition a possibility
Counsellor suggests testing madness with woman	Y	Y	Y	Y

Feature	<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	Q1	Q2	F1
Woman known to prince	Y	Y	Y	Y
Woman is fond of the prince	Y	Y	Y	Y
Prince is fond of the woman	Y	Y	Y	Y
Relationship between them is ambiguous	Y	Y	Y	Y
Counsellor suggests eavesdropping on conversation between prince and mother	Y	Y	Y	Y
Counsellor hides in bedchamber	<i>sous l'ourdier</i> (under a quilt)	Behind arras	Behind arras	Behind arras
Prince is armed	Y	Y	Y	Y
Counsellor killed by prince	Y	Y	Y	Y
Prince reproaches mother for incestuous marriage to lesser man	Y	Y	Y	Y
Queen loves son	[Amleth] <i>qu'elle</i> [Geruthe] <i>aymoit</i>	<i>Being the joy and half heart of your mother</i>	<i>The Queen his mother /Lives almost by his looks</i>	<i>The Queen his mother /Lives almost by his looks</i>
King decides to send prince to England for English king to kill...	Y	Y	Y	Y
...with two escorts...	Y	Y	Y	Y
...bearing instructions to that effect	Y	Y	Y	Y
Prince intercepts instructions...	Y	Y	Y	Y
...changes them so escorts are to be killed	Y	Y	Y	Y
Escorts are killed	Y	Y	Y	Y
Queen expects Prince's return	<i>elle verroit le retour</i> [he says he will return a year hence]	? <i>Madam your son is safe arrived</i>		

Feature	<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	Q1	Q2	F1
Queen asks Prince to be careful	Y	[Queen asks Horatio] <i>Bid him a while be wary of his presence</i>		
Prince returns; it is a surprise	<i>donner un grand estonnement à chacun</i> [it astonishes everyone]	[King] <i>Hamlet from England! Is it possible?</i>	[King] <i>Hamlet from England! Is it possible?</i>	[King] <i>From Hamlet?</i>
Prince kills usurping king	Y	Y	Y	Y
Prince equivocates	Y	Y	Y	Y
Verbal echoes				
Old king is valiant	<i>vaillante</i>	<i>valiant</i>	<i>valiant</i>	<i>valiant</i>
Old king challenged opponent	<i>deffié au combat</i>	<i>Dared to the combat</i>	<i>Dared to the combat</i>	<i>Dared to the combat</i>
Old king is betrayed by his brother	<i>la trahison de frere conte frere</i>	<i>by a brother's hand</i>	<i>by a brother's hand</i>	<i>by a brother's hand</i>
Marriage is incestuous	<i>incestueuse</i>	<i>incestuous</i>	<i>incestuous</i>	<i>incestuous</i>
King is adulterer...	<i>d'adultere</i>		<i>adulterate</i>	<i>adulterate</i>
... the old king's <i>couche</i> /bed had been defiled	<i>couche</i>		<i>couch</i>	<i>couch</i>
Prince desires <i>avancement/advancement</i>	<i>avancement</i>	<i>preferment</i>	<i>advancement</i>	<i>advancement</i>
Verb used in context of using woman to test Hamlet	<i>atraper</i>	<i>entrap</i>		
Image of blindness applied to Queen	[Gerthe regrets the failure of those who following their desire for a moment's pleasure] <i>bandé les yeux</i> [and reject the fidelity required of those of her status]	<i>What devil thus hath cozened you at hob-man blind?</i>	<i>What devil was't/That thus hath cozened you at hoodman-blind?</i>	<i>What devil was't/That thus hath cozened you at hoodman-blind?</i>
Prince's rejection of new 'father'	<i>Je ne veux l'estimer mon parent et ne puis le regarder comme oncle</i>	<i>My mother, I say</i>	<i>My mother. Father and mother is man and wife</i>	<i>My mother. Father and mother is man and wife</i>

