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The De Vere Society Newsletter

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Editor: Daphne Pearson

Report me and my cause aright
To the unsatisfied. Hamlet V ii

EDITORIAL

I hope that this issue will be thought-provoking; Noemi Magri's paper is excellent supportive evidence for Oxfordian claims for the authorship.

A combined programme and booking form for the next DVS meeting at Stratford-on-Avon on Sunday, 17 September, is included with this Newsletter. The afternoon will be devoted to a discussion of arguments that Oxfordians can use to answer 'difficult' questions put to them by those who are attracted to the Oxfordian theory, but confused by certain aspects.

The back page contains the first advertisement for the DVS International Conference in 2004, to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the death of Lord Oxford. This will be a huge undertaking, but we have four years to plan it. The most important aspect is for the organisers (at the moment a team of three; the intention is to add to the team as time goes by) to gauge the interest and potential attendance. In pursuit of this we do urge you to let us know at the Stratford meeting on 17 September what your thoughts are and if you will personally support this event. Of course, we are not expecting commitment four years before the actual date – that would be impossible for any one of us – but we want to know if the project can attract sufficient support to make it viable. Full details of the proposed programme are indicated, but at this early stage it is all tentative so suggestions are welcome. For our American and European members, please do try to include this in a visit to England. We shall endeavour to make it the trip of a lifetime for you.

Obituary – Talmadege Garley Wilson (1919-2000)

Tal Wilson became curious about the Earl of Oxford some seventeen years ago. After much research and the collection of an extensive personal library, Tal settled on a dual theory for Oxford and his nephew, the Earl of Derby. He translated two French books on Derby, one by Lambin, the other by LeFranc. As a result of family missionary connections there, Tal had a lifelong interest in Hawaii, which will be his final resting-place. He is survived by his three children and five grandchildren.

Italian Renaissance Art in Shakespeare

Giulio Romano and *The Winter's Tale*

Noemi Magri © 1999

It has been argued that Shakespeare's knowledge of Italy is not restricted to the history and geography of that country but extends to art. Some critics of the past (1) have observed that even though Shakespeare never visited Italy he seems to have been inspired by Renaissance painters and that when he was writing his works he "was thinking of paintings that really existed" (2). In fact, *The Taming of the Shrew* contains allusions to pictures and Giulio Romano is mentioned in *The Winter's Tale* as "that rare Italian master". Moreover, the poems *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* with their long detailed descriptions recalling pictorial works have so much puzzled the commentators that it is hard for Stratfordians to account for Shakespeare's precise knowledge of Italian art.

One of the first critics to affirm that Shakespeare was in Italy is C. Armitage Brown in his *Autobiographical Poems of Shakespeare* (3). On the other hand, B.Morris is of the opinion that Shakespeare did "not have actual pictures in mind" (4). As Shaksper from Stratford never visited Italy, the allusions to Italian artists and Italian works of art can be explained only by the light of the Oxfordian theory. Actually, Edward De Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, took his continental journey from January 1575 to April 1576. Even if no record of De Vere's stay in Mantua has been found in archives yet, the many detailed allusions to pictorial works present in Mantua at the time of his possible visit may be an evidence of his being in that city. Parallel analysis of Shakespeare's and Mantuan pictorial works shows that the latter could have been for the poet and dramatist a source of inspiration.

The purpose of this article is to present Giulio Romano, the great Renaissance artist, substantiate that he was eminent not only as an architect and painter but also as a sculptor, and discuss the possible reasons for Shakespeare's choice of this master. Before analysing the references to Giulio Romano contained in *WT* and the function of his name in the play, it is worth presenting the work of this extremely versatile genius.

Giulio Pippi was born in Rome (hence the name 'Romano') in 1499. His house was a few yards from the *Colonna Traiana*. The *Foro*, the *Campidoglio*, the *Colosseo* were part of the environment he lived in. The boy grew up among Roman ruins – statues, friezes, arches: a relevant biographical fact which made him absorb the essence of Roman pagan antiquity. At about the age of ten he entered Raphael's workshop as an apprentice. Very soon Giulio showed his talent. The young pupil started to collaborate with his master who was then decorating the Vatican Apartments (1511–1514). There, in the *Stanza di Eliodoro* where Raphael worked with his pupils, Giulio absorbed his master's art and technique. There, where the painted architecture of the background integrates with the human figures of the foreground, where the sculptures painted in chiaroscuro create a plastic effect of 'all round' and seem to jut out of the walls, Giulio laid the foundations of his future creations. From that time on, the study of classical architecture became young Giulio's main interest. He was not only learning the more and more complex laws of perspective but was also influenced by Michelangelo who at that time was painting the *Cappella Sistina*.

As a pupil of Raphael's, Giulio learnt from his master the basic principles of architecture and sculpture. It is known that Raphael, though world famous for his paintings, was also an architect and sculptor. In a letter to Michelangelo dated 22 November 1516, Leonardo Sellaio mentions a 'putto modelled in terracotta by Raphael and reproduced in marble by Pietro D'Ancona' (5). On 8 May 1523, Baldassarre Castiglione writes from Mantua to Andrea Piperario in Rome asking him if he still owns 'that small putto in marble [made] by Raphael by hand and what its latest price would be' (6). When Raphael died suddenly in 1520, Giulio inherited the direction of Raphael's workshop and carried out the most important commissions left unfinished by his master. By that time, Giulio had become one of the greatest artists in Rome, and was known for having brought Roman art back to life by means of his works.

Paintings on religious themes and portraits were designed for popes, cardinals and princes. Federico II Gonzaga (b.1500) Marquis of Mantua, (1519–1530, Duke of Mantua from 1530 to his death, 1540) who was looking for an artist to build a new palace on the island of the Te, asked Baldassarre Castiglione, the Gonzaga Ambassador in Rome, to send him one. Castiglione, who had seen the Vatican Apartments ('the Pope's Room has been beautifully decorated' (7)) and was familiar with Federico II's hedonistic attitudes to life and art, gave his advice and offered his diplomatic service to have Giulio move to Mantua and work for the Gonzaga. The Marquis, when a boy, had spent three years in Rome where he was kept as a hostage for political reasons. At the Vatican Court the heir of the Mantuan Marchesato shared Pope Giulio II's cultural life and became acquainted with Raphael who is said to have painted two portraits (not identified or lost) of young Federico (8).

That was Guilio Romano's great chance of glory and fame. The artistic scene in Rome was dominated by Michelangelo. In Mantua Giulio would have been the only absolute artistic authority. Mantegna, L.B. Alberti, Donatello were dead. The Gonzaga were looking for another great artist and Giulio was the one whose inventions were better likely to satisfy the Marquis's wish to impress the world with sumptuous and imposing creations and portray the handsome ruler's voluptuous joy of life. Giulio accepted Federico II's invitation with enthusiasm (9).

Giulio lived and worked in Mantua from his arrival there in 1524 to his death in 1546. For twenty years he was the dominating figure of the artistic life in the Duchy. He is the great designer of projects for architectural works such as Palazzo Te, planned as an antique Roman villa, and new wings in Palazzo Ducale. (The latter, with its five hundred rooms, is the largest in size after the Vatican.) He designed cartoons for his frescoes and tapestries; he created funeral marble tombs and ephemeral ceremonial apparatuses (triumphal arches, columns, statues, street decorations) for the entry of important personages to Mantua (10). He also designed silverware, jewels, cameos, household objects – candleholders, saltcellers, pitchers, jars, clocks, sword hilts – furniture, chimney-pieces for the interiors and floor tiles. He rebuilt façades, churches and chapels. This is what Vasari wrote, 'as he built so many beautiful palaces, one can say that it is no more Mantua but new Rome' (11). 'The Duke [...] ordered that in Mantua no building should be made without the drawings and instructions of Giulio' (12).

Pietro Aretino, too, was a great admirer of Giulio's genius. He defined his architectural and pictorial works as 'nature's miracles in colours' and wrote that he 'had embellished Mantua and made it great through his art anciently modern and modernly ancient' (13). Giulio became the scene-painter of Mantua's Court at the time when there was a revival of drama. His unrivalled imagination produced pageants, costumes for masquerades and court performances of Latin and Italian plays, for jousts, tournaments and festivals. His familiarity with the theatre allowed him to represent, through the art of painting, dramatic episodes such as the Trojan War and mythological stories derived from classical literary works (14).

Giulio also created highly-praised stucco work and statues drawing inspiration from Roman plastic arts. In Giulio's concept of architecture, this art must be integrated with paintings and sculptures. He planned niches both outside in the façades of buildings and inside in rooms, logge, corridors in order to embellish the palaces with statues and busts, painted or not, ancient and modern.

If the original was not available, Federico II had a copy made of it in stucco and plaster by Giulio and his pupils or other sculptors. As he wanted to place marble and bronze statues of famous generals in the *Loggia di Davide* in Palazzo Te he wrote to some acquaintances of his asking for coins with the effigy of the captains: he would 'have the statues made' by sculptors in Mantua (15).

Giulio was a versatile genius, responsible not only for the construction of buildings in town and villas in the countryside, but also for the new arrangement of streets, drainage system and canalization of stagnant waters surrounding Mantua. Guilio was appointed 'Vicario di corte e Superiore delle fabbriche ducali', Vicar of the Court and Superior General of all the buildings

inside and outside Mantua (16). Then, he was appointed to the office of 'Superiore delle strade', Superior of the streets (17). One of his tasks was to oversee the street paving for the "beauty and convenience of the town" (18). Ludovico Gonzaga's plans of renovation, started with L.B. Alberti, A. Mantegna, Donatello and many others, were completed by Giulio Romano (19). Guilio had to supervise all the building-sites and provide anything necessary, from timber to lime, paints, stone and gold for the decorations. Besides, he had to make the drawings for any work, either architectural or ornamental, which was to be executed by craftsmen and artists trained and instructed by him.

The reputation of the great artist spread beyond the boundary of the Mantuan Duchy. Renowned artists came to Mantua to admire Giulio's works. Emperor Charles V visited the Gonzaga Court twice: first in March 1530 when he conferred the title of Duke on Federico II and then in November 1532. This time he was lodged in the newly frescoed Palazzo Te. Kings, princes and ecclesiastical authorities asked for Giulio's drawings for the renovation and decoration of their palaces and churches (20). At Easter 1536, Ludwig X von Wittelsbach, Duke of Bavaria, a far removed cousin of Federico II Gonzaga (21), spent some days in Mantua. He was so impressed by its artistic beauty that soon afterwards he had his palace of Landshut restored and decorated by artists and workers who had come from Mantua for that purpose (22). Giulio collected classical antiquities which he placed in his new house situated near the church of St. Barnaba (23). There he gave hospitality to Giorgio Vasari on his visit to the artist in 1541. Vasari described Giulio's house, 'Giulio built a house for himself [...]. He made a fantastic façade all embellished outside with coloured stucco work and, inside, he had it all painted and decorated with stucco work in the same manner, there placing many antiquities which he had brought from Rome and which he received from the Duke to whom he had given many of his own'. (24)

The Gonzaga deeply mourned Giulio's death in 1546. The office of 'Superiore delle fabbriche ducali' remained vacant for over two years for the reason that Cardinal Regent Ercole Gonzaga meant to grant this office to an artist who was as great as Giulio Romano, to someone who was 'not only an excellent painter but also a great architect and sculptor'. (25) The Cardinal's words very explicitly acknowledged Giulio's greatness in the three artistic fields. Giulio was buried in the church of St. Barnaba which stands almost opposite his house. The epitaph on his tomb (now lost) reported in Vasari's Vite (see below) celebrates Giulio's skill in the three arts.

"That rare Italian master": the art–nature relationship

In the last act of *WT*, the Third Gentleman refers to Paulina, the faithful lady-in-waiting, keeping a statue of Hermione, the Queen, who, grief-stricken at the many accusations of adultery laid by King Leontes, is reported to have died sixteen years before. He says. "a piece many years in doing and now newly performed by that rare Italian master, Julio Romano, who, had he himself eternity and could put breath into his work, would beguile Nature of her custom, so perfectly he is her ape: he so near to Hermione hath done Hermione, that they say one would speak to her and stand in hope of answer". (5 .2. 94–9)

In a few words the Third Gentleman in describing the artist as a rival of nature synthesises one of the main features of Giulio's art – his ability to portray the human body and scenery in such a way as to give the impression that they are real and living.

Giovanni Battista Armenini (1530–1609), a painter and art historian, praised Giulio's skill, 'he was so copious and facile that [...] one could say that he imitated and that he had before his eyes that which he was drawing rather that he composed out of his head, since his manner followed so closely the ancient sculptures of Rome that what he produced seemed to be drawn from them' (26). Armenini stressed Giulio's closeness to Roman plastic arts. Vasari expressed his admiration for Giulio's frescoes in the Sala dei Giganti, Palazzo Te, writing that 'Giulio wanted to paint bricks and walls together with figures all around on the walls of a room so similar to reality that in the artist's intention they should deceive and scare those who entered there' (27). The realism of Guilio's invention was pointed out by Vasari, impressed by the paintings in the ceiling of the *Sala*

di Icaro (now *Fetonte*), 'this work was considered such a great product of innovation and so well performed that the paintings do not seem to be painted or imaginary things but they appear to the eye to be living and real: actually, here one is afraid that they would fall down on you' (28).

