THE SHAKSPERE ALLUSION-BOOK: A COLLECTION OF ALLUSIONS TO SHAKSPERE FROM 1591 TO 1700. VOL. I. ORIGINALLY COMPILED BY C. M. INGLEBY, MISS L. TOULMIN SMITH, AND BY DR. F. J. FURNIVALL, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY: RE-EDITED, RE-VISED, AND RE-ARRANGED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, BY JOHN MUNRO (1909), AND NOW RE-ISSUED WITH A PREFACE BY SIR EDMUND CHAMBERS

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To

FREDERICK JAMES FURNIVALL, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,
who has given his life to the
Furtherance of English Scholarship,
THESE VOLUMES,
which owe so much to him,

ARE GRATEFULLY DEDICATED.

PREFACE TO THE REPRINT

THE last edition of the Shakspere Allusion-Book appeared in 1909. It has long been exhausted, and a re-issue was one of the hopeful plans for the furtherance of English scholarship which filled the mind of Sir Israel Gollancz during the years before his lamented death. The genesis and objective of the work are admirably described in the able introduction by John Munro: and it is not necessary to say anything now in praise of what has proved an invaluable instrument in the hands of at least two generations of students. The Allusion-Book is at once a repertory of the scanty contributions to the biography of Shakespeare by contemporary writers and a history of the reputation and literary influence of the poet throughout the seventeenth century. But since the present re-issue merely reproduces the text of 1909 and research has not stood still in the interval, it is desirable to prefix a brief note as to the fresh material which a complete recast would have had to incorporate. Many scattered "allusions" have, of course, been recorded in literary periodicals and treatises on individual authors. number were contributed by the late Mr. G. Thorn-Drury and others to Notes and Queries, and were collected by Munro, with accumulations of his own, making eighty-six in all, in Modern Philology (xiii. 497) for 1916. Subsequently Thorn-Drury reprinted his findings with additions in Some Seventeenth Century Allusions to Shakespeare and his Works (1920), and yet others in More Seventeenth Century Allusions to Shakespeare and his Works (1924). There are about a hundred in each of these pamphlets. Minor gatherings are those of H. E. Rollins in Notes and Queries (12th Series, x. 224) for 1922, and F. L. Jones in the Publications of the Modern Language Association of America (xlv. 701) for 1030. Most of the new citations come,

naturally enough, from Caroline and Restoration sources: the strictly contemporary writers had been pretty thoroughly ransacked by the editors of the Allusion-Book. And naturally also, specific allusions by name to the poet, or to any of his plays or characters, tend more and more to be eked out by "parallels" of idea or of situation, or of verbal phrasing. The wealth of these and some of the difficulties of determining their exact nature have already been indicated (pp. xlv.-lviii. of Introduction) by Munro. They range from obvious quotations, through deliberate borrowings, down to "echoes" which may often be alternatively interpreted as the result either of conscious or unconscious recollection, or of mere coincidence. To tracing "echoes," indeed, there is no end. Munro, in his Modern Philology paper, called attention to those in Emil Köppel's Studien über Shakespeares Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker, which had, indeed, preceded in 1905 the Allusion-Book of 1909. More recently R. P. Cowl, in a series of interesting pamphlets issued, not always with dates, from 1926 to 1928, has collected between two and three hundred, by working on Henry the Fourth alone.1 Some of these are already in the Allusion-Book. Others are clearly entitled to a place there. One at least shows that neither the compilers of that work nor Thorn-Drury had exhaustively searched a volume which they both cite. Some, on the other hand, may be dismissed as commonplaces. But, although no doubt Henry the Fourth has always had an exceptional popularity, it is to be feared that, if the Allusion-Book were to take in the results of an equally intensive study of all the plays, the spate of echoes would tend to swamp some of the main features of its original design.