Feature	<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	Q1	Q2	F1
Prince comments on Queen	<i>infamie</i>	<i>infamy</i>	<i>trespass</i>	<i>trespass</i>
Prince [in]explicit about murder of father	<i>le meurtrier de mon pere</i>	<i>him/That slew my father</i>	[Almost as bad ...as kill a king and marry with his brother]	[Almost as bad ...as kill a king and marry with his brother]
Prince's view of mother's sexual appetites	<i>de suivre des apetits des bestes</i>	<i>A beast of reason/Would not have made such speed appetite</i>	<i>appetite a beast that wants discourse of reason</i>	<i>appetite a beast that wants discourse of reason</i>
Upon rapidity of re-marriage	[Geruthe] <i>allez courant les bras tendus...caresses incestueusement</i>	<i>To make such/Dexterity</i>	<i>O most wicked speed! To post/With such dexterity to incestuous sheets</i>	<i>O most wicked speed! To post/With such dexterity to incestuous sheets</i>
New king a villain	<i>villain</i>	<i>villain</i>	<i>villain</i>	<i>villain</i>
Prince conscious of how he will speak to mother	<i>Ne vous offencez...si je vous parle rigoureusement</i>	<i>I will speak daggers</i>	<i>I will speak daggers</i>	<i>I will speak daggers</i>
Prince requires the opportunity	<i>Toutesfois faut il attendre le temps, et les moyens et occasions</i>		<i>How all occasions...</i>	
Queen's promise to son	<i>je tiendray secrete, et ta sagesse, et ta gaillarde entreprise</i>	<i>I will conceal, consent, and do my best,/What stratagem soe'er thou shalt devise</i>	<i>if words be made of breath/ and breath of life, I have no life to breathe/ What thou hast said to me</i>	<i>if words be made of breath/ and breath of life, I have no life to breathe/ What thou hast said to me</i>
Queen's affection for son	<i>Doux amy</i>	<i>Sweet Hamlet</i>	<i>Sweet Hamlet</i>	<i>Sweet Hamlet</i>
Two choices	[Amleth faces two choices]	Y	Y	Y
Second choice	<i>et l'infamie, sont les bourreaux [executioners, hangmen, tortures] qui tormentent nostre conscience, et la poltronnerie est celle qui retarde le cœur des gaillards entreprises</i>	<i>this conscience makes cowards of us all</i>	<i>Thus conscience does make cowards - ... and enterprises of great pitch and moment...</i>	<i>Thus conscience does make cowards - ... and enterprises of great pith and moment...</i>

Feature	<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	Q1	Q2	F1
Influences upon prince...	[Amleth is perhaps subject to malign influences] <i>avoit esté endoctriné en celle science, avec laquelle le malin esprit abuse les hommes...ce Prince, pour la vehemence de la melancholie...</i>	<i>The spirit I have seen may be the devil,/And out of my weakness and my melancholy,/As he is very potent with such men...</i>	<i>the de'il hath power/T'assume a pleasing shape. Yea, and perhaps/Out of my weakness and my melancholy,/As he is very potent with such spirits,/Abuses me to damn him!</i>	<i>the de'il hath power/T'assume a pleasing shape. Yea, and perhaps/Out of my weakness and my melancholy,/As he is very potent with such spirits,/Abuses me to damn him!</i>
...in context of philosophy	<i>ainsi que les Philosophes</i>	<i>There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, /Than are dreamt of in your philosophy</i>	<i>There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, /Than are dreamt of in your philosophy</i>	<i>There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, /Than are dreamt of in our philosophy</i>
Prince speaks of his distress (at his father's death)...	<i>mes angoisses...quelle misere</i>	<i>suits of woe</i>	<i>shapes of grief ... suits of woe</i>	<i>Shewes of grief...suites of woe</i>
...and his tears	<i>tout confit en larmes</i>	<i>the tears that still stand in my eyes</i>	<i>nor the fruitful river in the eye</i>	<i>nor the fruitful river in the eye</i>
...and the stain upon his mother's honour [Queen speaks]	<i>les tasches, qui denigroient la reputation de la Royne</i>	<i>how horrid there and black it shows</i>	<i>[And there I see such black and grieved spots]</i>	<i>[And there I see such black and grained spots]</i>
Prince's view of his role as avenger	[Amleth presents himself as] <i>le ministre et executeur</i>		<i>I must be their scourge and minister</i>	<i>I must be their Scourge and Minister</i>
A view of women	<i>la femme est facile à promettre, aussi est elle pesante et parasseuse à tenir etc</i>	<i>Frailty, thy name is woman</i>	<i>Frailty, thy name is woman</i>	<i>Frailty, thy name is woman</i>
Themes/motifs/'colour'				
Madness, real/illusionary	Y	Y	Y	Y
Revenge	Y	Y	Y	Y
Incest and the repulsion it evokes	Y	Y	Y	Y
'filet'/springs for woodcocks; entrapment	Y	Y	Y	Y
Excessive drinking	At banquet for Amleth's funeral	Earlier, in opening scenes	Earlier, in opening scenes	Earlier, in opening scenes