It is not true that Shakespeare's description of the work of Giulio Romano could allude to any other artist of the period, as M. F. Thorpe maintains (29). In fact, Giulio is the first artist, together with Michelangelo, to represent stories, either mythological or biblical, in such a dramatic way as to give them the appearance of reality.

Giulio Romano was an innovator and a master of pictorial illusion. His ornamental friezes and wall decorations were counterfeits of Roman reliefs, columns, statues and architectural structures. He decorated interiors using wall plaster which he made look like coloured marble ('marmo finto'). Also his Mantuan constructions have been conceived as artifice and illusion. In Mantua Guilio was free to apply his artistic principle of the fusion of appearance and reality, of architecture and nature. Sebastiano Serlio, referring to Palazzo Te, defines it a 'mixture' ("mistura") of nature and art (30). Nature is represented by the rough material which covers the exteriors of the building and which imitates the ruggedness of a cave or of the stone used in ancient Rome. Art is revealed in the symmetrical proportions of the plan of the Palazzo and in its external and internal, pictorial and scultpural decorations.

The few lines in *WT* are more than a simple mention of an artist's name which Shakespeare "may have picked up [...] from the talk of his travelled friends" (31). The passage shows that the dramatist was familiar with Giulio Romano's works and was well aware of the basic principle of Giulio's art – painting had to be true to reality, so verisimilar as to deceive the eye. In fact, Giulio does 'imitate Nature so perfectly'.

The art–nature relationship is often debated by Renaissance writers in the wake of Ovid who, in descriptions of wild places, says that 'certain entrances to the caves seem to have been drawn by a skilful artist' (32). The eye-deceiving principle at the basis of Giulio's art rules all his pictorial production performed in Mantua. The statue of Hermione is so perfect that Leontes himself and Polixenes, King of Bohemia, are deceived by its likeness. Leontes is fascinated by "Her natural posture!" (5, 3, 23). The skilful artist not only gave the statue a true-to-life posture, but also, in portraying an aged Hermione, he once more proved to be true to reality. Leontes is surprised, "But yet, Paulina,/ Hermione was not so much wrinkled, nothing / So aged as this seems"(27-9). Polixenes comments, "Masterly done: /The very life seems warm upon her lip". Leontes replies, "The fixure of her eye has motion in 't, /As we are mock'd with art" (5. 3. 65-8). Leontes' emotions are strengthened by the statue's apparent breathing: "Still methinks / There is an air comes from her. What fine chisel /Could ever yet cut breath?" (77–9). Through the words of his characters, the dramatist expresses his admiration for the artist's attractive creation.

Giulio Romano, a sculptor

Shakespeare's reference to Giulio Romano as a sculptor has given origin to a much debated issue and embarrassed commentators since the nineteenth century. Some of them have tried to minimize what is thought to be a gross blunder of Shakespeare's. Others ascribe it to "Shakespeare's hurried reading habits and limited background" (33). W. Warburton lamented the dramatist's ignorance, "he makes of this famous Painter, a statuary; but, what is worst of all, a painter of statues" (34).

These statements need clarification. First of all, it must be pointed out that a sculptor is someone who makes figures, objects, etc., not only by carving wood or stone or marble but also shaping clay and making metal casts. Therefore, even if it is true that no extant marble sculpture is known today as having been carved by Giulio Romano, it is also true that he was responsible for a great number of works in clay or stucco for the Ducal Palaces in Mantua. Then the fact that Guilio was a sculptor belongs to the history of the Mantuan Duchy. Recent archival research has brought to light more that 1400 documents (only 250 had been classified in previous critical works about the artist) related to Giulio's artistic life and production in Mantua. They substantiate that Giulio's

activity covered the sculptural field, too (35). Unfortunately, the Sack of Mantua of 1630 left only devastation, ruin and death in the city. Anything which could be taken away was despoiled or destroyed by the Imperial troops. The famous Gonzaga collections of statues, jewels, cameos and bronzes were reduced to pieces, pillaged, dispersed. Invasions and the sale of the art gallery to King Charles I left Mantua deprived of its works of art.

In order to carry out all the many commissions from the Duke and the rulers of the neighbouring city-states, Giulio, like almost all the Italian Renaissance artists, had to have a workshop. He trained and instructed pupils both in painting and sculpture. His pupils carried out most of the works designed by him; he executed only part of them – he was the supervisor who gave the works the last finish. In a letter to Ferrante Gonzaga, Governor of Milan, Giulio explains that a vase executed for him has not come out well because he, Giulio, 'was not present' and 'no model in wood or any other substance had been made to the purpose' (37).

C. D'Arco, describing the *Sala degli Stucchi* in Palazzo Te praises the work 'skilfully executed by Francesco Primaticcio and Giovan Battista Briziano, both of whom in a short time and with remarkable skill had learnt the difficult art of sculpting from Giulio' (38). And in the section dedicated to Giulio's sculptures, D'Arco wrote, 'As Giulio was skilled in various arts, he used to train special pupils in each of them. In sculpture one of them was Battista Briziano who reached such perfection that when in 1531 Primaticcio left Mantua, he alone sufficed to carry out the great many stucco works in the Te'(39). Vasari wrote that Briziano owes his professional formation to his 'training and working in Giulio's worshop when young' (40).

The reputation of Giulio as a great sculptor reached the countries beyond the Alps. It is highly significant that Otto Henricus, Duke of Bavaria, sent one of his artists to Mantua to be instructed in the art of sculpture. This is what he writes to Duke Federico II, 'I was told that plastic works are produced for Your Lordship, and they are made with such skill that they seem to be of alabaster" (41). The workshop of Giulio Romano plays a leading role in the history of art of the European Courts.

Very often the sculptures the Gonzaga bought for their collections of antiquities had various parts missing. It was customary to have them restored by Guilio or other sculptors working in Mantua (42). Secondly, as to Guilio Romano 'a painter of statues', it must be pointed out that painting marble, terracotta or plaster statues was a common practice with the sculptors of the XV and XVI century in Italy (43). It must be borne in mind that all the stucco works, reliefs and statues in Palazzo Te and Palazzo Ducale were painted in bright colours or gilded. The purchases of paints (sometimes from Titian in Venice) and gold are recorded in accounts held in the Archivio di Stato in Mantua.

The statues, after being painted, were treated with wax or lac which made the colours more lively and gave the statues as shiny an appearance as if they were covered with an oily paint. The statue of Hermione is painted and not yet dry, as Paulina remarks, "O patience! / The statue is but newly fix'd, the colour's / Not dry" (5.3.46–8). "You'll mar it if you kiss it, stain your own / With oily painting" (82–3). The dramatist gives a precise description (oily) of what a recently decorated and restored (newly fix'd) sculpture looked like. The exactness of the detail is confirmed by the actual restoration works done in Palazzo Ducale a short time before De Vere's possible visit.

The Third Gentleman's description of the statue, "a piece many years in doing and now newly performed by that rare Italian master, Julio Romano", is still the object of different interpretations. Three possible explanations are given below.

a) 'A statue carved or modelled over a time length of many years and now recently ('newly') repainted by Giulio Romano'. The sculptor and the painter are the same person. This would find a parallel in Giulio's alleged slowness in executing the works. Duke Federico II very often complained with him about the tardy progress and used to urge him on, as given in the many letters written to Giulio by the Duke. It might be objected that the thirty years between

Guilio's death and De Vere's possible visit would make the word 'newly', recently, inappropriate.

b) 'A statue executed many years ago, in ancient times, and now 'afresh'('newly') restored and completed by painting by Giulio Romano'. The sculptor and the painter are not the same person.

c) 'A statue executed over a time length of many years (or many years ago) by Giulio Romano and now recently restored and repainted by another artist'. This would be an allusion to the recent restoration work done by G. B. Bertani in Palazzo Ducale between 1572 and 1574.

The *Loggia dei Marmi*, a gallery planned by Giulio to house part of the invaluable Gonzaga collection of Greek, Roman and modern sculptures, was further extended to its present form and redecorated in 1572. New statues and twelve busts of Roman emperors were placed in the niches and absidioles (44). The *Loggia* is one of the rooms forming the *Appartamento di Troia* (45) planned and decorated by Giulio. In this sumptuous apartment, Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga used to receive his visitors: emperors, rulers, ambassadors and dignitaries (46). Paintings by Raphael, Titian, Correggio, Giulio's frescoes, ancient sculptures, the gilded stucco works of the ceilings, the flashing gold of cornices and doors, the coloured and gilded leather wainscoting on the lower part of the walls made the Duke's audience apartment a synthesis of Italian Renaissance art.

However the Third Gentleman's words are interpreted, it is clear that Shakespeare has presented Giulio Romano as an artist who gives life to his sculptures, has the power to vivify his statues which seem to breath and whose eyes seem to have the faculty to see ("her eye has motion in't").

The German scholars were among the first to point out that Giulio was also a sculptor and that Shakespeare, whoever he was, must have visited Mantua. G. Sarrazin is the author of revealing articles on the subject. He points out that the painter of scenes of the Trojan War mentioned in *Lucrece* is Giulio Romano whose artistic skill must have been known to Shakespeare. Sarrazin also observes that in the plays there are references to Mantuan history – a subject matter hardly familiar to a Stratford citizen. These references may be evidence of the dramatist's visit to Italy (47). K. Elze (48) drew the critics' attention to the Latin epitaph inscribed on Giulio's tomb and reported in Vasari's *Vite* (1550, p. 837).

VIDEBAT IVPPITER CORPORA SCVLPTA PICTAQVE
SPIRARE, ET AEDES MORTALIVM AEQVARIER COELO
IVLII VIRTVTE ROMANI. TVNC IRATVS,
CONCILIO DIVORVM OMNIVM VOCATO,
ILLVM E TERRIS SVSTVLIT, QVOD PATI NEQVIRET
VINCI AVT AEQVARI AB HOMINE TERRIGENA.
ROMANVS MORIENS SECVM TRES IVLIVS ARTEIS
ABSTVLIT HAVD MIRVM: QUATTVOR VNVS ERAT.

(Jupiter saw the painted and sculptured bodies breathe and the dwellings of mortals equal Heaven through the skill of Guilio Romano. Therefore, being angered, after summoning a council of all the gods, he carried him off from the earth, since he could not tolerate being won or equalled by a mortal. In dying, Giulio Romano took the three arts away with himself. There is nothing extraordinary, he alone was four.)

The epitaph clearly states that Giulio was a sculptor whose statues deceptively resembled life. Besides, the final distich places emphasis on the three arts in which he excelled. It closes with a numerical metaphor: the three arts and Giulio himself make four. Hartt, mentioning the fame of Guilio's creations, acknowledges that "no painter, sculptor or architect capable of offering him the least competition was left within the Mantuan borders which Giulio was quite unwilling to leave" (49). D. E. Baughan's effort to demonstrate that Shakespeare meant 'Gian Cristoforo' Romano

(just because he is one of the characters in Baldassarre Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*), and not 'Giulio', is totally void of significance. Since a sculptor named Giulio Romano did exist, there is no point in maintaining that Shakespeare went wrong and that 'Julio' is an oversight of the dramatist's. It would be an error which – strangely enough – would find correspondence in history.

The Gonzaga's commissions to Giulio for works in marble are only a few. The reason is that there are no marble caves in the territory of Mantua. Marble was used only for small columns, chimney-pieces, reveals. Caves were too far away in foreign countries (the Republic of Venice, the Vatican State, the city-state of Carrara) and transport was very expensive and slow. The marble reveals carved in Rome in 1526 for the Marquis were carried to Mantua on donkeys' backs: they arrived damaged and broken in many pieces. Various antiquities had to be sent from Rome to Mantua in a ship: the ship sailed round Southern Italy up the Adriatic Sea,upstream along the Po and then the River Mincio. The journey was inevitably many months long. Even if marble and travertine were not available, the many argil beds in the territory of Mantua supplied the brickyards with plenty of clay for 'pietre cotte', baked stones. Mixing local river-sand rich in dolomite with lime, Guilio obtained a special type of stony stucco to which he added marble powder to make the mixture harder. The mixture was used to make simulated marble (50). Giulio had successfully experimented with 'stucco di marmo', marble stucco,before, in the construction and decoration of Villa Lante and other palaces in Rome. Dolomite stucco improves the aesthetic qualities of the plaster. Though a wealthy ruler, Federico II could not afford expensive materials to compete with the Popes and the other Northern Italian lords for the magnificence of his dwellings. It takes time to carve a statue and Giulio had too many tasks to carry out. In any case, the Duke was content with Guilio's illusionistic skill.

Finally, it must be remembered that Italian Renaissance artists were not skilled in one art only. Their expertise covered all possible fields of science and learning. A young apprentice was likely to receive instruction both in the three main arts and in the so-called 'arti minori', minor arts, such as ceramics, glass working, wood carving. He used to learn the principles of mathematics and physics. He had knowledge of the laws of statics and of the properties of the materials used for building and decorating. An artist could also have been a writer of treatises, a theoretician, if not a Humanist and a poet. The idea of specialization in one branch only is a modern one: it is extraneous to the Renaissance world. A Renaissance artist was very often a learned scholar and a master in craftsmanship at the same time.