I shall say no more about echoes, but shall confine myself to recording the chief additions and qualifications which a new editor of the *Allusion-Book* would probably desire to make in the process of revision. They mainly relate to the earlier and biographically the most valuable part of the work. Readers

¹ They were printed at more than one place abroad, but may be had, I believe, from Elkin Mathews and Marrot, Ltd. See *The Year's Work in English Studies*, vi. 131; viii. 146, 150; x. 177.

of my William Shakespeare (1930) will find, I am afraid, that I have little to say which is not there set out, often in greater detail. A dozen allusions, certain or probable, are of sufficient importance to be given in full.

i. SIR EDWARD HOBY. 1595.

Sir, findinge that you wer not convenientlie to be at London to morrow night I am bold to send to knowe whether Teusdaie (Dec. 9) may be anie more in your grace to visit poore Channon rowe where as late as it shal please you a gate for your supper shal be open: & K. Richard present him selfe to your vewe. Pardon my boldnes that ever love to be honored with your presence nether do I importune more then your occasions may willingly assent unto, in the meanetime & ever restinge At your command Edw. Hoby. [Endorsed] 7 Dec. 1595 [and] readile.

This, which I printed in the Review of English Studies, i. (1925) 75, from Cecil MSS. xxxvi. 60 at Hatfield, was written to Sir Robert Cecil, and may very possibly point to a performance of Richard II at Hoby's house in Canon Row.

ii. Francis Davison. 1596.

- (a) But if he (the Earl of Essex) be vanquished (quod Deus omen avertat!) without question all the world shall never make me confess, but that bumbasted legs are a better fortification than bulwarks, and St. Gobbo a far greater and more omnipotent saint than either St. Philip or St. Diego.
- (b) On the other side I am afraid that the late instalment and canonisation of the venerable saint, so contrary to so many promises, oaths, and protestations, after so long expectation of the world, and so many prayers and wishes to the contrary of all men, hath made many, that stood indifferent before, now to bend their head like bull-rushes with the wind, and, as the proverb is, run with the stream.

These extracts are from letters written by Francis Davison in Lucca to his father, William Davison, on 6 and 20 November 1596 (N.S. = 27 October and 10 November O.S.), and printed in T. Birch, Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (1754), ii.

185, 204, from Bacon MSS. xiv. ff. 163, 164, at Lambeth. Gobbo is clearly the uneven-shouldered Sir Robert Cecil, who had been appointed in the summer of 1596 to the Principal Secretaryship, for which the Earl of Essex had backed Thomas Bodley. The nickname, of course, comes from the grotesque figure at Venice, but its use here may have been suggested by The Merchant of Venice.

iii. Thomas Platter. 1599.

Den 21 Septembris nach dem Imbissessen, etwan umb zwey vhren, bin ich mitt meiner geselschaft über daz wasser gefahren, haben in dem streüwinen Dachhaus die Tragedy vom ersten Keyser Julio Caesare mitt ohngefahr 15 personen sehen gar artlich agieren; zu endt der Comedien dantzeten sie hirem gebraucht nach gar überausz zierlich, ye zwen in mannes vndt 2 in weiber kleideren angethan, wunderbahrlich mitt einanderen.

This was printed by G. Binz in Anglia, xxii. (1899) 456, from Platter's narrative (1604-5) of his travels in the Basle University Library. The Julius Cæsar may well at this date (cf. infra) be Shakespeare's.

iv. WILLIAM KEELING. 1607-8.

- 1607, Sept. 5. I sent the interpreter, according to his desier, abord the Hector whear he brooke fast, and after came abord mee, wher we gaue the tragedie of Hamlett.
 - 30. Captain Hawkins dined with me, wher my companions acted Kinge Richard the Second.
- (1608, Mar. 31). I envited Captain Hawkins to a ffishe dinner, and had Hamlet acted abord me: which I permitt to keepe my people from idlenes and unlawful games, or sleepe.

These notes have been known since they were printed by T. Rundall in Narratives of Voyages towards the North-West (1849, Hakluyt Soc.), 231, as from Keeling's journal of a voyage to the East Indies. They appeared in Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse (1879), 79, but were omitted in 1909, presumably because they were believed to be a fabrication. I think, however (cf. W.S. ii. 334), that W. Foster in 9 Notes and

Queries, vi. 41, and F. S. Boas, Shakespeare and the Universities, 84, have successfully rehabilitated them.

v. Odoardo Guatz. 1617.