Feature	<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	Q1	Q2	F1
Transpositions				
'nunnery' scene; proposal to test prince followed immediately by that test	Y	Y	Moved <u>later</u>	Moved <u>later</u>
Decapitation of character	Amleth decapitates uncle <u>[later]</u>	King asks for Hamlet to be decapitated by king of England <u>[earlier]</u>	King asks for Hamlet to be decapitated by king of England <u>[earlier]</u>	King asks for Hamlet to be decapitated by king of England <u>[earlier]</u>
Sword swap	Prince swaps with uncle	Hamlet swaps with Leartes	Hamlet swaps with Laertes	Hamlet swaps with Laertes
Prince's expression of grief	After revenge is exacted	From beginning ie <u>earlier</u>	From beginning ie <u>earlier</u>	From beginning ie <u>earlier</u>
Ombre/Ghost	In bedchamber scene and <u>later</u> when king is killed	In bedchamber scene and <u>earlier</u> in opening scenes of play	In bedchamber scene and <u>earlier</u> in opening scenes of play	In bedchamber scene and <u>earlier</u> in opening scenes of play
Concern for the peace of mind of the ombre/Ghost	When King is killed	<i>Rest, rest perturbed spirit</i> is <u>earlier</u>	<i>Rest, rest perturbed spirit</i> is <u>earlier</u>	<i>Rest, rest perturbed spirit</i> is <u>earlier</u>
Pirates	Horvendille was a pirate, <i>escumeur</i>		Pirates board Hamlet's ship	Pirates board Hamlet's ship
Mention of Brutus	<u>[earlier]</u>	<u>[later]</u>	<u>[later]</u>	<u>[later]</u>
King (usurper)	<i>un fin et rusé</i> [shrewd and cunning]		The cunning and cleverness of Claudius in 1.2 and in playing Laertes	The cunning and cleverness of Claudius in 1.2 and in playing Laertes
'Disparity gaps'				
Young woman 'test'	Prince warned twice	No warning; Hamlet must deduce there are eavesdroppers	No warning; Hamlet must deduce there are eavesdroppers	No warning; Hamlet must deduce there are eavesdroppers
Mother in chamber 'test'	Prince enters with suspicion	No reason for <i>But first we'll make all safe</i>		
Request for promise	Promise requested and given	Promise given	[different request and promise]	As Q2: different request and promise

Feature	<i>Les Histoires Tragiques</i>	Q1	Q2	F1
Evolution of plot /character				
Prince confides in mother	Prince confides most in mother, about revenge and return	Prince confides greatly still in mother about revenge	Less confiding, no comment on revenge	As Q2, less confiding, no comment on revenge
Role of Queen	Greatest	Great	Less	As Q2, less
Wash away black spots of infamy	Prince tells Danes he has washed away blackening of queen's reputation	Prince tells Queen about blackness in her heart	Queen tells Prince about <i>black and grieved spots</i> in her soul	Queen tells Prince about <i>black and grained spots</i> in her soul
Development of King's character	King is shrewd and cunning	King flatters Learthes, and instructs him in three ways to kill Hamlet	King flatters Laertes more, and manipulates him into suggesting one way to kill Hamlet	King flatters Laertes more, and manipulates him into suggesting one way to kill Hamlet
Two 'friends' of Hamlet	Servants of the King [<i>fideles ministres, deux serviteurs du Roy Fengon</i>]	<i>Right noble friends</i> of King, the King's <i>liegemen</i>	Less marked allegiance to King: <i>dear</i> , and <i>friends</i> , though their own lines reveal their obeisance to King	As Q2: less marked allegiance to King: <i>dear</i> , and <i>friends</i> , though their own lines reveal their obeisance to King

APPENDIX H

Apparent verbal echoes between *Hamlet* and *The Spanish Tragedy*.