Shakespeare's Giulio Romano

The mention of Giulio Romano in *WT* raises many questions. First of all why Shakespeare did choose Giulio Romano as the artist who modelled and painted the statue of Hermione; what was his source of knowledge; whether he had ever seen any of his works and where, if he had; and then, what Giulio Romano meant to Shakespeare. No definitive and substantiated explanation has been offered by Stratfordians. J. M. Lothian, though an orthodox critic, in his interesting article about Pietro Aretino, comes to the conclusion that Shakespeare knew Italian and was familiar with Aretino's five comedies, four of which published in Italian in London in 1588 by J. Wolfe. However, Lothian's explanation of the use of Giulio's name in *WT* appears to be inconsistent. "Shakespeare's careless reading left him with the impression that Julio Romano was a sculptor". Actually, in Aretino's comedy *Marescalco*, Giulio is mentioned as a painter (51).

It must be admitted that it is not just the name of an artist merely read in print to impress a reader (i.e. Shakespeare). It is the visual impact of an art work that arouses impressions. Before establishing what the name Giulio Romano meant to Shakespeare it is worth analysing the features of Giulio's art.

Giulio Romano's figures, either painted on canvas or frescoed or modelled in stucco, have their origin not only in the artist's aesthetic principles and classical learning, but also in the Marquis's demands. Federico II 's wish to be surrounded with pagan beauties was satisfied by Giulio's art

which is the expression of pagan eroticism, sensuousness, voluptuousness. With Giulio Romano, the erotic becomes the beautiful (52).

E. H. Gombrich, in calling Guilio Romano "licentious genius", writes that "his art celebrates the beauty of the human body in the erotic and heroic nude" (53). Through his art, Giulio aims to impress and touch the viewer. Eroticism and violence are the dominant themes of his Mantuan frescoes. Giulio's art as described by C. D'Arco finds a parallel in Shakespeare's art. 'Giulio excelled in expressing all human feelings and passions – voluptuousness, lust, revenge, suspicion, anger, jealousy, envy; his paintings are remarkable for their striking realism as they represent man's virtues and vices' (54). This very well matches the features of Shakespeare's works. Raphael's paintings which, in spite of their nudes, do not express the pleasure of the senses but rather feelings of candour, moral virtue, chastity and innocence would not have appealed to the dramatist's impetuous view of life. On the contrary, Giulio 'dresses his female figures in such beauty as to arouse unbecoming desires' (55). The statue of Hermione is remarkable also for the power to arouse sensuality (56). Leontes feels attracted to her, "I will kiss her" (5.3.80). Paulina understands his impulse and replies, "Good my Lord, forbear. / The ruddiness upon *her lips* [my italics] is wet" (80–1). It appears that the dramatist was aware of the power of Giulio's art on man's earthly nature, so he has Leontes be affected as well (57).

If on the one hand it is difficult to establish what impact Giulio's name had on Elizabethan audiences, on the other, it can be admitted that the name must have had great relevance to the author of *WT*. To him, it meant Giulio's entire production not only as a sculptor but also as an architect and painter. R. Severi, though Stratfordian, wrote that the name of 'a well-known artist is not just a proper name but a name loaded with as many meanings as the interpretations given to his works, content and style. The citation of the artist's name [...] associates him to the artistic production which characterizes and connotes him' (58).

Giulio's name evoked the grandiose *Sala dei Giganti* in Palazzo Te and the sumptuous *Appartamento di Troia* in the *Palazzo Ducale*. (The frescoes in the *Sala di Troia* representing episodes of the Trojan War are described in detail in the poem *Lucrece*). It also evoked the *Loggia dei Marmi*, the gallery (It.'galleria') with large arched windows on one side, overlooking a garden, built by Giulio to house the Gonzaga collections of art, mainly Greek and Roman sculptures, and other precious rarities. The Marquises took pleasure in such collections and competed with the other Italian rulers to find out and buy the best and rarest pieces.

In 5. 3. 9–14, Leontes is surprised that he has not seen the statue of Hermione : "we came / To see the statue of our queen: your gallery / Have we pass'd through, not without much content / In many singularities; but we saw not / That which my daughter came to look upon, / The statue of her mother". The statue of Hermione was kept in a gallery which housed many 'rare pieces' ('singularities') the sight of which gave delight ('content') to Leontes.

In 1571 Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga had the private Palatine Chapel rebuilt. The small Basilica of Santa Barbara had been erected some years before by G. B. Bertani in the middle of the ground reserved to the ball games of the Court. Now the Chapel was embellished with paintings, marbles, silver statues, gold monstrances, altar vessels encrusted with precious stones. The Court had direct access to the Chapel through a corridor built to connect the Sala di Manto (59) to the chancel (60). Paulina, after restraining Leontes from kissing the statue, urges him to leave: "Quit presently the chapel" (5.3.86). It is not clear why Paulina should have kept Hermione's statue in a chapel. But the use of the word can be explained by referring to the dramatist's possible visit to Mantua and to his recalling, once back in England, the magnificent palaces he had admired. Arden *WT* adds the SD to scene 3 of Act V: "A room in Paulina's house" (p. 1 54). This specification does not seem to be essential. Not necessarily does Paulina, a lady-in-waiting, have to live outside the royal palace.

The members of the Gonzaga family and their household had their own private apartments and rooms in Palazzo Ducale. The servants, too, lodged there (6 1). Paulina may have had her own apartment where she had accomodated the queen throughout those sixteen years and where Leontes had never entered before now.

It is here argued that Lord Oxford may have visited Mantua. The *chapel* may be the Palatine Church. To De Vere, a foreign aristocrat, it would have been possible to be admitted to the *Appartamento di Troia*, the Duke's audience apartment in Palazzo Ducale. The Duke was proud of his collections and was always very glad to show them to his royal visitors. The guests would go up to the 'piano nobile', the principal storey, enter the glittering *Sala di Manto* with its new coffered ceiling, and be shown into the *Loggia* through the rooms completely redecorated with frescoes or coloured stucco work.

The hypothesis that Shakespeare may have seen some paintings or drawings of Guilio Romano in London is totally inconsistent and deprived of any evidence or historical truth. No engravings or colour reproductions of Giulio's works are known to have existed in England in the second half of the sixteenth century.

M. F. Thorp, disappointed by the lack of evidence, feels compelled to conclude that "Engravings, on the other hand, Shakespeare might well have seen in the portfolios of any of his noble friends" (61). Inn talk, patrons, hearsay: this is the usual inconsistent result of Stratfordian investigation into Shakespeare's sources.

Conclusion

On the basis of the evidence here produced, it is possible to affirm that Shakespeare's mention of Giulio Romano as a sculptor corresponds to the historical truth and may derive from the dramatist's direct experience. He may have visited Mantua and may have been impressed by the artistic achievements of Giulio Romano and his school. And here and there, in the poems and plays, the memory of the works of art seen in that town sprang to mind.

Notes

1 K. Elze, *Essays on Shakespeare*. 1874.
A. Lefranc, *Sous la Masque de William Shakespeare*. Paris. 1918.
– *A la Decouverte de Shakespeare*. Paris. 1945.
A. Lytton Sells, *The Italian Influence in English Poetry. London. 1955.*

2 *Ibid*, p.191.

3 Este (certainly a pseudonym as pointed out by Robert Detobel) in *Notes and Queries*, April 23, 1959, p.336, wrote, "Mr Brown, an old resident in Italy, notes some very curious details, and contends that Shakespeare visited Italy about 1597".

4. W. Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew*, ed. B. Morris, Arden edition. London. 1994, p. 165.

5 *L 'Opera Completa di Raffaello, a cura di M.Prisco*. Milano. 1966, p. 83.

6 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codice Vaticano Latino 8208, cc. 93r–94r.

7 Archivio di Stato di Mantova (ASMN), Archivio Gonzaga (AG), b. 868, c. 318v–319r. of Baldassare Castiglione to Marquis Federico, 5 September 1524.

8 A. Luzio, 'Federico Gonzaga, ostaggio della corte di Gialio II' in *Archivio della Regia Societa Romana di Storia Patria*, IX, 1886, pp. 509–582.

9 ASMNAG. Copialettere, b. 2966, lib. 30, c. 27 Marquis Federico II to Baldassarre Castiglione, 29 August 1524.

10 *Cronaca del soggiorno di Carlo V in Italia*, a cura di Giacinto Romano, Milano. 1892. It contains an account probably written by Luigi Gonzaga di Borgoforte.

11 G. Vasari, *Le vite de'piu eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani* [...]. Firenze. 1550, a cura di L. Bellosi, A. Rossi. Torino. 1986, pp. 828–837. p. 828.

12 Vasari, *op.cit.* p. 835.

13 E. Camesasca (a cura di) *Lettere sull'arte di Pietro Aretino*. Milano.1957 2 vol. Vol. I, pp. 214–215. P. Aretino to Giulio, June 1542.

14 E. Faccioli, *Mantova. Le Lettere*. II. Mantova. 1962, pp. 564–566.

15 ASMN.AG. Copialettere, b. 2933, lib. 300. c. 97v. Duke Federico II to Giovanni de Sangro, 15 July 1530.

16 ASMN. AG. Patenti, lib. 5, c. 134r, 31 August 1526.

17 ASMN. AG. Patenti, lib. 5, c. 418r–v, 20 November 1526. Among his duties there was to establish the level of the streets, have them paved, plan the sewers, grant licences to builders and shop owners.

18 Vasari, *op.cit.*, p.835.

19 Marquis Ludovico II Gonzaga (1444–1498), married to Barbara von Brandenburg, was a great patron of artists and a wise politician. He created a body of ambassadors who kept the Gonzaga informed about the development of the political situation in the European courts. For about two centuries the Gonzaga ambassadors were the arbitrators of the dynasty's security and fortune.

20 The Palace of Fontainebleau, France, was decorated by Francesco Prima ticcio (1505–1570) who had worked with Guilio in Palazzo Te. Primaticcio's French works show evident traces of Giulio's art. Giulio's influence is evident also in other foreign buildings such as the Arkadenhalle in Neugelbaude, Vienna, in the Loggia of Waldstein Palace, Prague, in the Palace of Emperor Charles V in Granada, Spain. It has been suggested that it may have been Baldassarre Castiglione, Papal Nuncio in Spain, to provide the Emperor with Giulio's drawings.

21 Ludwig X's aunt, Margaretha von Bavaria (d. 1479) had married Federico I Gonzaga (d. 1484), Federico II's grandfather.

22 In a letter to his brother Duke Wilhelm IV, Ludwig X wrote, 'we have had dinner in the New Palace [Te] which Federico is building. I believe that nowhere does exist a palace like this one, with marvellous rooms, apartments and paintings", in O. Hartig, 'Ludwig X, der Erbauer der Lanshuter Residenz', in *Oberdeutsche Kunst der Spatgotik*, ed. E.Buchner, K.Feuchtmayer. Augsburg. 1924, pp. 263–266, p. 266.

23 ASMN. Registrazioni Norarili. Anno 1531, 1633r–1634r. On April 28, 1531, Giulio buys a XV century house in Contrada dell'Unicorno (now Via Poma, 18), a few metres from the Church of St. Barnaba. He modifies and decorates it both inside and outside. After his death, his widow Elena Guazzi, a Mantuan by birth, sells it. In 1800, architect Paolo Pozzo restores the building for the new owners as it stands now. In a letter to the owner, Pozzo wrote that he 'tried to keep the original structure and save all the decorations of the renowned artist', in C. D'Arco, *Istoria della vita e delle opere di Giulio Pippi Romano*. Mantova. 1838. App. II, doc. 37. The house is still private property. .

24 Vasari, *Vite*, Firenze, 1568, ed. G. Milanesi. Firenze. 1878, V, p. 549.

25 ASMN AG. Liber decretorum Francisci Gonzagae II. The decree appointing G.B.Bertani 'Prefetto delle Fabbriche Ducali' is published in C. D'Arco, *Delle arti e degli artefici di Mantova*. Mantova. 1857. Vol. II, p. 132–133.

26 G. B. Armenini, *De' veriprecetti dellapittura* (first ed. 1587) a cura di M Gorreri. Torino. 1988, p. 93.

27 Vasari (1550), p. 833.

28 *Ibid.*

29 Margaret Farrand Thorp, 'Shakespeare and the Fine Arts', *PMLA*, XLVI, Sept. 1931, pp. 672–693, p. 686.

30 S. Serlio, Tutte l'opere d'Architettura [...]. Venezia. 1584, anastatic reprint, *I sette libri dell'architettura*. Bologna. 1978, *Quarto libro*, p. 133v. Serlio (1475–1554), architect and art historian, studied in Rome, worked in Pesaro, Venice and Lyon. He also worked at Fontainebleau where he died. He is one of the first to describe and praise the works of Giulio.

31 Thorp, *op.cit., ibid.*

32 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III, 158–9. "Simulaverat artem / ingenio natura suo", nature imitated art by means of her genius.