All the ambassadors who have come to England have gone to the play more or less. Giustinian went with the French ambassador and his wife to a play called Pericles which cost Giustinian more than 20 crowns. He took also the Secretary of Florence.

This is given in the Calendar of Venetian Papers, xiv. 600, from evidence by Odoardo Guatz, interpreter, in a Venetian trial of 1617. Zorzi Giustinian was Venetian ambassador in England from 5 January, 1606 to 23 November, 1608, and the incident probably took place (cf. W.S. i. 522, 527: ii. 335) in 1608.

vi. Francis Beaumont. c. 1615.

heere I would let slippe (If I had any in mee) schollershippe, And from all Learninge keepe these lines as <cl>eere as Shakespeares best are, which our heires shall heare Preachers apte to their auditors to showe how farr sometimes a mortall man may goe by the dimme light of Nature.

These lines were quoted, incompletely, by W. G. P. in *The Times Literary Supplement* for 15 September, 1921. The whole poem is printed from the *Holgate MS*. in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, and B.M. *Additional MS*. 30982 in *W.S.* ii. 222. It is a verse-letter to Ben Jonson. The F.B. subscribed in the *Holgate MS*. must clearly point to Beaumont, although the *Additional MS*. gives the writer as T. B. Various allusions suggest a date of about 1615.

vii. SIR HENRY SALISBURY? c. 1623.

To my good freandes mr John Hemings & Henry Condall.

To yowe that Joyntly with vndaunted paynes vowtsafed to Chawnte to vs thease noble straynes, how mutch yowe merrytt by it is not sedd, butt yowe haue pleased the lyving, loved the deadd,

Raysede from the woambe of Earth a Ritcher myne then Curteys Cowlde with all his Castelyne Associattes, they dydd butt digg for Gowlde, Butt yowe for Treasure mutch moare manifollde.

This was found by Sir Israel Gollancz in National Library of Wales MS. 5390 D, p. 141, and printed by him in The Times Literary Supplement for 26 January, 1922, and again, with a facsimile, in the Shakespeare Association's Studies in the First Folio (1924).

viii. Lieutenant Hammond. 1634.

[p.77.] In that dayes trauell we came by Stratford vpon Auon, where in the Church in that Towne there are some Monuments which Church was built by Archbishop Stratford; Those worth obseruing and of which wee tooke notice of were these . . . A neat Monument of that famous English Poet, Mr. William Shakespeere; who was borne heere.

And one of an old Gentleman a Batchelor, Mr Combe, vpon whose name, the sayd Poet, did merrily fann vp some witty, and facetious verses, which time would nott give vs leave to sacke vp.

This is noted by Munro in his Modern Philology paper from L. G. Wickham Legg, A Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties (1904). The narrative is preserved in Lansdowne MS. 213, f. 315.

ix. DAVID LLOYD. 1665.

One great argument for his (Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke's) worth, was his respect of the worth of others, desiring to be known to posterity under no other notions than of Shakespeare's and Ben Johnson's Master, Chancellor Egerton's Patron, Bishop Overal's Lord, and Sir Philip Sidney's friend.

This is from Statesmen and Favourites of England since the Reformation, 504. Thorn-Drury (1922) has it, but only from a later edition of 1670. No verification of the alleged relation between Shakespeare and Greville has emerged.

x. Robert Dobyns. 1673.

In 1673 I Robert Dobyns being at Stratford upon Avon & visiting the church there transcribed these two Epitaphs, the first is on William Shakespeare's monument: the other is upon ye monument of a noted usurer.

- Good friend for Jesu sake forbeare
 To dig the Dust that lyeth incloased here
 Blessed is the man that spareth these stones
 Cursed be he yt moveth these bones.
- 2. Tenn in the hundred here lyeth engraved A hundred to tenn his soule is now saved If anny one aske who lyeth in this Tombe Oh ho quoth the Divell tis my John a Combe.

Since my being at Stratford the heires of Mr Combe have caused these verses to be razed, so yt now they are not legible.