Sources: Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto*, 182-4, and Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*

Q1		<u>The Spanish Tragedy</u>	
<i>King:</i> ...wee'l haue Leartes, and our sonne, Made friends and Louers, as befittes them both.	17.8-9	<i>Castile:</i> But here, before Prince Balthasar and me, Embrace each other, and be perfect friends .	3.14.154-5
<i>Leartes:</i> You haue preuail'd my Lord...	13.122	<i>Bellimperia:</i> Thou hast prevailed ...	2.4.20
<i>Player-Duke:</i> Thou maist perchance haue a more noble mate	9.111	Balthasar: Ay, but perhaps she hopes some nobler mate .	2.1.26
Leartes: Therefore I will not drowne thee in my teares	15.53	<i>Hieronimo:</i> To drown thee with an ocean of my tears .	2.5.23
<i>Leartes:</i> Reuenge it is must yield this heart reliefe , For woe begets woe , and grief hangs on griefe	15.54-5	<i>Isabella:</i> O where's the author of this endless woe ? <i>Hieronimo:</i> To know the author were some ease of grief , For in revenge my heart would find relief .	2.5.39-41
<i>Queen:</i> I will conceale , consent , and doe my best, What stratagem soe're thou shalt deuise .	2.106-7	<i>Hieronimo:</i> And here I vow, so you but give consent , And will conceal my resolution... <i>Bellimperia:</i> Hieronimo, I will consent , conceal ; And aught that may effect for thine avail Join with thee to revenge Horatio's death. <i>Hieronimo:</i> On then, whatsoever I deuise	4.1.42-3 46-49
<i>King:</i> He might be once tasked for to try your cunning	4.13	<i>Bellimperia:</i> You mean to try my cunning , then, Hieronimo?	4.1.178
<i>Leartes:</i> And how for this? <i>King:</i> Mary Leartes thus...	15.14-15	<i>Lorenzo:</i> And how for that? <i>Hieronimo:</i> Marry, my good Lord, thus...	4.1.74
<i>Leartes:</i> T'is excellent	37	<i>Lorenzo:</i> O excellent	126
<i>Hamlet:</i> And if the king like not the tragedy , Why then belike he likes it not perdy	9.185-6	<i>Hieronimo:</i> And if the world like not this Tragedy , Hard is the hap of old Hieronimo	4.1.196-7
<i>Hamlet:</i> I never gave you cause .	16.164	<i>Lorenzo:</i> Hieronimo, I never gave you cause .	3.14.148

APPENDIX I

Examples of features Bracy sees as demonstrating abridgement in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.

From: Bracy: *The Merry Wives of Windsor: The History and Transmission of Shakespeare's Text*

Page 8

- speech has been 'moved up'

Page 82

- long excisions
- slight variations
- lines transposed
- lines cut
- elimination of character from scene
- longer cuts
- opening shortened to speed action
- elimination of two characters and references to them
- removal of material which doesn't advance main plot
- variants in dialogue and diction

Page 83

- reduction in casting
- streamlining of action
- (in F Mistress Quickly's part is expanded)
- condensation

Page 84

- shorter speeches

Page 87

- combination of two speeches
- excision
- cut
- substitution

Page 90

- reshifting of scenes
- reverse two scenes

Page 91

- inconsistent fragments from original ms unintentionally copied or overlooked

Page 92

- shift of section of scene
- shortened speeches

Page 93

- slight alteration of content

Page 94

- avoidance of repetitions

Page 95

- stage direction confirm the suggestion of the presence of the ms