33 Denver Ewing Baughan, 'Shakespeare's Probable Confusion of the Two Romanos', in *The Journal of English and German Philology*, 36, Jan. 1937, pp. 35–39.

34 *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, ed. H. H. Furness, Philadelphia, 1898, XI, p. 284.

35 Archivio di Stato di Mantova. Gialio Romano. *Repertorio di fonti documentarie.* a cura di D. Ferrari. Roma. 1992 2 Vols.

36 Christoph L. Frommel, 'Le opere romane di Guilio' in *Guilio Romano*, Saggi. Milano. 1989, p. 115.

37 Archivio di Stato di Parma, Epistolario Scelto, b 19 'Giulio Romano', Giulio to Ferrante Gonzaga, 15 Sept. 1546.

38 C. D'Arco, *Istoria* [...], p. 37.

39 *Ibid*, pp. 79–80, The same information is given in E. Marani-C.Perina, *Mantova. Le Arti.* III. Mantova. 1965, pp. 22–25, 54–56.

40 Vasari-Milanesi, *Vite*, Vol. V, p. 556, Vol. VI, p. 490.

41 ASMN. AG. b. 514, c. 3762, contemporary translation (original in Latin, c. 377r). Otto Henricus, Duke of Bavaria, to Duke Federico II, 3 July 1533.

42 ASMN. AG. Copialettere, b. 2967, lib. 32, c. 25r. In a letter to Francesco Gonzaga, Mantuan Ambassador, dated 22 Feb.1525, Marquis Federico II reminds him to buy 'ancient heads; in case they have the nose, ears, or other parts missing, I'Antico will restore them properly'. Pietro Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi, called Antico because of his ideas of classical beauty (Mantua c. 1 460–Gazzuolo 1528) produced bronzes, gold and silver statuettes, plaster busts and reductions of Roman statues. He also restored antique sculptures for the Gonzaga.

43 Two of them are here mentioned for reference: Guido Mazzoni called Il Modanino (Modena 1450-1518) and Niccolo di Bari called Dell'Arca (d 1494).

44 C. Cottafavi, 'Ricerche e Documenti sulla costruzione del Palazzo Ducale .di Mantova dal sec. XIII al sec. XIX', in *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Virgiliana.* 1939, p. 15. Count Teodoro Sangiorgio, Duke Guglielmo's secretary, to Aurelio Zibramondi, 3 Oct. 1572. The letter contained the Duke's request for twelve busts and some statues.

45 The other rooms are the *Sala dei Cavalli, Camerino degli Uccelli, Camerino dei Falconi, Sala di Giove, Gabinetto dei Cesari, Sala di Troia.* The latter is the one embellished by the frescoes described in *Lucrece.*

46 Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga (1538–1587), third Duke of Mantua (1550), married Eleonora von Habsburg, daughter of Emperor Ferdinand I and sister of Emperor Maximilian II. He was invested as Duke of Monferrato in 1574. Great festivities took place between 1574 and 1575 to celebrate the event. With Duke Guglielmo, a patron of artists and musicians, Mantua reached its maximum splendor.

47 G. Sarrazin, 'Shakespeare in Mantua?', in *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, Vol. 30, 1894, pp. 249–263.

48 K. Elze, *op. cit.*, pp. 284–9.

49 F. Hartt, *Guilio Romano*, New Haven. 1958. 2 Vols. Vol. I, p.161.

50 A. Forcellino, 'Intonaci e coloriture nel Cinquecento e nel Seicento: vocazioni espressive e tecniche esecutive', in *Bollettino d'Arte*, 47, 1988. *Irivestimenti superficiali nelle fabbriche di Gialio Romano in Gialio Romano*, Saggi. Milano. 1985, p. 305.

51 J. M. Lothian, 'Shakespeare's Knowledge of Aretino's Plays', in *The Modern Language Review*, no. 25, Oct. 1930, pp. 415–424. The four comedies are *Maniscalco, Talanta,Cortigiana, L'Hipocrito.* Even if *Il Filosofo* was not included in the 1588 edition, Lothian maintains that Shakespeare not only read it but was also acquainted with Aretino's one tragedy, *Orazia*, in the Italian version.

52 Eroticism and mysticism are not two separate entities in the first half of the sixteenth century. To the increasing accusations of immorality made by the Protestants against the Roman Church, the Catholic doctrine counterpoises the moral teaching of pagan images. They serve as "excitatio mentis ad deum" 'mind's spur to God'. The problem is dealt with in the treatise of

the Dominican friar A. Catarino Politi, *Disputatio* [...] *de cultu et adoratione imaginum. Romae.* 1552, pp. 142–143.

53 E. H. Gombrich, *Anticamente moderni e modernamente antichi in Guilio Romano.* Saggi. Milano. 1989, pp. 11–13.

54 C. D'Arco, *op cit*, p. 88.

55 *Ibid.*

56 B. Talvacchia, 'The Rare Italian Master and the Posture in The Winter's Tale', in *The Elizabethan Review*, Spring 1993, pp. 40–57.

57 Paulina guessed that Leontes meant to kiss Hermione's lips, not her cheek or hand.

58 R. Severi, 'What's in a name. La fortuna di Giulio Romano nel periodo Shakespeariano', in *Giulio Romano.* Atti del Convegno Internazionale 1–5 Ottobre 1989". Accademia Nazionale Virgiliana. Mantova. 1989, pp. 403– 415.

59 Manto, the mythical daughter of the Greek soothsayer Tiresias, fled from Greece with her tribe after the fall of Thebes. They sailed the Adriatic, up the Po and the River Mincio. They settled on the island in the middle of a lake formed by the Mincio and there they founded a town which the prophetess's son Ocnus called Mantua. The Gonzaga wanted to dedicate one of the rooms in Palazzo Ducale to the legendary founder of their town. The frescoes on the walls present episodes of the Greek legend.

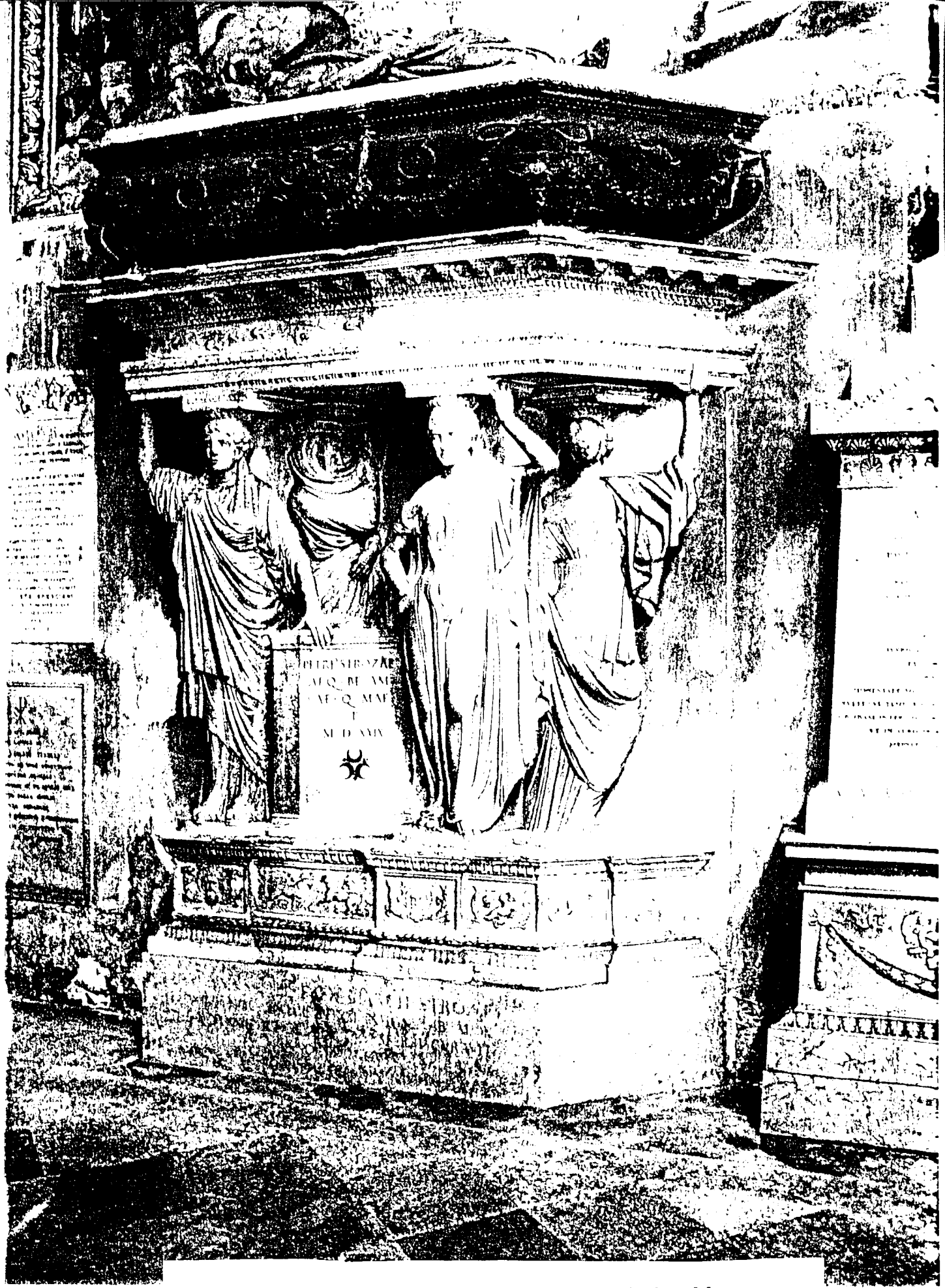
60 C. Cottafavi, *La Basilica di Santa Barbara.* Estratto dalla rivista "Mantus", Anno IV, n. 2, 1936.

61 The Palazzina della Paleologa, a small house attached to the Castello, built and decorated by Giulio for the marriage of Duke Federico II and Margherita Paleologa, the heir to the Monferrato, became Margherita's private apartment. It, too, housed a collection of paintings and sculptures. It was demolished in 1899 as it was in decay.

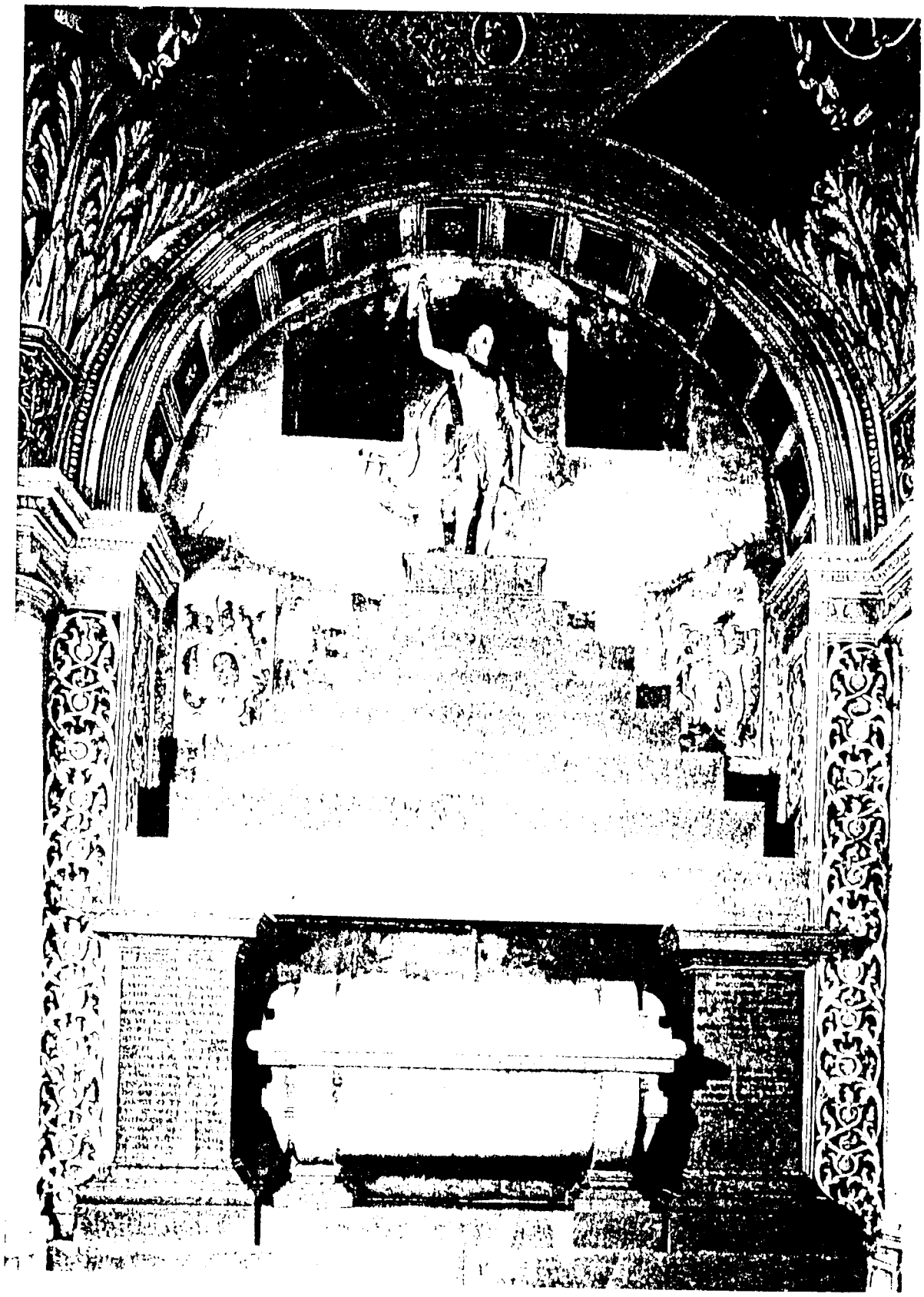
62 M. F. Thorp, *op. cit.*, p. 687.