This was printed by B. Dobell in *The Athenœum* for 19 January, 1901, from f. 72 of a MS. in his possession, written mainly between 1679 and 1685, but in part as late as 1710 or thereabouts.

xi. John Aubrey. 1681.

the more to be admired q(uia) he was not a company keeper

lived in Shoreditch, wouldnt be debauched, & if invited to writ; he was in paine.

W. Shakespeare.

Lacy

q(uaere) Mr Beeston who knows most of him fr(om) Mr; he lives in Shore-ditch. [neer Nort cancelled] at Hoglane within 6 dores—Norton—folgate. q(uaere) etiam for B. Jonson.

Aubrey's main account of Shakespeare is in the Allusion-Book, ii. 260. This additional note was disentangled by me from his collections in Bodl. Aubrey MS. 8, f. 45°, and discussed with a facsimile, in the Malone Society's Collections, i. (1911), 341.

xii. WILLIAM HALL. 1694.

Dear Neddy,

I very greedily embraced this occasion of acquainting you with something which I found at Stratford upon Avon. That place I came unto on Thursday night, and ye next day went to visit ye ashes of the Great Shakespear which lye interr'd in that Church. The verses which in his life-time he ordered to be cut upon his tomb-stone (for his Monument have others) are these which follow;

Reader, for Jesus's Sake forbear To dig the dust enclosed here: Blessed be he that Spares these Stones, And cursed be he that moves my bones.

The little learning these verses contain, would be a very strong argument of ye want of it in the Author; did not they carry something in them which stands in need of a comment. There is in this Church a place which they call the bone-house, a repository for all bones they dig up; which are so many that they would load a great number of waggons. The Poet being willing to preserve his bones unmoved, lays a curse on him that moves them; and haveing to do with Clarks and Sextons, for ye most part a very (i)gnorant sort of people, he descends to ye meanest of their capacitys; and disrobes himself of that art, which none of his Co-temporaryes wore in greater perfection. Nor has the design mist of its effect; for lest they should not onely draw this curse upon themselvs, but also entail it upon their posterity, they have laid him full seventeen foot deep, deep enough to secure him. And so much for Stratford. . . .

Your friend and Servant

Direct your letter for Wm. Hall Jung. at you White-Hart in Lichfield.

Wm, Hall.

The text is from *Bodl. Rawlinson MS*. D. 377, f. 90. It was privately printed by J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps in 1884, and is noted in Munro's *Modern Philology* paper. Hall and Edward

Thwaites, to whom the letter is written, were both of Queen's College, Oxford.

Later research makes desirable, here and there, some modification in the editorial matter of 1909. I will only note a few of the outstanding points. Robert Greene's Groats-worth of Wit is quoted (i. 2) from the edition of 1596. Copies of that of 1592 are in the British Museum and the Folger collection. "W. Har.," the author of the Epicedium on Lady Helen Branch cannot (i. 14) be Sir William Harbert of St. Julian's, since he died before her. Mario Praz has shown in Modern Language Review, xix. 273, that an echo of Venus and Adonis in Robert Southwell's St Peter's Complaint is unlikely (i. 16), and that the Complaint may well have been written as early as 1585. The nature of the scribble (i. 40) on the Northumberland MS. is hardly intelligible without a facsimile. I reproduce one in W.S. ii. 196, and suggest that the writer may possibly be an Adam Dyrmonth. A letter by F. S. Ferguson in The Times Literary Supplement for 7 June, 1928, describes a copy of Francis Meres's Palladis Tamia (i. 46), which has preliminary matter cancelled in other copies. Gabriel Harvey's copy of Speght's Chaucer, long supposed (i. 56) to have been burnt, is still in existence, and its Shakespearian jotting is given, with a facsimile, in G. C. Moore Smith's Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia (1913). Lady Southampton's letter about Falstaff and Dame Pintpot (i. 88) has been satisfactorily dated in 1500 by Mrs. C. C. Stopes, The Third Earl of Southampton (1922), 160. P. Simpson showed in 9 Notes and Queries (1899), iii. 105, 216, that John Weever's allusion (i. 94) to Julius Cæsar may have been written as early as 1599, and this squares with the evidence (supra) of Thomas Platter. That the "Greene" of Elizabeth's Losse in 1603 was Robert and not (i. 124) Thomas is clear from a jesting reference (W.S. ii. 212) in John Cooke's Epigrames of 1604. The order of Simon Forman's play-visits (i. 228) should be (W.S. ii. 337)— Macbeth (20 April, 1611), Cymbeline, Richard II (30 April, 1611), Winter's Tale (15 May, 1611). H. E. Rollins in Studies in Philology, xxiv. 509, has finally disposed of the theory (i. 265) that Samuel Sheppard was a collaborator with Ben Jonson, by pointing out that it was Apollo and not a mortal who dictated to Jonson "when as Sejanus fall he writ." A copy of the elegy on Burbage (i. 272) in Stowe MS. 962, f. 62v ascribes the authorship to John Fletcher. The unlocated copy (i. 289) of Basse's lines is Bodl. Rawlinson Poet. MS. 60, f. 13v written I have collected some fresh information about about 1640. Richard Davies, the glossator (ii. 335) of William Fulman's Shakespearian notes, in W.S. ii. 255. Munro (ii. 466), like his predecessors, treated the lists of Shakespearian performances in the Revels Accounts of 1604-5 and 1611-12 as fabrications, and no doubt that was still the current view in 1909. prolonged controversies of later years, culminating in A. E. Stamp's The Disputed Revels Accounts (1931), have sufficiently demonstrated its erroneousness.