I wish to thank Robert Detobel from Frankfurt for all the essential material that he has sent me. I am much indebted to him for his encouragement without which the present article would not have been written or would have appeared much later. I am also very grateful to Christopher Dams for his revision work.

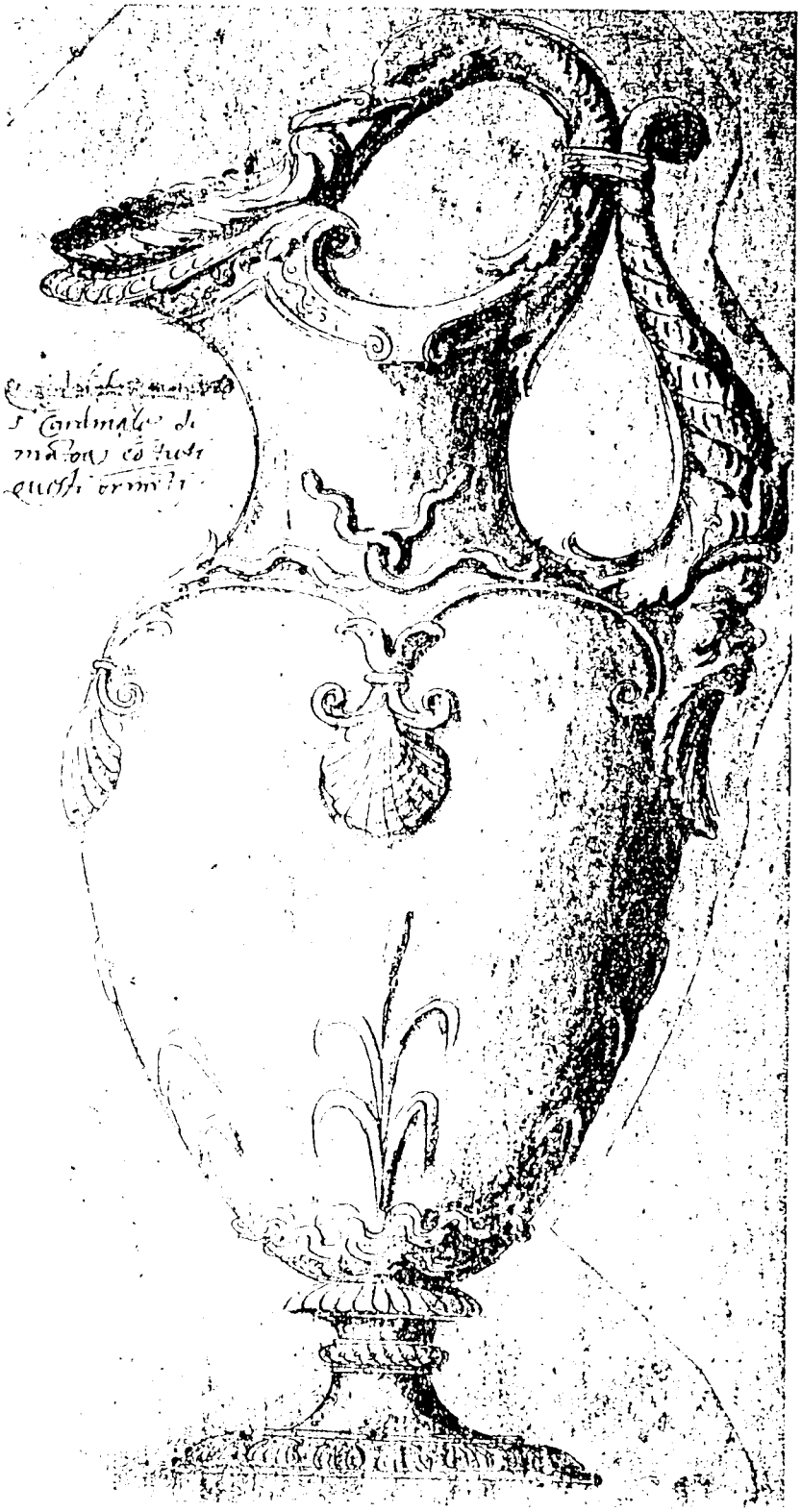
Editor's note: This article was accompanied by a number of pictures, many in colour, which, for reasons of space and the monochrome reproduction of this Newsletter, could not be included. Some are reproduced on the following pages, but a full set is available from the Hon. Secretary, on receipt of an A4 stamped and addressed envelope, for examination by interested Members. Return within four weeks is requested.



Guilio Romano, *Monumento Strozzi*, Basilica di S. Andrea, Mantova



Guilio Romano, *Tomb of Baldasarre Castiglione*, Chiesa di Santa Maria delle Grazie, Mantua



Guilio Romano, *brocca* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E. 5129 – 1910)

The De Vere Society Dating Project: editor's observations

A. M. Challinor

(Summary of paper given at Castle Hedingham, 8th April 2000. The equivalent paper by Christopher Dams was reported in the last Newsletter.)

The speaker had been named on this occasion as Arthur Maltby, and he began by explaining briefly some of the more humourous reasons for switching to use 'Challinor' as a pseudonym when he first began writing about Shakespeare. He had accepted Christopher Dams' invitation to edit, for eventual publication, the forty or so papers on the dating of Shakespeare's works. He was already finding the task time-consuming, but most enjoyable. Progress thus far was good. Some contributors from abroad had sent greetings and good wishes to this meeting.

Arthur then highlighted several points.

1. Noting the number of contributors and the international spread, he saw the editor's task as twofold. First, to achieve a 'family' of papers via common format and fonts, checking references and avoiding overlap. Second, it is most important that both editor and contributors strive to achieve full academic rigour in the presentation of facts and the conclusions drawn.

2. Contributions are being acknowledged on receipt: a final version will eventually be agreed with each contributor.

3. Some five or six lines of biographical data was needed from each contributor.

4. Length of papers received varies from three to twelve or more A4 pages . Some people have sent illustrations which are welcome in principle, although they may give rise to technical difficulties or copyright issues.

5. Reference was made to plays which had no 'taker' thus far. At the time of writing, just two titles still need a volunteer: *Comedy of Errors* and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Completion may take some time, but publication in 2002 is certainly feasible.

6. The speaker then asked: what do we mean by date - date of play's first 'drafting' or date of final edited version? A more flexible concept of composition and progressive chronology for each play is required. Sir E. K. Chambers, exceptionally hardworking, with superb presentational skills, had seemingly engraved the rules for post 1930 discussion regarding the conventional view of dates. Chambers, a very efficient man, would have written two plays per annum. Shakespeare was surely efficient, therefore he must have done just that! The speaker then sought both to both praise and criticise Chambers in a single sentence, via a wry compliment : Sir Edmund was so persuasive that he has almost entirely inhibited further constructive thinking on the problem ever since - at least among orthodox scholars.

7. How does *Venus and Adonis* fit into the sequence? The speaker indicated his anti-Stratfordian conviction that this simply heralds the first use of the pen-name.

8. Himself a 'pluralist', Arthur then wondered: do we all insist that Oxford was the sole author of the plays? There was a precedent in 16th century France for the idea of a group of literati with a distinctive, talented leader. Such personalities as George Greenwood and Enoch Powell have argued on this lines. The eighty years history of Oxfordian belief hold several such 'group

theories' and clearly there was much constructive activity on the text of Shakespeare's plays from a person or persons after 1604. Members were simply asked to keep an open mind on this.

9. Contributors of papers on the dating of the plays were then asked to beware a 'predestined' conclusion; a philosophical analogy being made with St. Thomas Aquinas, whose critics have said that he shaped the evidence to fit his intended goal when defending his faith. Contributors have no easy task: if they believe the plays were written earlier than orthodoxy supposes, there is an onus upon them to produce the best objective evidence possible.

10. It was noted in conclusion that we still have to decide who publishes and what we can realistically hope to achieve. Presumably the final work is for a general market, not simply the Oxfordian ranks. Such an assumption makes a massive difference in terms of focus and of editing requirements.

(After their short talks, Christopher and Arthur took questions from the floor jointly).

USEFUL WEB SITES FOR DVS MEMBERS

The Shakespeare Oxford Society.
www.shakespeare-oxford.com/
http://www.shakespeare-oxford.com/

Ray West's site www.homeusers.prestel.co.uk/littleton/gm2_shak.htm
http://www.homeusers.prestel.co.uk/littleton/gm2_shak.htm

Volker Multhop's Small Shakespeare
(Worth a look if just for fun!) http://users.erols.com/volker/Shakes/index.html

Looney's book on the web. http://oxenfordpress.org/Looney/contents.htm

The Shakespeare Authorship page www.clark.net/pub/tross/ws/will.html
http://www.clark.net/pub/tross/ws/will.html

(Useful for learning what the opposition is saying about us and also for related web site addresses.)
Blue Boar Society http://members.aol.com/Blueboar17/

Humanities, Literature, Authors, Shakespeare
http://shakespeare.home.pages.de/
(There is also a HLAS newsgroup if you're really a masochist!)

The Holloway Page http://members.home.net/cjh5801/Shakespeare~authorship.htm

The Authorship Sourcebook
http://home.earthlink.net/~mark-alex/

Useful Search engines Searches

Search engine watch. http://searchenginewatch.com/links/
All the web all the time. www.ussc.alltheweb.com/ http://www.ussc.alltheweb.com/

Was Southampton Regarded as the Son of the Queen?

John M. Rollett © 1999

[In the first half of this talk (given, by invitation, at the SOS Conference in Boston last November), I described how I initially rejected as absurd the hypothesis that Southampton was the son of the Queen, but later decided to explore how far it might be consistent with an interpretation of the early sonnets given by Charlton Ogburn in "The Mysterious William Shakespeare", and with such relevant evidence from the period as has so far come to light. In these sonnets (and a few others) the words "truth" and "beauty" are used ostensibly as abstractions, but if they are regarded as shadowing Edward de Vere and the Queen (in what the Elizabethans called a "second intention"), then they appear to reveal Southampton as their son, and to enshrine Oxford's hopes for the succession. Although many have found this interpretation to be persuasive, it depends on the Queen's having secretly given birth to Southampton, and so raises the question of whether such a thing could ever have happened. The opinion of historians about the Queen's private life has changed over the years (and is apparently beginning to change yet again), and whereas for two centuries the Queen was held to have been sexually active, and might well have given birth on at least one occasion, the received opinion nowadays is that her amours fell short of consummation. I gave a few examples of what her contemporaries wrote, and also of the views of historians in the past, as a prelude to a brief account of the story of Arthur Dudley, which was found in the early 1800's preserved in the Spanish Archives at Simancas, and printed by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1895 among the *State Papers Spanish*. The talk concluded with some startling new evidence about the status of Southampton as perceived by his contemporaries in the period 1592-3. Now read on!]

* * *

Arthur Dudley was on a pilgrimage to the south of France in mid-1587 when his boat was blown off course and landed in Spain. He was apprehended and sent to Madrid, where he was interrogated by Sir Francis Englefield, a staunch Catholic and one of Queen Mary's Privy Council, who had fled to Spain on the accession of Elizabeth and entered the service of Philip II. Arthur claimed to be the son of Leicester and Queen Elizabeth, and Sir Francis's first reaction was that he was an impostor and up to no good, so he gave the young man pen and paper and told him to write an account of his life. This has survived, and in 1895 it was printed by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in the *State Papers Spanish*. It has been accessible to all subsequent historians of the period, and not one in twenty refers to it.

In his story, Arthur relates how he was brought up by his father Robert Southern in Evesham, and when he was about eight, he was taken to London and given the best education available, Latin, Italian and French, music, arms, and dancing, and if plague threatened he was sent back into the country. When he was about 15, he quarrelled with his father and ran away to a port in Wales, but before he could embark for France a horse messenger arrived where he was staying, with a letter signed by seven members of the Privy Council ordering him back. He was then conveyed to Pickering Place in Kent, where he found Edward Wotton, Thomas Heneage and John Ashley, and was told that John Ashley had paid for his education, and not Robert Southern. Later, he succeeded in his wish to travel abroad, money being provided, and while in France in 1583 was recalled by his father, who was very ill.

Robert Southern then told him he was not his father, and went on to relate that he had been summoned to Hampton Court by Kat Ashley (the Queen's former governess and her closest confidante), and been asked by Isabella Harington, one of the Queen's gentlewomen, to get ready to

receive a child to bring up as his own, since (I quote) "one of the Queen's ladies had been so careless of her honour that, if it became known, it would bring great shame upon her, and would highly displease the Queen if she knew of it." The next morning Robert duly collected Arthur from Mrs. Harington, and brought him up with his own children in place of one which had died, money being supplied, and his education later provided for.

(As a comment on all this, one can see how easy it was for a child to be smuggled out, and how a dutiful retainer would readily agree to bring up someone else's child, a hitherto unsuspected feature of the feudal system, perhaps.)

Robert Southern at first refused to tell Arthur who his parents were, but later, to salve his conscience on his deathbed, he told Arthur that he was the son of the Earl of Leicester and the Queen. Arthur then travelled to London, where finding Sir John Ashley and Sir Dru Drury, he related what Robert had told him. They exhibited great alarm at learning that the secret had been revealed, and told him not to repeat it, and assured him of their best services whilst they lived. The great fear displayed by these two and others alarmed Arthur so much that he fled to France, money being again provided. Later he came back to England and had a tearful encounter with Leicester, who showed him great affection, and told him that they had great plans for him, including marriage to Arbella Stuart, but that meanwhile he was rather conspicuous, and he had better go abroad again, where he eventually ended up in Spain as already described.

An amazing story, which rings true in every detail. The parts of the story relating to Evesham were investigated by a local historian in 1926, and where verifiable were found to be correct in every particular.

* * *

My reason for outlining this story is to show, first of all, how an embarrassing birth could be dealt with – a whole network of feudal retainers was in place to rally round. Secondly, the truth of Arthur's story is reinforced by the fact that all the people that he and his father spoke to at Court were the Queen's very closest and most loyal and long-serving servants and courtiers.

Katherine (Kat) Ashley: appointed governess to Elizabeth when she was aged 4, in 1537

Sir John Ashley: relative of the Boleyns; member of Elizabeth's household from ca. 1545

Isabella Harington: one of Elizabeth's gentlewomen from ca. 1550 onwards; her son was Elizabeth's godson

Sir John Harington: confidential servant to Henry VIII; gentleman of Elizabeth's household from ca.1554

Lord Edward Wotton: linguist, diplomat and MP; comptroller of the household; Privy Councillor

Sir Thomas Heneage: gentleman of the Privy Chamber,1558; later vice-chamberlain of the Queen's household; married Countess of Southampton as her second husband

Sir Dru Drury: gentleman usher of the Privy Chamber to Henry VIII and then Elizabeth

Lord Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Queen's favourite; called Arthur his son

---

Furthermore, although at first Sir Francis Englefield had doubts about Arthur Dudley, after he had read his story and talked with him at length on several occasions he voices no more suspicions in

his subsequent letters to Philip II. He clearly accepts Arthur's story as true, and so does the King, who gave him rooms in the palace and a very generous daily allowance. Remember that Sir Francis had been a courtier in Queen Mary's time, and would have been alert to any flaws in Arthur's story. An impostor would not have remained undetected for long.

It is obvious from all this that neither Sir Francis nor Philip II thought it impossible or even unlikely that the Queen could have given birth to a son. And if they thought it possible, then we too should consider it possible, since they were closer to these events than we are by some four hundred years. Those who say that the Queen was always on view, and could never have concealed a pregnancy, are flying in the face of common sense. Here is a woman able to choose exactly what style of clothing to wear, with complete control over who she saw and when, whether they were three yards away or six, who could cancel any appointment at a moment's notice, and who was surrounded by devoted serving women whose very lives depended on serving their mistress faithfully.

As an aside, I have been collecting recent UK press items about women who give birth without having any idea that they are pregnant. They include a 12-year-old girl, a supermarket worker who lay down on the supermarket floor to give birth, and a woman whose third child was born when she went to the bathroom for a different purpose. None of these three (nor the others in my collection) had the slightest idea that they were pregnant, none had been trying to conceal the fact, and all had been living daily in close proximity with others who noticed nothing. Let us at least agree that if the Queen needed to conceal a pregnancy from the world at large, she was the best placed woman in the realm to do so.

* * *

I now want to present new evidence that in my view shows beyond reasonable doubt that Southampton was regarded in the early 1590's as having a status appropriate to a son of the Queen.

The first witness I shall call is Philip Gawdy, who wrote a letter to his brother, High Sheriff of Norfolk, in May 1593. The passage of interest is:

> "There be no Knights of the Garter new chosen as yet, but ther were foure nominated, my Lord of Southampton, my Lord Keeper, my Lord Thomas, and my Lord Willoubye of Ersby, but it took no effect."

Commenting on this, the renowned Shakespeare authority Sidney Lee, in the Dictionary of National Biography of 1900, wrote:

> "In 1593 Southampton was mentioned for nomination as a Knight of the Garter, and although he was not chosen the compliment of nomination was, at his age [19], unprecedented outside the circle of the sovereign's kinsmen"

One may wonder how Sidney Lee explained to himself how this remarkable "nomination" came about; certainly he didn't explain it to his readers. Mrs. Stopes in her *Life of Southampton* of 1922 echoes Lee's view and attempts to provide reasons for the nomination. One is the praise he received when he visited the University of Oxford the previous September, on a visit with the Queen and other dignitaries; another is the brilliance of "Venus and Adonis", recently dedicated to him; and the third (I quote) "a turn of Elizabeth's favour". She goes on to say:

" ... ... the fact of his having been proposed was in itself an honour so great at his early age that it had never before been paid to anyone not of Royal Blood."

According to Sidney Lee and Mrs. Stopes, the general opinion was that the Queen would make Southampton a Knight of the Garter in 1593. The interesting point to consider is how such an opinion could ever have gained currency. The Order of the Garter was an order of chivalry, and nominees had to have honours or achievements which would in turn bring credit to the Order. What had Southampton done, age 19, to be regarded by the circle of courtiers and hangers-on at Court as likely to be accorded this tremendous honour by the Queen, for which some of her close intimates had had to wait many years before being appointed? For example, Sir Christopher Hatton, one of the Queen's greatest favourites, had to receive maximum votes in ten elections before he was finally successful in 1588, age 48, whereas Southampton was never one of the Queen's favourites, either then or later.

The answer of course is that Southampton had achieved absolutely nothing, and we are driven to the conclusion that the only possible honour he could have brought to the Order was the honour accruing to him from his birth and lineage, whatever that might have been; he had nothing else going for him. The comments of Sidney Lee and Mrs. Stopes, to the effect that 'only those of Royal Blood had ever before been considered at such an early age', are so extraordinary as to take one's breath away. Surely these eminent authorities in literature and history must have asked themselves what was so special about Southampton that he should have deserved this distinction in the eyes of his contemporaries? Yet Sidney Lee made no attempt to explain Southampton's teenage candidacy, and Mrs. Stopes' attempts are laughable – praise from an academic, the dedication of a poem, a smile from the Queen: these really will not do.

* * *

The next witness I want to call is George Peele, who published in 1593 a long poem with the title "The Honour of the Garter". The work was written to celebrate the Installation Ceremony of June that year, and is dedicated to the Earl of Northumberland, the "wizard earl", one of the five people who was appointed Knight of the Garter on this occasion.

The poem is a long eulogy, firstly of the Order of the Garter, and secondly of those appointed this year. What is astonishing from our point of view is a remarkable passage extolling Southampton, who was not one of the new Knights, and had received not even a single vote in the Garter election, despite the prevailing opinion that he would be appointed. What on earth was Peele driving at?

The poem begins with a Prologue of 70 lines devoted to Northumberland, which leads into the main body of the poem. Here Peele tells us how (in his imagination) he lay down to sleep on a bank of the Thames outside Windsor Castle, and had a dream about the founding of the Order by Edward the Third in 1345, and in the dream (after about 200 lines) he sees a procession of the first Knights to be appointed, Edward Prince of Wales, the Duke of Lancaster and so on, and then "the brave earls of Stafford and South-Hampton". While the other Knights mentioned were all founder members of the Order, the "Earl of Southampton" mentioned is a fiction, since there was no earl of that title at the time of Edward the Third. But the introduction of this imaginary earl was done for a purpose, since it gives Peele an excuse to bring in the modern earl of that title, and he proceeds to praise him in the following astounding lines.

Then the brave Earles of Stafford and South-Hampton,
To whose successors, for his sake that lives
And now survives in honour of that name,
To whom my thoughts are humble and devote,
Gentle Wriothesley, South-Hamptons starre,
I wish all fortune that in Cynthias eye [Queen Elizabeth]
Cynthia the glory of the Western world,
With all the starres in her faire firmament,
* Bright may he rise and shine immortally. *

Southampton is the only living person, besides Cynthia, the Queen, to appear in the main body of the poem, and Peele says of him: 'Bright may he shine immortally, with all the stars in the Queen's fair firmament.' To deserve, at age 19, to share immortality with the Queen is to bear a very special relationship to her indeed. (It is hardly necessary to add that neither Mrs. Stopes nor Akrigg quote even a single line from this poem.)

Peele now goes back to the time of Edward the Third, and continues his roll-call of the rest of the original Garter Knights and other past heroes for another 140 lines, until eventually he comes to the five appointed in June this year:

Northumberland, and Worcester, noble Earles,
Boroughe, and Sheffeilde, Lords of lively hope,
And honourable olde Knowles ...

The ages of these five are, in order, 39, 40, 35, 29, 79, the youngest being only 10 years older than Southampton; but Sheffield had served with distinction under Leicester in the Netherlands, and had commanded the White Bear, one of the Queen's ships, in the Armada, and fully merited the great honour. (Southampton had done nothing even remotely comparable, basically because he had done nothing.) The final 60 lines are devoted to eulogising the new Knights, and the whole poem is rounded off with an Epilogue of 15 lines.

Thus not only is the compliment paid to Southampton extraordinary in itself – wishing him immortality with the Queen – it is placed in a unique position, where it is totally irrelevant, in the middle of 364 lines of verse devoted to heroes from antiquity and from three hundred years earlier; in effect, Southampton is being bracketed with the Black Prince, with Caesar, Hector, Jason, as if he were already a living legend. And to justify this insert, Peele invents this completely fictitious ancestor, who he then numbers among the founder members of the Order.

Clearly, it was no ordinary teenager who was being extolled in this way, in a poem commemorating one of the most prestigious events of the year, and which would therefore come to the notice of all those in high places. In such a publication, which carried a full-page representation of the Queen's arms and motto on the second page, a poet takes very great care to say the right things and avoid offending the powerful. No one at the time could have read that poem and missed the significance of the lines on Southampton.

* * *

For our third witness, we call on John Sanford, Chaplain of Magdelen College, Oxford, who wrote a set of Latin verses to celebrate the visit of the Queen and her entourage to the University in September 1592, the visit which I referred to just now. The title of this poem is "The Idylls of

Apollo and the Muses", and the lines devoted to Southampton, identified both in the margin and in the poem, are truly amazing. Here they are in the original.

> * Post hunc insequitur clarâ de stirpe Dynasta, *
> Iure suo dives quem South-Hamptonia magnum
> Vendicat heroem; quo non formosior alter
> Affuit, aut docta iuvenis praestantior arte;
> Ora licet tenerâ vix dum lanugine vernent.

I could not believe my eyes when I read them and tried to make out what they meant. This is how Akrigg translates them in his biography of Southampton.

> "After him there follows a lord of lofty line, whom rich Southampton claims in his own right as a great hero. There was present no one more comely, no young man more outstanding in learning, although his mouth scarcely yet blooms with tender down."

The second sentence is fine, but the translation of the first has been badly botched. Mrs. Stopes does somewhat better, since the start of her version reads

> "After him there followed a Prince of a distinguished race ... ,"

but she too misses its significance, and also makes a mess of the rest of the sentence.

It is the word "Dynasta" (see inset below) which is so astonishing, because its meaning is precise: "a lord of great power, a prince, a ruler". My own translation of the first sentence is (after taking advice):

> "After him there follows a hereditary Prince of illustrious lineage, whom as a great hero the rich House of Southampton lawfully lays claim to as one of its own."

***Bibliotheca Eliotae*, edited by Thomas Cooper (1545):**

Dynasta, vel Dynastes, æ, m. g.: a lorde of great power, a prince, a ruler

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Webster, *OED*:

dynast: a ruler, esp. a hereditary ruler; one of a line of kings or princes
[first usage 1631, *OED*]

dynasty: a succession of rulers of the same line of descent; a line of kings or princes
[first usage 1460, *OED*]

It is a rare word in Latin, and is taken over directly from the Greek. Its root is the same as that of "dynamic", and means "possessing power" or "great power". The only rulers or princes "possessing great power" in Tudor England were the Tudors, culminating in Elizabeth. To call Southampton "Dynasta", or in English a "Dynast", can mean only one thing, that he was held to be in the line of succession of the Tudor dynasty.

It might be thought that the meaning was something like "belonging to the dynasty of the Earls of Southampton". But the word "dynasty" in English did not acquire this broader meaning until the nineteenth century (according to the OED), over two hundred years later, and it certainly never had such a meaning in Latin. A "dynasty" in English could then only mean "a line of kings or princes", not a line of earls, and "dynasta" in Latin could only mean a "prince possessing great power". (The Greek word "turannis", English "tyrant", was used of a ruler who assumed power by force; Greek "dynastes", English "dynast", of one who inherited power.)