Perhaps I ought to add something about the Epistle to T. H., Oenone and Paris, which is described by J. D. Parsons in communications to The Daily Telegraph for 29 January, 1925, and Notes and Queries for 20 July, 1929, as "the earliest known critical notice of Shakespeare" and a "shameless" imitation of that to Venus and Adonis. The poem was registered on 17 May 1594, and the only-known copy is now in the Folger collection. Parsons ascribes it to Thomas Heywood, and says that it is "bristling with travesties and paraphrases" of Shakespeare's poem. Whether this is so or not I cannot say, as I have not seen it. But the Epistle, which Parsons reprints in Notes and Queries, may speak for itself.

TO THE CURTEOUS READERS.

Gentlemen: to make a longe Preamble to a short sute, were follie, & ther fore (in briefe) thus. Heare you have the first fruits of my indevours, and the Maiden head of my Pen: which, how rude and unpo lished it maye seeme in your (eagle-sighted) eyes

I can not conceive: and therfore, fearing the woorst, I have

sought in some sense to prevent it. Apelles, having formed any Worke of woorth, wold set it openlie to the view of all, hiding himselfe closely in a corner of his Worke-house to the end, that if some curious and carping fellow came to finde any faulte, he might amend it against the next Market. In the publishing of t[he] little Poem, I have imitated the Painter, giving you the poore Pamphlet to peruse, lurking, in the mean-while, obscurely till that hearing how you please to censure of my simple woork, I may, in some other Opere magis elaborato, apply my Veine to your humours and be quit from the captious tongues, and lavish tearmes of the distracting vulgar, able to nip any fruit in the Blossome, and much like the Caterpillers that neastled in a tree, feed on everie leafe til al be wythered and defaced. But leaving them to themselves, and all favourers of forwardness in such pleasing humors to their hearts content: I ende.

T. H.

It will be clear that this "imitation" of the Venus and Adonis epistle, if any, is of the slightest. Shakespeare offers "the first heire of my inuention" and T. H. "the first fruits of my indevours." Both hope to write more, which is not unusual in young writers. Both use the epithet "unpolished," and leave something, but something different, to "hearts content." That is all there is to it. Shakespeare addresses a patron and not the readers, and introduces no Lylyan apologue like that of T. H. In what sense this epistle is a "critical notice" of Shakespeare, let alone "the earliest," I fail to see.

While the proofs of this preface are before me, comes the intimation (Times Literary Supplement for 9 July, 1931), that Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach finds borrowings from Lucrece in John Trussel's First Rape of Fair Helen (1595), of which he owns the most perfect copy, and thinks that the dedicatory sonnet may be addressed to Shakespeare. Dr. Rosenbach's full treatment of the subject will be awaited with interest.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

SH. ALLN. BK .-- I.

PREFACE

THESE volumes were not made in a day. Thirty years have passed in their compilation, and the thousands of books from which their contents have been drawn stretch over three hundred years. Many willing hands, too, have lent assistance. Antiquaries, scholars, and friendly readers, have all most kindly helped.

Clement Mansfield Ingleby, Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, and Dr. Furnivall, who have been the great workers in this matter, were assisted by the members of the New Shakspere Society. Many of the allusions were discovered by Halliwell-Phillips, as the initials printed in the text will show. Mr. P. A. Lyons, Dr. Brinsley Nicholson, Professor Dowden, and Mr. P. A. Daniel also helped a great deal. To the two latter gentlemen, I, too, have to acknowledge indebtedness. To Mrs. Stopes, Miss Spurgeon, Professor Manly of Chicago, Dr. Bradley, Mr. R. B. McKerrow, and Professor Ker, I am grateful for references and advice. Thanks are no less given to all those who have been good enough to forward references.

Through all, from the commencement of these volumes to now, the advice and practical help of Dr. Furnivall have been freely given, and the frequency of his initials throughout our text testify to the splendid way in which he has so ungrudgingly laboured in this, as in so many other departments of literary work.

In this edition, the initials of those responsible for allusions are printed beneath them.

J. M.

INTRODUCTION

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- a Allusions to Shakspere's Works giving Dates, p. xvii.
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History of the Allusion Book.—Many and interesting are the parallels which might be drawn in political, religious and literary history between the Elizabethan and Victorian times; yet intellectually, the two eras are widely different. In the latter, together with other causes, the manipulation of natural forces in industrial development and the perfection of locomotion, turned intellectual activity into pathways of Science. The necessity for absolute accuracy began to be felt on all sides. The Victorian era is distinguished by long and patient research, by the methodical classification of data, and by the subsequent deduction of laws which might assist in the pursuit of knowledge.

The influence of the exact methods of science is to be traced in many departments of intellectual labour, and particularly in what one may call the higher criticism, whether it be of literature, art, or

religion. The application of scientific critical principles and research to Piers Plowman, and the works of Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, Shakspere, and other masters in our literature, has led, through revolutions of different magnitudes, to a wider and deeper knowledge, and a truer and worthier appreciation of the labours of our great literary men. The advance made by the Victorian Shakspereans on all that had gone before was magnificent, and the advance was made through the adoption of correct principles, and the subsequent discovery of laws, whose application elucidated difficult and complex problems. Properly speaking, we may distinguish two Victorian schools, an earlier and a later, the former distinguished for its antiquarian illustration, textual emendation and verbal criticism (and, unhappily, for deviations in the shape of forgeries), and the latter for its exposition of the growth and development of Shakspere's art, for illustration of his times, and the relation of his work to that of his contemporaries, besides the continuation of the labours begun by the earlier school. Adequate attention was first given by the later Victorians to the Apocryphal Plays which less critical generations had ascribed to Shakspere, and to the sources used by the dramatist; by the establishment of lineending tests, a study of style, and the collection of external evidence such as contemporary allusions and entries in the Stationers' Books, the chronological sequence of the poems and plays was worked out with an approach to accuracy. All manner of records and documents were brought together and printed, and a vast literature of Shaksperean biography, bibliography and elucidation arose.

Among all these critical and historical books the publications of the New Shakspere Society have a high place. In the words of the Society's founder, that indefatigable scholar, Dr. Furnivall, "to do honour to Shakspere, to make out the succession of his plays, and thereby the growth of his mind and art; to promote the intelligent study of him, and to print texts illustrating his work and times, this New Shakspere Society was founded in the autumn of 1873." One of the most valuable books published to effect some of these purposes, was the Centurie of Prayse, a collection of Shaksperean

¹ Shakespeare: Life and Work, by F. J. Furnivall and John Munro, 1908, pp. 72, 73.