Clearly, the 18-year old Southampton, not yet of age and not having taken control of his estates, possessed no power at all; any of the others in the Queen's entourage possessed more power than he did. So the author of the poem is in effect identifying Southampton as "a Prince, one of a line of kings or princes", or in other words, the Tudor heir and the Queen's son. The remark about the Earldom of Southampton "lawfully" claiming Henry as "one of its own" is also very revealing; if Henry had been the birth son of the Earl and Countess, there would be no need for him to be "lawfully claimed" by the Earldom; such a claim would have been automatic, and not worth commenting on. But if effectively adopted by the Earl (whether in full knowledge or not), and accepted by him as his own, he automatically became legitimate in law, from the maxim "pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant". Thus the second half of the sentence adds to the meaning of the word "Dynasta" in the first half, by (apparently) indicating how Southampton could be both in line to succeed and also the legitimate third Earl. The writer of the verses chose a rare word (borrowed from the Greek) to convey his precise meaning, and would only have felt safe in doing so if it was widely believed that Southampton was the Queen's son. If we also take into account the fact that these Latin verses were an official publication of the University, with the University's Coat of Arms occupying most of the title page, it is clear that the University authorities approved this graceful reference to Southampton's status, and that it would be expected to bring credit to the University if he ever became King.

* * *

The combination of these lines calling Southampton (in effect) "the heir to the Tudors" with George Peele's poem wishing him "to shine immortally with the Queen in her fair firmament" shows beyond any reasonable doubt that Southampton was considered by his contemporaries in Oxford and London to have a status commensurate with that of a son of the Queen.

And Philip Gawdy's letter to his brother shows that people were expecting her to make him a Garter Knight at this time, just as Henry VIII had made his illegitimate son Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, a Garter Knight, and subsequently planned to make him his heir at about the age that Southampton now was (had he not died before the plan could be put into effect). Maybe not a few were hoping that Elizabeth would follow this precedent, and at long last provide the country with an undoubted heir.

Needless to say, the unpredictable Elizabeth had other ideas, and Southampton was rarely to find himself in her good books, even if near the end of her life she did spare him the axe. Akrigg records that in October 1595 she spurned his offer to help her on her horse, and that "we never again hear of Southampton being high in the graces of Queen Elizabeth". The chronology of supposed events is shown below, assuming the original premise that Southampton was the Queen's son.

Chronology

1559–61	Birth of Arthur Dudley	[Henry VII's two sons
1573–75	Birth of Henry Wriothesley	were Arthur and Henry]
1587–88	Death of Arthur Dudley; HeW now eldest son of QE	
1588 June	Death of Anne de Vere	
1589–91	Dynastic sonnets written by Oxford to incline QE towards marriage; she refuses, ending the Tudor line.	
1591 July to 1592 Mar	Oxford marries Elizabeth Trentham in this period.	
1592 Sept	Southampton styled "Dynasta" by Oxford University panegyrist	
1593 Apr 18	*Venus and Adonis* registered	
Apr 23	Garter Election	
May	HeW expected to be made KG (cf. Henry Fitzroy)	
June	Extolled in exalted terms by Peele; not made KG	
1595 onwards	Southampton ignored by Queen	
1601	Joins Essex rebellion; imprisoned and reduced to commoner status – "Mr. H. W."	
1603 Apr	Restored to Earldom and appointed KG by James I	

The dynastic sonnets, probably written somewhere between 1589 and 1591, evidently failed in their purpose, and one may imagine the Queen letting Oxford know, in no uncertain manner, that marriage was not on. Oxford was then free to marry elsewhere, and chose Elizabeth Trentham. The secret of his fathering Southampton on the Queen must now have been quite widely known, or at least widely suspected, and would have been an embarrassment – possibly the reason for the disgrace he refers to in several sonnets, and why he rarely went to Court from now on, and was never voted for in the Garter elections. "Truthes and Beauties doom and date" had arrived, not as prognosticated, but as a consequence of the Queen remaining unmarried – a Virgin Queen to the last. Southampton's status was therefore, in the end, no different from that of any other of her Earls, apart from the devotion showed to him by Shakespeare, who continued to write sonnets to him, but now with no hint of the dynastic theme.

* * *

To sum up, then, from purely literary evidence, the dynastic sonnets, it was deduced 50 years ago that Southampton was the son of Oxford and the Queen. However unlikely that deduction may have seemed, it is now apparently confirmed by documentary evidence from 1592 and '93, where one publication actually styles him "Dynasta", a Prince, one of a line of hereditary princes or rulers. It seems that the dynastic sonnets were written in an attempt to urge the Queen to legitimise Southampton by marrying Oxford, and although the attempt (almost inevitably) failed, we are as a consequence left with what appears to be conclusive evidence that it was Oxford who wrote them, under the pen-name "Shakespeare".

For two views of Southampton and the Queen, also by John Rollett and deduced from portraits, see the following page [Ed.].

Portraits

Recently, I looked through the book "Wriothesley Portraits", something I have been meaning to do for some time. There are several portraits of the first earl, very few of the second, and a number of the third earl. It is noticeable that the third earl bears a strong resemblance to the first earl, particularly in three-quarter view, when the shape of their noses is seen to be very similar. This finding is obviously incompatible with the PT theory, and while not perhaps dealing it a death blow may put yet another question mark over it.

Looking again at the portraits on a later occasion there seemed to be a disparity between the noses which I hadn't noticed before, but nothing really significant. The portraits of the second earl are very feeble, and nothing can be deduced from them.

However, if one picks the "right" portraits, the resemblance between Elizabeth and Wriothesley is very striking.

In G. P. V. Akrigg's biography of Southampton there is a reproduction of an engraving showing him aged about 40 (p. 156). In Roy Strong's *The Cult of Elizabeth* is a reproduction of a portrait of Elizabeth (p. 163) which shows a remarkable similarity to the engraving. This portrait (by an unknown artist) clearly depicts the Queen from life, unlike the "Sieve" portraits, which employ the vellum template prepared for "official" portraits of the Queen, and show her as a stylised icon rather than as a real person.

John Rollett © 2000

It would be interesting to hear other Oxfordians' views on this. Does Henry Wriothesley resemble his grandfather, or Queen Elizabeth? Letters please. [Ed.]

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Letters

28th June 2000

Dear Editor

Canaidos and Cyned

R.C.W. Malim's article, 'Most, Most of Me Belou'd' in the May issue of the DVN has drawn the attention to John Marston's rather puzzling satirical works.

Four centuries later, the commentator is now faced with the problem to understand which personages the allusions and the satirical attacks were addressed to. Also Edward De Vere may have been the target of Marston's sallies.

Malim quotes various lines from the satirist's and Joseph Hall's works and is of the opinion that 'Marston was writing of Oxford'. If, on the one hand, "Most, most of me belou'd, whose silent name / One letter bounds" (*Scourge of Villainy*, Book IX, 1598) may be an allusion to De Vere, on the other, serious thought must be given to the analysis of such lines as "the dear spirit acute Canaidos" (*What You Will*, Act 2,sc.1) or "Shall then that foule infamous Cyneds hide / Laugh at the purple vales of other side?" (Hall's *Virgidemiarum*, 1597). Malim discusses the two words *Canaidos* and *Cyned* hypothesizing possible meanings.

Both words are nouns. *Canaidos* is the English transliteration of the Greek κίναιδος. *Cyned* comes from the Latin *cinaedus*, derived from the Greek form (Italian, *cinedo*). To the Ancients, both Greek and Latin word had the same meaning: "effeminate dancer, degenerate youth, pederast".

The phrase "that foule, infamous Cyned's hide" seems to have been modelled on Shakespeare's line, "Tiger's heart wrapped in a woman's hide" (3 *HVI*, 1,4,138). The 'hide' metaphor had become a favourite one with contemporary writers. Greene's anger burst against someone "in a Players hyde", – a possible attack on William Shaksper from Stratford.

Noemi Magri

1 July, 2000

Dear Editor,

In one of the articles (Burghley's Library and Shakespeare's Sources) in your last newsletter there was some exploration of how De Vere might have had access to some of the sources Shakespeare is supposed to have used. But De Vere seems to have been brought up partly in the household of the distinguished classical scholar, Sir Thomas Smith, as the attached transcription from a letter from Sir Thomas Smith to Lord Burghley indicates.

Sir Thomas Smith also had a substantial library, some of his books being listed in Strype's *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*. It might be interesting to examine more fully both De Vere's education, his access to books, and his known acquaintance with great Renaissance minds and writers.

Philip Johnson and Eddi Jolly

[See transcript overleaf, Ed.].

Transcript of the last thirteen full lines
of Sir Thomas Smith's letter to Lord Burghley
dated 25 April 1576
(B.L. Harleian MSS 6992 no. 21 verso)

I am sorry to here of this undewtefull & unkyend dealyng of
my Lord of **Oxford** towards your Lordship which I am suer must very
mych greave your [honour] ^*honour*^. Seying it greaveth me [ever] for the
only {added in left margin} love I beare hym, bicaus he was brought vp in my hous,
Your Lordships benefites towards ^hym^ & great cares for hym deserveth
a [farover] ^far^ other recompense of dewty & kyndnes then I here
say he now doth oft at his cummyng over. What cownstelare
& persuadre he hath so to behave hym self I can not tell
/?/ I am sorie for it And sory to hier so mich of it
Sed hae sunt procellae domesticae sola prudentia sustinendae, quas
tempus et consilium tandem, uti spero, mitigabunt [?] ^et^ cum imp bora illorum
consultatorum davo et dedec tu vt aequu est And so I commyt your
Lordship to all mighty god From Chanon row the 25th of April 1576

I pray your Lordship / ? / go ^not^ to
forget my book which I do desire to se
ab fil/ ? / ardentum / ? /
/ ? /

Your Lordships allwais at
commaundement

T. smith

key to transcript:

- **Oxford** represents underlining in the ms
- underlining represents an expanded abbreviation or contraction
- [ ] represents a deletion
- ^ ^ represents a word added above the line
- / ? / some words (and punctuation) are hard to decipher from the photocopy

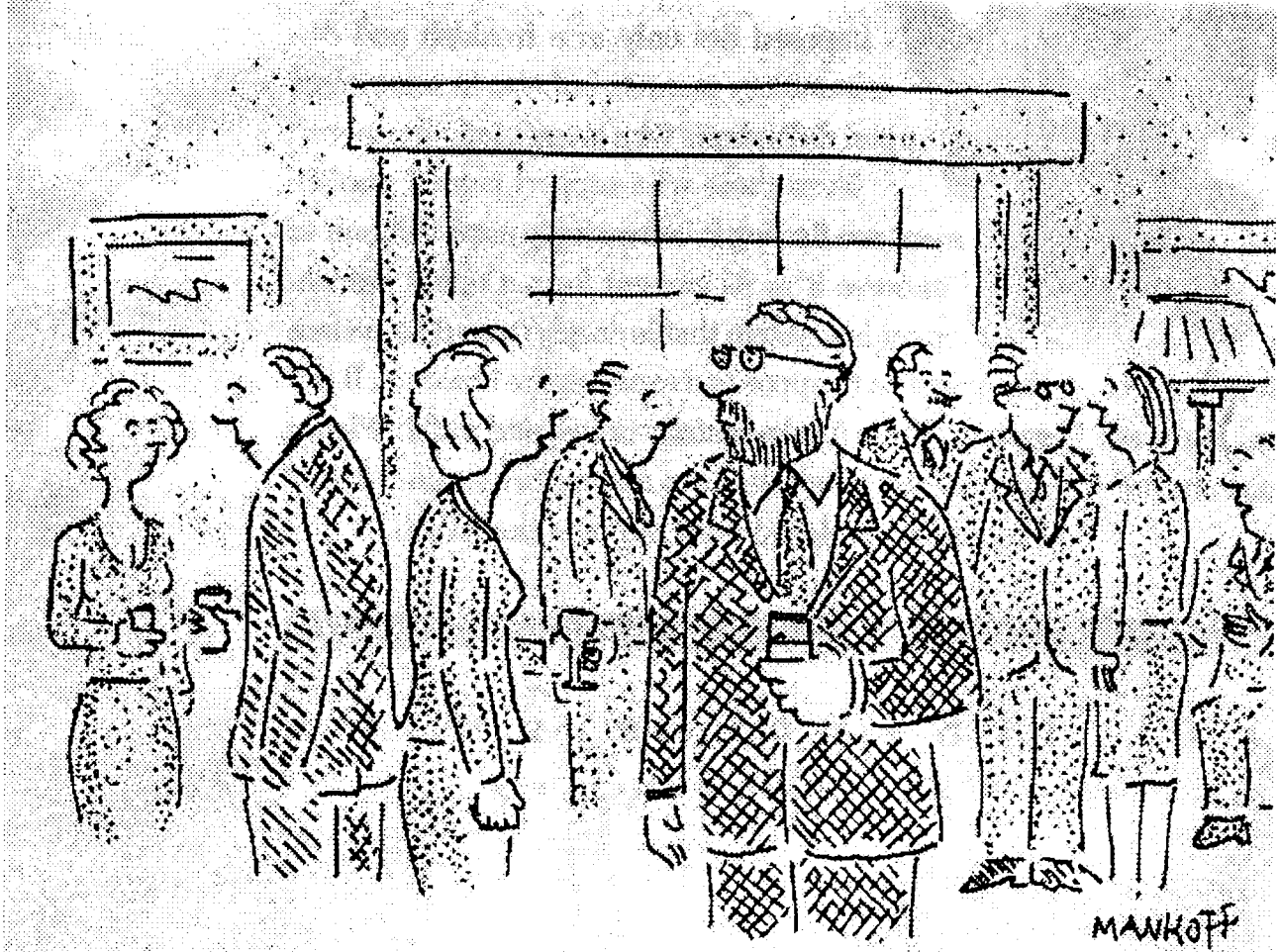
I am much indebted to Dr John McGavin of Southampton University for the transcript.

(The Latin in the main text reads: "But these are domestic storms to be withstood by prudence alone which time and advice will eventually, as I hope, diminish [?] and with / ? / ")

Conyers Read, in "Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth" (1960), reproduces a letter from Burghley to Sir Francis Walsingham, written at Theobalds on 3rd August 1574. The Earl of Oxford and attempts to re-establish him at Court are the topic, and Burghley includes this sentence: "And I doubt not but Master Secretary Smith will remember his old love towards the earl when he was his scholar."

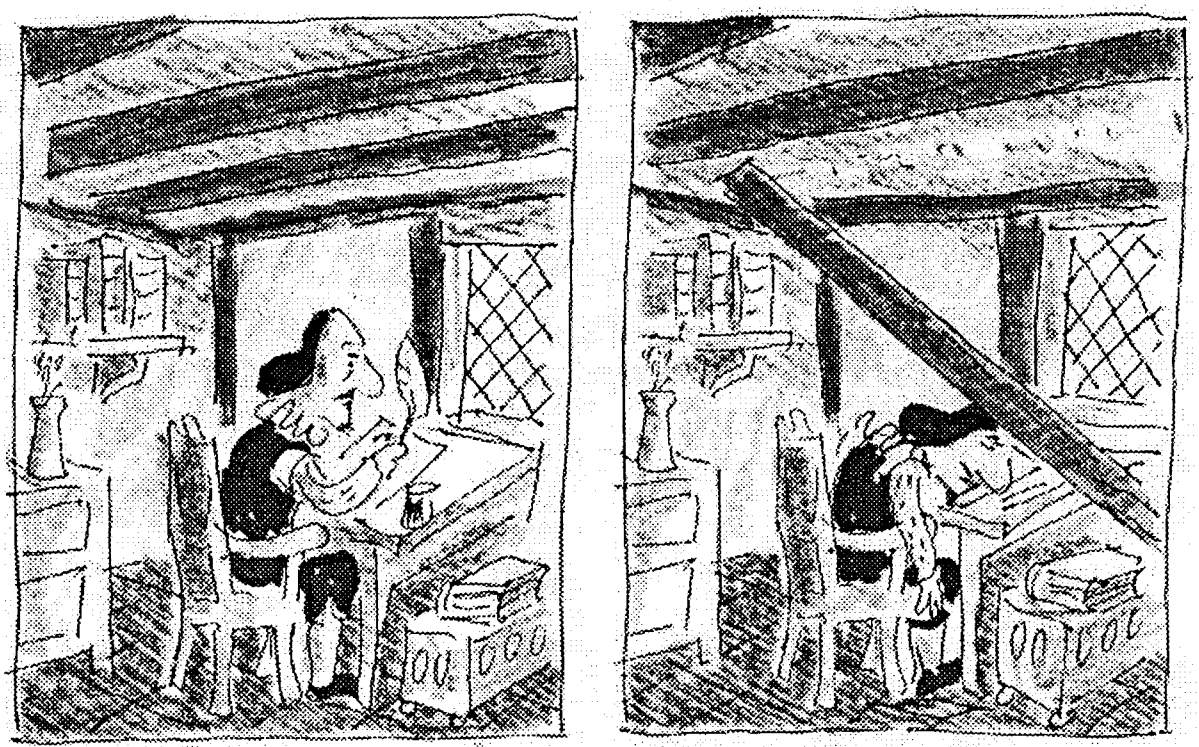
(P.R.O., S.P. XII-98-2)

Philip Johnson
21 June 2000



"I'm confused now. Was Shakespeare somebody else or was somebody else Shakespeare?"

Source unknown



Richard Kennedy

2nd SHAKESPEAREAN RESEARCH SYMPOSIUM

Saturday and Sunday, October 7 and 8, 2000

Detroit, Michigan (USA)

WHAT: The first research symposium, hosted by The Shakespeare Authorship Roundtable in Los Angeles in 1998, provided a forum for current research relevant to the Shakespeare authorship controversy. The second symposium, independently produced, again presents speakers who have published in peer-reviewed journals, with the intention of strengthening the standard of scholarship within the skeptical community of Shakespeare lovers.

WHERE: The symposium will be held at the Romulus Marriott at the Detroit Airport, 30559 Flynn Rd., Romulus, MI 48174. Incoming visitors can transfer on the Marriott's free shuttle.

FEES: Registration is $125 (US currency), and includes both luncheons and all refreshment breaks. One-day fee is $65. Cancellations received on or before September 30 are refundable, less $5.00 handling. No refunds after September 30. For details, e-mail Janet Trimbath at forevere@home.com, or call (248) 650 0832. Send checks, payable to Janet Trimbath, to: 1095 Sugar Creek Rd., Rochester Hills, MI 48307, USA.

HOTEL: The special conference rate is $69 per night (single) or $79 (double), plus applicable taxes. To book at this rate, please make your reservation directly with the hotel **before Sept. 25**. Be sure to specify the Shakespearean Research Symposium. PHONE: (800) 228 9290 or (734) 729 7555.

SPEAKERS & TOPICS

DIANNE BATCH (LUNCHEON SPEAKER) is the Secretary of the American Branch of the Richard III Society. **TOPIC:** The Historiography of the Play *Richard III* or Where the Author Went *Wrong*!

PATRICK BUCKRIDGE is Associate Professor of Literature, School of Humanities, Griffith University. **TOPIC:** Who is Enobarbus? *Antony and Cleopatra* and the Countess of Pembroke's Circle.

GERALD E. DOWNS has been published in *The Elizabethan Review*, and has been a Reader at the Huntington Library, the Bodleian Library, and the British Museum. **TOPIC:** *The Book of Sir Thomas More* in My Book.

WARREN HOPE is co-author with Kim Holston of *The Shakespeare Controversy: An Analysis of the Claimants to Authorship and Their Champions and Detractors*. **TOPIC:** The Induction Scene in *Taming of the Shrew*.

BRUCE MANN (LUNCHEON SPEAKER) is Associate Professor of English at Oakland University, and is editor of *Edward Albee: A Casebook*, forthcoming from Garland Press. **TOPIC:** Patterns in Autobiographical Plays.

WAYNE SHORE, a co-founder of OpTech in San Antonio, directed the development of the Dept. of Defense's enlistment qualification test, a process involving specialized applications of statistical research.

WORKSHOP LEADER: Solving Literary Mysteries with Numbers: Stylometrics, Statistics, and Shakespeare Studies.

ROGER NYLE PARISIOUS served as a research associate on numerous works, most recently John Michell's *Who Wrote Shakespeare?* **TOPIC**: 'Stolne and Surreptitious' Manuscripts and Literary Plagiarism: 1587-1598.

DIANA PRICE's book on the authorship, *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography*, will be released by Greenwood Press in fall 2000. **TOPIC**: "Impresario-Power": Henslowe, Shakespeare, and the Elizabethan Entrepreneur.

DAVID A. RICHARDSON (MODERATOR OF PANEL DISCUSSION) is Professor of English and Director of the B.A. Program in Liberal Studies at Cleveland State University. He initiated "Spenser at Kalamazoo" (1976-) and *The Spenser Encyclopedia* (1990), of which he was Managing Editor.

NOTE: Speakers and schedule subject to change.

Patrick Buckridge w Gerald E. Downs w Roger Nyle Parisious w Diana Price w David A Richardson

RESEARCH SYMPOSIUM COMMITTEE

Janet Trimbath

THE DE VERE SOCIETY IS PROPOSING TO HOST AN

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

At
St JOHN's COLLEGE
CAMBRIDGE
(subject to negotiation)

in

THE SUMMER OF 2004
(exact date to be advised)

to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the death of
Edward de Vere, seventeenth earl of Oxford

PROPOSED PROGRAMME OF EVENTS

ACADEMIC CONFERENCE WITH CALL FOR PAPERS
(THESE WILL BE CALLED FOR IN 2003)

FULL PUBLICATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE

A PERFORMANCE AT THE GLOBE
GUIDED VISITS TO THE BRITISH LIBRARY,
THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE
ESSEX RECORD OFFICE, CHELMSFORD
(we hope to have Oxfordian records on display at the Library and both Record Offices)
HEDINGHAM CASTLE
BURES
(the Oxford monuments)
EARLS COLNE
(the village of the earls of Oxford)

Cambridge is within an hour's journey of London, with a frequent rail service. The airports of Heathrow, Gatwick, Stansted and Luton are all within easy reach.

Transport to Chelmsford, the Essex villages and to London for the performance at the Globe theatre and the British Library and Public Record Office visits will be by private coach.

The viability (and venue) of this Conference depend on support; for example, we need to have a minimum number of delegates to be able to host the Conference at St. John's College. Again, dependent on interest, it may be possible to include an Elizabethan Banquet at Hedingham Castle. This would be expensive; details will be included in a later edition of the Newsletter. At this early stage we need all Members and guests to register interest only.

We need to begin planning **NOW** for this series of events. Please send your views to any officer of the Society, or at the DVS Meeting on 17 September.

TO OUR AMERICAN MEMBERS AND FRIENDS

YOU WILL HAVE SEEN THE ADVERTISEMENT FOR THE DE VERE SOCIETY **INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE** in **THE SUMMER OF 2004** ON THE BACK PAGE OF THIS ISSUE OF THE NEWSLETTER.

WE NEED YOUR SUPPORT!

THIS EVENT CAN TRULY BE THE TRIP OF A LIFETIME

FOR THOSE WHO ARE NOT FAMILIAR WITH ENGLAND, OR NOT WITH THE AREA MOST ASSOCIATED WITH THE EARL OF OXFORD (THE COUNTY OF ESSEX, IN EAST ANGLIA), WE ARE INCLUDING THESE FEW EXPLANATORY NOTES. THE AIM IS A SERIOUS ACADEMIC CONFERENCE WITH SOME FUN THROWN IN.

Castle Hedingham is a very attractive village, still containing many of the original fifteenth- and sixteenth-century houses, and dominated by the Castle, which is on a hill. It is not easily accessible other than by road; the lanes are narrow and winding. This is the reason for the transport by motor-coach, which will be comfortable, reasonably fast and convey delegates door-to-door. Hedingham is quite close to Bures, where the monuments to earlier Oxfords remain and to Earls Colne, the village of the earls of Oxford.

The castle is privately owned, but is open to the public throughout the summer. It would be possible, by arrangement, to host a short talk in the Great Hall of the castle. Close by the castle and in the same ownership, is a mansion house of later date. It would be possible, again by arrangement, to hold an Elizabethan Banquet in a marquee in the grounds of this mansion, just below the castle. (It is not possible to have catered events in the castle itself, due to fire regulations and the difficulty of access (up a flight of steps) for the caterers). The owners can supply caterers, jesters, strolling players, ministrels etc. There would even be the possibility of delegates wearing Elizabethan costumes supplied by a Cambridge costumier! The problem of hosting such a Banquet is the cost; the viability depends on the number of people wishing to participate. Alternatively, a last-night Dinner could be arranged at some other suitable venue (suggestions welcome).

We are hoping to hold the Conference itself at St John's College, Cambridge, the college at which the earl of Oxford received his university education. Again, this depends on the number of delegates being sufficient for the college to agree, and on the cost. An alternative venue would be the modern university of Essex, at Colchester, Essex. This does not have the advantage of association with the earl, but is likely to be less expensive.

The current idea is to arrive at the Conference venue on a Wednesday evening, and run Conference events that evening, Thursday and Friday. On Thursday evening, as the Record Office at Chelmsford (Essex) is open late that day, delegates could visit it (it is the best of all the Local Record Offices in England). By arrangement, records of the earl of Oxford would be on display. On Saturday we would visit London (the Public Record Office at Kew and the British Library – records of the earl of Oxford on display at both) – finishing up with a performance at The Globe theatre of whatever play is in the programme at that date. Sunday would be spent in Essex, at Castle Hedingham, Bures and Earls Colne. On Monday morning delegates would return to the airport for a flight home, or continue their holiday in England (DVS members will be happy to provide suggestions).

PLEASE REGISTER YOUR INTEREST WITH ANY OFFICER OF THE DVS BY E-MAIL, LETTER OR 'PHONE CALL